



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 66 (Vol. 2, No. 14) ISSN 0193-3485

August 8, 1980

Sección en Español

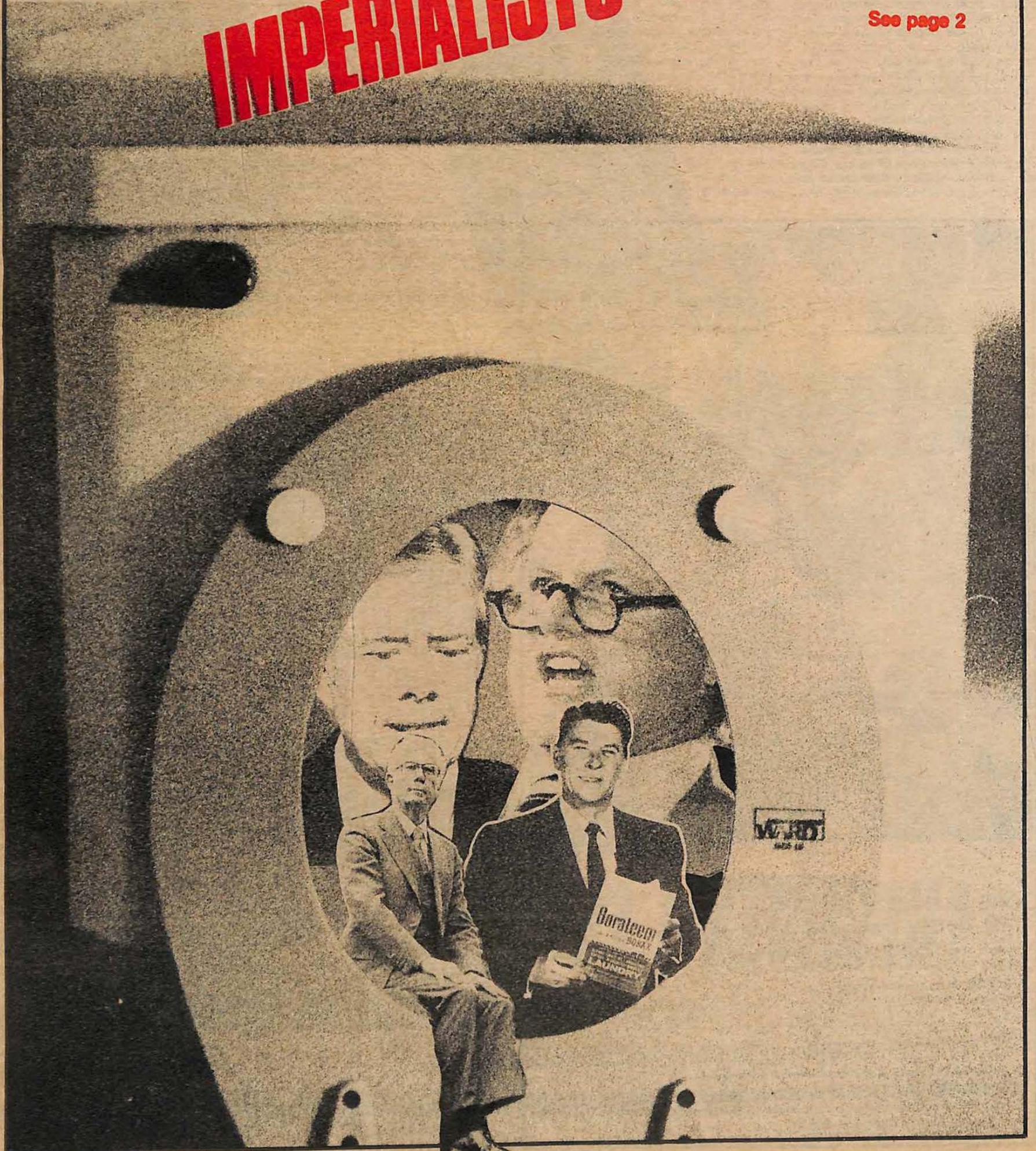
50c

Do Something
on Election Day?????!!!

Yes....

**SPIT ON THE
IMPERIALISTS' CON GAME!**

See page 2



DO SOMETHING ON ELECTION DAY??!

YES.... SPIT ON THE IMPERIALISTS'

CON-GAME

It's convention time. The Republicans have already soiled the political stage, and this week it is the Democrats, who are somehow supposed to be different, whose antics will likewise stink up the atmosphere.

But the times are too urgent to let all this go unanswered. The regular four-year cycle of lies followed by further attacks by the imperialist ruling class is not enough for these elections. On their side, more is planned because they are getting prepared for war—imperialist war with their Soviet act-alike imperialist rivals for a new division of the world. So on our side, too, more is needed. It will not do to stand aside silently, even cynically, in the midst of all this. Still less will it do to play the part of the fool in this imperialist con game and pick your favorite political hustler. Far more is needed and possible. It is time, and past time, to take the road of *independent* historical action around the elections as well as around every other major event in society. The disgust of millions and millions must be forged into a concrete force.

The Revolutionary Communist Party is calling for a political statement to be made on election day, in the form of hundreds of thousands of ballots being cast for the following sentiment:

"This whole system is putrid; I don't believe in any of its candidates."

These ballots should begin getting out now and be turned in or sent to the Revolutionary Communist Party by November. And at election time, in the face of the political fumes steaming from the imperialist politicians' mouths, we will definitely find something dramatic to do with all these ballots.

This ballot will be a way for hundreds of thousands to make clear their disgust with the whole situation in general and with the lies and hypocrisy of the politicians in particular. Sentiment like

this usually just stays immobilized at election time. For the past few elections the politicians have been bemoaning the fact that "the non-voter could be the winner" this time around. But this situation divides into two. While a low voter turnout is certainly a sign of the declining times for our trouble-ridden rulers, remaining passive is not a revolutionary stand, a stand that can change the world. People are sickened by the system, but not yet conscious of the need and possibility to raise a different class banner—one that is entirely opposed to the bourgeois election trap.

But this is precisely what these ballots will represent. They will mean a broad section of the people—with class-conscious workers at the core—will be

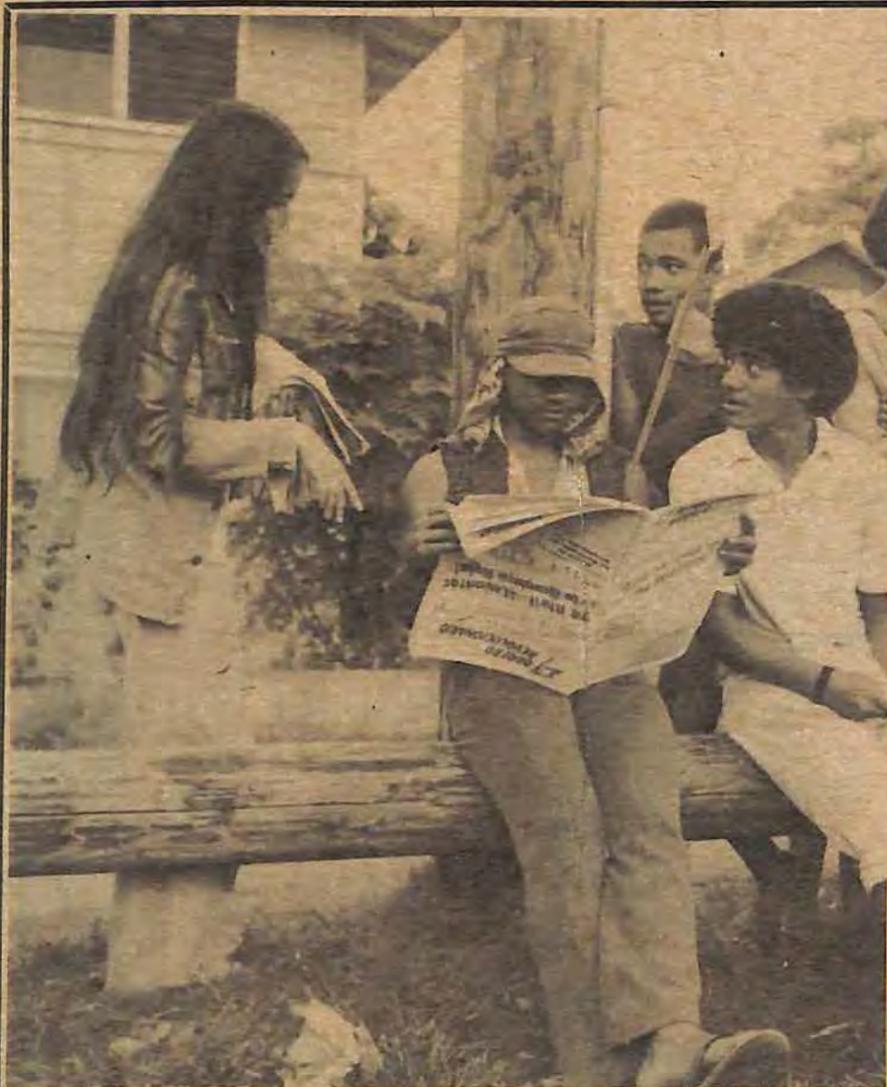
mobilized, carrying the fight into yet another political arena and challenging the enemy. The effect of action like this must not be underestimated, especially given the turbulent, even earthshaking, events that are looming ahead in this decade. This will be a straight-up challenge to the aim of the election—to put the seal of the "will of the people" on every reactionary move of the bourgeoisie, especially its moves toward war. This will be a sharp rejection of the "pick the lesser of two evils" thinking, and a recognition that this system itself is an evil and that something higher can be achieved.

At last, for all those who have longed to shovel the election shit back into the imperialists' face—a chance to act. □

Corrections for RW No. 65

In the article "Wanted: 100,000 Co-Conspirators," the last sentence of the second full paragraph on page 3 should read: "And the very real possibility that a revolutionary situation may develop in the next decade puts the necessity right out there to maximize every opportunity to broaden and deepen the role of the Party and the impact of the class-conscious workers on major events and other strata in society—that is, to prepare for revolution and to see to it that we have, as Lenin put it, "a revolutionary organization, capable of combining all the forces and of leading the movement *not only in name*, but in deed, i.e., *an organization that will be ready at any moment to support every protest and every outbreak*, and to utilize these for the purpose of increasing and strengthening the military forces required for decisive battle."

In the article "U.S. Dangles Dead Puppet," the first sentence of the fourth paragraph should read: "Over the last year and a half—and especially after the seizure of the U.S. embassy last November—the Shah's bloody record has become well known to millions here in the U.S."



Revolutionary Worker

SUBSCRIPTIONS

ONE YEAR—\$20

TEN WEEKS trial subscription—\$4.00

Contact your local *Revolutionary Worker* distributor to arrange for your weekly copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* or write to:

Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Donate to the national *Revolutionary Worker*!

I would like to give \$ _____ to support the *Revolutionary Worker*. Send contributions to *Revolutionary Worker*, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

CONTACT THE *Revolutionary Worker* Box 3486, Merchandise Mart Chicago, IL 60654 IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:

Atlanta:
Revolutionary Worker
P.O. Box 10743
Atlanta, GA 30310
(404) 762-9329

Baltimore:
Revolutionary Worker
P.O. Box 1992
Baltimore, MD 21203

Birmingham:
P.O. Box 2334
Birmingham, ALA 35201
(205) 787-0202

Boston:
Revolution Books
233 Massachusetts Ave.
Cambridge, MA 02139
(617) 492-9016

Buffalo:
Box 121
Ellicott Station
Buffalo, NY 14205
(716) 895-6561

Chicago:
Revolutionary Worker
1727 So. Michigan Ave.
Chicago, IL 60616
(312) 922-1140

Cincinnati:
P.O. Box 3005
Cincinnati, OH 45201
(513) 542-6024

Cleveland:
P.O. Box 09190
Cleveland, OH 44109
(216) 431-6910

Dayton:
P.O. Box 3005
Cincinnati, OH 45201
(513) 274-8046

Detroit:
Workers Center
3136 East Davison
Detroit, MI 48212
(313) 893-0523 or
893-8350

El Paso:
P.O. Box 2357
El Paso, TX 79952
(915) 544-3032

Hawaii:
Revolution Books
923 North King St.
Honolulu, HI 96817
(808) 845-2733

Houston:
P.O. Box 18112
Houston, TX 77023
(713) 641-3904

Los Angeles Area:
Revolutionary Workers
Center
3807 East Gage
Bell, CA 90201
(213) 585-8234

Louisville:
P.O. Box 633
Louisville, KY 40201

New York-New Jersey:
Revolution Books
16 East 18th St.
New York, NY 10003
(212) 243-8638

North Carolina:
P.O. Box 5712
Greensboro, NC 27403
(919) 275-1079

Philadelphia:
P.O. Box 11789
Philadelphia, PA 19104
(215) 849-3574

Portland:
Revolutionary Workers
Center
4728 N.E. Union
Portland, OR 97211
(503) 282-5034

St. Louis:
P.O. Box 6013
St. Louis, MO 63139
(314) 721-6159

Salinas:
P.O. Box 101
Salinas, CA 93902

San Diego:
P.O. Box 15894
San Diego, CA 92115

San Francisco Bay Area:
Revolutionary Workers
Center
5929 MacArthur Blvd.
Oakland, CA 94605
(415) 638-9700

Seattle Area:
Workers Center
8133 Rainier Ave. South
Seattle, WA 98118
(206) 723-8439

South Carolina:
Revolutionary Worker
P.O. Box 10143
Greenville, SC 29604

Tampa:
P.O. Box 24983
Tampa, FL 33623

Washington, D.C.:
Revolution Books
2438 18th St. N.W.
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 265-1969

West Virginia:
P.O. Box 617
Beckley, WV 25801

The *Revolutionary Worker* is published 50 times a year: weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 1727 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, IL 60616. Application to mail at Controlled Circulation postal rates is pending at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.50 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico, (\$30.00 for institutions; foreign subscriptions are \$60.00 a year airmail and \$30.00 surface mail.)

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.

1980 ELECTION BALLOT



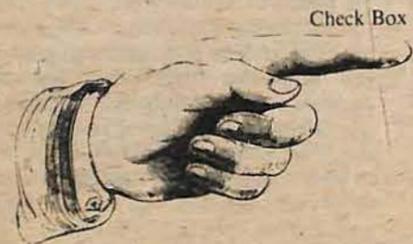
DEMOCRATIC PARTY



REPUBLICAN PARTY



INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES &
OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS



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

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

1980 ELECTION BALLOT



DEMOCRATIC PARTY



REPUBLICAN PARTY



INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES &
OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS



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.

1980 Olympics U.S./Soviets Tie for Gold in Contention

If anybody thought that the absence of U.S. athletes from the 1980 Olympic Games in Moscow, or the virtual news blackout by the bourgeois media, would in any way relegate these Games to some insignificant spot in world events, they were definitely mistaken. The occasion of the 22nd Olympiad was also the occasion for a relentless outpouring of anti-Soviet, rally 'round the flag boys, patriotism from the U.S. press. The Soviets responded in kind. In a world that has been and is being shaped and determined by the escalating contention between the two capitalist superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the modern Olympics has been the quadrennial focus of this contention. The 1980 Olympics in Moscow was definitely a concentrated reflection of this contention and marked another milestone in the race towards world war 3.

With the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and the increasing Soviet challenge to the U.S. empire, an increasingly desperate U.S. ruling class set about to counter-attack and maneuver in an effort to gain an advantage over their Russian counterparts in the showdown to come. Presto! The U.S., formerly the greatest upholders of the "purity" and non-political nature of the Olympic movement, called for a boycott of the Games in Moscow declaring that all along, the Games have been about politics and war. An essay in the Aug. 4 issue of *Time* magazine entitled "The Games: Winning Without Medals" clearly lays out this new U.S. posture toward the Olympics:

"Clearly, nothing in the ancient history of the Games supports the idea that they are apolitical. Brundage (former head of the International Olympic Committee—*RW*) lamented that in ancient Greece wars were suspended for the Olympics, whereas today the Olympics are suspended for wars. In fact, the first Olympics were dry runs for wars... The modern marathon, inspired by the tale of a soldier who ran 25 miles to report a victory, commemorates both politics and conquest... The nuances grow tedious, the examples superfluous. Every country that has ever participated in the Olympic Games, ancient or modern, knows that the events have political analogues, effects and overtones, and that the host country always gains useful prestige."

Such public truthfulness is rather unusual for the U.S. imperialists—unusual except when such candid talk dispensed to the masses of people can itself serve their political aims. Now that the U.S. has taken the openly political action of organizing and carrying out a boycott of the Moscow Olympics, they are only too willing to admit what has all along been the case. This in itself is a graphic illustration of the intensifying and rapidly changing world situation in which the once top-dog imperialist is boycotting the very sports contests that it once dominated and used for its imperialist purposes while fighting to keep all politics (all politics opposed to U.S. imperialist politics, that is) out of the Games.

Being the Number 1 imperialist power in the world after World War 2, the U.S. was pretty much able to use the Olympics for its own purposes. How the bourgeoisie and their media mouthpieces would howl and whine that the Olympics was no place for politics whenever there was the slightest attempt to oppose U.S. imperialism—the politics that the Games were in actual fact being used to spread. Reflecting the post-World War 2 position of the U.S. is the fact that every single Olympics until this year's, both winter and summer, has been held in a Western bloc country since the Games reconvened in 1948 after being suspended during the war. France, Italy, Norway, England, Japan, Switzerland, etc., etc.,

etc.—have all been the sites of the Olympic Games. And an American, Avery Brundage, was the President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), giving the U.S. political hegemony over the policies of the IOC.

And the U.S. wielded the Olympics like a club. They kept revolutionary China under Mao Tsetung on ice in regard to participation in the Games. They nearly walked out in an unsuccessful attempt to keep racist South Africa, their staunch ally, from being barred from competition for its policies of apartheid in 1964. When African nations boycotted the Olympics in 1972 and again in 1976, the U.S. frowned about mixing sports and politics. And when the clenched-fist, Black Power salute shot into the air, raised by two gold and silver medal winners during the national anthem in Mexico City in 1968, the U.S. ruling class nearly dropped dead from the exposure! The Games have been a very powerful political weapon for the capitalists. They have used them to pummel revolution around the world and to try to cover their monstrous crimes at home and abroad. And as the Soviets, capitalists themselves after Khrushchev took power in 1956, began to challenge the U.S. more and more, so too the Games became a reflection of that growing contention. Competition for the gold now provided the backdrop for superpower contention—a rivalry to see which imperialist, or actually which imperialist bloc, would get the most medals. Every medal was another notch for chauvinism and patriotism.

All through the two-week coverage of this year's Olympic Games in Moscow, of charge/counter-charge, the drums of war could be heard clearly and loudly. But undaunted, both superpowers tried to win in the arena of world public opinion by painting each other with the brush of "aggressor," while casting themselves in the most pious and hallowed light as the seeker of peace who would do anything rather than go to war. The Soviets pulled "home court advantage" during this competition, from the Olympics slogan, "O Sport, You Are Peace," to their Olympic handbook, which read: "...the decision to give the Games to Moscow was convincing testimony to the general recognition of the historic importance and correctness of the foreign policy course of our country, of the enormous service of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace." They even tried their own peace parade during the opening ceremonies, but having the goose-stepping Russian soldiers with 22 white doves was unconvincing, to say the least.

And the U.S. was not to be outdone in its sanctimonious claims for the olive branch of peace award, condemning the Soviets' attack on Afghanistan with pious pronouncements of outrage and hypocritical concern for the peace-loving people of the world, and posing as the world's bastion of peace for singlehandedly spearheading the Olympic boycott which supposedly was a selfless act taken on behalf of the peace-loving people of the world. Henry Marsh, a U.S. track star, ran it right up the flag pole prior to the Games. "How can you compete in a country which is killing—slaughtering—innocent people right next door?" That's OK, sonny, when you go to Los Angeles for the 1984 Games, maybe you can ask that same question again about what the U.S. is doing in Mexico, Chile, and the rest of South America.

With the press of the U.S. imperialists crying "imperialism!", the media tried to find ways to permeate their coverage of the Games with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and anything real or made up that could be used to attack their counterparts in the USSR. It began with the cynical statement that

"it was a grim irony that the first gold medal won in the controversial Moscow Olympics was won by a Russian soldier in pistol shooting." Angered over this one-upmanship, the U.S. Olympic Committee has since announced tentative plans for a few new events to be posted at the 1984 Games—"Shah installing" and "coup d'etat hurdles"—in this event you get points for knocking them over.

Then Afghanistan made headline news for three straight days, and continued on for the remaining Olympic coverage, when it was reported that members of the Afghani team had approached some Western newsmen seeking aid to defect into Pakistan. In the opening ceremonies, when the state-controlled Soviet television blacked out the 16-nation protest of carrying the official Olympic flag instead of their national flags, the U.S. State Department-controlled media nearly went hoarse shouting "censorship!" The Soviets returned fire, shouting, "What the hell are you talking about? You've blacked out the entire Olympics from the American people." Undismayed, the U.S. countered. "This is a goddam police state. You search the luggage of the honorable press and then you search the kayaks of the Australian rowing team for U.S. propaganda. You treat us like spies!" "That's because you are spies," the Soviets parried. "You try to film everything but the Games. That's why we beat you up." The U.S. capped it off with, "You're dictators. Look at the way you treat the Jews." And the Soviets answered, "No, you're the dictators. Look at the way you treat the Blacks."

While there are some differences in the way the rulers of the Soviet Union exercise their dictatorship over the masses of people and the way the rulers of the U.S. run their dictatorship, these differences become negligible when compared to just how much they have in common. This was made abundantly clear through these attacks and counter-attacks. They bore a striking resemblance to the finger-pointing that goes on in the U.S. at election time as each politician accuses the other—and funny thing! They're both right.

The American journalistic mouthpieces trained their typewriters and cameras on the high-level security that was everywhere. "This isn't a city, this is an encampment," exclaimed one of them. "You can't even go visit friends at other hotels; you can't even jog without being arrested; you can't even disco past 11 p.m...." Moscow sure wasn't like Lake Placid, N.Y. this past January during the winter Games, they lamented. No sirree. No, up in Lake Placid the bourgeoisie bragged about the intense security, huffing about how there would never again be another Munich 1972. In Lake Placid, the whole city was surrounded and wrapped in concertina wire, and Army patrols stopped people at various checkpoints. Of course, you were free to come and go inside the Olympic Village—unless, of course, you were a Mohawk Indian and were protesting another broken treaty that originally gave the Mohawk Nation legal claim to the land now stolen and now the site of the Lake Placid Olympics. But there was the freedom to disco till dawn before retiring to your cell. The prison labor that built the place is now housed at the "Olympic Village," because to get government funding it had to serve a dual purpose—and it's now serving as a federal penitentiary! The parallels between capitalism in the U.S. and in the USSR are astounding.

Dissension in either bloc was not to be tolerated by either superpower, as they moved to establish that there can only be one leader in a wolf pack. The Soviets slapped wrists by edging a couple of their East bloc countries like Rumania and East Germany, who had voiced a word of caution about the Afghanistan venture, out of gold medals. The U.S., angered that several important European countries in their bloc didn't join the boycott, made their views clear. "They (sports spectators—*RW*) make an illogical leap from the virtue of the athlete to the virtue of the Games, and then without pause, to the virtue of the setting, the framework of the Games: hop, skip, jump. What those in the Moscow boycott are doing by taking themselves out of that process

is to prevent symbolic, irrational connections from being made on their behalf. Conversely, they are insisting by their absence that the participating countries acknowledge frankly their implicit approval of the Soviets. To put it harshly: the countries participating in the Moscow Olympics are symbolically abetting the Soviet takeover of Afghanistan." (*Time*, August 4)

The U.S. worked overtime, also using its limited radio and TV coverage, to whip up a wind of anti-Soviet patriotism. Like rabid dogs they foamed over the imperialists' preparations for world war 3, looking for any scandal and dissension they could ferret out. Ridiculous, and petty to the point of being absurd, the U.S. newscasters spewed out their chauvinist hype. "Finally, the Soviets have been caught cheating," one drooled as he began the sportscast. "Perhaps now, they'll admit what everyone knows they've been doing all along. This time they opened up the doors of Lenin Stadium and let the wind in to help the javelin throwers!" Another newsman remarked, "The Rumanians won't complain too loudly—they're afraid the Russians will bomb Bucharest," after Nadia Comanec barely lost a gold medal to a Soviet gymnast. One Chicago newscaster was so delirious over the dissension he lost his head for a minute as he frothed, "This is great. I love to see our enemies, Russia, Rumania, Mexico (!) and England (!!!) fighting among themselves."

While this commentator's frenzy was certainly commendable in the eyes of the bourgeoisie and fit nicely in line with the anti-foreign hysteria that is so crucial to put the American people in the frame of mind for war, they missed the particular application to the Olympic boycott. The U.S. imperialists know full well who their allies and their enemies are. By calling out the allies for not boycotting they are basically telling the American people, "See, we do have to lead against the Soviets and we have to rely on ourselves—so get ready to be on the front lines in the next war." And by pointing out any belated protests (like using the Olympic flag) and lauding any gold medals they won, the U.S. was saying clearly that it's still the Western alliance versus the Warsaw Pact. The references to the dissension in the ranks of the Soviet allies, whenever they cropped up, were aimed at trying to exploit and further any divisions between the Soviets and the Eastern bloc countries—so much for the pats on the head for Rumania. No wonder one U.S. columnist, not at the Games, wrote that he was going schizophrenic trying to write the news from the Games and still keep in line with State Department policy!

The bourgeoisie tried to turn the U.S. Olympic athletes who didn't get to go to Moscow into another spectacle for waving the red, white and blue. Last week they paraded 380 of the Olympic team members; with a few not attending and a few wearing "No Boycott" buttons, they were dressed in jeans, boots, neckerchiefs, and ten-gallon cowboy hats—all white, of course—through Washington, D.C. to receive Congressional medals and personal thanks from Jimmy Carter. And a few troglodytes among them spoke out. Mike Bruner, a swimmer, said, "It will make me happy if our swimmers blow away the Olympic times, especially the Russians." He was referring to another low-life, patriotic pool of bile swirling around in Irvine, California—site of the U.S. national swimming championship—where they have taken to posting the winning times from Moscow up on the walls for each event as an added beat-the-Soviets incentive! A few sporadic "alternative olympics" have been organized, but mainly it's been a sour-grapes chorus, full of soulful righteousness that "if the Americans were there we'd get the medals," or "the medals are tarnished because of low-quality participation," or "those medals have Afghani blood on them..."

Recently, another "get even with the Russians" track and field meet has been organized in Rome. This time 19 countries who boycotted the Games are participating, along with 13 gold medal winners from the 1980 Olympics and some of the Soviet athletes. No doubt

Continued on page 16

U.S. Backs Off—Iranian Students Free

One hundred and ninety-one Iranians were arrested (171 men and 20 women) on July 27 in Washington, D.C. when cops brutally attacked a pro-Khomeini/anti-Shah demonstration organized by the Moslem Students Association (MSA). The demonstration had notably irked the U.S. It had been held in opposition to a dubious affair organized by something called the "Iran Freedom Foundation," a group of Shah-lovers and imperialist cut-throats. Placards calling openly for a U.S.-backed coup in Iran were displayed at this "rally", leaving few (including the police) confused as to its actual nature. When these "freedom lovers" pitifully flopped, rallying less than 500 instead of the anticipated 10,000, the hogs went wild.

Since that day, the U.S. ruling class tried hard to once again orchestrate an orgy of patriotism and chauvinism particularly reminiscent of the days following the Embassy seizure last November 4. While a few marched to the reactionary chorus (their knuckles dragging on the ground beside them), the government's wholesale arrests, beatings and threats of deportation fared even worse this time around in whipping up public opinion against the Iranians. And as methods of intimidation against the Iranians, the campaign failed even more miserably.

From the moment they were interned in the D.C. jails, where they were held for six days, the Iranians resisted by organizing a hunger strike. The pigs tried beating their spirit of defiance out of them. "I asked for sugar and water and was refused," one man later told the RW in New York. "After I continued to ask for it the officer went and brought a water pump and sprayed it into my cell, wetting my blanket, my shirt, my pants, my shoes—everything, and left me like that for three hours. When they wanted to move us from the D.C. jail, four officers attacked me. One got my head from behind, one of them got my feet and the other one put the handcuffs on." Our Iranian friend displayed his cut and scabbing wrists.

This treatment continued after the Iranians were moved up to New York; the men jailed at the 9 ft. x 9 ft. cells in the still half-built federal prison at Otisville, and the women at the Metropolitan Correctional Center in Manhattan. One woman told us: "they mistreated us very badly. They hit us in the face, they pulled our hair, they pulled us on the floor, they twisted our arms—they called us so many bad names. If we said anything, they would hit us. They said, 'we are going to kill



Some of the 191 pro-Khomeini Iranians who were beaten, jailed, and threatened with deportations after police attacked a demonstration in Washington, D.C.

on July 27—the day of the Shah's funeral. They are pictured here at a mosque in Queens, N.Y. after the Immigration police backed down and released them.



Outside the N.Y. mosque a group of young patriotic reactionaries (including one flag-sucker) who had

gathered to shout insults, hurl bottles and harass the Iranian students as they tried to leave.

you all."

But this attempt failed to break the captives, so the bourgeoisie unleashed the Immigration and Naturalization

Service (INS) and threatened the Iranians with deportations if they continued refusing to give their names and visa status. Even after the D.C. authorities

had dropped all the charges, the INS relentlessly pursued its investigations, hoping to convict the Iranians on immi-

Continued on page 20

"By the Second Day The Iranians Said, 'This Guy's for Real'"

What follows is based on an interview with a Black veteran and postal worker who came up from Memphis, Tennessee and decided to take a stand on the sidewalk in front of the White House with the Iranians, using a homemade sign in a one-man support action for two days before the Revolutionary Worker came in contact with him. Since this interview was done, the RW has run into several others who also, as individuals, had seen the need to act in support of the Iranian people but had been forced to leave by repeated threats and intimidation by D.C. cops and the Secret Service.

Five years ago, James (not his real name) was fired for leading a sit-down at the Memphis, Tennessee Bulk Mail Center. He had worked for the P.O. for nearly six years. "I had the old people, I had 'em sittin' down, the whole work room floor at the BMC right at Christmas time too. They had us workin' 12 hours a day, 7 days a week. I said wait a minute, whoa. We can't keep doin' this. We went in the lunch room, we had a ten-minute break, we stayed in there for about two hours... after that I got sent from post office to post office... they couldn't break me down that

way, so they said, 'we've just got to get him clear out of the post office.' They fired me with no letter of warning, no suspension, nothing. The only reason they got rid of me was 'cause they branded me a militant."

For five years since his firing, he had tried fighting for his job back through "established channels"—union grievances, letters to Senators and Congressmen, etc. Getting nowhere, James finally decided to come to D.C. and stage a sort of one-man protest against the system. When he ran into the Iranians in front of the White House, he immediately felt the common bonds: "When I came up from Memphis, I was thinking there was no justice for the Black people. The Iranians said, 'What about the oppressed people, period? One people can't do it by themselves.' And I said, 'That's right, that's the only way it's going to work.' If you are oppressed then you got to go out there. If you got anything against the system, I think you should be down there (with the Iranians at the White House—RW). There's no way around it.

"The system is collapsing... I'd like to know truthfully what kind of establishment is it that will starve a person to death? And it's supposed to be a free country! Someone's telling a lie!

"The government is doomed. They are going for every bit of gusto while they can. They are snatching money from the Iranians and everybody else... Do we have to kiss butts all week, all year, all for a few little crumbs?... These bloodsuckers suck all the life out of people. My old man worked 40 years and he's still workin'. And for what?... I feel at this time, 1980, there's a change comin'—'cause you can see everything's going to go against the establishment for what it's doin' to the people.

"I believe the war will be at home... Only a fool fights for what he hasn't got... What have I got to fight for? A flag?... I wouldn't go fight nobody for the United States, I'd rather die first. I know, I was in the service... that racial thing in the army, that's the very thing I've been trying to escape from.

"If what you're saying is helping the establishment keep you under control or keep you divided with their racism, they want you to talk. But when you talk of the unity of people, of a certain class of people—like the brother (a supporter of the RCP—RW) was doing the other day—well, the police grabbed him. He was trying to tell people, 'Hey, these Iranians are not the only op-

pressed people, you are oppressed people, too.'

"When I got up to the White House, the Iranians couldn't understand the reason I was there... by the second day, they said, 'This guy's got to be for real.' And we started talking. They were telling me about everything the Shah did. And I already knew about what the Shah did...

"I felt the Iranians are a very oppressed people, the conditions they were living in, the actions of the Shah, the U.S. actions behind the Shah. These people are oppressed. The United States people are oppressed by the government here too.

"There was people down there in front of the White House who said to me, 'you're doing the right thing,' but they're scared to make that first step. I had a couple of white people come down and give me a dollar or two and a couple of brothers offered for me to come over to their house to have something to eat... those people coming by, spitting on them, throwing things, are ignorant people, man, 'cause the establishment will do them like that. They'll wake up one day and find out this government cares nothing about the people." □

Klan "Trial" Begins in Greensboro

The trial of 6 Klansmen and Nazis for murder of 5 anti-Klan demonstrators last November 3rd began this week in Greensboro, N.C. In a slow draw, Judge James Long declared, "We are not here to choose between competing political ideologies." And true enough, there would be no competition in this courtroom, as both the prosecution and defense attorneys in their opening statements to the jury beat the drums for patriotism, anti-communism, and the red, white and blue.

The prosecution noted to the jury that, after all, "The Constitution guarantees free speech." He hastened to add that "regardless of how abhorrent the method of that group (the CWP, not the Klan—RW), they did have a lawful permit. They were entitled to hold their rally, regardless of how you or I or the defendants may disagree with it."

Of course, the prosecution dutifully (and monotonously) also laid out the grounds on which the Klan and Nazis could be convicted of first degree mur-

der. These were "premeditation and deliberation" in shooting and killing their victims, and "shooting and killing" during the perpetuation of a felony. The prosecution pointed out the most obvious holes in the "self defense" line of the "defendants": If the KKK and Nazis had come to the CWP rally only to protest, why did they come armed to the teeth? Why were several Klansmen seen loading their weapons before the caravan even stopped at the site of the rally? And, if they feared for their lives, why did they stop at all?

But far from resembling even a TV D.A. "protecting the public" as he shoots pointed arguments at his courtroom opposition, the Greensboro prosecutor acted more like a straight man feeding lines to a comic. Why did they stop at all? That was easy. As the lawyer for Ronald Wood, one of the Nazis on trial noted: "He (Wood) is a man of no wealth, and not much formal education. He believes communism is the greatest threat to his country and his

religion and became active in groups who oppose communism...the CWP held their rally to build support and membership in this area, believing any attack on the Klan would be well received by Blacks. They advertised that they would 'physically smash the Klan' and challenged the Klan to show." Thus, Wood stopped due to his irresistible compulsion to defend America, god and the Klan.

The lawyer for Coleman Blair Pride-more, another defendant, carried the theme further and also answered the prosecution's query concerning the guns. Affectionately referring to the Klansman "Johnny" he told the jury that, "the tenets (of the KKK) was the same as many organizations you may have belonged to, except for the belief in white supremacy. He came to carry the American flag and shout pro-American slogans louder than the communists shouted anti-American slogans. The CWP, however, had sticks and clubs and guns, and exhorted people to anger and violence against the Klan...he may have been misdirected but he was prompted by patriotism we can understand. He only engaged in lawful defense of himself and his friends." Why did they bring guns? Simple: "the KKK has weekend rallies regularly, where they often have turkey shoots, or have pictures taken with their weapons. You may feel sympathy for the loss of 5 lives, but your job is to decide where fault lies in this incident."

After opening statements, the first witness called by the prosecution was Greensboro police detective Cooper, who was assigned to "monitor the November 3rd rally of any outsiders approaching it." He was following the Klan and Nazi caravan for several miles before they arrived at the site of the massacre.

On the stand, Cooper testified that he had been working with a paid police informant, Edward W. Dawson, a member of the Greensboro KKK since 1964 and former Grand Dragon. (Dawson, incidentally, has also admitted to being a paid FBI informant and spent 9 months in jail for his role in a 1967 shooting attack in a Black community in nearby Alamance County, North Carolina.)

Cooper testified that in a phone call on the morning of November 3rd, Dawson told him the Klan would confront the anti-Klan demonstrators at the end of the march, i.e., at the rally site. The Detective naturally reported this to the Greensboro Tactical Squad at 10 a.m., November 3rd. Based on this information, the police decided they didn't need to arrive at the rally until 11:30 and went out for sandwiches at 11:00 a.m., just 20 minutes before the KKK attacked the beginning of the march.

Presto! A big question—that of the disappearance of the police from the scene of the murders—is thus answered. But as the trial is bound to show in future days, Dawson will also prove to be a useful character for the Klan as well. This was indicated in a Greensboro newspaper story which appeared the day before the trial began. According to an unnamed source within the police department, the article said, at about 11:00, Dawson (who it turns out was leading the Klan caravan) suddenly and on his own initiative changed the destination of the caravan from the end of the march—the rally site—to the beginning of the march. Dawson knew the actual location of the march's origin, despite the fact that CWP's publicity had given a false decoy location: the police had conveniently given their "informant" the official parade permit just before the massacre.

If it's getting a little difficult here to distinguish the Klan from the police from the prosecutor, etc...well, that's just the point! The difference is hardly distinguishable. The prosecution has not seen fit to indict Dawson on anything; in fact Dawson—who has not yet testified—will be called as a defense witness. He's not even on the prosecution's list of witnesses. And, as noted, he'll be useful for the Klan—he'll be used by them to "prove" that there could

not have been any premeditation on the part of the murderers since, up until the last minute (when Dawson "changed his mind"), the defendants thought they were going to the rally site instead of the beginning of the march. They will no doubt say that it was Dawson who misdirected their patriotic efforts.

Another revealing piece of testimony came from a civilian police department photographer who followed Cooper on to the witness stand. He testified that he had been in the car with Cooper trailing the Klan caravan on the morning of November 3rd. When they were still four or five blocks from the rally site, they heard "rapid and continuous gunfire" and they could already see the smoke it produced. Detective Cooper radioed in that they heard heckling. The photographer replied, "Heckling, hell! That's gunfire." Only then, several minutes later, did Cooper radio in again and report the gunfire.

The real motivation of the prosecution, behind the flowery declarations of free speech, came out in the open in another hearing, literally right across the hall from the Klan/Nazi murder trial. The prosecutor's office is seeking to raise the bail on Nelson Johnson, a CWP leader, from \$15,000 to \$115,000 on the charges of felony riot that he and several other participants in the anti-Klan rally face. Their reasoning was that Johnson might "incite violence" in the community. This is in sharp contrast to the bail on the five Klan murderers, the highest of which is \$50,000. (As we go to press, we have learned that the D.A.'s office was unsuccessful in this venture, at least temporarily.)

This in itself was outrageous. But more outrageous—and revealing—was a comment made during Johnson's bail hearing by the D.A. He all but convicted Johnson for the murders of the CWP members. Listen to this: "This man poses a clear danger to the people of Greensboro. We are talking about a person who inspires and encourages others to the point where 5 people are killed. He says he's not legally responsible for the death of 5 people last November 3rd, but he is clearly morally responsible. He precipitates situations where violence is a clear and present danger, and on November 3rd, it happened. He is indicted for a crime of physical violence. There was blood shed on November 3rd and there will be blood shed again if his conduct is not controlled...unusual measures we are asking the court? Well, how many times have the people of Greensboro seen 5 people shot down in a lot? These are unusual times, calling for unusual measures!"

It is not beyond the course of prior events to speculate that the anti-Klan demonstrators who along with Johnson were indicted last May on felony riot and inciting to riot charges could themselves be blamed for the murders. Ridiculous? No more so than the multitude of other ridiculous—but calculated—events that have surrounded this trial. The D.A. requested and received a continuance in the CWP's trial last week. The reason for this remains to be seen, but it will undoubtedly be postponed until the Klan/Nazi "trial" is over.

We have pointed out on numerous occasions that we have sharp disagreements with the political line of the Communist Worker's Party. But independent of the CWP's incorrect political line, anyone who fails to recognize what is going on with the situation in Greensboro is either badly misinformed or hopelessly confused. The authorities are obviously attempting to teach a lesson to communists, and for that matter, to anyone who would stand up against this system and its agents like the police and Klan.

We will learn—not what they would "teach" us—but instead something Lenin once noted: "Bourgeois democracy, which is invaluable in educating the proletariat and training it for the struggle, is always narrow, hypocritical, spurious and false..." The Greensboro trial is indeed instructive in this lesson. □

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."

New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (Drafts for Discussion).

\$2.00 (plus 50¢ postage)
Available from RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486, Chicago IL 60654
or at bookstores in your area.

History Behind the Myth The Democrats: Imperialism's Party for the People

With the opening of the Democratic Party convention in New York this week the Great Election Con Game to which we are treated every four years goes into full swing. The Republicans have nominated their candidate, set their program and made their opening pitch. Now it's the Democrats' turn. This is what they call the "democratic process." One man, one vote. Rich and poor, exploiter and exploited, slave and slavemaster, all are accorded *equality* as they step into the voting booth, pull the lever and elect the candidate of their choice. The most important thing about this democracy we are told, is that we *do have a choice*. Here in America we have a *TWO* party system! And sometimes you can even vote for an independent candidate.

But it is interesting these days. If you ask most people they will admit that

there really isn't a toilet paper's thickness of difference between the Democrats and the Republicans. They both are seen as serving up the same old tired platitudes and nostrums. They both are seen as representing the interests of the rich, the well-born and the able. And no matter which party is elected, most feel that in the end it is the little guy, your average Joe who will get the shaft.

Yet, although this sort of "common wisdom" or "pop cynicism" exists broadly about the "democratic process" and the two-party political system, it doesn't mean that there aren't still a whole lot of illusions that the bourgeoisie in this country has spread, and which it uses to maintain its political rule—illusions about the nature of the political system in the U.S. and the character of the two par-

ties which people are still deeply affected by to one degree or another and which often exist right along with some of the cynicism about the "democratic political system."

One of the most persistent and pervasive illusions is about the Democratic Party. While the Republicans are promoted as the party of business and the advocates of the "free enterprise system", the Democrats still have the image of the party of the common man, the laborer, the minorities. It is extremely important to wipe away these illusions, to see how the capitalist class uses the "two party democratic system" and in particular the Democratic Party to keep its chains firmly notched around people's minds.

As V.I. Lenin pointed out early in this century, "A democratic republic is the best possible political shell for

capitalism, and therefore, once capital has gained control of this very best shell ... it establishes its power so securely, so firmly, that *no* change, either of persons, of institutions, or of parties in the bourgeois democratic republic, can shake it."

This form of government is the best possible shell for the rule of capital precisely because it helps the capitalists camouflage the class nature of the state apparatus, the machinery of the state. It provides them the best way of obscuring the fact that "democracy" under the rule of capitalism is really a dictatorship of the capitalist class over the working class and the masses of people. As Lenin said, the bourgeoisie are compelled to be hypocritical and to describe as "popular government or democracy in general, or pure democracy, the (*bourgeois*) democratic republic which is, in practice, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the exploiters over the working people." (*Democracy and Dictatorship*)

In the early days of the development of the U.S., when there were different class interests vying for control of the state, the newly emerging political parties did tend to represent different class interests. So the Federalists and later the Whigs more represented the interests of the emerging capitalist class, while the Democratic-Republican (later just called the Democratic Party) tended to represent the interests of the Southern landed aristocracy and the land owners of the western frontier. But even then, although the immigrant laborers who formed the American working class were sucked in to supporting one or the other of these parties, it could never be said that any of these

Continued on page 14

Zionists "Unite" Jerusalem

Why All the Flap Over Begin's Latest Move

On July 30 the Israeli parliament (the Knesset) gave preliminary approval to an amendment to its "prevention of terrorism" law that would make it a crime to carry a Palestinian flag or sing Palestinian anthems within the state of Israel. This latest act of repression against the Palestinians received little notice in the U.S. press. The same day, however, the Knesset passed another law that was met with scathing criticism in the U.S. press. The Zionist legislators overwhelmingly passed a law declaring East Jerusalem part of the Israeli state and declared the whole, united city the country's capital. Prime Minister Menachem Begin immediately announced that he would move his official offices to East Jerusalem. A *New York Times* editorial called the Knesset's action a "gratuitous and provocative new law." *Time* magazine headlined that it was "an exercise in pointless provocation."

The UN partition plan that had established the state of Israel in 1948 divided the city of Jerusalem into an eastern and western sector. The western section became part of Israel. The eastern section remained part of the Arab-controlled West Bank, administered by Jordan. In 1967 the Israelis, armed and directed by the U.S., launched a new war of expansion against the Palestinians and Arab people of the region, seizing the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai—and occupying East Jerusalem. Since 1967 the Zionists have moved over 80,000 Israelis into East Jerusalem (there is a Palestinian population of about 112,000 remaining) and for all practical purposes have integrated the two sections of the city.

So why the big howl now from the U.S. bourgeoisie and its media? Criticism of Israel is not a very frequent phenomenon in official U.S. ruling circles. It certainly was not out of concern for the rights of the Palestinian people. It is only in the past few years that the U.S. has even recognized the *existence* of the Palestinians, referring to them instead as "the refugee problem." You won't find any editorial in the *New York Times* deploring the outrageous, racist attack forbidding the Palestinian flag and songs. You won't hear *Time* magazine,

or any other U.S. newspaper or TV station, bemoaning this as a pointless provocation. Because the political and cultural repression of the Palestinians in Israel and the occupied territories by the most brutal forms of police and military terror is quite acceptable to the U.S. bourgeoisie.

The real U.S. objection to the formal Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem is simply a matter of tactics. As the *New York Times* editorial put it, why raise all the big hubbub making official law something that was already official fact? Why pass a "new law that in no way alters the already proclaimed annexation of East Jerusalem or Israel's development of the city in patterns that make a future division almost inconceivable?" In other words, it was unnecessary to make *de jure* what was already *de facto* the case. The U.S. imperialists are not at all opposed to the Israeli occupation, control, absorption, annexation of as much Palestinian land as they can get away with. Simple fact, Israel would not even exist, much less be continuing its expansionism, if it were not kept afloat and backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism. But it's not politic or diplomatic to come right out and say this, especially when the U.S. imperialists are in the middle of flagging efforts to orchestrate a Middle East "peace agreement," a key aspect of which is supposed to be a negotiated settlement of the question of Israeli occupation of Arab land taken since 1967 and the question of "Palestinian autonomy."

The Israeli action on East Jerusalem was a particularly bitter pill for Egypt's President Anwar Sadat. He has already bent over backward—and every which way—to the Israelis in exchange for the promised return of the Sinai and about \$8 billion in aid from the U.S. in the last five years. But continued Zionist hardlining on the question of new settlements on the West Bank and now this East Jerusalem law exposes all his efforts to pretend a resolution to the "Palestinian question" was in the making as nothing but a sham, and make him look like even more of a chump. As the *New York Times* editorial put it, "He too is isolated and it is folly to humiliate him."

The Begin government's decision to go along with the formal annexation of East Jerusalem was motivated to a large extent by the internal crisis they are facing. Economically Israel is in horrible shape. Inflation is astronomical, exports are declining and unemployment is growing significantly. Despite the most vicious repression, Begin has failed to quell a rising tide of Palestinian opposition inside Israel and in the occupied towns of the West Bank and the Gaza strip. Increasingly he is presiding over a bankrupt police state. The East Jerusalem legislation was an arrogant gesture of "toughness" aimed at whipping up Zionist sentiments and rallying "patriotic support" for Begin's beleaguered administration.

But overall the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem is merely an extension of the policies it has carried out with the backing of the U.S. imperialists for decades. Grab as much as you can get, hold it as long as you can and force the Arabs to negotiate to accept that reality—or at minimum to force them to make major concessions to get back a little.

Yet developments in the Middle East and the global contention with the Soviets have forced the U.S. to employ a two-pronged strategy in the region. The first prong is the principle that Israel will not fall, that it will continue to be a powerful U.S. military and political outpost in the Middle East. The second prong is to take a position of "flexibility" towards the Palestinians and the question of Israeli return of some of the occupied territory—while never conceding anything. This approach requires a certain tactical subtlety and sophistication; for a straight-out hardline position of no concessions to the Palestinians opens up possible inroads for the Soviets. It makes it difficult for the other Arab countries who basically ally with the U.S. bloc to support U.S./Israeli terms for a Middle East peace settlement. And at the same time the U.S. bloc countries of Western Europe, while overall supporting the U.S. strategy in the region, want to press harder for some sort of settlement of the "Palestinian question."

These developments were dramatized

in a special emergency session of the UN General Assembly on July 29 that passed by a margin of 112 to 7 (with 24 abstentions) a resolution demanding Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Palestinian and other Arab territories, including Jerusalem, within three months, reaffirmed the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes and property in Palestine and establish their own "independent, sovereign state." The resolution also declared the Palestine Liberation Organization the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and demanded its participation in any Middle East peace negotiations. The U.S., along with Canada, Australia, Norway, the Dominican Republic and Guatemala voted against the resolution. The Western European Common Market and NATO nations abstained. Egypt, in a shift undoubtedly prompted by a desire to take away some of the sting from the Israeli East Jerusalem action, voted in favor of the resolution.

In assessing the whole situation in the Middle East and in that context the recent developments, it is important to remember that creating the illusion that the Camp David Accords are still moving towards a resolution of the conflicts in the Middle East and can offer a just solution for the Palestinians is an important aspect of U.S. strategy for the region. And in that regard the Zionists' move to openly annex East Jerusalem is tactically bad timing and to some extent in contradiction to this aspect of U.S. strategy. But this is by no means the whole of U.S. strategy, nor even the most important part of it for the Middle East. The key link in that overall strategy is to maintain Israel as a powerful military and political force, and to make the Arab countries relate to it on those terms—which Egypt has already done. For in the fast moving pace of events today in the Middle East, as well as in other parts of the world, the key conflict is between the two superpowers, and their concern is which one will dominate the region. In that context the U.S. is determined to make no concessions nor any move that will strengthen the hand of the Soviets—whether by weakening Israel, or by allowing an opening for the establishment of a Palestinian state. □

Reader Writes on Movie

Disarming "The War At Home"

I just saw "The War at Home," and it made me so mad I had to write the *RW* to warn others about this revisionist, sugar-coated poison.

"The War at Home" is an award-winning documentary about the antiwar movement in Madison, Wisconsin, centered on the University of Wisconsin. I was very eager to see it because I'd heard that it was a great film that really showed the development of the movement, despite significant weaknesses. But what I saw was a movie that despite some fine footage of massive antiwar demonstrations that rocked the country, ended up leaving a lot of the audience with a bad taste in their mouth and an empty feeling. What's wrong with this film is that it doesn't deal with the revolutionary politics of the antiwar movement and even more importantly with the nature of the war that determined that political development. This is not just a case of being Aesopian or to get past the "censors" and get the movie out to a wider theatre audience. The film puts forward a reformist view that runs contrary to the very politics that made the antiwar movement what it was. As a metaphor for the antiwar movement—which is what this movie becomes—it is a lie. I was a student in Madison during the period the movie deals with, so I was hit early and hard with the feeling that there was something wrong with this film, but you don't have to have been in that particular place at that particular time to realize this.

It starts out pretty good. For instance, it shows what happened when Teddy Kennedy came to the university in 1966. The antiwar students had announced that they weren't going to let any of the government bigshots, who were touring the campuses trying to ex-

plain away the war in Vietnam, speak. The university administration and the federal government conspired to have Kennedy come "to see how hot it really is out there," hoping all that Kennedy mystique would rub off on the war. When the student who was supposed to get up and debate Kennedy whimpered out and let Kennedy make a fool out of him, a bunch of others started yelling and chanting and finally just disrupted. This was extremely controversial at the time; in fact, only a small minority really thought this was the right thing to do. But this advanced action in fact played a very positive role in the future development of the antiwar movement and the uncompromising stand it was to take.

Another good scene is the first building takeover. A leaflet was put out saying that the university had to be stopped from cooperating with the draft, and, as the film shows, only about 50 people showed up for a rally across from the administration building. Most of us were pretty worried about the small turnout, but we felt the building had to be taken over so we did it anyway. To our surprise, at first hundreds and then by late that night a few thousand students came around, some just to stand outside and watch, while many others came in and listened and joined the stormy political debate that was going on. That was an important turning point in the war becoming a big part of the political axis around which the whole campus turned.

My blood boiled all over again (as did most viewers) when the movie got to the Dow Chemical demonstration of 1967. Again, it was a small group of people who decided to sit-in and stop this company which made napalm from recruiting on campus. Many of us failed

to take part in this action because it seemed like it was going to be just another symbolic sit-in and symbolic arrests, as had happened before. I'll never forget standing outside the building (alongside a few thousand others who happened to be between classes) and suddenly seeing a friend of mine come flying out the plate glass window, blood and splinters flying. The cops thought it was symbolic all right, symbolic of a movement that had to be crushed, and orders had been given from the highest authorities to stop it then and there. As the pigs rampaged, beating first everyone inside and then everyone they could get their hands on, the whole plaza turned into a battlefield. After that, we shut the campus down cold, and public opinion was such that anyone who supported the war kept his mouth shut. I remember the cops massing in preparation for attacking us again the next night as thousands participated in an open-air meeting, and my elderly 18th century philosophy professor, with a bow tie and all, rushing to put himself between the students and the cops, yelling at the cops, "Before you get at them you'll have to kill me first." That was quite a change from only two years before, when professors told us that the war was fine or that it was something that didn't have anything to do with the university and was not fit for academic discussion.

Omits Key Questions

The problem is that the film gives you the impression that people just got hit in the head and got mad about it—and really that it was foolish of the cops to attack in the first place and stir all this up. I realize that when you do a documentary about the past you have

to use the footage that's available. All the endless teach-ins and debates probably wouldn't make all that good a movie, and film is a hard way to deal with all the leaflets, pamphlets and the morning, noon and night spent discussing politics. But if all this is left out, then the picture that results is a false one, because it was this process that was laying the basis for the big leap in consciousness that took place in the wake of the Dow demonstration, and that was taking place all around the country by that point. At times you have to wonder if this movie is talking about the same movement that raged in the country. There's hardly a hint that hot—and absolutely crucial—struggle raged over whether to align with liberal government figures or to target the entire system. This is no minor "omission."

This is very much linked to the way the film presents the war itself. You see a lot of shots of Vietnam being bombed, in fact, with a couple of exceptions about all you see of Vietnam is of people being victims. But the main political point in the antiwar movement being debated during the early years of the massive U.S. involvement was whether or not it was a mistake, a horrible aberration that had to be ended so that "America could be America again," or whether it was more than that—a war to conquer a people being waged by an imperialist system that lived off subjugation. That was a dividing line question.

And more than that, youth in Madison and all over weren't just getting madder and madder, we were changing. We were becoming more politically conscious—in fact, we were changing sides, from being opponents of what seemed like a war that didn't live up to the "American ideals" we'd had preached to us to becoming allies of the enemy. We didn't just oppose the war, we wanted the Vietnamese to win it. We wanted to see the U.S. beaten. This was what was infuriating the authorities and why they had to attack the antiwar movement like mad dogs in countless instances from coast to coast. And when the pigs attacked that day at the Dow demo, it became all the more clear that American "democracy" was bullshit and that we were its enemy. We were "outlaws in the eyes of America," carrying the enemy's flag as our own and opposing not just the brutal U.S. conduct of the war but the whole system behind it and everything else about this country.

The lack of any indication that all this was happening began to get especially flagrant for me when the film gets to the Black studies strike of 1968. From the interview with the couple who describe it, you'd think that all it was about was that a few Black students wanted to use the movement to get a few benefits for themselves and a few other people, to get a place for themselves in the system. I remember that some people did view the whole Black liberation struggle in this way, but it certainly wasn't what it was. You have to remember (which the film forgets) that the Black liberation struggle was approaching a high point at this time. At Madison, too, an almost lily-white enclave with its handful of carefully selected Black students, there were Black students active in this strike who put forward a far more revolutionary view and who saw ties between the Black and Vietnamese struggles as liberation struggles directed against the same ruling class. So here the film's "objectivity" is quite a distortion. It shows how tactically together that strike was. But not why. What it doesn't show is that this wasn't like that first sit-in to oppose university cooperation with the draft. We were out to change the face of the whole country—and in fact the whole country was changing. It was shaking with rebellion.

Again to mention something that you don't really expect to see in a documentary but that's really missing from the picture is the visit of Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton who came up from Chicago one night at this time. He talked about Black liberation and the working class of all nationalities and about proletarian revolution and Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung

Continued on page 13



April 19-23, 1973: The Dewey Canyon III demonstration in Washington, D.C., organized by Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), where hundreds of vets

hurled their medals and discharges over the White House fence.

Rejecting the Cannonfodder Call

The initial two-week period for 19 and 20-year-olds to register for the draft is over—and while the government is claiming that “registration went smoothly” and that the anti-draft demonstrations were smaller than expected, the decided lack of fanfare in the press is an indication that this first round of registration was not exactly the smashing success our rulers had hoped for (based on comparing registration figures provided by postal officials in several major cities against estimates of eligibles provided by state authorities or 1970 census figures). Spokesmen for various anti-draft coalitions estimate that 500,000 of those eligible did not register—hardly the 98 percent success rate predicted by the government. According to figures released by CARD, registration was off by as much as 20 to 44 percent in major cities like Chicago, Seattle, Phoenix, Boston and Atlanta.

While the government claims estimates are impossible at this time due to the “high mobility of 19 and 20-year-olds” and the fact that they may register anywhere in the U.S., they are clearly backpedaling on the question of “success.” Selective Service officials originally said that figures would be available within one week, but now suddenly it has been announced that it will take 90 days while they plug into every available computer and compile a comprehensive list of the 4 million men who were supposed to register. Likewise a one-week grace period for those who were unable to register during the formal two-week period has been extended to 30 days while a tape-recorded message at Selective Service in Washington, D.C. reassuringly urges any who may have “forgotten” that “If you register now, you may avoid any problems.” One Selective Service representative, contacted by the *RW*, whined that the 30-day grace period was necessary because many eligibles were either “hospitalized, institutionalized or incarcerated and there are many who are out of the country doing missionary work and stranded hundreds of miles from their embassies without transportation.”

One interesting development was a Federal court ruling shortly before registration was to begin that the draft was unconstitutional because it did not include women—an indication of the seriousness with which the government is considering press-ganging millions of women along with men as cannonfodder for the coming war. But what was most significant about this was that the government rushed to Justice Brennan's vacation home in Nantucket and asked for a stay on this decision pending appeal. Brennan of course promptly ordered that registration would continue, stating that not to do so would be “detrimental to the national interest.”

Among other things, the upshot of all this was to unleash a flurry of ridiculous speculation on the part of various anti-draft forces that the draft was “now unconstitutional” and that those refusing to register could be in a “legal defensible position.” “Do not register for the draft,” said one spokesman, “you may be committing an illegal act.” All this dove-tailed with the sly hope being held out by the government that those who *did* go along with registration might be afforded “legal relief” sometime in the future if the present registration were declared unconstitutional. New York Mobilization Against the Draft (MAD) issued a statement proclaiming that: “The combination of court judgments and public protests will drive the nail into the coffin that contains President Carter's registration program and give it the speedy burial it so richly deserves.”

Registration for the draft illegal?

Come on, let's get serious! This foolishness can only obscure the absolute necessity of the U.S. imperialists to begin lining up the troops for World War 3 right now, set people up for when all legal “complications” will be firmly and decisively resolved by the government in its own favor, (once they have settled the “woman question” within their own ranks) and sow dangerous illusions that somehow the imperialists' war plans are going to be “speedily buried” by “standing on your constitutional rights” with the help of the courts. The point is the imperialists will field an army against the Soviets, even if they have to literally shanghai recruits when the time comes. And all this will be done quite legally.

The first days of registration were greeted by anti-draft demonstrations across the country. In New York, Boston, Detroit, Cincinnati, Chicago, San Francisco and Washington, D.C. hundreds rallied and invaded post offices and some forces carried out various acts of civil disobedience, as police responded with few arrests and generally attempted to minimize any publicity. •

In Boston's PO Square where 300-400 (among them many anti-nuke activists) protested in the most militant demo of those around the country, a dozen were busted for blocking the post office doors and the crowd spontaneously chanted “Long Live the Miami Rebellion!” The next day a second demo organized by the Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft at the post office in Central Square took place under the slogan “Don't Draft Me For World War 3” and people attempted to chain the post office shut.

Some of the actions unfortunately saw a putrid display of straight-up bourgeois politics. The New York demonstration and nighttime rally (attended by 4-5,000 people), organized by New York MAD, included at least half a dozen State Senators, Assemblymen, etc. as sponsors, and garnered messages of support from no less than Ted Kennedy and John Anderson. (Apparently Reagan missed the boat.) Clearly there are bourgeois spokesmen who “oppose registration” at this time for fear of a massive political backlash. What else could be the reasoning of people like Representative Elizabeth Holtzman who told the New York rally: “We don't need the draft now... (registration) looks terrible and only shows how weak America is...” What better way is there for the bourgeoisie to wreck a movement... than to lead it?

That the U.S. rulers are quite concerned with the threat the anti-draft movement poses to them and are anxious to influence it was revealed in the sort of trash put out by “liberal” *Chicago Tribune* columnist Bob Greene who described himself as “a great admirer of the draft resistance movement during Vietnam.” In a piece titled “This Draft Resistance is Ill Wind

for America,” Greene cried that “these new ones (draft resisters) who are bragging that they will not register are showing signs not of conscience, but acute cowardice... the new protestors seem to have no ethical guidelines; they are a part of the new America in which selfishness has become a religion...” Indeed, the message Greene is spewing forth is that while it may be “patriotic” to oppose the war in Vietnam, this time around it will definitely be treason to oppose what the U.S. rulers have in store. As Greene pointed out: “If resistance to draft registration proves to be widespread, the government has one logical and moral choice... start locking them up.”

Greene wasn't alone here. Bernard Rostker, Director of Selective Service, was seen on TV tubes about the country emphasizing the government's seriousness concerning enforcing the law against those who resist. “This is not Mickey Mouse,” said Bernard. “This is not a game—it's not ‘ha, ha, catch me if you can.’ A person who fails to register is a felon, make no mistake about it. The kid who throws down the gauntlet to the government will be prosecuted.”

The government must certainly be concerned that so many openly thumbed their noses at these threats. And moreover, it is certainly concerned, as evidenced by several anti-draft demonstrations, that controversy and debate is swelling within the anti-draft movement as many are eager to struggle over and understand the nature of the coming war and the revolutionary crisis that may develop before or during it.



Mixed in with the bourgeoisie's bugle call to register for the draft were the grunts and snorts of assorted fools who elbowed their way to the front of the lines—to loyally serve “Old Glory” even though they weren't scheduled to sign up. People like a 40-year-old mother of two, and various John Waynes well into their 30's. Miss Piggy was one of the first at a local Hollywood Post Office. But there's no need to fret—in WW3 the imperialists will enlist all the anxious flagwavers they can scoop up.

“CREATE PUBLIC OPINION... SEIZE POWER!”

Why is the Party's central task “Create Public Opinion... Seize Power!” Why is a newspaper the Party's main weapon today in preparation for the future?

Two key articles reprinted from *Revolution* on the Party's work of raising the revolutionary consciousness of the masses to prepare for the seizure of power. Special attention is paid to the role of agitation—and the crucial importance of the Revolutionary Worker newspaper.

\$0.50 (Include 25¢ postage)

Available from RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486
Merchandise Mart
Chicago, Illinois 60654

New Round of Attacks on RCP in Houston

On Thursday, July 24, four revolutionaries were busted in Houston as eight patrol cars with 15 cops swooped down and snatched them off the street. It was the fourth day of draft registration and they were outside Rockerfeller's, a local jazz and rock club, agitating about the UN 2 (two representatives who had exposed the U.S. and USSR war preparations by dousing their UN representatives with red paint), and about the "Pledge of Internationalism" that appeared on the front page of the *Revolutionary Communist Youth (RCY)*, the national newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB). Travis Morales, one of the Moody Park 3 and a well known and respected revolutionary leader, and another agitator were immediately set upon by the pigs and thrown to the sidewalk. All four were handcuffed and pushed inside two squad cars. After a lengthy conversation with headquarters, the cops decided on the charge of "obstructing a passageway"—a Class A misdemeanor carrying a maximum of six months in jail. Later that same night, four more revolutionaries were busted at the same spot for lesser "trespassing" charges, as police charged around the parking lot outside the club harassing everyone who had bought a copy of the newspaper.

Earlier that week, on Monday, July 21, the opening day of registration for the cannonfodder roll call, a woman

from the RCYB was manhandled outside the Post Office by a "patriotic veteran" complete with army fatigues and dog tags. And it was no coincidence that a photographer from the *Houston Chronicle* was on the scene to capture the scuffle and have it appear in the next day's paper. The police themselves provided further proof that this was a set-up. When the same woman was brought in on the "obstructing" charge that Thursday, the cops cooed, "Oh, you're the one from the RCYB. Did that pig beat you up down there on Monday?"

Since last February, when the battle for revolutionary May Day hit the streets with full force, there have been 81 busts in Houston—most of them for selling the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper. (In case anyone doubts that a newspaper is a dangerous weapon—take note.) And in the wake of May 1, the attacks have escalated, and the charges have gotten heavier. At the bail reduction hearing for the four busted for "obstructing," the prosecutor railed that the bail should be raised on these revolutionaries. "Are you bent on the destruction of this system?" he questioned an RCYB member. "That's going to happen," was the reply. "I don't disagree with that but aren't you trying to make it happen in your lifetime?!" Later, in his chambers, the judge explained why the bail was tripled to \$6,000: "They're against the whole system!"

Prior to the "reduction" hearing, the State had already singled out Travis Morales for special treatment. His bail was jacked up *five times* the usual amount on a Class A misdemeanor, to \$2,000. An "enhancement clause" was also attached to his charge—he faces an additional 30-day minimum sentence if he is found guilty on the "obstructing" charges, because of a 1979 conviction on charges of resisting arrest. The bourgeoisie would love to get Travis behind bars again to finish where they left off during the trials of the Moody Park 3—with the beatings and harassment they applied to try to break him down.

In another recent incident, COINTELPRO-styled operations—like those used against Damian Garcia which ended in his murder by police hit-men in Los Angeles—were used against another revolutionary who, together with Damian, had raised the red flag over the Alamo. Gayle Bayer had just finished a phone conversation in which she stated that she would be leaving her house for 45 minutes. Instead she returned in 20 minutes to find her place broken into. The pig who had broken in was still there, and as she made her way to one of the rooms in the rear of the house, she was hit with a fist in her face as a middle-aged white man in a suit rushed out. Just the day before, her residence had been surveilled by the Criminal Intelligence Division (CID), known in Houston as the "RCP-Squad," and she had been tailed by

them as well. The fact that the cops are paying particular attention to her was further demonstrated when one of the women busted at Rockerfeller's was asked in the police station by an anxious cop, "Aren't you Gayle Bayer?"

It is significant that the bourgeoisie in Houston, and around the country, has been forced to more and more openly try to convict the revolutionary line and programme of the RCP, thus more and more exposing themselves and their system politically for the dictatorship that it is. The judge for this trial is maneuvering for a Houston version of an "RCP Day" in court (see *RW* No. 61, June 27, 1980). The trial of the four on the "obstructing a passageway" charges has been set for August 13. That same date has also been set for a "motion hearing" on another case involving RCP supporters on the same type of charges.

At a radio press conference the Chief of Police D.K. Johnson threatened, "The RCP continues to break the law and we will continue to arrest them" right after the bail reduction hearing. "The RCP is not a threat to the HPD, it is a threat to Houston." As word of this latest outrage spread across the city, it became clearer who felt threatened by the RCP and who thought that was just fine. Bail money was donated for the four, many took stacks of leaflets to hand out to their friends, and sales of the *Revolutionary Worker* and the draft *Programme and Constitution* increased. □

Navajos Jailed for Trespassing on Own Land

On Thursday, July 31, the Consolidation Coal Company again moved its equipment onto the LaMone family land in Burnham, New Mexico, and began blasting, destroying yet another family grave site. The LaMones are one of the Navajo families that have refused to cooperate with the armed robbery of their land sanctioned by Navajo tribal chairman Peter MacDonald, who signed it away to Consolidation. (See *RW* No. 58.) When the company started blasting, eight Navajos went onto the property with wooden 2 x 4's covered with blankets—so that the company's men wouldn't know whether or not they were carrying rifles—and chased these men off their land. About an hour later, tribal police and the FBI blocked off all roads, stopped the media from coming in, and began to move on the takeover. After six hours of negotiations with Consolidation executives, the Indians surrendered; they were immediately beaten by the pigs and charged with "criminal trespass" on land their family has lived on and been buried on

for generations.

The tribal police took them to the jail at Window Rock, Arizona, even though the Shiprock, New Mexico jail is closer, because Window Rock is the headquarters of the sell-out tribal council; the police felt the resisters would not have much support there. However, the very next day, about 100 Navajos from around the reservation held a rally in front of the courthouse at Window Rock, demanding their release. The authorities, obviously fearing a new intensification of the struggle, decided to let them go.

Although a number of the Navajo families in the Burnham area, under intense pressure and intimidation, have reluctantly signed their grazing rights permits over to Consolidation, the LaMones have refused to do so. Still, Consolidation has only blasted on LaMone family land. When asked why this was so, Harrison LaMone told the *RW*, "The company says that we have the best coal that money can buy."

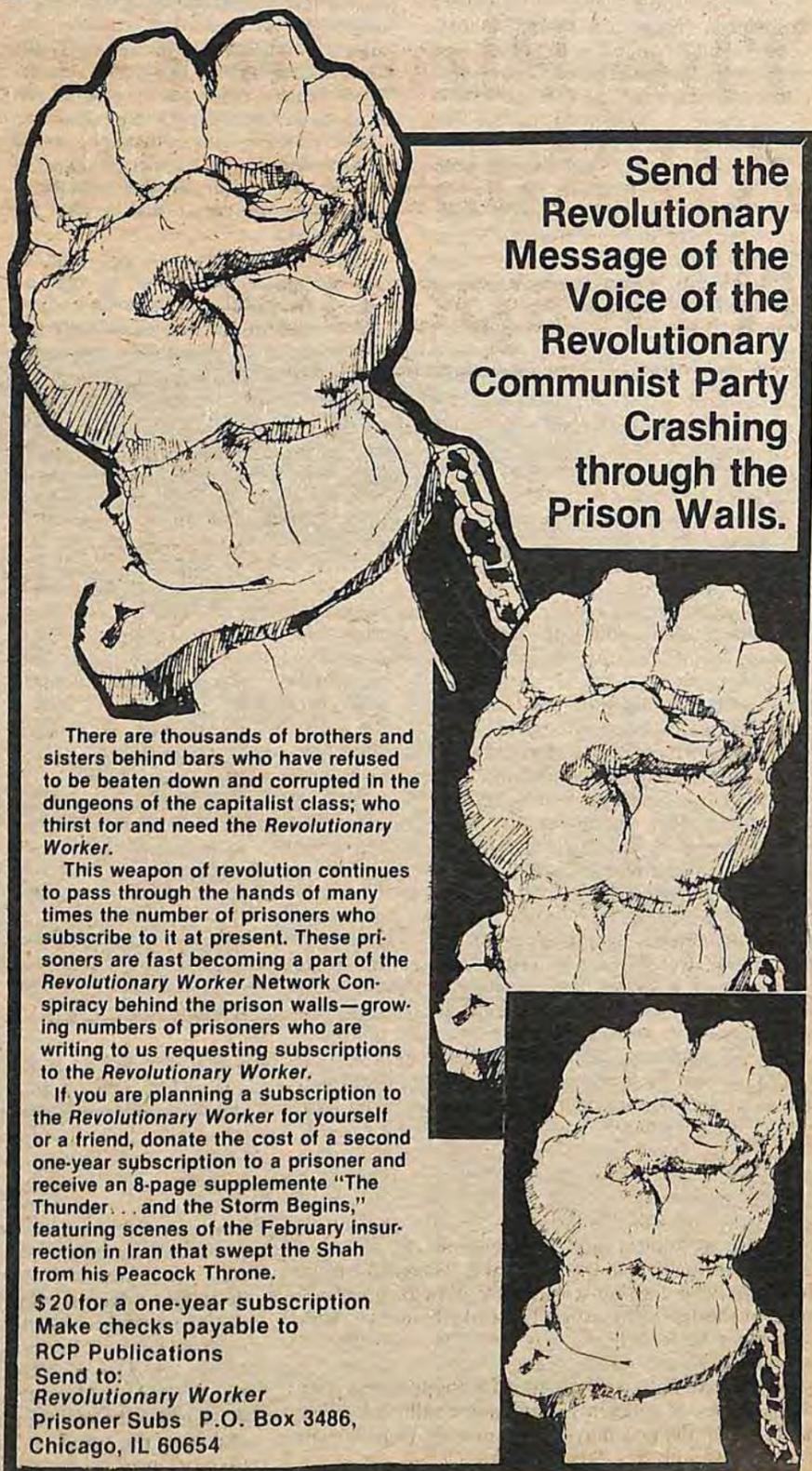
Let the Garlic and the Growers Rot!

"There are eight of us; me, my wife, and six kids from 5 to 14 years old. Altogether, we make \$120 per week. You can't eat much more than potatoes and beans on that." The speaker was standing with 200 other garlic harvesters, all Mexican or Chicano, picketing the second annual garlic festival in Gilroy, California, the "garlic capital of the world." Over 20,000 tourists had come to the medieval-style fair, to celebrate the glories of the "stinking rose," and to consume 346 kegs of beer, 800 pounds of scampi (shrimp sauteed in garlic), 6,000 pepper steaks, etc. The festival is a promotional gimmick put on by the four families who run Gilroy like a feudal fiefdom and reap some \$55 million per year in profits from the workers who plant, harvest and process their crop.

Last year, a family working in the fields could fill a basket with 40 pounds of garlic (boxes of garlic weighing less than that were being sold to festival goers for \$24) and get \$2.10. This year, it was

cut back to \$1.70. 2500 workers walked out on their own and called in the United Farm Workers to represent them. The lords of the valley are having a fit as it becomes more and more exposed that what smells in Gilroy ain't garlic.

Last week, the California State Labor Commissioner got an "anonymous" call to investigate a flagrant violation of California's child labor laws. Was this an investigation of the 8-to-10 hour six day a week work schedule for the kids? Was the Labor Commission checking on the fact that the overseers shake the kids and yell at them when they work too slow? Were the bureaucrats going to crack down on conditions in the garlic capital of the world? Not quite—the Labor Commissioner is investigating the allegation that 5 and 6-year-olds voted in the elections demanding union representation! This "violation" has the children right out on the picket lines, carrying signs and yelling, "Let the damned garlic rot, and the growers with it!" □



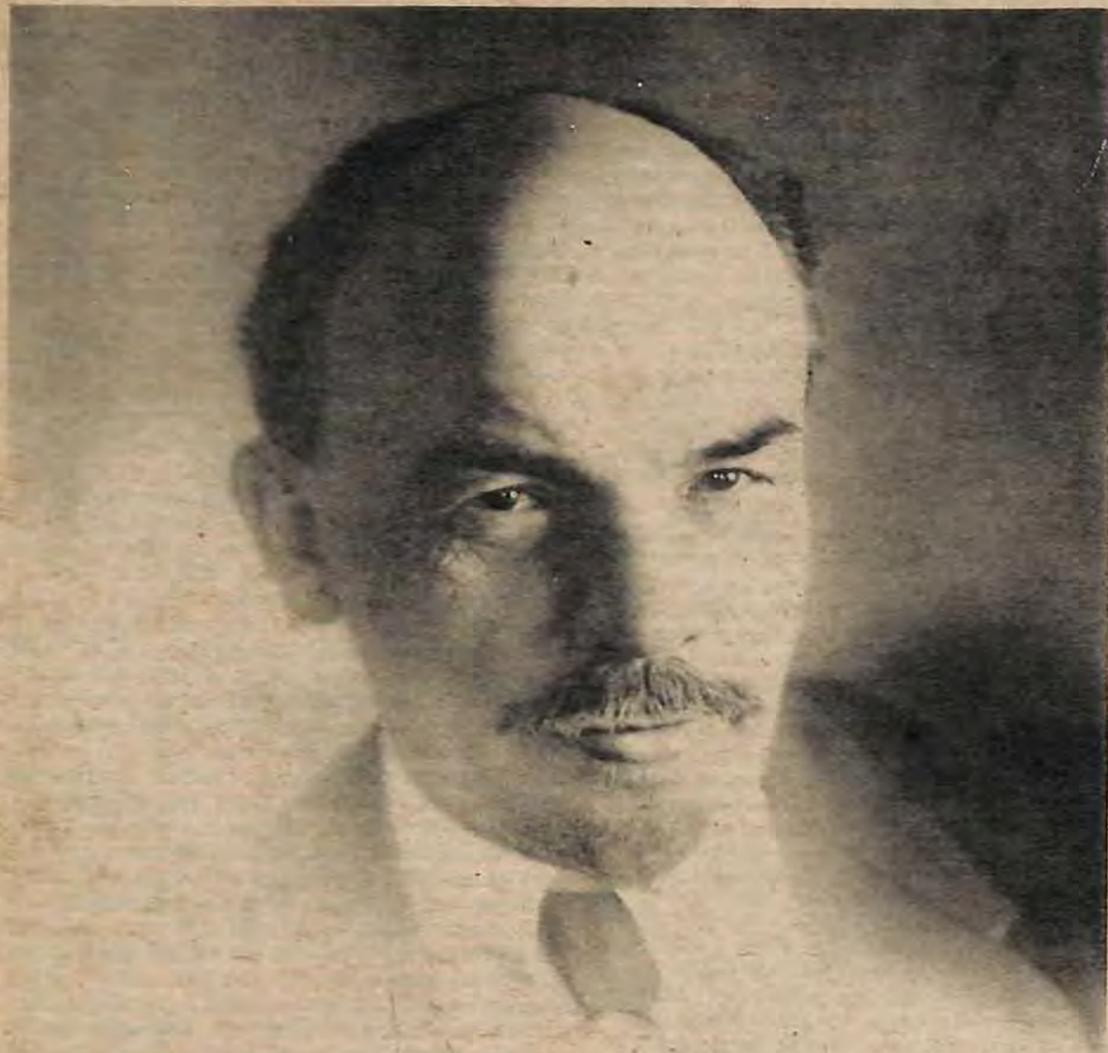
Send the Revolutionary Message of the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party Crashing through the Prison Walls.

There are thousands of brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class; who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker*.

This weapon of revolution continues to pass through the hands of many times the number of prisoners who subscribe to it at present. These prisoners are fast becoming a part of the *Revolutionary Worker* Network Conspiracy behind the prison walls—growing numbers of prisoners who are writing to us requesting subscriptions to the *Revolutionary Worker*.

If you are planning a subscription to the *Revolutionary Worker* for yourself or a friend, donate the cost of a second one-year subscription to a prisoner and receive an 8-page supplement "The Thunder... and the Storm Begins," featuring scenes of the February insurrection in Iran that swept the Shah from his Peacock Throne.

\$20 for a one-year subscription
Make checks payable to
RCP Publications
Send to:
Revolutionary Worker
Prisoner Subs P.O. Box 3486,
Chicago, IL 60654



What Is To Be Done? Chapter 5

The Plan for an All-Russian Political Newspaper

In 1902 V.I. Lenin wrote his book *What Is To Be Done?* The following is the first two sections of Chapter 5—"The 'Plan' for an All-Russian Political Newspaper." The third section will appear in next week's RW.

"The most serious blunder the *Iskra* committed in this connection," writes B. Krichevsky (*Rabocheye Dyelo*, No. 10, p. 30)—accusing us of betraying a tendency to "convert theory into a lifeless doctrine by isolating it from practice"—"was in promoting its 'plan' for a general party organization" (i.e., the article entitled "Where To Begin?"). And Martynov echoes this idea by declaring that "*Iskra's* tendency to belittle the forward march of the drab everyday struggle in comparison with the propaganda of brilliant and complete ideas... was crowned by the plan for the organization of a party which it sets forth in an article in No. 4, entitled 'Where To Begin?' " (*Ibid.*, p. 61.) Lastly, quite recently, L. Nadezhdin joined in the chorus of indignation against this "plan" (the quotation marks were meant to express sarcasm). In his pamphlet we have just received, entitled *The Eve of Revolution* (published by the Revolutionary-Socialist Group *Svoboda*, whose acquaintance we have already made), he declares: "To speak now of an organization linked up with an all-Russian newspaper means propagating armchair ideas and armchair work" (p. 126), that it is a manifestation of "literariness," etc.

That our terrorist turns out to be in agreement with the champions of the "forward march of the drab everyday struggle," is not surprising, since we have traced the roots of this intimacy between them in the chapters on politics and organization. But we must draw attention here to the fact that L. Nadezhdin is the only one who has conscientiously tried to grasp the train of thought in an article he disliked, and has made an attempt to reply to the point, whereas the *Rabocheye Dyelo* has said nothing that is material to the subject, but has only tried to confuse the question by a whole series of unseemly, demagogic sallies. Unpleasant though the task may be, we must first spend some time in cleaning this Augean stable.

A. Who Was Offended by the Article "Where to Begin?"

Let us quote a regular bouquet of the expletives and exclamations that the *Rabocheye Dyelo* hurled at us. "It is not a newspaper that can create a party organization, but just the other way round..." "A newspaper, standing above the party, outside of its control, and independent of it, thanks to its having its own staff of agents..." "By what miracle has the *Iskra* forgotten about the actually existing Social-Democratic organizations of the party to which it belongs?..." "Those who possess firm principles and a corresponding plan are the supreme regulators of the real struggle of the party and dictate to it their plan..." "The plan drives our live and virile organizations into the realm of shadows and desires to call into being a fantastic network of agents..." "If the *Iskra's* plan were carried out, every trace of the Russian Social-Democratic labour party, which is taking shape, would be completely wiped out..." "A propagandist organ becomes an uncontrolled autocratic lawmaker for the entire practical revolutionary struggle..." "How should our party react to the suggestion that it be completely subordinated to an autonomous editorial board?," etc., etc.

As the reader can see from the contents and tone of the above quotations, the *Rabocheye Dyelo* has taken offence. Not for its own sake, but for the sake of the organizations and committees of our Party which it alleges the *Iskra* desires to drive into the realm of shadows and even obliterate their traces. Terrible, isn't it? But the curious thing is this. The article "Where To Begin?" appeared in May 1901. The articles in the *Rabocheye Dyelo* appeared in September 1901. Now we are in the middle of January 1902. During these five months (prior to and after September), not a single committee and not a single organization of the Party protested formally against this monster which desires to drive them into the realm of shadows; and yet scores and hundreds of communications from all parts of Russia have appeared during this period in the *Iskra*, and in numerous local and non-local publications. How could it happen that those who would be driven into the realm of shadows are not aware of it and have not taken offence, though a third party did take offence?

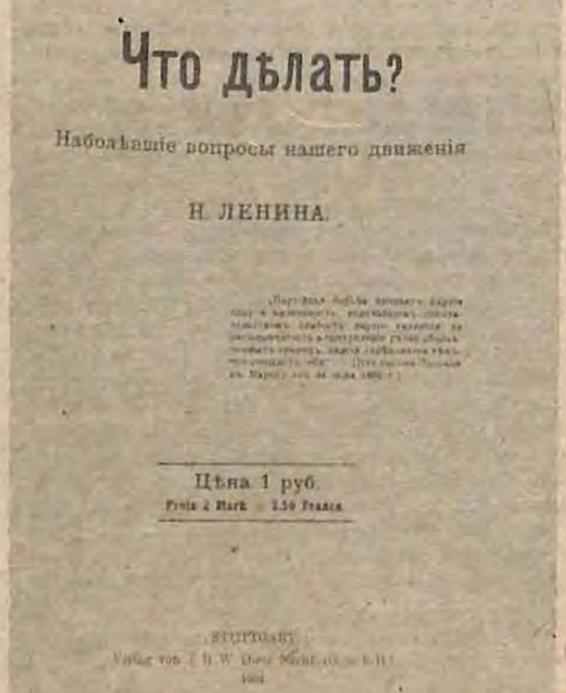
The explanation is that the committees and other organizations are engaged in real work and do not play at "democracy." The committees read the article "Where To Begin?," saw that it was an attempt "to work out a definite plan for an organization which would make it possible to set about building that organization from all sides," and as they knew and saw very well that not one of these "sides" will dream of "setting to work to build it" until it is convinced of its necessity, and of the correctness of the architectural plan, it has naturally never occurred to them to take offence at the boldness of the people who said in the *Iskra*: "In view of the urgency and importance of the question, we make bold to submit to the comrades an outline of a plan which is developed in greater detail in a pamphlet now being prepared for the press." Assuming people were conscientious about the work, would they not understand that if the comrades accepted the plan submitted to them, they would carry it out, not because they are "subordinate" but because they would be convinced of its necessity for our common cause, and that if they did not accept it, then the "outline" (a pretentious word, is it not?) would remain merely an outline? Is it not sheer demagoguery to fight against the outline of a plan, not only by "picking it to pieces" and advising comrades to reject it, but also by inciting people inexperienced in revolutionary activity against the authors of the outline merely on the grounds that they dare to "make laws" and come out as the "supreme regulators," i.e., because they dare to submit an outline of a plan? Can our Party develop and make progress if an attempt to raise local Party workers to broader views, tasks, plans, etc., is objected to, not only on the ground that these views are wrong, but on the grounds that the very "desire" to "raise" is "offensive"? L. Nadezhdin also "picked" our plan "to pieces," but he did not sink to such demagoguery as cannot be explained by naïveté or by primitive political views. Right from the outset, he emphatically rejected the charge that we intended to establish an "inspection over the Party." That is why Nadezhdin's criticism of the plan can and should be answered on its merits, while the *Rabocheye Dyelo* deserves only to be treated with contempt.

But contempt for a writer, who sinks to shouting about "autocracy" and "subordination," does not relieve us of the duty of disentangling the confusion that such people create in the minds of their readers. And here we can clearly demonstrate to the world the nature of catchwords like "broad democracy." We are accused of forgetting the committees, of desiring or attempting to drive them into the realm of shadows, etc. How can we reply to these charges when, owing to considerations of secrecy, we can give the reader almost no facts about our real relationships with the committees? Persons who broadcast slashing accusations calculated to excite the crowd prove to be ahead of us because of their brazenness and their disregard of the duty of a revolutionist carefully to conceal from the eyes of the world the relationships and contacts which he maintains, which he is establishing or trying to establish. Naturally, we absolutely refuse once for all to compete with such people on the field of "democracy." As regards the reader who is not initiated in all Party affairs, the only way in which we can discharge our duty to him is to tell him, not about what is and what is *im Werden* but about a particle of what has taken place and what can be told as something of the past.

The Bund hints that we are "impostors";* the Union Abroad accuses us of attempting to obliterate all traces of the Party, Gentlemen, you will get complete satisfaction when we relate to the public four facts concerning the past.

* *Iskra*, No. 8. The reply of the Central Committee of the General Jewish Union of Russia and Poland to our article on the national question.

Continued on page 12



The first Russian edition of *What Is To Be Done?*

The Plan

Continued from page 11

First fact. ** The members of one of the Leagues of Struggle, who took a direct part in the formation of our Party, and in sending a delegate to the inaugural Party congress, reached agreement with a member of the *Iskra* group regarding the publication of a series of books for workers in order to serve the whole movement. The attempt to publish the series failed, and the pamphlets written for it: *The Tasks of Russian Social-Democrats*, and *The New Factory Act*, by a round-about way, and through the medium of third parties, found their way abroad, and were there published.*

Second fact. Members of the Central Committee of the Bund approached a member of the *Iskra* group with the proposal to organize what the Bund then described as a "literary laboratory." In making the proposal, they stated that unless this was done, the movement would regress very much. The result of these negotiations was the appearance of the pamphlet, *The Cause of Labour in Russia*.***

Third fact. The Central Committee of the Bund, via a provincial town, approaches a member of the *Iskra* with the suggestion that he undertake the editing of the revived *Rabochaya Gazeta* and, of course, received his consent. This offer was later modified. The comrade in question was invited to act as a contributor, in view of a new arrangement regarding the editorial board. To this also consent was, of course, given.† Articles were sent (which we managed to preserve): "Our Program," which was a direct protest against Bernsteinism, against the change of policy in legal literature and in the *Rabochaya Mysl*; "Our Immediate Task" ("The publication of a party organ that shall appear regularly and have close contacts with all the local groups"; the drawbacks of the prevailing "amateurishness"); "Urgent Question" (an examination of the objection that it is necessary first to develop the activities of local groups before undertaking the publication of a central organ; an insistence on the paramount importance of a "revolutionary organization," and on the necessity of "developing organization, discipline, and the technique of secrecy to the highest degree of perfection").‡ The proposal to resume publication of the *Rabochaya Gazeta* was not carried out, and the articles were not published.

Fourth fact. A member of the committee which was organizing the second regular congress of our Party communicated to a member of the *Iskra* group the program of the congress, and proposed that group for the editorship of the revived *Rabochaya Gazeta*. This preliminary step, as it were, was later sanctioned by the committee to which this member belonged, and by the Central Committee of the Bund;§ the *Iskra* group was notified of the place and time of the congress and (uncertain of being able, for definite reasons, to send a delegate), drew up a written report for the congress. In this report, the idea was suggested that the mere election of a central committee would not only not solve the question of the amalgamation at a time when complete dispersion reigns, but may even compromise the grand idea of establishing a party, in the event of an early, swift and thorough police round-up, which was more than likely in view of the prevailing lack of secrecy, and that therefore, a beginning should be made by inviting all committees and all other organizations to support the revived common organ, which will establish real contacts between all the committees and really train a group of leaders for the whole movement; that the committees and the Party could very easily be able to transform this group into a central committee as soon as the group had grown and become strong. The congress, however, never took place owing to a number of police raids and arrests. For reasons of secrecy, the report was destroyed, having been read only by several comrades including the representatives of one committee.

Let the reader now judge for himself the character of the methods employed by the Bund in hinting that we were impostors, or by the *Rabocheye Dyelo*, which accuses us of trying to relegate the committees to the realm of shadows, and to "substitute" for the organization of a party an organization disseminating the ideas advocated by a single newspaper. It was to the committees, on their repeated invitation, that we reported on the necessity for adopting a definite plan of concerted activities. It was precisely for the Party organization that we elaborated this plan, in articles published in the *Rabochaya Gazeta*, and in the report to the Party congress, again on the invitation of those who held such an influential position in the Party that they took the initiative in its (actual) revival. And only after the twice repeated attempts of the Party organization, in conjunction with ourselves, officially to revive the central organ of the Party had failed, did we consider it our bounden duty to publish an unofficial organ, in order that with this third attempt the

** We deliberately refrain from relating these facts in the order in which they occurred.

***The author of this pamphlet requests me to state that like his previous ones, it was sent to the Union on the assumption that its publications were edited by the Emancipation of Labour group (owing to certain circumstances, he could not then—February 1899—know about the change in the editorship). The pamphlet will be republished by the League at an early date.

comrades might have before them the results of experience and not merely conjectural proposals. At present certain results of this experience are there for all to see, and all comrades may now judge as to whether we properly understood our duties, and what should be thought of persons who strive to mislead those who are unacquainted with the immediate past, simply because they are vexed with our having pointed out to some their inconsistency on the "national" question, and to others the inadmissibility of unprincipled waverings.

B. Can A Newspaper Be A Collective Organizer?

The main point of the article "Where To Begin?" is that it discusses precisely this question and gives an affirmative reply to it. As far as we know, the only attempt to examine this question on its merits and to prove that it must be answered in the negative was made by L. Nadezhdin, whose argument we reproduce in full:

"... It greatly pleased us to see the *Iskra* (No. 4) raise the question of the need for an all-Russian newspaper, but we cannot agree that it fits in with the title of the article: 'Where To Begin?' Undoubtedly this is an extremely important matter, but neither a newspaper, nor a whole series of popular leaflets, nor a whole mountain of manifestos, can serve as the basis for a militant organization in revolutionary times. We must set to work to build up strong political organizations in the localities. We lack such organizations; we have been carrying on our work mainly among enlightened workers, while the masses have been engaged almost exclusively in the economic struggle. If strong political organizations are not trained locally, what will be the use of even an excellently organized all-Russian newspaper? It will be a burning bush, burning without being consumed, but firing no one! The *Iskra* thinks that around it, in the work for it people will gather and organize. But they will find it far easier to gather and organize around work that is more concrete! This something more concrete must and should be the extensive organization of local newspapers, the immediate preparation of the workers' forces for demonstrations, constant work by local organizations among the unemployed (regular distribution of pamphlets and leaflets, meetings, appeals to resist the government, etc.). We must begin live political work in the localities, and when the time comes to amalgamate on this real basis, it will not be an artificial, a paper amalgamation; it will not be by means of newspapers that such an amalgamation of local work into an all-Russian cause will be achieved!" (*The Eve of Revolution*, p. 54.)

We have emphasized the passages in this eloquent tirade which most strikingly illustrate the author's incorrect judgment of our plan, and the incorrectness of his point of view in general, which he opposes to that of the *Iskra*. Unless we train strong political organizations in the localities—even an excellently organized all-Russian newspaper will be of no avail. Absolutely true. But the whole point is that there is no other way of training strong political organizations except through the medium of an all-Russian newspaper. The author missed the most important statement the *Iskra* made before it proceeded to set forth its "plan": that it was necessary "to call for the establishment of a revolutionary organization, capable of combining all the forces and of leading the movement not only in name, but in deed, i.e., an organization that will be ready at any moment to support every protest and every outbreak, and to utilize these for the purpose of increasing and strengthening the military forces required for decisive battle." But now after the February and March events, everyone will agree with this in principle, continues the *Iskra*. Yet what we need is not a solution of the problem in principle, but a practical solution of it; we must immediately advance a definite constructive plan in order that everyone may immediately set to work to build from every side. And now we are again being dragged away from the practical solution towards something that in principle is correct, indisputable and great, but is absolutely inadequate and absolutely incomprehensible to the broad masses of workers, namely, to "train strong political organizations"! This is not the point at issue, most worthy author! The point is how to go about the training and how to accomplish it!

It is not true to say that "we have been carrying on our work mainly among enlightened workers, while the masses have been engaged almost exclusively in the economic struggle." Presented in such a form, this thesis reduces itself to the *Svoboda's* usual but fundamentally fallacious proclivity to oppose the enlightened workers to the "mass." In recent years, even the enlightened workers have been "engaged almost exclusively in the economic struggle." That is the first point. On the other hand, the masses will never learn to conduct the political struggle until we help to train leaders for this struggle, both from among the enlightened workers and from among the intellectuals; and such leaders can acquire training solely by systematically appraising all the everyday aspects of our political life, of all attempts at protest and struggle on the part of various classes and on various grounds. Therefore, to talk about "training political organizations" and at the same time to contrast the "paper work" of a political newspaper to "live political work in the localities" is simply ridiculous! Why, the *Iskra* has adapted its "plan" for a newspaper to the "plan" for creating a "militant preparedness" to support the unemployed movement, peasant revolts, discontent among the Zemstvo-ites, "popular indignation against the reckless tsarist bashi-bazouks," etc. Everyone who is at all acquainted with the movement knows perfectly well that the vast majority of local organizations never even dream of these things, that many of the prospects

of "live political work" here indicated have never been realized by a single organization, that the attempt, for example, to call attention to the growth of discontent and protest among the Zemstvo intelligentsia rouses feelings of consternation and perplexity in Nadezhdin ("Good Lord, is this newspaper intended for Zemstvo-ites?"—*The Eve*, p. 129), among the Economists (letter to the *Iskra*, No. 12) and among many practical workers. Under these circumstances, it is possible to "begin" only by inducing people to think about all these things, by inducing them to summarize and generalize all the diverse signs of ferment and active struggle. "Live political work" can be begun in our time, when Social-Democratic tasks are being degraded, exclusively with live political agitation, which is impossible unless we have an all-Russian newspaper, frequently issued and properly distributed.

Those who regard the *Iskra's* "plan" as a manifestation of "literariness" have totally failed to understand the substance of the plan, and imagine that what is suggested as the most suitable means for the present time is the goal. These people have not taken the trouble to study the two comparisons that were drawn to clearly illustrate the plan proposed. The *Iskra* wrote: the publication of an all-Russian political newspaper must be the main line by adhering to which we could unswervingly develop deeper, and expand this organization (i.e., a revolutionary organization always prepared to support every protest and every outbreak). Pray tell me: when bricklayers lay bricks in various parts of an enormous structure the like of which has never been seen before, is it "paper" work to use a line to help them find the correct place in which to put each brick, to indicate to them the ultimate purpose of the work as a whole, enable them to use not only every brick but even every piece of brick which, joining with the bricks placed before and after it, forms a complete and all-embracing line? And are we not now passing through just such a period in our Party life when we have bricks and bricklayers, but lack the guiding line which all could see and follow? Let them shout that in stretching out the line, we want to command. Had we desired to command, gentlemen, we would have written on the title page, not "*Iskra*, No. 1," but "*Rabochaya Gazeta*, No. 3," as we were invited to do by a number of comrades, and as we would have had a perfect right to do after the events described above. But we did not do that. We wished to have our hands free to wage an irreconcilable struggle against all pseudo Social-Democrats; we wanted our line, if properly laid, to be respected because it was correct, and not because it was laid by an official organ.

"The question of uniting local activity in central bodies runs in a vicious circle," L. Nadezhdin lectures us; "unification requires homogeneous elements, and this can be created only by something that unites; but this unifying element may be the product of strong local organizations which at the present time are by no means distinguished for their homogeneity." This truism is as hoary and indisputable as the one that says we must train strong political organizations. And it is equally barren. Every question "runs in a vicious circle" because the whole of political life is an endless chain consisting of an infinite number of links. The whole art of politics lies in finding and gripping as strong as we can the link that is least likely to be torn out of our hands, the one that is most important at the given moment, the one that guarantees the possessor of a link the possession of the whole chain.* If we had a staff of experienced bricklayers, who had learned to work so well together that they could place their bricks exactly where they were required without a guiding line (and, speaking abstractly, this is by no means impossible), then perhaps we might seize upon some other link. But the unfortunate thing is that we have no experienced bricklayers trained to teamwork yet, that bricks are often laid where they are not needed at all, that they are not laid according to the general line, but are so scattered about that the enemy can shatter the structure as if it were made not of bricks but of sand.

Here is the other comparison: "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and collective agitator, but also a collective organizer. In this respect it can be compared to the scaffolding erected around a building in construction; it marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, permitting them to distribute the work and to view the common results achieved by their organized labour."*** Does this sound anything like an attempt of an arm-chair author to exaggerate his role? The scaffolding is not required at all for habitation, it is made of the cheapest material, it is only put up temporarily, and as soon as the shell of the structure is completed, is scrapped for firewood. As for the building up of revolutionary organizations, experience shows that sometimes they may be built without scaffolding—take the 'seventies for example. But at the pre-

Continued on page 15

* Comrade Krichevsky and Comrade Martynov! I call your attention to this outrageous manifestation of "autocracy," "uncontrolled authority," "supreme regulating," etc. Just think of it: a desire to possess the whole chain!! Send in a complaint at once. Here you have a ready-prepared subject for two leading articles for No. 12 of the *Rabocheye Dyelo*!

** Martynov quoting the first sentence in this passage in the *Rabocheye Dyelo* (No. 10, p. 62), left out the second sentence as if desiring to emphasize by that either his unwillingness to discuss the essentials of the question, or his incapability of understanding them.

War At Home

Continued from page 8

Thought, and showed a film about the Panthers' work. I remember standing in the back of the room with tears in my eyes because for the first time revolution seemed like something very real and inevitable, something that we could and would play a part in. I'm not criticizing the film for not having my autobiography in it; what's missing here is what was happening in the development of a whole generation.

It is at this point that the film really starts going bad. In contrast to the lack of so much as a mention of the political leap forward the movement's advanced forces were taking, the interviews and footage concentrate on how great it was that some people were putting their efforts into getting an antiwar resolution to be put to the voters in a city referendum. It really glorifies the fact that some people associated with the student movement were beginning to make it in city politics, although their election neither ended the war nor changed very much else. Two trends were developing in the antiwar movement—a reformist trend and a revolutionary, and by what it chooses to show and interview people about, and by who it chooses to interview, this film takes a definite stand with the first trend.

You get the idea that the antiwar movement was becoming successful because people like Senators Gruening and Proxmire supported it, while in fact the very power of the antiwar movement (and the fact that especially after Tet in 1968 the U.S. was getting creamed) was what was forcing the bourgeoisie to float out all this liberal baloney. We had a lot of struggle about this at the time, especially over presidential candidate McCarthy. Going "clean for Gene" meant giving up being rebels and merging with the mainstream to "make the system work." But many did grasp that whether or not the war ended had nothing to do with who was elected because this country was a bourgeois dictatorship and elections were bullshit, that what was happening was that McCarthy was riding out like a cowboy to rope in and contain the antiwar movement and tame it.

There's a particularly rotten moment in the film when it pauses for a filmclip of Charlene Mitchell, a leading member of the CPUSA and its presidential candidate in 1968. What the hell is she doing in this movie? You can't even use the excuse that she was somehow part of the Madison scene that's supposed to be the subject here, because she never had anything to do with it. She's seen commenting on how in the 1968 elections there's no liberal alternative—by which she means of course that the CP is remedying this by offering that alternative. And this raises another question—why does the film focus so much on Vets for Peace, a group which the CP worked in, and never even mention by far the main vets' antiwar organization, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, which galvanized millions with the revolutionary thrust it put forward? In fact this movie goes so far as to show the VVAW Dewey Canyon III demonstration in Washington, and not even mention who it is.

This isn't just a matter of happening to show one group or the other or of my personal preferences. It's part of a much larger question of how to characterize the antiwar movement. The people who marched with antiwar banners and American flags (which the film shows a lot of) were in a sense the fringe of that movement, trying to bring it backwards, while those who marched with NLF flags and those like the vet who threw his medal at the Capitol and declared, "If I ever have to fight again, it'll be to take these steps"—which the film also shows—represented its forward motion and living soul. There's just enough glimpses of radicalism in this film to let you know it was there, but it's treated as a sideshow. This is reversing how things really were.

Now some people who've seen the film aren't going to agree with what I'm saying here, because it seems to put out some real radical stuff. It interviews this one guy, who seems to play the role



The traffic jam on Chicago's Lakeshore Drive was thick and getting thicker. Heads were craning out of windows trying to see what the hell was creating the jam and how to get around it. "Oh god, it's the Chicago Fest," somebody moaned through the exhaust. "We could be here for hours." I was approaching the Navy Pier site of the annual Chicago Fest (city music festival). Last year the thing had been so obviously set up to attract white suburban youth into the city that many know it simply as "honky fest." Still, I was stunned by the sight of hundreds and hundreds of white youth, some yee-hawing, many sporting cowboy hats à la John Travolta, stampeding across the road. The object of their attention was the night's performance featuring Charlie Daniels and Mickey Gilley.

After last year's scandal, the city had made some publicized efforts to clean up the segregationist image Chicago Fest had earned. They are using a zip code system to record who comes this year. Given Chicago's overall segregation, zip codes help the authorities avoid having to openly race-code people. ("Say, boy," said the cop, "you don't look like a 60629.") The reporter on TV the night before had posed the not-to-hidden racial question, "Is Chicago Fest for them or for them?" By the looks of tonight's crowd, it was clearly for whites.

You know Charlie Daniels—he's the one with the

highly reactionary and musically worthless top 40 tune about "getting together again"—against all those foreigners. It was Charlie's night to do some recruiting. A friend of mine who drove by the area after the concert reported an occasional pick-up truck of suburban youth playing ol' Charlie's song real loud and yelling yee-haws at all the appropriate reactionary moments.

It's not too hard to see what cause Charlie's serving. It seems that the U.S. wants to change around its army for World War 3. The fewer soldiers that answer their lieutenant "Fuck you, motherfucker" and the more that whoop "Yee-hah, Sarge, point me at them Ruskie's" the better. Here were mobs of white-cowboy-hatted youth getting all primed up to go.

It wasn't too hard to sit there in the traffic jam and imagine next year's Chicago Fest. Next time, Navy Pier will likely be living up to its name with troop transport ships pulling right up to pick up a load: "Welcome aboard, kids. Charlie Daniels will be entertaining you on this trip. Of course he'll be getting off in Waukegan, and you'll be going on to Europe, but it'll be fun anyway." And all those cowboy hats made me think of movies yet to come this year: First there'll be "Urban Doughboy", followed closely by "German War Theatre Cowboy". Well, traffic's cleared. Time to move on. □

of the far out radical in this, about how he and his buddy were in an antiwar demo, and when they saw a pig draw his piece and aim at someone they drew their pieces too and were ready to blow him away. Big deal. Sure, it's a long way from being with nothing to fight the pigs with but fingers. But it wasn't just a matter of getting madder, more militant. Like I said, our consciousness was changing (and that went along with big changes in the whole country and in fact the whole world). The viewer is told over and over how frustrating it was to march, march, march and still the war went on...so you get the idea that people turned to heavier and heavier things out of sheer frustration. You certainly don't get the idea that it did any good. In fact, when you get to the end you really don't have any idea why the war finally ended, except that somehow the politicians ended it.

The movie climaxes around the bomb blast that tore up the Army Math Research Center of campus in 1970. You see Karlton Armstrong, a working class kid from Madison, getting his face pushed into the concrete by the pigs at the 1968 Democratic Convention and swearing that that's the last time he's going to be caught in that position—and then two years later he's part of "The New Year's Gang," renting a plane and dropping a bomb on an ammo plant and finally blowing up the most hated building on campus with a trailer full of fertilizer. Some of the

people in this movie smile and laugh with joy when they talk about seeing the Army Math Research Center go—to me, this only means that the movie is offering a little terrorism as a way to make people who are frustrated feel better. Because you are shown (truthfully) that this bombing didn't advance the movement—and in fact you get the idea it killed it in Madison.

Actually the antiwar movement in the whole country went through a lull in the year after the invasion of Cambodia, which had brought the antiwar movement to a peak. What happened in Madison was a part of that process, and not brought about by the Army Math Research Center explosion, although some people did go around saying, as they do in this film, "wow, this shit is getting too heavy." This was a time when the bourgeoisie was really going on the political offensive against the antiwar movement, partly because some sections of the bourgeoisie had come to see the war as an unwinnable disaster and more because the whole bourgeoisie was threatened by it. At the same time, the fact that economically the bourgeoisie still had some real reserves and the working class was not playing a revolutionary role, and the lack of a Marxist-Leninist Party, were all factors that meant that the movement was running up against some pretty heavy objective limitations.

Basically the picture you get here is that the frustration of marching and

marching and nothing happening just busted loose and made people do things that they later regretted. It's sad to see Armstrong say he's sorry he did it because a graduate student had been killed accidentally. Not because the bombing advanced the revolutionary struggle, because it didn't, despite what some people said at that time about terrorism being the only way to change things. More, it's sad because you can see what he's saying is part of what the movie's saying overall, we went too far, we went a little crazy, we have to get back to the mainstream. Towards the end, there's an interview with Armstrong's father, who says that he wished he'd listened to what his son was saying about the war and that if he had he'd have been active in the antiwar movement himself. This made me think about how much things really have changed in this country, and also about what Bob Avakian said about how the workers didn't have to listen to their kids about the war last time, but that this time things were going to be very different because conditions were very different. But the way it comes across in the movie is that reaching this "average fellow" is what it's all about, and that really things should have been geared entirely towards this "average" fellow—and in the context of what's been said that means keeping things more in "acceptable" channels, voting maybe...

Continued on page 16

Democrats

Continued from page 7

parties represented the interests of the masses of people. They were the political instruments of ruling classes trying to exert their hegemony over the whole country.

By the beginning of the 1870s, however, even these class differences in the ruling parties were no longer true. The Civil War marked the triumph of the capitalist class and the breaking of the final vestiges of national power of the slavocracy. And while in the South the old slaveowning class and its allies used the Democratic Party, on the whole and nationally, both the Republican and Democratic parties represented the interests of one class: the capitalists.

This "two party system" has been especially useful to the capitalists in the period of the ascendancy of U.S. imperialism that stretched roughly from after the Civil War up through the mid-1960s—useful in perpetuating the illusion that change and progress benefitting the masses of people have unlimited possibilities under capitalism. Over the years it has enabled them to put up the cynical pretense of "throwing out the rascals" in power and make a show of "cleaning out the government," when necessary, while never in the least altering or relinquishing their control of the state. The two party system is made to order for playing their capitalist politicians off against one another in an amazing variety of ways and attempting to delude people into thinking that there are "alternatives" when in fact the only alternatives they offer are between two representatives of the interests of the capitalist class.

A good example of this was the "alternative" the voters were offered in 1964 between Lyndon Johnson and Barry Goldwater. The U.S. bourgeoisie had determined that it needed to make an all-out effort to maintain its domination of Indochina. Goldwater, the "warmongering reactionary" ran as the hawk and LBJ, the so-called "peaceful dove" ran as the opponent of deeper U.S. military involvement in Vietnam. After the election LBJ did his best to carry out Goldwater's threat to "bomb Vietnam back into the Stone Age."

And it really wouldn't make any difference if there were numerous other bourgeois political parties, as is the case in many of the bourgeois democratic republics of Europe. The real question is for what class does the political party serve as an instrument to achieve its political aims.

Interchangeable Party

The Democratic Party has been useful to the bourgeoisie because it has been able to masquerade as the party of the common man, fighting against the interests of big business and the monopolies. The fact that this is a ruse stands out from even an initial look at the people who have run the Democratic Party and staffed its administrations in the last three decades. Most recently we have Jimmy Carter, who was first spotted as a potential presidential candidate and groomed through exposure to international affairs and introduction into the higher circles of bourgeois policy discussion by the Republican David Rockefeller. Carter, along with Mondale and the majority of the top officials of his administration, was a member of the Rockefeller-sponsored Trilateral Commission, a group whose purpose was to try to develop common policy and programs for the U.S. bloc, especially Western Europe and Japan.

The administrations of Lyndon Johnson and John F. Kennedy were chock full of representatives of the most powerful banks, financial interest groups and corporations in the country. Dean Rusk had been president of the Rockefeller Foundation before Kennedy appointed him Secretary of State. Robert McNamara was formerly president of the Ford Motor Company before taking over as Secretary of Defense. Douglas Dillon, Kennedy's appointee as Secretary of the Treasury, was the president of the Rockefeller-

allied Wall Street investment firm, Dillon Read. The list goes on and on, and what is significant is that these individuals and the corporations and financial groups they come from are virtually interchangeable from administration to administration, whether Democratic or Republican. 80% of the Secretaries of State of the U.S., under Democrats and Republicans alike, going back to the Roosevelt administration, worked for the Rockefeller family in one capacity or another before moving into government. Averill Harriman, a powerful figure in the Democratic Party going back to the Roosevelt years, came from the family of the railroad baron and one of Wall Street's most powerful banking and investment institutions, Brown Brothers Harriman.

Not surprisingly, the bulk of financial support for Democratic Party candidates (as well as Republican) has long come from this same handful of capitalists who are part of what *Fortune* magazine once described as "the hard financial core of capitalism in the free world (sic) which is composed of not more than sixty firms, partnerships and corporations owned or controlled by some 1000 men." Besides the Rockefeller, Morgan, Dupont and other Wall Street groups, this "hard core" includes people like the Kerrs and McGees, of the Oklahoma-based Kerr-McGee oil company, a \$667 million corporation that controls 25% of the country's uranium reserves (the same folks who had Karen Silkwood bumped off to protect their substantial nuclear investment). There are the uppercrust oilmen from such multi-national corporations as Phillips Petroleum and Continental Oil, who lavish their favors regularly on the Democratic Party, who in turn has dutifully presented them with profitable oil-depletion allowances. Then there are other hustlers and profiteers like George Brown, an oil tycoon who helped finance the career of LBJ and whose Brown and Root Construction Co.

reaped its appropriate reward when Johnson awarded them the government contract to build U.S. bases like Tan Son Nut in Vietnam.

Of course don't forget Ford Motor Company, controlled by one of the "bulwark families" of U.S. capitalism, which has contributed more than Robert McNamara to the Democratic Party. Henry Ford II gave \$40,000 to LBJ in 1964 and \$30,000 to Hubert Humphrey in 1968, and joined hands with Leonard Woodcock to endorse Jimmy Carter in 1976. He'd already announced in 1972 that he would like to start living like a Republican again. His remark may have been made somewhat in jest, but it actually underscores the fact that while different sections of the bourgeoisie generally ally themselves with one party, they are by no means wedded to either the Democrats or the Republicans. No significant capitalist group is excluded from a share of power, no matter which party or candidate wins.

There are of course tactical differences between the various capitalists over policies, programs, etc. and they do push for their particular interests through one or the other political party as it suits them. But the significant thing is that both the Democratic and Republican parties are completely vehicles for the interests of the capitalist class.

Democrats' Image

The Democratic Party offers the capitalists something more, however. It has offered a means of political control over the masses of poor and working people, in a way that they have never used the Republican Party. They have been able to exercise this control precisely by promoting the idea that the poor and working people of all nationalities had a voice in the Democratic Party and that they could influence the way the government was run and in whose interests. The roots of this illusion of the Democratic Party as the

"party of the people" go back a long way. It first really began to develop this image during the administration of Andrew Jackson of Tennessee, who challenged the Northern and Eastern business interests in behalf of the Southern and Western landowners in the elections of 1824. Jackson won the presidency by pulling together support from various sections of the population, especially farmers and smaller businessmen who feared the growing capitalist industrial development and the power of the large Eastern business interests that threatened to push smaller commodity and household producers aside and into ruin. The accelerating movement westward of farmers provided Jackson with a considerable base. He was able to group around him a coalition of farmers, slaveowning planters, entrepreneurial businessmen, and even some urban reformist workingmen's groups. Jackson appealed to these various interests with broad calls for "the rule of the majority of the people" in opposition to the handful of wealthy. Of course the slaves had no place in this "majority," which for Jackson and his friends meant that their interests should have a chance to rule—or at least be free to go about their business as they pleased. This kind of populist appeal became a trademark of the Democratic Party.

Immigrants

Jackson also pioneered another well-known Democratic Party practice (Republicans learned quickly)—the spoils system of political patronage. While this practice of rewarding political supporters with government jobs and removing opposition supporters was practiced in some local areas before, Jackson established it on a national level. This became an extremely useful tool for the big city political bosses of the North who used it with great skill as part of their arsenal

Continued on page 16



SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY by Bob Avakian

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

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

44 pages, combined English/Spanish edition
\$.60

RCP Publications, PO Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.

The Plan

Continued from page 12

sent time we cannot imagine that the building we require can be put up without scaffolding.

Nadezhdin disagrees with this, and says: "The *Iskra* thinks that around it, in the work for it people will gather and organize. But they will find it far easier to gather and organize around work that is more concrete!" So! So! "they will find it far easier to gather around work that is more concrete. . . ." There is a Russian proverb which says: "Don't spit into a well, you may want to drink out of it." But there are people who do not object to drinking from a well which has been spat into. What despicable things our magnificent, legal "critics of Marxism" and illegal admirers of the *Rabochaya Mysl* have said in the name of this something more concrete! How restricted our movement is by our own narrowness, lack of initiative and hesitation, which is justified by the traditional argument about finding it "far easier to gather around work that is more concrete"! And Nadezhdin—who regards himself as possessing a particularly keen sense of the "realities of life," who so severely condemns "armchair" authors (with pretensions to being witty) and accuses the *Iskra* of a weakness for seeing Economism everywhere, and who imagines that he stands far above this division between the orthodox and the critics—fails to see that with his arguments he is playing into the hands of the narrowness that arouses his indignation and that he is drinking from a well that has actually been spat into! Yes, the sincerest indignation against narrowness, the most passionate desire to raise those who worship this narrowness from their knees, is insufficient if the indignant one is swept along without sail or rudder, and as "spontaneously" as the revolutionaries of the 'seventies, clutches at such things as "excitatory terror," "agrarian terror," "sounding the tocsin," etc. Glance at this "more concrete" work around which he thinks it will be "far easier" to gather and organize: 1) local newspapers; 2) preparations for demonstrations; 3) work among the unemployed. It will be seen at the very first glance that all these have been seized upon at random in order to be able to say something, for however we may regard them, it would be absurd to see in them anything especially suitable for "gathering and organizing." Why, this very Nadezhdin says a few pages further on: "It is time we simply stated the fact that extremely petty work is being carried on in the localities, the committees are not doing a tenth of what they could do. . . the unifying centres that we have at the present time are a pure fiction, they represent a sort of revolutionary bureaucracy, mutual promotion of each other to the post of general; and so it will continue until strong local organizations grow up." These remarks, though exaggerating the position somewhat, no doubt contain many a bitter truth, but can it be said that Nadezhdin does not see the connection between the petty work

carried on in the localities and the narrow outlook of the Party workers, the narrow scope of their activities, which is inevitable in view of the lack of training of the Party workers confined to their local organizations? Has he, like the author of the article on organization published in the *Svoboda*, forgotten how the transition to a broad local press (from 1898) was accompanied by a very strong intensification of Economism and "amateurishness"? Even if a "broad local press" could be established at all satisfactorily (and we have shown above that it is impossible save in very exceptional cases)—even then the local organs could not "gather and organize" all the revolutionary forces for a general attack upon the autoocracy and for the leadership of a united struggle. Do not forget that we are here discussing only the "gathering," the organizing significance of a newspaper, and we could put to Nadezhdin, who defends scatteredness, the ironical question that he himself has put: "Has someone left us a legacy of 200,000 revolutionary organizers?" Furthermore, "preparations for demonstrations" cannot be opposed to the *Iskra's* plan for the very reason that this plan includes the organization of the widest possible demonstrations as one of its aims; the point under discussion is the choice of the practical means. On this point also Nadezhdin is confused for he has lost sight of the fact that only already "gathered and organized" forces can "prepare for" demonstrations (which hitherto, in the overwhelming majority of cases, have taken place quite spontaneously) and we lack precisely the ability to gather and organize. "Work among the unemployed." Again the same confusion, for this too represents one of the military operations of the mobilized forces and not a plan for mobilizing the forces. The extent to which Nadezhdin here too underestimates the harm caused by our state of scatteredness, by our lack of "200,000 organizers," can be seen from the following: many (including Nadezhdin) have reproached the *Iskra* with the paucity of the news it gives about unemployment and with the casual nature of the correspondence it publishes about the most common affairs of rural life. The reproach is justified, but the *Iskra* is "guilty without sin." We strive "to stretch a line" through the countryside too, but there are almost no bricklayers there, and we are obliged to encourage everyone who informs us even on the most common facts, in the hope that this will increase the number of our contributors in this field and will ultimately train us all to select the really most outstanding facts. But the material on which we can train is so scanty that unless we generalize it for the whole of Russia we shall have very little to train on at all. No doubt one who possesses at least as much capability as an agitator and as much knowledge of the life of the vagrant as apparently Nadezhdin does, could render priceless service to the movement by carrying on agitation among the unemployed—but a person of this description would be simply burying his talents if he failed to inform all comrades in Russia of every step he took in his work, in order that others, who, in the mass, as yet lack the ability to undertake new kinds of work, might learn from his example.

Absolutely everybody now talks about the impor-

tance of unity, about the necessity for "gathering and organizing" but in the majority of cases what is lacking is a definite idea of where to begin and how to bring about this unity. Probably everyone will agree that if we "unite," say, the district circles in a given city, it will be necessary to have for this purpose common institutions, i.e., not merely a common title of "Union" but genuinely common work, exchange of material, experience and forces, distribution of functions not only by districts, but specializing them on a city-wide scale. Everyone will agree that a big secret apparatus will not pay its way (to use a commercial expression) "with the resources" (in material and man power, of course), of a single district, and that this narrow field will not provide sufficient scope for a specialist to develop his talents. But the same thing applies to the unification of a number of cities, because even a whole locality will prove, and has already proved in the history of our Social-Democratic movement, to be far too narrow a field: we have already proved this above in detail with regard to political agitation and organizational work. What we require first and foremost and most imperatively, is to widen the field, establish real contacts between the cities on the basis of regular, common work; for scatteredness weighs down our people who are "stuck in a hole" (to use the expression employed by a correspondent to the *Iskra*), not knowing what is happening in the world, from whom to learn, or how to acquire experience and satisfy their desire to engage in broad activities. And I continue to insist that we can start establishing real contacts only with the aid of a common newspaper, as the only regular, all-Russian enterprise, which will summarize the results of the most diverse forms of activity and thereby stimulate people to march forward untiringly along all the innumerable paths which lead to revolution in the same way as all roads lead to Rome. If it is not in name only that we want unity, we must arrange for every local circle immediately to assign, say, a fourth of its forces to active work for the common cause and the newspaper will immediately convey to them* the general design, dimensions and character of this cause, will give them a precise indication of the most keenly felt defects of all-Russian activity, where agitation is lacking and where contacts are weak, and point out which cogs in the vast general mechanism could be repaired or replaced by better ones. A circle that has not yet commenced to work, but which is only just seeking work, could then start, not like a craftsman in a separate little workshop unaware of the development that has taken place in "industry" before him or of the general level of production methods prevailing in industry, but as a par-

Continued on page 17

* A reservation: that is, if a given circle sympathizes with the policy of that newspaper and considers it useful to become a collaborator, meaning by that, not only literary collaboration, but revolutionary collaboration generally. Note for the "Rabocheye Dyelo": among revolutionists who attach value to the cause and not to playing at democracy, who do not separate "sympathy" from the most active and lively participation, this reservation is taken for granted.

Now Available!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Communique from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

The International Unity of the Proletariat: What It Is and How to Fight for It

**International Workers Day, May 1st 1980
The Welding of a Class-Conscious Force**

Special Photo Section: Scenes from May Day 1980

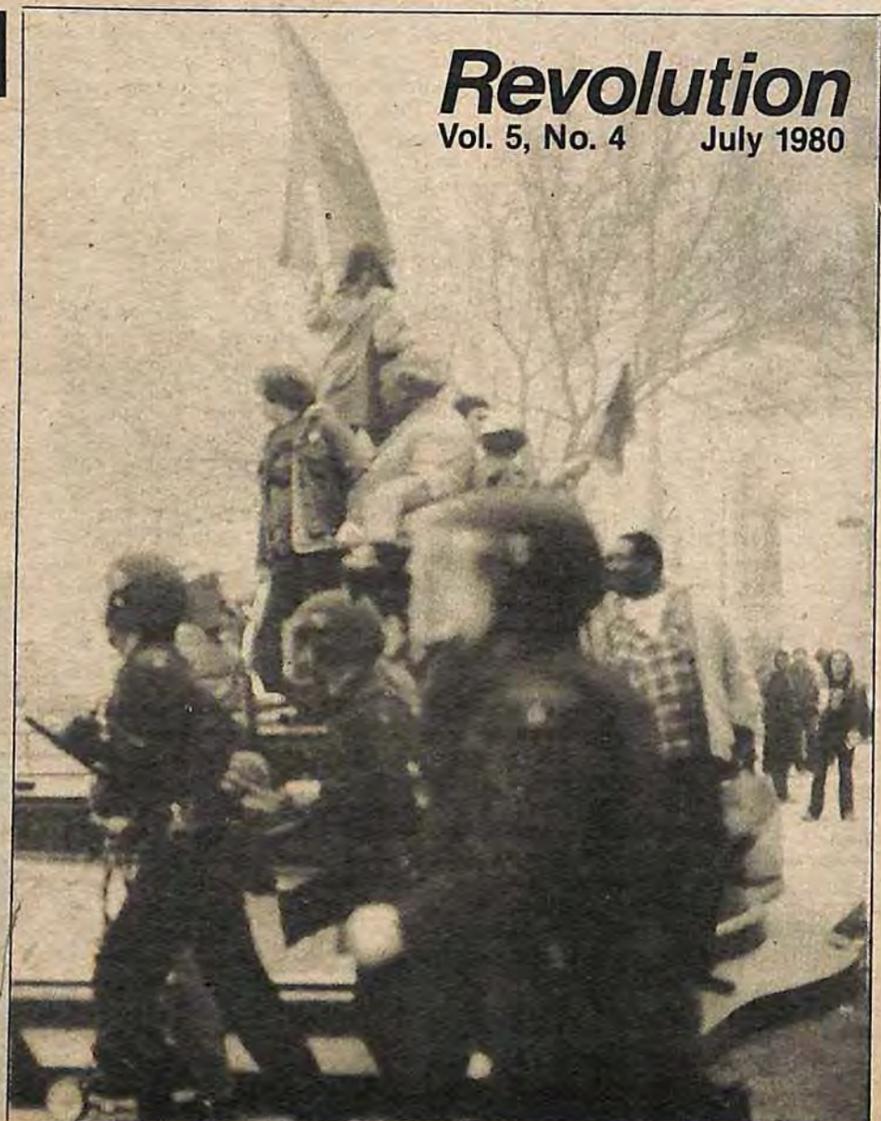
Messages to the RCP, USA from Communists and Revolutionaries Around the World on the Occasion of May Day 1980

Revolution is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP, USA).

Beginning with this issue, *Revolution* will be published in separate English and Spanish editions.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES

U.S.—10 issues, \$10; by first class mail, \$23.
Canada and Mexico—10 issues, \$13; by air mail, \$23.
Other countries—10 issues, \$13; by air mail, \$25.
Libraries and institutions—10 issues, \$18.



Revolution

Vol. 5, No. 4 July 1980

“The War At Home”

Continued from page 13

That's why I think this film is revisionist and more than a little sinister. Constantly, what we fought against in the student movement was the line that we had to slow down, don't go so far, don't take over buildings and fight with police and don't wave those enemy flags and don't talk “rhetoric” about imperialism and revolution and so on. But what happened was not that the “average” person stayed the same and eventually we got through to many of them. What happened was that a powerful movement developed, along with the development of a revolutionary core within it, a movement capable of avoiding defeat at the hands of the bourgeoisie's liberal politicians who jumped out again and again to sabotage it, and as that movement developed everything else changed too—including the “average” person. All this happened not because the students and others tailed behind what seemed acceptable at any given point, but rather exactly because they didn't, at least a good part of them; they insisted in pushing things forward, “con-

fronting people,” as the SDS leader in the film says, not just physically, but confronting all their notions and so on, and in this way causing people to change, to see more clearly the real world and their real interests.

There's a line out there today, which you can see, for instance, in the anti-nuke and anti-draft movements where a lot of people are seeing and discussing this film, that to change things you've got to have a whole lot of people at your demonstrations and everything has to be subordinated to that, that you have to trail behind what's “acceptable” to “the average person,” which translates into what's acceptable for the bourgeoisie or bourgeois forces. If we'd all been guided by that line in the antiwar movement in the sixties, we would never have done the things that really changed things. All the sit-ins, disruptions, fighting with the cops, takeovers and so on were all controversial as hell. Nothing that really built the antiwar movement wasn't. In fact, even while we were doing these things we were arguing like crazy among ourselves. That's how things moved forward—there were advanced people

in the lead and the development of the movement was very tied up with the development of the advanced and the political struggle. What the movie implies is that the advanced were freaked out, running too far ahead of where the masses were at and not really reaching them—which leaves a mystery as to why the masses were won over. If you look for the lesson I'm talking about you'll see evidence for it in the film, but the thrust of the film is in the opposite direction.

This is linked to what's even more dangerous in the film—the idea that somehow, when the majority of people were won over, the system changed, or worked or at least corrected itself somewhat. This comes out in the way the film very deliberately does not deal with the nature of the war, with why the U.S. was fighting it. The war didn't end because people voted against it in referendums or even because of the massive demonstrations. It ended because the U.S. ruling class had no choice—they were beaten on the battlefield and their very ability to rule in the U.S. was shaken. Because the war was the inevitable result of an imperialist system, of monopoly capitalist rule, the U.S. had to fight that war and to continue to try to hold onto and expand its empire without let up since

then. Considering that the imperialist Vietnam war, a war in which the U.S. opposed a national liberation struggle, is about to be followed by an imperialist war between rival superpowers for the redivision of the world, to leave that out is a crime. You'd have to say that the movie is nationalist, not internationalist. And to couple that with glorifying all these politicians past and especially present—where is that supposed to lead those who are searching in this film about the sixties for some lessons to apply to today? I don't think the bourgeoisie is very happy about audiences today digging on the mass confrontations of the 1960s. That's probably why there's been so little commercial distribution of this film. But the politics it puts out, despite all the other things that come through anyway are acceptable to the bourgeoisie and not that different from what the bourgeoisie itself is promoting.

To portray the tremendous growth of the size and influence of the antiwar movement without dealing with these political questions—and while in fact promoting the very reformism and revisionism that the development of that movement depended on successfully fighting—is to promote a dangerous illusion. That's why I say that this movie is not true, and very harmful. □

Democrats

Continued from page 14

for political control of the immigrant workers who crowded into the slums of the industrial cities. It was during the period just before the outbreak of the Civil War that the Democratic Party began to solidify considerable support from the urban masses, especially the Irish and other immigrants. When the party split over the Civil War, most of the northern anti-slavery forces left the Democrats and allied with the anti-slavery Republican Party. In the South, the Democrats provided the leaders for the Confederacy. But by and large the immigrant workers controlled by the big city political machines of the North remained Democrats and became the basis for the re-establishment of the Democratic Party as a powerful political force in the North.

This allegiance that the Democratic Party maintained from the majority of the urban immigrant masses is not surprising, even though the northern workers were overwhelmingly and militantly anti-slavery. For in the North the political bosses and politicians still put the Democratic Party forward as the alternative to the party of the rich factory owners and bankers—the Republican Party.

In addition, in the 1890s and through the first decade of the 20th century, the Democratic Party also captured a lot of the populist movement that developed in opposition to the dominance and power of the monopolies. But it was not until the candidacy of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, in the midst of the depression, that the capitalists saw the opportunity to weld the Democratic Party together into a powerful national political force that brought under its political sway the masses of workers, small farmers and rural populists, Blacks and other minorities, and the remnants of the old landed Southern aristocracy. It was with Roosevelt and the New Deal that the Democratic Party was really appointed the “party of the people,” the political representative of the interests of the common man.

By the time Roosevelt ran for office in 1932, the capitalist system worldwide was in deep trouble. Not only had the capitalist crisis brought production to a virtual halt and thrown millions upon millions of people out of work, hundreds of thousands and millions of workers in the U.S. were taking to the streets, shouting slogans of hatred for the capitalists and their system and demanding relief from the misery that had been brought upon them. Industrial workers all over the country were moving to organize themselves into unions. Bloody street battles between police, the unemployed and striking workers were becoming more common.

The Republican Hoover's promise of “a chicken in every pot and a car in every garage,” his promise that “prosperity was just around the corner” seemed like a sick joke. Tent cities of thousands of homeless, dubbed Hoovervilles, sprung up across the country. If ever the capitalist system seemed to need a savior, now was the time. And there, behold, stands FDR, claiming he would “throw the money-changers out of the temple” and give the masses of people a New Deal that would put them back to work.

Despite the fact that some sections of the capitalists were wary of Roosevelt's solutions to the crisis that confronted them, he received substantial backing from some of the most prominent money-changers of his time: Walter Chrysler Jr. of Chrysler Motors, Joe Kennedy, A.P. Giannini of Bank of America, as well as prominent members of the Hearst, Vanderbilt and Morgan empires.

FDR's Two Tactics

Under Roosevelt the capitalists employed a two-fold tactic for dealing with the anger and the upheaval of the masses. The first was to reaffirm and to reinforce the use of the police power of the state to quell the economic and political struggle of the working class. In 1935 alone, 18,000 workers were dragged from picketlines, arrested and jailed. In the great strikes between 1934-36, like the San Francisco longshore strike and the auto battles against GM in Flint, Michigan, no less than 88 workers were gunned down by the armed might of the capitalist state presided over by FDR, that notorious “friend of the working man.” The second tactic meant making concessions to the struggles of the masses. So industrial unions were recognized, unemployment insurance and social security legislation was passed, while Roosevelt was put forward as the great benefactor and savior of the people. At the same time the capitalists moved swiftly to utilize the concessions they made, particularly the industrial unions, to strengthen their grip on the masses. It is no wonder that to this day FDR is immortalized as the man who “saved capitalism.”

As Bob Avakian pointed out, “The thing Roosevelt did is something that they've always tried to do and that they've tried to build on since then. Ever since then, they try to tell us that the Democratic Party is the party that represents the little man, the common man, even the working man, the poor people, the Black people, and so on and on and on. That's a new thing that they've come up with since Roosevelt. Because certain concessions had to be granted and in fact Roosevelt's program did not solve the basic problems and in 1940 there were still 13 million people out of work, and 13 million people was, in terms of the population

then, equal to about 20 million or more today. But they were able to come up with this image of Roosevelt as a savior and since then they've tried to present the Democratic Party in that light, and we have to learn something from this.” (On Saviors and Horse Races, see RW, July 18, 1980)

The particular role of the Democratic Party since FDR has been to pose as the “left alternative,” “the party of reform,” within the confines of the political rule of the capitalist class. In seeming contradiction to this image of liberal reform and humanitarianism is the fact (which Republicans often like to point out) that since Woodrow Wilson, Democrats have presided over the start of every major war that the U.S. has been involved in—WW1, WW2, Korea, and Vietnam. But far from this indicating some sort of paradox, it points to the fact that the ability of the capitalists to make concessions, to concede some reforms, even temporarily, is directly and dialectically related to their emergence through World Wars 1 and 2 as the top dog imperialist power in the world. Even the concessions that Roosevelt was able to make in the pre-war years of the mid and late 1930s were directly related to the pumping up of the economy through war preparations, as well as the fact that the U.S. imperialists, even in the midst of the depression, still had some reserves. The emergence of the U.S. from World War 2 as the undisputed top dog imperialist country in the world provided the reserves (despite the licking the U.S. got in Korea and Vietnam) for Truman's “Fair Deal,” JFK's “New Frontier” and the pathetic “poverty programs” that were the hallmark of LBJ's “Great Society.”

Thus, the special function of the Democratic Party in the past few decades has been to rope in broader sections of the American people than the Republicans are able to appeal to—Black people, other minorities,

working people, the unemployed—anyone fed up with the “American way of life” and looking for change. The Democrats have been consciously utilized as the ones to grant concessions to these sections of the people, concessions that the capitalists would have had to make regardless of which party was in office. And to the extent that the bourgeoisie has been able to get over portraying the Democrats as the masses' “benefactors,” they have been able to actually increase their political and ideological stranglehold on the masses and maintain their system of bourgeois democracy as (in Lenin's words) “a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited...”

Kennedy—Case in Point

Why is it, for example, that so many people, including many Black people, still have pictures of JFK hanging in their living rooms? It is because the Kennedys provided a certain kind of leadership on behalf of the bourgeoisie in the early '60s, a time when they were being buffeted by the struggle of Black people against national oppression and knew they were going to have to meet some demands. While the Democratic Party had been the party of slavery and had presided ever since (along with the Republicans, of course) over the lynchings of Blacks and their disenfranchisement at the point of a gun, now the capitalists put forward the Democrat JFK as the “champion” of minority rights and “one man, one vote” (refurbishing the role begun by Roosevelt)—or in Lenin's words “to tell the workers nursery tales of the kind that democracy means ‘protecting the minority.’”

So what did JFK and his brothers do? The first thing they did was to try to stop the Freedom Rides. “Tell them to call it off,” ordered JFK. “Stop them.” But when this didn't work, the

Continued on page 17

Pamphlet from the Revolutionary Worker

NOW IN SECOND PRINTING
price: 25¢

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



Democrats

Continued from page 16

JFK administration suddenly unleashed a flotilla of "limousine liberals" to infiltrate the struggle and define the limits of its "left" parameters and channel it within the scope of acceptable civil rights activity. Before long, JFK's advancement men like Allard Lowenstein were sitting down with SNCC and offering financial support if SNCC would stop direct action and concentrate on voter registration drives. Within a few years the Democrats, through such organizations as the Field Foundation, were funneling millions of dollars to civil rights organizations, buying up a stratum of loyal reformist Black leaders like Martin Luther King and making sure they stayed in charge. When it was clear there would be a march on Washington, Robert Kennedy even set up a Justice Department team to coordinate it. JFK's biographer, Arthur Schlesinger revealed the underlying reason for the bourgeoisie's generosity: "We could see the direction of Martin Luther King going away from him to some of these younger people, who have no belief or confidence in the system of government... and thought... that the way to deal with the problem is to start arming young Negroes and sending them into the streets, which I don't think was a very satisfactory solution."

Of course, all this didn't stop JFK from making sure the civil rights struggle didn't go too far. While throwing

out crumbs with the velvet glove, he brought down the mailed fist of bourgeois dictatorship with the other hand. During this same period the KKK was unleashed (tipped off by the FBI to the whereabouts of various civil rights activities) to attack the buses and beat Freedom Riders bloody, all while the federal government looked the other way. Mississippi police brought out tear gas, clubs and firehoses. While brother Bobby wiretapped Martin Luther King's phone to check up on the progress of various Democratic efforts at "reform" (not to mention taping some juicy material for possible blackmail), JFK sent troops into Birmingham to "protect" Blacks who were getting out of hand and, as Malcolm X pointed out, were beginning to "stab the crackers in the back and bust them upside the head."

All this only serves to emphasize another point made by Lenin, that "the ruling party in a bourgeois democracy extends the protection of the minority only to another bourgeois party, while on all serious, profound and fundamental issues the proletariat gets martial law or pogroms, instead of the 'protection of the minority'. The more highly developed a democracy is, the more imminent are pogroms or civil war in connection with any profound political divergence which is dangerous to the bourgeoisie." And right in the middle of convention-time the capitalists have been forced to declare martial law twice—once in Miami and once in Chattanooga—to deal with the "profound political divergence" from bourgeois rule manifested in the growing rebel-

lions of the Black masses, the benevolent "gifts" bestowed on them by the Democratic Party notwithstanding...

Part of Class Dictatorship

Clearly, the Democratic Party is a political party of the U.S. bourgeoisie and of it alone. It is merely an instrument of its class rule in which the working class and oppressed people in this country have absolutely no say or interest whatsoever. Without a doubt the very image of the party representing the interests of the "common man" is a chain enslaving the masses of people under the bourgeoisie's thumb. Anyone, regardless of their intentions, (and there are many—even some who call themselves "Communists") who promotes any notion that the Democratic Party can be reformed or changed in the interest of the masses of people, or that it can be pressured, or that it is somewhat ever so slightly better than the Republican Party, that it is the lesser of two evils, or any other such falsehoods and illusions is simply helping to actually tighten the chains that bind the masses of people to the ruling class. Anyone who demands that the Democratic Party or the Republican Party for that matter, reform or become more open and democratic or that it should listen to the people more is in actual fact, simply demanding the strengthening of the bourgeoisie's democracy which is in actual fact a real dictatorship over the masses of people. For if any of these demands are listened to or taken note of in any way, it will only be so that the party will be able to more effectively fool and confuse the

people and hide the real nature of the capitalist dictatorship. As Lenin wrote about one such person:

"He fails to see the class nature of the state apparatus, of the machinery of state. Under bourgeois democracy the capitalists, by thousands of tricks—which are more artful and effective the more 'pure' democracy is developed—push the masses away... The toiling masses are barred from the participation in bourgeois parliaments (which never decide important questions under bourgeois democracy; they are decided by the stock exchange and the banks) by thousands of obstacles, and the workers know and feel, see and realize perfectly well that the bourgeois parliaments are institutions alien to them, instruments for the oppression of the proletarians by the bourgeoisie, institutions of a hostile class, of the exploiting minority."

Even a superficial look at the reality of political life for the masses of people in this country confirms the truth of the above statement. All the talk of freedom, justice and equality and democratic rights which we are deluged with, especially at election time, just rings so hollow, so completely false to the masses of people who are brutally beaten, arrested and shot for even the slightest protest against the powers that be coming close to its mark. It is this growing sense among the masses of people that must be built upon, deepened, and brought to a conscious understanding about the irreconcilability of the interests of the working class and the bourgeoisie.

The Plan

Continued from page 15

participant in an extensive enterprise that reflects the whole general revolutionary attack on the autocracy. And the more perfect the finish of each cog, the larger the number of detail workers engaged in the common cause, the closer will our network become and the less will be the consternation in the general ranks resulting from inevitable police raids.

Actual contacts would begin to be established by the mere function of distributing a newspaper (that is, if it is a newspaper worthy of the name, i.e., if it is issued regularly, not once a month like a magazine, but four times a month). At the present time, communication between cities on revolutionary business is an extreme rarity, and at all events the exception rather than the rule. If we had a newspaper, however, such communication would become the rule and would secure, not only the distribution of the newspaper, of course, but also (and what is more important) an exchange of experience, of material, of forces and of resources. The scope of organizational work would immediately become many times wider and the success of one locality would serve as a standing encouragement to further perfection and would arouse the desire to utilize the experience already gained by comrades working in other parts of the country. Local work would become far richer and more varied than it is now: political and economic exposures gathered from all over Russia would provide mental food for workers of all trades and in all stages of development, would provide material and occasion for talks and readings on the most diverse subjects, which would, in addition, be suggested by hints in the legal press, by talk among the public and by the "shamefaced" government statements. Every outbreak, every demonstration, would be weighed and discussed in all its aspects in all parts of Russia; it would stimulate a desire to keep up with the rest (we Socialists do not by any means reject all rivalry or all "competition") and consciously to prepare for that which at first appeared spontaneously as it were, a desire to take advantage of the favourable conditions in a given district or at a given moment for modifying the plan of attack, etc. At the same time, this revival of local work would not result in that desperate, "convulsive" exertion of all efforts and the risking of all forces which every single demonstration or the publication of every single issue of a local newspaper now frequently entails. On the one hand the police would find it much more difficult to get at the "roots," once they do not know in what district to seek for them. On the other hand, regular common work would train our people to adjust the force of a given attack to the strength of the given detachment of the army (at the present time no one ever thinks of doing that, because in nine cases out of ten these attacks occur spontaneously), and would "transport" from one place to another, not only the revolutionary forces.

At present these forces in a great many cases are being spent and bled on restricted local work, but under the circumstances we are discussing, there would be

the possibility and occasion would constantly arise for transferring an agitator or organizer who is at all capable from one end of the country to another. Beginning with short journeys on Party business at the Party's expense, people would become accustomed to being maintained entirely by the Party, would become professional revolutionaries and would train themselves to be real political leaders.

And if indeed we succeeded in reaching a point when all, or at least a considerable majority, of the local committees, local groups and circles actively took up work for the common cause, we could, in the not distant future, establish a weekly newspaper that would be regularly distributed in tens of thousands of copies over the whole of Russia. This newspaper would become a part of an enormous pair of smith's bellows that would fan every spark of class struggle and popular indignation into a general conflagration. Around what is in itself still a very innocent and very small, but a regular and common effort, in the full sense of the word, a regular army of tried warriors would systematically gather and receive their training. On the ladders and scaffolding of this general organizational structure there would soon develop and come to the fore Social-Democratic Zhelyabovs from among our revolutionaries and Russian Bebels from among our workers who would take their place at the head of the mobilized army and rouse the whole people to settle accounts with the shame and the curse of Russia.

That is what we should dream of.

"We should dream!" I wrote these words and became alarmed. I imagined myself sitting at a "unity congress" and opposite me were the editors and contributors of the *Rabocheye Dyelo*. Comrade Martynov rises and, turning to me, says sternly: "Permit me to ask you, has an autonomous editorial board the right to dream without first soliciting the opinion of the Party committees?" He is followed by Comrade Krichevsky who (philosophically deepening Comrade Martynov who had long ago rendered Comrade Plekhanov more profound) continues even more sternly: "I go further. I ask, has a Marxist any right at all to dream, knowing that according to Marx mankind always sets itself such tasks as it can solve and that tactics is a process of growth of Party tasks, which grow together with the Party?"

The very thought of these stern questions sends a cold shiver down my spine and makes me wish for nothing but a place to hide. I shall try to hide behind the back of Pisarev.

"There are rifts and rifts," wrote Pisarev concerning the rift between dreams and reality. "My dream may run ahead of the natural march of events or may fly off at a tangent in a direction in which no natural march of events will ever proceed. In the first case my dream will not cause any harm; it may even support and augment the energy of the workingmen... There is nothing in such dreams that would distort or paralyze labour power." On the contrary, if man were completely deprived of the ability to dream in this way, if he could not from time to time run ahead and mentally conceive, in an entire and completed picture, the product to which his hands are only just beginning to lend shape, then I cannot at all imagine what stimulus there

would be to induce man to undertake and complete extensive and strenuous work in the sphere of art, science and practical endeavour... The rift between dreams and reality causes no harm if only the person dreaming believes seriously in his dream, if he attentively observes life, compares his observations with his castles in the air and if, generally speaking, he works conscientiously for the achievement of his fantasies. If there is some connection between dreams and life then all is well."

Of this kind of dreaming there is unfortunately too little in our movement. And the people most responsible for this are those who boast of their sober views, their "closeness" to the "concrete," the representatives of legal criticism and of illegal tail-ism.

Footnotes

1. V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 5, pp. 1-12.
2. Augean stable means a place marked by a staggering accumulation of corruption and filth. According to a Greek legend the stable of Augeas was left uncleaned for 30 years until Hercules cleaned it in one day.
3. *im Werden* (German)—coming into existence.
4. This footnote was inserted by Lenin for the sake of secrecy. The facts are enumerated here in the order in which they actually took place.
5. V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 2, pp. 299-326 and 243-91.
6. Reference is to the negotiations of the St. Petersburg League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class with Lenin, who in the second half of 1897 wrote the two pamphlets mentioned in the text.
7. The League—reference is to the League of Russian Revolutionary Social-Democrats Abroad, founded in October 1901 on Lenin's initiative. Affiliated to the League were the *Iskra-Zarya* organization abroad and the *Sotsial-Demokrat* organization (which included the Emancipation of Labour group). The League was the representative of the *Iskra* abroad. It published several issues of its *Bulletin* and a number of pamphlets, including one by V. I. Lenin, *To the Village Poor*. The Second Congress of the R.S.D.L.P. endorsed the League as the sole party organization abroad with the status of a Party committee. Following the Second Congress, the Mensheviks entrenched themselves in the League and from this position waged a struggle against Lenin and the Bolsheviks.
8. Reference is to the negotiations between the Central Committee of the Bund and V. I. Lenin.
9. V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, 4th Russ. ed., Vol. 4, pp. 190-94, 195-200 and 201-06.
10. In relating the "fourth fact," Lenin has in view the attempt of the Union of Russian Social-Democrats Abroad and the Bund to convene the Second Congress of the Party in the spring of 1900. The "Member of the Committee" mentioned by Lenin is I. Kh. Lalayants (member of the Yekaterinoslav Social-Democratic Committee), who came to Moscow in February 1900 for talks with V. I. Lenin.
11. Lenin is quoting from D. I. Pisarev's article "Errors of Immature Thought." (Pisarev, *Selected Works in Two Volumes*, Russ. ed., 1935, Vol. 2, pp. 124-25.)

Elections A Superpower Battlefield

The U.S. Destabiliz

An old bus rambled down an unpaved, backwoods road headed into the village with a load of passengers returning from an area-wide People's National Party rally. Despite the heat, excited discussion and argument filled the air. Manley, Seaga, Cuba, the U.S., the International Monetary Fund, revolution—politics was the issue of the day. As the bus stopped before entering an intersection, four gunmen emerged from the bushes and began firing. Some of the passengers fired back. When it was all over, two of the passengers and one of the gunmen were dead. An American-made M-16 was found next to the dead gunman.

Clear across the island, at about the same time, Jamaican police drove through the Kingston slums: block after block of tin shacks which sat in the shadow of skyscrapers belonging to Bank of America, United Brands, Alcoa and Reynolds Aluminum. The police jeep came to a stop in the middle of the block. Youth off the sidewalk—were grabbed for questioning in a robbery case. Suddenly, hundreds of people gathered around. One rock bounced off the jeep—a hail of rocks and bottles followed. The youth were freed, one cop knocked unconscious, and the other badly bruised. As the police jeep sped off and the crowd disappeared, a slogan painted in 12-inch letters across two of the tin-shacks became visible: "THE POOR CAN'T TAKE NO MORE!"

Less than a mile away the U.S. ambassador was holding a party to welcome new additions to the CIA station. Newly arrived CIA agents mingled with members of the Jamaican government, the Jamaican Manufacturers Association, the Jamaican Chamber of Commerce and the Jamaican Freedom League. High ranking officers from a Jamaican Defense Force were also present.

Meanwhile, not too far away, the Cuban ambassador, a high-ranking diplomat recently sent from Havana, was reading his weekly report on the current situation in Jamaica.

* * *

This composite is based in fact and in many ways is a very apt description of what's going on in the "island paradise" of Jamaica today. In a couple of months the Jamaican elections will be held. The "process of enumeration," the assessment of the number of eligible voters, is one of the first steps in the election process and has already begun. And this time around, the elections are at the center of one of the most volatile periods in Jamaican history.

Almost daily, new outbreaks of violence and upheaval are reported. In the last 7 months at least 120 people have been killed in incidents directly related to the upcoming elections. Strikes and demonstrations are frequent. Of course, anyone familiar with Jamaican politics will be quick to point out that these types of incidents have always accompanied Jamaican elections. There's always been gunfighting gangs, representing each of the Jamaican political parties, warring with each other at election time and so on.

But this time it is different. If it can be said that political developments around the world are increasingly taking place within the daily sharpening imperialist rivalry between the United States and the equally imperialist Soviet Union—and at this point one must be extremely blind or extremely prejudiced not to see this—then the Caribbean in



general and Jamaica in particular can be viewed as a textbook case. The Jamaican elections have become a U.S.-Soviet battlefield: but each side has more to lose—and win—than votes.

Squaring off in the Jamaican elections are Edward Seaga, popularly known among the Jamaican people as Edward CIAga, the U.S.-backed leader of the Jamaican Labor Party (JLP) and Michael Manley, current prime minister of Jamaica and leader of the People's National Party (PNP). Seaga is a cousin of the President of the First National Bank of Chicago and a frequent visitor to the U.S. State Department. He is also a close personal friend of Ray Klein (the head of the Georgetown-based Center for Strategic and International Studies and Ronald Reagan's choice for director of the CIA). A vociferous proponent of U.S. imperialism, Seaga advocates the "Puerto Rican model" of development for Jamaica. Michael Manley, a self-declared "democratic socialist," was elected as prime minister in 1972 and re-elected in 1976 on the basis of advocating "economic independence and national sovereignty" for Jamaica. He promised widespread reforms to better the conditions of grinding poverty faced by the Jamaican people. Partly due to the pragmatic vacillation of his national capitalist class base, and partly due to the influence of pro-Cuba and pro-Soviet forces in the PNP (as well as the Workers Party of Jamaica which has given him "critical support" in the past), Manley has increasingly turned toward Cuba and the Soviets.

For the U.S. the prospect of Manley and "friends" winning the upcoming

elections, and thereby deepening Soviet influence over Jamaica, is indeed frightening. The U.S. has typically gone beyond backing Seaga as a candidate and has embarked on a program stinking of the infamous CIA destabilization campaign which laid the groundwork for the 1973 coup that overthrew Salvador Allende in Chile replacing him with a pro-U.S. military junta. The *Daily Gleaner*, recently transformed from a conservative newspaper to a sensationalistic tabloid, now has as its purpose whipping up public opinion over the "communist threat" and discrediting Manley with constant shrieks of "anarchy and chaos rules." The *Daily Gleaner* has also taken to frequently calling on the army to do its duty and restore order to Jamaica. The transformation of the *Daily Gleaner* bears a marked resemblance to the transformation of the Chilean newspaper *El Mercurio* during the Allende years. In addition to this, Oliver Clark, the Chairman and Managing Editor of the *Gleaner*, has recently been made a member of the Executive Board of the Inter-American Press Agency, a notorious CIA-connected group in Latin America.

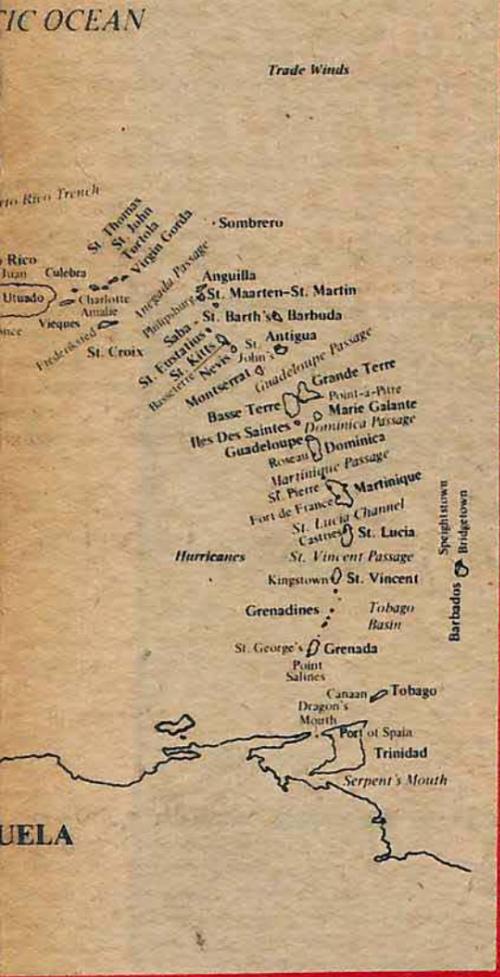
Also in the last few months the occurrence of violent actions, including shoot-outs with U.S. produced weapons, have increased tremendously. In May of this year, the Evertide Nursing Home was burnt to the ground killing 144 old women. This building was in relatively good shape, but was leveled in less than 20 minutes. Evidence of a diary device unavailable in Jamaica was found and the whole thing bears the unmistakable odor of the CIA, and/or

friends. The incident fits well into the general pattern of destabilization and resembles the infamous 1978 burning of a theater in Abadan, Iran, by the Shah's forces—an incident blamed on the Left. Seaga, who was out of the country at the time as he usually is on the occasion of such major events, blamed the fire on Manley—but there is little question in the minds of most Jamaicans concerning the true identity of the murderous arsonist.

The notion of the U.S. plotting here is given strength by recent reports from the *Covert Action Information Bulletin*. The CIA station in Jamaica has grown from nine to fifteen agents, a substantial increase for a country this size. Many of the agents are newly arrived and are experienced in sabotage and have come from other assignments which involved the training of reactionary paramilitary groups. The new Deputy Chief of Station, for example, was previously the liaison between the CIA and the Ton Ton Macouts—the notorious secret police force of Duvalier in Haiti. There are also indications that more CIA agents are on their way to Jamaica.

Added to all this is the recent uncovering of an almost ludicrous plot to kidnap Manley and the army chief of staff, take over army headquarters and the radio station and force Manley to publicly announce his resignation. Although a famous Jamaican fascist and 29 military members, including three officers, were involved in attempting a coup, there is evidence that this coup was never really designed to succeed but instead was only preparation for the real thing, both in terms of

ization of Jamaica



operated in Chile with Allende. However, there is one important difference between the Soviet maneuvers in Chile and those in Jamaica today—the development of “armed resistance.” This is evidenced in Manley’s direct declaration that he will “wage a war” to prevent a coup and his development of an “armed home guard” to protect the government, not to mention the good possibility of Cuban military assistance if “asked for.”

As the U.S. plots to overthrow Manley, and as the Soviet Union continues to maneuver utilizing especially its “ally” only miles north of Jamaica, the situation for the masses of people is marked by increased suffering, increased anger and increased struggle. “Land invasions”—squatting on land belonging to big landlords and aluminum companies—have become common as thousands of landless peasants see the promises of land reform fall through. Strikes are an almost daily occurrence that affect every type of industry, from airport baggage handlers to aluminum workers to sugar crop workers. A massive communication workers strike crippled Jamaica’s communications system earlier this year. Violent actions have erupted in the ghettos of Kingston and other Jamaican cities. January 1979 saw barricaded streets and gun-fights as the people responded to a gasoline price hike. There have been demonstrations against police terror and over the last few months the Jamaican press has reported police stations and other government buildings being trashed and burnt down in many different cities. Jamaican youth are turning by the thousands to radical politics and radical religions, like the Rastafarians. A number of American journalists have commented that it looks as though all Jamaican youth “are either Marxists or Rastafarians.” The Rastafarians in particular have a very strong base in some of the poorest areas in Jamaica. This stems from the Rastafarians’ rejection of colonialism and their calls for the downfall of “Babylon.” While it is true that Manley still has support from a sizeable section of Jamaicans, at this point neither he nor Seaga, not to mention the two superpowers, relish the idea of a mass uprising flaring out of their control. This has even led to a joint PNP/JLP communique calling for calm and stability as well as a special high-level meeting of the Jamaican National Security Council—including the head of the army and the police—which promised to do

everything necessary to maintain order.

“Democratic Socialism” in Jamaica

The current situation in Jamaica in a large part stems from the history of its development since World War 2 and in particular developments over the last eight years. Jamaica since the end of World War 2 has been firmly under the thumb of U.S. imperialism, especially since the Declaration of “formal independence” from Britain in 1962. Economic and political domination has been maintained through a series of neo-colonial governments very tightly tied to the U.S. Just about every industry was U.S. controlled, including sugar, tourism, and most importantly for the U.S., the bauxite industry. (Jamaica accounts for 42% of U.S. bauxite imports—the largest single U.S. “supplier.” Bauxite is the raw material from which aluminum is extracted and is obviously critical for the U.S., in particular for war preparations. Between 50% and 80% of the weight of aircraft and missiles consists of aluminum. Further, the proximity of Jamaica to the U.S. is important here. It reduces the chances of U.S.-bound ships being sunk.)

After 1962, two main political parties dominated the Jamaican political scene—the Jamaican Labor Party and the People’s National Party. Both of these parties emerged from the mass rebellions of 1938. From 1962 till 1972 there was no real difference between the two parties, each based themselves on the interests and the needs of the U.S. imperialists and the Jamaican capitalists and landlords.

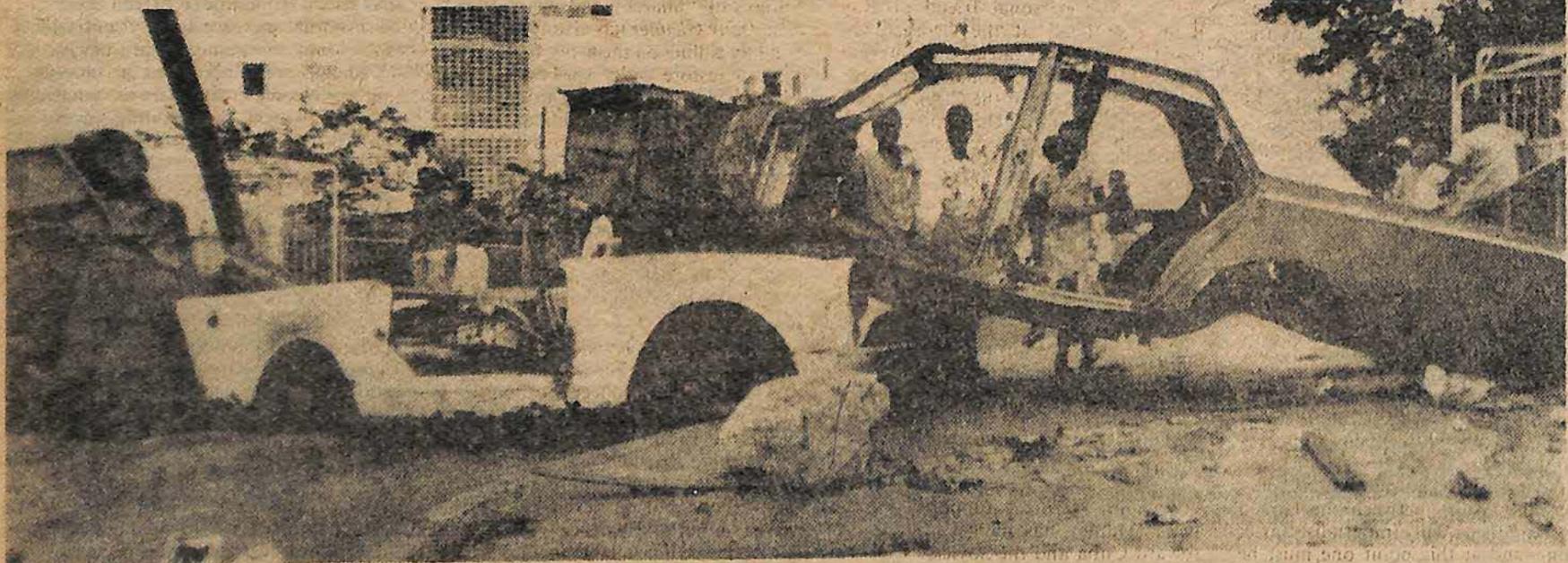
However, throughout the ‘60s anger and militancy grew among the masses of Jamaican people, a sentiment fueled by their oppressive conditions and inspired by the raging struggle of oppressed nationalities in the U.S. and the storms of national liberation sweeping the world. In response to this, the People’s National Party and its new leader, Michael Manley, began to change. In the 1972 election, Manley, a former trade union leader and son of one of Jamaica’s first prime ministers, brought many of the new Black power leaders into his campaign, rhetorically adopting the demands of the movement and of the Rastafarian religion. He launched a campaign that promised widescale reforms and a stand of militancy against the aluminum companies and other imperialists active in Jamaica. Campaigning under the slogans “Better Must Come” and “It’s Time for a Government of Love,”

Manley and the PNP were swept into office.

At the beginning of his term Manley declared that “Jamaica would be a land of social justice.” The social unrest which had engulfed the island during the 1960s dictated that he do more than just declare it. In 1972 Jamaica had an incredibly high official unemployment rate; only half the labor force worked steadily throughout the year. The amount and cost of food imports were skyrocketing even though Jamaica has some of the most fertile soil in the world. More than 100,000 acres of farmland was not in use, almost 40% of all the arable farmland was owned by only 0.2 percent of all Jamaican farmers and nearly 200,000 acres of farmland was owned by the bauxite companies. The over 20 years of “industrialization by invitation” had resulted in Jamaica being totally dependent on foreign capital—mainly U.S.—for investments and loans. The total U.S. involvement at that time stood at \$1 billion and more than \$700 million of that invested in bauxite. Manley promised a reversal and was elected on a program of policies that would benefit the Jamaican people at the expense of foreign interests. In his first couple of years in office Manley developed a mild program of reform in education, housing, health, etc. The government also began to act on agricultural reform, developing land-lease programs and sugar worker cooperatives. Of course, none of this was intended to fundamentally alter the class relations in Jamaica. It was more or less typical of the national capitalist programs in other countries at the time. Manley declared that Jamaica “was part of the third world.” In 1972 Jamaica began to establish ties with Cuba and in 1973 Manley accompanied Castro to the 1973 Non-aligned Countries Summit Conference in Algiers.

In 1974, Manley developed a plan to reorganize the bauxite industry in Jamaica—he levied a tax against the aluminum companies that would be based on the price of finished aluminum. In his first year, this tax increased Jamaica’s revenue from bauxite by more than six times. For more than 20 years Jamaica had been the second largest producer of bauxite in the world but while more than \$252.2 million worth of bauxite was being exported from Jamaica annually less than \$40 million was being taken in by Jamaica as revenue. By the end of 1974 Manley

Continued on page 20



Jamaica: Street barricades, erected during gun battles with CIA-backed provocateurs.

U.S. Backs Off

Continued from page 5

gration violations. From the captives—silence. And the hunger strike continued, sending 18 men to the prison hospital where they were force-fed by the guards.

Meanwhile, on August 4, outside the gates of the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, 250,000 people demonstrated to protest the brutal treatment and torture by the U.S. police. That same day, and in the midst of these vicious attacks on Iranians in the U.S., Pope J.P. II sent a letter to Khomeini asking for his assurances that "Catholics in Iran can live in peace and that Christian clergy are properly treated in carrying out their mission..." Khomeini, through the Greek Catholic Archbishop who delivered the Pope's letter, sent back a stinging and accurate reply nailing "Mr. Pope" as a puppet for Western imperialism. "Does the Pope realize that Iran has suffered from the domination imposed on us by the British, Americans and the Soviets? Do you know what America and the American police are doing right now to our students? Do you know that our youngsters are being kept unconscious under lock and key with broken ribs? Do you ever listen to the cry of the oppressed, or do you only heed the shouting of the oppressors?"

Outside the U.S. Embassy in London, another demonstration took place coinciding with the ones in Tehran. There, the cops attacked the crowd and arrested 70 people. Right now, they too are engaged in a hunger strike. Another hunger strike was begun by a group of protesting Iranian students, right in front of the White House, where they agitated to tourists and passersby about the past and present crimes of the U.S. Repeated calls have been made for reactionaries to attack the Iranians. As Iranian students were chained and beaten in New York, the August 1 issue of the *Washington Post* displayed a front page article calling all patriots to "take in the (Washington) Monument, do the White House tour, and then stop to yell at the Iranians who have been holding America hostage." The article continued with favorable accounts of how some jerks have come down to jeer, insult and throw eggs at the Iranians. The *Post* suggested urinating in their drinking water as a patriotic gesture. D.C. tour buses have made it a stop to let people off to jeer and act the fool. One group of college frat-rats taunted the fasting Iranians by having a picnic on the sidewalk nearby.

But despite the *Washington Post's* omnipotence, the crowds that have gathered have not been monolithic mobs of rabid flagwavers as the newspaper's "objective" reporting would have the masses of people believe. Many were there because they came looking for answers from the Iranians to their questions about what was the U.S. really doing in Iran. Others were there to express support for the Iranian people against the U.S. ruling class. This was evidenced when contingents organized by the RCP went to join in solidarity with the Iranians at the White House gates and were met not by crowds of hostile reactionaries but by charging, club-swinging Park Police and Secret Service agents who were alarmed at the prospect of support for the Iranian revolution reaching the ears of the many who had gathered there. Each time the RCP supporters were dispersed, people would seek them out and say that they too had come to support the Iranians.

With this kind of response to their chauvinist tunes, in other countries as well as among their own subjects, and no doubt motivated by the contradictory situation within the Iranian government, the bourgeoisie backed off from holding the 191 Iranians prisoner. On August 5, the INS released the men and women after 9 days of captivity. The fact that they released them without following through on their investigations into their visas and their school records was another sign of the hasty retreat the capitalists beat in the face of their lame attempts to fan the flames of reaction. All the Iranians were taken to the Moslem mosque in Queens, N.Y. where they awaited transportation back to Washington, D.C. At this point, a second assault was launched in defense of ol' glory—this time a bit more successfully. The evening newscast, not surprisingly, gave out the complete address of the mosque in another attempt to incite people against the Iranians. Shortly afterwards, a number of youth began to gather outside with a few American flags. By the time an *RW* correspondent got there that night the crowd numbered 50 people, exclusively white youth between the ages of 12 and 20. They shouted insults and taunted the Iranians. An occasional bottle was hurled at the building. The Greyhound bus drivers that had brought the men down from Otisville took a backward position and refused to transport the Iranians any further,

forcing most of the students to leave in small groups in private vehicles the first night—leaving 90 stranded there until the second day.

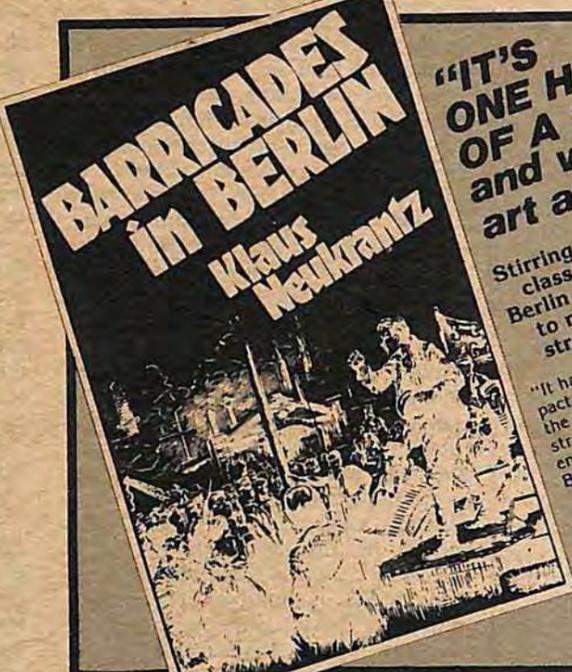
The next day, sensing that their star-spangled ravings weren't being acted upon, the bourgeoisie uncorked its press for a barrage of "public service announcements" continuing to list the address of the mosque and newscasts that played to the tune of, "who knows what'll happen there next." Far outstripping the *Washington Post's* efforts of the week prior, *New York Post* headlines screamed, "Get 'Em Out Of Here!"—paraphrasing remarks made by Mayor Koch about deporting the Iranians. After constant replays of media announcements continued into the night, a crowd of 500 people gathered, mostly from the neighborhood and motorists who had come off the highway when they saw the crowds forming. An effigy of Khomeini was burned in a parking lot across the street. Shouts and taunts continued. New York's swineest, the police department, numbering nearly 700, gave the mob unlimited freedom. Only once, when 30 fools tried to rush the mosque late that night, did the cops move to thwart the action.

U.S. Ambassador Donald McHenry and Mayor Koch made a grand appearance in order to "avert an international incident." But when Koch addressed the crowd, his aim was clearly to incite—"people in Iran would be here killing and taking hostages. That's what they do in Iran, don't they!" Then recalling his task of plugging this bowl

which threatened to spew forward shit uncontrollably, Koch said: "But we'll have law and order here." He then offered the Iranians "safe" passage—to the city limits (interestingly, the N.J. police agencies were notified whenever any Iranians left the mosque bound for D.C.). The Iranians wisely refused.

Again, even in this rabid crowd many people on the periphery came to find out what's going on in Iran. They asked questions as *RW* sellers and reporters circulated in the area. One man who had been an activist in the '60s joined an *RW* reporter to help in talking to people. Many people there hated the Shah and knew of his crimes, but did not understand the continuing U.S. plotting nor the role of the embassy and hostages in Iran before they were seized. One young woman, while confused about Iran, made a point of saying, "I want you to know that my neighborhood is not redneck..." She was disgusted by the flagwavers and later stood near the doorway of the mosque to speak to some of the Iranians to let them know how she and her friends felt.

As the night wore on, the crowds began to thin. Finally, after an unsuccessful try hours earlier, members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) managed to get the remaining 90 Iranians into cars and station wagons for their trip to Washington, D.C.—where, when they arrived, they would join another series of demonstrations against U.S. imperialism's designs to re-enslave Iran. □



BARRICADES
in BERLIN

Klaus Newkranz

"IT'S ONE HELL OF A STORY and working class art at its finest."

Stirring novel of armed class warfare... Berlin workers' battle to march through the streets on May Day 1929.

"It has a liveliness and emotional impact today that is in large part due to the fact that what it describes is a struggle which certainly did not end with that May Day battle in Berlin in 1929."

\$2.95

Order from
BANNER PRESS
P.O. Box 6469
Chicago, IL 60680
Please add 50¢ postage
Illinois residents
add 5% sales tax

Jamaica

Continued from page 19

was labelling his program "democratic socialism" and declaring that "capitalism had failed in Jamaica." Manley's social reforms and nips at the aluminum corporations had somewhat perturbed the imperialists—putting minor dents in their superprofits. But it wasn't something they couldn't live with. During this period, the U.S. maintained "friendly relations" with Jamaica and "economic aid" continued to pour into the country.

However, what began to fire up the imperialists' juices was Manley's growing relationship to Cuba and through it, the Soviets. In Manley's first term the Cubans had gone all out to support the Jamaican government and increase their influence in it. Cuba sent teams of technical workers, teachers, construction workers and doctors into Jamaica. The Cubans also began to hint that they could be an avenue for "Soviet aid." U.S. interests were concerned. U.S. "economic aid" was cut off. But in spite of all this, Manley and his program of "democratic socialism" won the election by a landslide in 1976. Manley once again turned his attention to the economic and social situation inside the country as internal conflicts had begun to flare up again. There was a developing recognition broadly among the people that most of Manley's programs weren't fundamentally changing the situation. This was due both to U.S. economic punishment

directed at Manley and to the fact that Manley's programs were never really designed to "go too far" especially in relation to the Jamaican landlords and U.S. imperialists.

On top of this the Jamaican economy was in total shambles—Jamaica was on the verge of bankruptcy. Manley was frantically searching for loans and assistance. Under pressure from Jamaican capitalists linked to the U.S. as well as the pro-U.S. wing of his own party, Manley turned to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) after having earlier rejected participation in the IMF declaring, "We are not for sale!"

In many ways Manley saw no other choice since loans from other western countries and commercial banks were predicated on IMF approval of the country. With Jamaica's entry into the IMF, the U.S. summed up that Jamaica was again becoming securely tied to their bloc and the money flowed like water. On top of this, Andrew Young visited the country and declared that Manley "was his kind of guy." Relations were reaffirmed when Rosalyn Carter visited Jamaica and again when Manley visited Carter in Washington. In July 1977 the IMF announced that Jamaica would receive a \$75 million loan, and soon afterwards the country was granted a \$68 million loan from the World Bank and another \$5 million from the European Economic Community.

The first installment of the IMF loan was made with relatively few "conditions" attached. But then in December, the IMF announced that Jamaica would not receive any more money until it adopted stringent internal measures. In May, 1978 the Manley government

signed an agreement with the IMF, an agreement that meant tremendous devaluation of the Jamaican dollar, increased debt, increased unemployment and cutbacks in many social programs. Strikes and demonstrations were frequent in opposition to these terms.

Between June of 1978 and December 1979 the Jamaican economy had become even more in shambles. Manley found himself in the same position as other leaders of "less developed countries" tied to the U.S.: he was forced to borrow money from the IMF to repay loans to the IMF. By the end of 1979, the Jamaican government was more than \$1 billion in debt and had only \$9 million in cash assets. During this time the IMF conditions meant that the Jamaican people were faced with even greater poverty and oppression. Manley had lost whatever control he once had over the Jamaican economy.

During this same period of time, forces in the PNP opposing the U.S. and various pro-Cuban and pro-Soviet forces began to gain strength. Manley himself began to look for some way out of the IMF debt trap. Up until December of 1979 Manley tried to walk a delicately balanced tightrope—trying to maintain his influence with the "left" in his country and among the masses and at the same time to toe the line with the IMF. This is what led him to condemn the taking of the U.S. embassy and hostages by the Iranian people and at the same to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. However, also during this time Manley worked hard at improving his relations with Cuba and other Soviet-influenced regimes in the world—relations

somewhat discredited by his recent flirtation with the U.S. bloc. Manley had even negotiated a deal with Cuba that would give it use of the Port of Jamaica as a trans-shipment port, bring in 500 Cuban advisers and technicians and send Jamaican students and security forces to Cuba for training.

In early 1980, the U.S. demanded that the IMF tighten the screws on Jamaica. But after months of negotiations, Manley rejected the IMF conditions, which would have meant a severe austerity program for Jamaica, a 40% devaluation of the Jamaican dollar, the layoff of 11,000 more public sector employees, the dumping of price controls and the institution of wage controls. Consequently all U.S. aid was cut off. Manley was encouraged in this rejection of the IMF by offers of "aid" from the International Investment Bank (the Soviet equivalent of the IMF) and the promise of loans from other Soviet bloc countries.

These developments over the last eight years set the internal context for the Jamaican elections. For both superpowers, Jamaica is a crucial link in the Caribbean chain. The U.S. ruling class has declared Jamaica "vital to our interests," (which it undoubtedly is) and has obviously chosen to move decisively in the coming months. The actual date of the elections has not been set. However, it is clear from the U.S. imperialists' scheming over the past period that the ballot box means about as much to them in Jamaica as it means to them in the U.S. The U.S.'s "vote" has already been cast with Seaga, and the CIA; with bombings, sabotage and murder. □