



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

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## Election Results: No Transfer Of Power

### That is up to us

In England, Madame Tussaud's Wax Museum has given the world an advance glimpse of what is to take place in Washington D.C. in January. The day after the elections, the museum's wax dummy of Carter was removed from its display case and taken to Wookey Hole, the location of the museum's storeroom, while a Reagan wax dummy was put on display instead. Add a little pomp and a little circumstance and you have inauguration day 1981.

This changing of the dummies analogy or substituting "Bonzo For Bozo" as it is being popularly described, has much truth in it, for all the patriotic and jingoistic revelry in the press in the wake of the elections about the wonderful "celebration of democracy" that transpired on November 4 and how well "our uniquely American peaceful and orderly transference of power" functions, they are finding it difficult to prevent millions from reaching this conclusion, at least in part. There has been no transference of power this year or in previous years through this "electoral process." Only the mouthpieces have been changed that the same ruling class is speaking through.

But while there is much transparent deceit and lies in the bourgeoisie's election '80 charade that is laughable, it was by no means a joke. The fact is this go-around of the "every four year" con game has taken place in the midst of a very serious world situation. And the U.S. imperialists had some very serious business to accomplish with it,



the lining up of the masses of people behind the future they have in store and to prepare to defend the oppressors' rule to the end. In short, the elections

were a massive public opinion campaign to define the political interests and options for the people of this country. All this was focused around the devout act of

making the periodic pilgrimage to the ballot box or voting booth of your choice and making an X or pulling a lever for U.S. imperialism, the real candidate.

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## IRAN: Class Struggle Sharpens in Face of Imperialist Blackmail

As a result of a rising crescendo of threats and military pressure directed by the U.S. at Iran, last week the Iranian parliament announced its conditions for releasing the 52 American embassy personnel in Tehran. Secretary of State Muskie and other U.S. officials called this a "positive step", but then hastened to add that they were still "cautious." On Friday, the State Department said it had sent the U.S. reply "privately" to

Iran, explaining that they were not going to conduct their negotiations "in public." Beneath the veneer of these very "diplomatic"-sounding statements, the U.S. imperialists are bending every effort to extract greater and greater concessions from the Iranian bourgeoisie on a far wider range of questions than the release of the hostages.

The "two fundamental objectives"

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# STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN!

## Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

### Excerpts From a Statement by the National Office of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants

On October 21st, the U.S. government launched a vicious new phase in its attempt to railroad Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, and the 16 other Mao Defendants. The D.C. Court of Appeals, by a 2 to 1 vote, reversed the ruling of Judge Carlisle Pratt dismissing the 25 felonies and possible 241 years jail time against the defendants. This decision doesn't just mean that we're back to square one in the case, but represents a serious escalation in their railroad. . . .

Last November, Judge Pratt had ruled that the piling on of charges totaling 25 felonies and a possible 241 years in jail was vindictive on the part of the prosecutor and dismissed the indictment. The charges stemmed from a demonstration protesting the visit of Chinese Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping in January, 1979 as a step toward World War 3 and a symbol of the reversal of the Chinese Revolution. In reversing Judge Pratt's ruling, the Appeals Court decided that the government had, in the words of the pro-

secutor, given the defendants "just what they asked for," and that the 25 felonies and 241 years should stand. . . .

How does the appeals court deal with the fact that the government at first said that they filed two separate indictments because there were two different types of cases, but then after the defendants filed to have one single trial, they hit all the defendants with all the charges? Well, in their own words, "We find it unreasonable to hold the government to pinpoint accuracy and steadfast consistency in regard to every statement it makes." . . .

Even the dissenting opinion by Judge Mack, no matter what her intentions, served to underscore the real message of this ruling. Judge Mack said: "I do not see how in this record an appellate court can conclude that there is no realistic likelihood of vindictiveness. If the rule against prosecutorial vindictiveness is to mean anything in this jurisdiction, it must be applied here." Well, that's the point. The decision of the Appeals Court is saying that since this is Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, and 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants, the rule against prosecutorial vindictiveness doesn't mean anything. The judges who

concurred on the decision even stooped to digging through the court's archives and finding a *minority opinion* and using it as their legal precedent. . . .

We urge you to step forward and oppose this new stage in the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants—send money for legal and political expenses; send letters and telegrams to protest this outrageous Appeals Court Decision (send one copy to the D.C. Court of Appeals, 500 Indiana Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001, and a second copy to the committee); and help build the defense campaign in your area. . . .

As Bob Avakian said in his speech at a rally in D.C. last November 18th, a few days after the charges had been

dismissed: "They thought they were going to sit down and chew up the RCP and swallow it down, and then proceed to devour the masses of people like a piece of meat and chew them to bits in the next period ahead. . . . They've been proven wrong. They've been proven wrong by the tremendous surge forward of people in the thousands all across the country."

**STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN! FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS!**

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Washington, D.C. 20009

## ATTENTION CO-CONSPIRATORS!

Starting with issue No. 80 the Revolutionary Worker will be published in two separate editions, Spanish and English.

## Statement from Mao Tsetung Defendant

To the surprise of no one, I hope, the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants is now officially active again. Over the past year since the retreat and maneuver, I have thought a lot about and attempted to analyze this case. Not so much the legalities of it but the objective setting in which this attack and others have been coming down. I see as very key the freedom and necessity of the gangster rulers of this country. In the past year, the necessity of U.S. imperialism to exploit, oppress, murder and plunder

the masses of people worldwide certainly hasn't subsided. It has increased as the people of Iran, El Salvador or Miami or L.A. for that matter, can tell you. Projected towards the future necessity of U.S. imperialism: to promote national oppression, to pressgang millions into their army, and unleash many more attacks on the working class as the controlled disintegration of their economy becomes less and less controlled. All this points to the underlying necessity that is propelling them to their

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# Class-Conscious Actions Cut Through Election Fog

"The elections are all sewn up" our rulers hope. And they're not mainly referring to which of their beloved frontmen will be the resident of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue come January. This old election expression applies much more to how they want and need tight stitches around people's brains. They know they are on shaky ground and it's getting shakier by the day. Their prime defense at this point is to work tirelessly to get people to keep thinking like them, relying on them to change miraculously or at least to be so bummed out by the barrage and sheer volume of jingoistic rubbish and upsidown view of reality that disgust and outrage will remain mainly passive, individual and relatively easy to handle or channel. That's why millions and millions are spent to sell these "free" elections. They are an important part of the thread, or more accurately the noose, our rulers use to try desperately to keep this status quo in a rapidly changing world, where their crimes and nature are increasingly getting more exposed.

At election time, the overlords of America for their own purposes need to draw millions into their political debate and charade. Despite their demagogic offensive to set the political boundaries of people's thinking and actions, it was by no means a forgone conclusion (unlike the election itself) that this would remain on their terms. For one thing, those they oppress can see and think. Of course there are people who loyally defend this as the greatest country in the world—blinded by the crumbs they've been dropped from the imperialist's spoils—and others who are stuck vainly hoping that maybe just this once the system will work. But already among millions there exists the disturbing knowledge that no matter how they voted it would not fundamentally change anything. Millions more, who were thoroughly disgusted and nauseated already by the workings of this system, the endless election prattle served only to move them to start questioning more deeply the entire set-up, to more seriously consider other ways out. One important reflection this year of the growing disgust with the whole election sham among broad sections of the people, including with the so-called alternative parties, and even moreso with the imperialists' heightened moves towards war, were the counter-convention

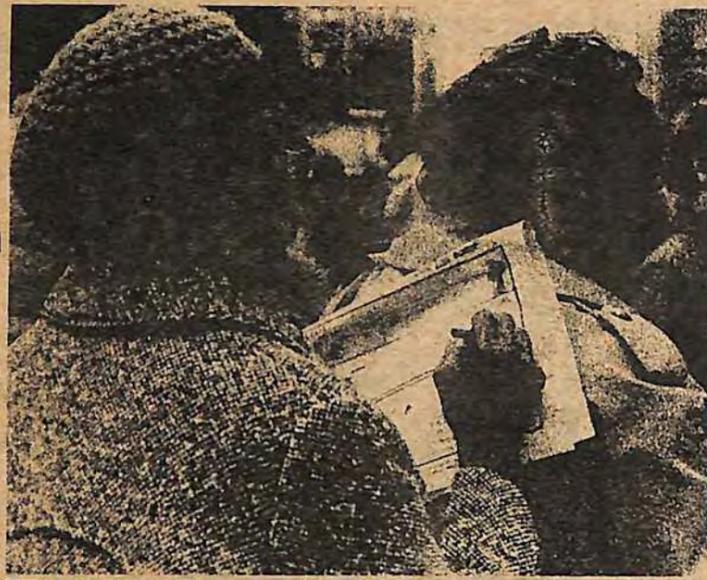
demonstrations at both the Democratic and Republican conventions; Nobody for President rallies in several cities; and a rally in Berkeley called to protest against whoever was elected which spilled over into the streets as 2000-3000 people expressed their anger at what Reagan's election crystallized (See article

below.)

In this overall fertile climate more than a million leaflets were distributed exposing the election sham for the poison it is and drawing out the real stakes of those oppressed by this system. Thousands, including class conscious workers, actively undertook getting this

leaflet into more hands, debating over the revolutionary road posed as the only future worth fighting for. Thousands took more direct action by casting the only ballot that could make a difference (about ten thousand ballots were counted nationwide), not because it would directly or even indirectly affect any election returns, but because it represented a section of the masses taking independent historical action—casting aside the illusion that the

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San Francisco, November 4.

## Anti-Election, Anti-War Sentiment Erupts in Berkeley



Election Night—Berkeley, Ca.—"Out of your houses, into the streets!" "Power to the People!" On this campus, long declared to be dead and buried by this country's rulers, the chants went up as a march called by a Berkeley anti-draft organization in advance of Tuesday's balloting "to protest the election and students' frustration with the system" erupted into a mass protest that swept through the city of Berkeley, picking up momentum until it was 3000 strong. Earlier in the evening, a group of 100-200 assembled at the downtown Berkeley BART station and moved into the streets picking up supporters as it moved toward campus, stopping at university residence halls along the way where students poured out to the cheers of the crowd. After marching to Sproul Hall, site of the Free Speech Movement of the early '60s and the righteous anti-war rebellions of the late '60s and early 70s, the demonstrators surged down Telegraph Ave. to People's Park past police called up in riot gear and burned an effigy of president-elect Ronald Reagan, as a wide variety of chants rang out from "2,4,6,8, Reagan we will not tolerate" to "Hell no, we won't fight for

Berkeley, November 4th.

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## Two Iranian Comrades Killed In Battle Theirs Was The Red Path Of Revolution

When the U.S.-backed Iraqi invasion of Iran began in late September, the lightning victory they expected ran aground on the rocks of the determined and heroic resistance of the Iranian masses. In Khorramshahr, Abadan and elsewhere in southern Iran, thousands of people—joined by others from all over Iran—organized themselves into irregular fighting squads to beat back the Iraqi attack. Many Iranian communists and revolutionaries, including the Union of Iranian Communists (UIC), set out to politically mobilize the masses and form fighting squads independent of the government's units, many of which had already retreated or had been held out of the fighting by their reactionary commanders altogether. In the last month and a half, thousands of heroic fighters have given their lives, among them were Mahmoud Gorgpour and Majid Ahwazi, who were killed in the first several weeks of the fighting in Khorramshahr.

These two comrades were fighters for the freedom of the working class worldwide. They were among the many thousands of Iranian students living in the U.S. who for years carried on the struggle against the Shah right here in the country of their people's oppressor. Week after week, month after month, members of the Iranian Students Association (ISA) braved arrests, beatings



Comrade Mahmoud Gorgpour  
—Member of the Union of Iranian Communists—

Comrade Gorgpour was born in 1954 in Khorramshahr and spent his grade and high school years in this city. After two years in the army he went to the U.S. in 1975. Having grown up alongside the toiling masses of the south of Iran and witnessed their miseries, he was rapidly drawn to the student movement and joined the I.S.A. ("Revival") as soon as he arrived in the U.S. During the years he lived in the U.S. he was always in the front lines in learning Marxism, the working class ideology, and in further spreading this ideology through propaganda and agitation. Many times he was attacked by the U.S. fascist police and he was jailed several times. But because of his deep love for the working class he never stepped back from the struggle. His courage and devotion to the heroic toiling masses of Iran was an example to all those who were close to him. In 1977 and 1978 he was the secretary of the I.S.A. in Jefferson City and Columbia, Missouri, and he joined the Union of Iranian Communists in 1979. When the rebellion of the masses of Iranian people against U.S. imperialism and reaction was at a new height he left for Iran, and when he arrived in the south of Iran soon after the time of the uprising he immediately plunged into hard political work in Khorramshahr, raising the consciousness of the workers there. Because of these tireless activities, Mahmoud was often attacked by the enemies of the working class. Many times his house was searched, but our comrade never quit and struggled even harder.

When the war and invasion of the reactionary Iraqi regime started, Comrade Mahmoud rose up along with other comrades and the heroic people of the city against this vicious imperialist attack on the toilers, defended the city and fought to drive these imperialist dogs out. By organizing and mobilizing the masses, they were able to drive these invaders, who were in the middle of the city at the time, out of Khorramshahr. The courageous actions of the people of Khorramshahr and Comrade Mahmoud in this particular battle are truly memorable. Mahmoud and his brother Ahmad were at the same barricade where they resisted heroically. They waged a fierce struggle and never retreated in the face of the enemy. To the last moment they defended the barricade and were killed side by side. Moments before their death they shouted, "Long Live the Peoples of Iran!" and "Death to Imperialism!", sacrificing their lives for the historic cause of the working class. Their red path is the path of Iran's toilers and their memory will always be in our hearts and in the hearts of all the peoples of Iran. We swear to uphold their heroic example and follow in their footsteps.

and threats of deportation to take their struggle straight to the American people—marching through crowded city streets, passing out tens of thousands of leaflets, explaining to people what was the real nature of the Shah's regime and exposing the crimes of U.S. imperialism in Iran and worldwide. Thousands of these staunch revolutionaries—Mahmoud and Majid among them—returned to Iran at the height of the people's struggle in 1978-79, determined to continue the revolution through to the end. There they took their places on the front lines of a crucial front of the worldwide struggle against imperialism and reaction. And even as they fell in battle against the common enemy—many thousands of miles away—their heroic example has strengthened the revolutionary ties that bind the workers and oppressed peoples of the world.

As soon as the deaths of Mahmoud and Majid were reported, a memorial program was organized by their comrades and friends in Jefferson City, Missouri on Saturday, October 11, which was attended by nearly 100 people. The following statements were written in Farsi for this memorial in poster form, and were translated into English for publication in the RW.



Comrade Majid Ahwazi  
—Supporter of the Union of Iranian Communists—

Comrade Majid was born in Khorramshahr into a worker's family in 1952. He went to grade and high school in that city and joined the health corps for 2 years and the oil company for another 2 years before he came to the U.S. in 1975 to continue his education. Since he originated from a worker's family, he eagerly joined the student movement (I.S.A. "Revival"). Soon he made up his mind and set his future goal; that was to abandon going to school and chasing after some petty material goals. Rather he became a full-time fighter. He spent his entire time contributing to the student movement abroad. He always used to say: "At a time when thousands of our youth suffer from illiteracy and millions of Iranian people are under severe, unbearable conditions, only the rule of the working class will be able to end these sufferings." As a result he decided to quit school and worked hard to make the rule of the working class a reality. When in the U.S., he was a tireless fighter in the student movement. For those who knew him closely, his sincerity, devotion and love for the toilers was unshakeable. He fought hard against the Shah's U.S. visit and SAVAK goons. SAVAK thugs in Chicago once attacked and injured him severely. (This occurred when the Shah's secret police and various arms of the U.S. government were desperately trying to stop the I.S.A.'s work in organizing a powerful demonstration of over 5,000 against the Shah's visit to Washington, D.C. in November, 1977—RW). The fascist police of Chicago and the Central YMCA College authorities (where he went to school) in collaboration with SAVAK conspired and jailed him twice and put him under surveillance. His family in Khorramshahr was also under severe pressure and repression because of his activities here. He left for home at the end of 1978 and continued the fight to overthrow the murderous Shah.

After he returned to Iran he was attacked many times by counterrevolutionary elements and the enemies of the working class. And finally since they could not break his resistance he was labeled as a "counter-revolutionary" and "godless communist" in Khorramshahr. Because of this he was forced to leave the city temporarily and continue his fight in another town. With the beginning of the war and the invasion of the reactionary troops of Saddam Hussein, this rabid U.S. dog, Comrade Majid rushed back to Khorramshahr and along with other comrades defended the city. At the time only the heroic youth were defending the town while remnants of the Shah's troops (the regular Iranian army—RW) headed by the treacherous Chamron (current defense minister—RW) were conspiring against the masses far away from the front lines of the fighting. Comrade Majid was given the responsibility for aiding the injured and bringing supplies to a fighting squad. When another comrade named Oroujee was shot at a nearby barricade, Majid courageously took him away while they were under heavy enemy fire. As he drove the ambulance and the injured comrade to a hospital, they were attacked again with grenades. Both comrades were killed instantly; their lives were sacrificed to hasten the advance of the revolution. By giving his life, Majid proved his deep love for the workers and embraced the joy of dying for their cause.

## Greensboro Nazi/Klan Trial To Jury Murderer's Defense: 'Why, They Killed Themselves'

Greensboro, North Carolina. Last week, the murder trial here of six members of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis drew to a predictable conclusion with closing arguments by the prosecution and defense. The defendants—who along with several others murdered five anti-Klan demonstrators on November 3, 1979 in Greensboro—are each charged with five counts of murder and one count of felony riot. Not surprisingly, the "closing arguments" of "both sides" in this trial contained very little argument at all.

The activity in the courtroom coin-

cided with the first anniversary of the massacre. Both became an occasion not only to broadly propagate the rulers' summation of the massacre, but also to attempt to forestall any expression of outrage which could well develop, especially among Greensboro's Black population when this farcical trial is finally over.

Both defense and prosecution continued their fight to wave the flag higher and prouder than the other. The district attorney gave the first closing argument, urging the jury not to "play into the hands of the communists" by

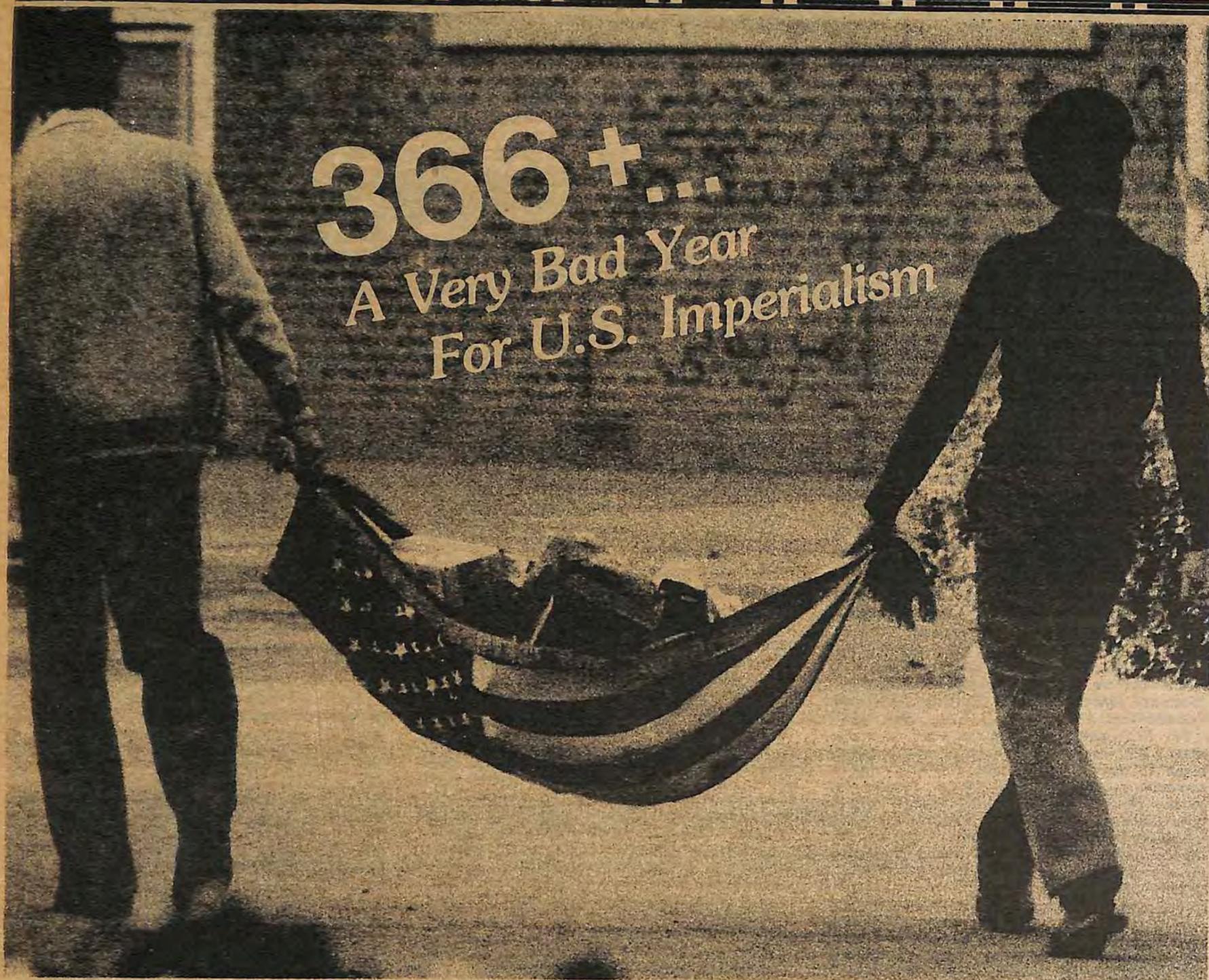
accepting the defendant's argument of self-defense.

The six defense lawyers followed this with six separate closing arguments, all with the same theme that has run throughout the trial. Cahoon, attorney for Nazi Roland Wood, led the pack. Gesturing dramatically, he pointed to the defendants as men who have "shown nothing but respect for the police, the courts and even the prosecuting attorney. This indicates their true character." He then launched into a lecture on the "long struggle for freedom [in the U.S.] that isn't respected

everywhere. They can't afford it in communist dictatorships, because in the jury box there is freedom. People fight for freedom, go to war for it, just like the defendants are doing here today."

Another defense lawyer, representing Klan Exalted Cyclops Coleman Pridmore, continued. "The Klan stands for God, country, flag, and separation of the races, not quite the organization you see depicted on TV and in the novels... basically a good organization. The trip to Greensboro was just another

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# 366 + ... A Very Bad Year For U.S. Imperialism

Tehran, November 4, 1979. A demonstration had been called to commemorate the massacre one year earlier of 80 students massacred by the Shah's government. Hundreds of thousands poured into the streets. Anger and hatred of the U.S. imperialists, who only a few days earlier had admitted the deposed Shah, ran high in the crowd. The demonstration headed past the U.S. Embassy—a 27-acre walled compound that stood as an ostentatious symbol of decades of U.S. domination of Iran. It was here that some of the plans for the 1953 U.S. coup that put the Shah back on his throne had been hatched; it was here that the U.S. advisers who instructed the Shah's secret police in the arts of torture and repression had worked. It was through this embassy that the Shah had received his day-to-day guidance for the suppression of the Iranian people—suppression that had resulted in over 60,000 dead in the last year and a half of his reign alone. And it was behind the walls of this huge, estate-like compound that the CIA and other U.S. agents had worked since February to find a way to throttle the Iranian revolution.

Suddenly 500 of the marchers peeled off from the main demonstration and headed toward the embassy itself. Without hesitation they stormed the massive walls and the iron gate surrounding it and took over this sanctuary of counter-revolution, along with 60 some odd American "diplomatic" personnel inside. The Americans were blindfolded and unceremoniously paraded around the embassy grounds. The American flag waving overhead was ripped down, and later used as a makeshift garbage container. The militants inside the embassy announced that the embassy personnel would not be released until the U.S. returned the deposed Shah and his stolen billions to Iran. Thus began the "Year of the Hostages."

To the U.S. bourgeoisie the hostage seizure has come to symbolize the fact that time and again they have been

blocked in their efforts to break the force of the Iranian revolution and reclaim the position of the imperialist masters of that country. Although U.S. influence and penetration of Iran has not been by any means eradicated, it has been severely damaged and restricted. As numerous articles in the *RW* analyzing the strategic importance of Iran for the U.S. imperialists in their contention with the Soviets have pointed out, from the day the Shah fled right down to this very moment they have been ruthlessly and desperately determined to abort the revolution and regain control of Iran.

#### U.S.-Bazargan Scheme Upended

From the outset the U.S. bourgeoisie took a dual approach to reversing the revolution and bringing Iran back into its camp. Their most loyal allies inside Iran were too disorganized and dispersed and the momentum of the revolution was still too strong to launch a head-on confrontation with the revolution, especially with the Soviets nearby, ready to try to turn any overt U.S. attack on Iran to its own gain. Therefore they moved to aid those bourgeois forces inside the Iranian government who saw the need to come to terms with the U.S. Those forces were centered around Mehdi Bazargan, Khomeini's choice for Prime Minister in the government that took over in February 1979.

There was a sound basis for the U.S. to hope that Bazargan, who represented the right wing of the Iranian national bourgeoisie, would be amenable to capitulation. He represented those capitalists whose field of operation and expansion had been restricted by the domination of U.S. imperialism and the Shah's regime. This pushed these bourgeois nationalists into the revolutionary movement, through which they hoped to realize their dream of an independent, capitalist Iran, where they would be the new ruling class. At the same time, of course, they also had some links with imperialist capital and were too weak and not inclined to firm-

ly stand up to U.S. imperialism. What they wanted to do was to "redefine" the terms of the relationship with the U.S., a redefinition that would allow them more breathing room and independence.

The forces grouped around Bazargan intended to, and did, keep intact many of the institutions of the Shah's regime, like the armed forces, in order to protect their own power and position. After the Shah's departure and the revolutionary upheaval that drove out the Shah's appointee Bakhtiar, many of these forces became more afraid of a new spiral of the revolutionary struggle than they were of U.S. imperialism's continued presence in Iran, or the old U.S.-trained generals, SAVAK agents and other functionaries who still roamed free inside Iran. Bazargan, for one, was quite upset and opposed to even the relatively few executions of the Shah's henchmen that did take place.

During the revolution Bazargan and other national bourgeois forces struck an alliance with the Ayatollah Khomeini, who basically represented the traditional urban petty bourgeoisie and some of the more nationalist sections of Iran's capitalist class. Like the forces around Bazargan, the Khomeini camp wanted to get rid of the Shah and change Iran's relationship with the U.S. without unleashing the masses of people to uproot all feudal and imperialist relations. Both groups needed each other to realize their goals. Bazargan needed the mass base and popular support Khomeini offered and Khomeini needed the economic connections, the political organization and the technical expertise of the national bourgeoisie.

But there were some contradictions between these two groupings. In particular, the Khomeini forces saw a greater threat from U.S. imperialism and were more willing to go along with the masses' struggle against the U.S. in order to maintain their own authority and leadership.

Soon after the insurrection in February and Bazargan's ascendance to

the office of Prime Minister, the U.S. began to try to cozy up to the Islamic government and strengthen Bazargan's position. Arms shipments were resumed for the first time since the Shah left the country. Some U.S. corporations began returning to Iran and a U.S. Embassy official spoke of "looking on the bright side of the Islamic government."

But the U.S. also began to apply strong pressure on the Bazargan government to take measures which the national bourgeoisie saw in its own interests as well. These included the elimination of some of the more progressive elements within the government and an effort to pull together the scattered pro-U.S. forces inside the country in preparation for future, more direct action. It was widely known in Iran that much of this counter-revolutionary plotting was being done inside the U.S. embassy in Tehran and this was abundantly confirmed by the documents discovered by the students inside the embassy after they captured it. Throughout 1979 progressive clergymen were mysteriously assassinated. Neighboring Iraq and reactionary Iranian exiles based there were encouraged by the U.S. to launch border raids and sabotage Iran's oil production. Revolutionaries in Iran who exposed U.S. agents within Iran were hounded and arrested by the government.

These carrot and stick maneuvers to pull Iran back into the U.S. orbit seemed to be coming to fruition in the fall of 1979. The Iranian government had launched massive attacks on the revolutionary left, the Kurdish people and various progressive newspapers and democratic organizations. At the same time the government and Islamic clergy were putting the finishing touches on a Constitution designed to end the revolutionary tumult of post-Shah Iran by consolidating their political power and structuring the economy along capitalist lines.

It was in this context that the Shah

## Debate on 100,000 Campaign

# LET 100 FLOWERS BLOSSOM: LET 100 SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND

On September 19, 1980 we called for open struggle and debate in the pages of the Revolutionary Worker on the plan for revolutionary work put forward by the RCP. This debate was called for, learning from Mao Tsetung, who put forward the policy of "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend," at an important juncture of the Chinese Revolution when differing views needed to come to light. We pointed out that "while our situation is different, the principles are the same: we need and welcome this struggle, particularly among the advanced workers. Mao also said, 'How can there be no wrangling in this world of ours? Marxism is a wranglingism, dealing as it does with contradictions and struggles. Contradictions are always present, and where there are contradictions, there are struggles.' (Talks at Conference of Party Committee Secretaries, Selected Works, Vol. 5, p. 364)."

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

Because we are confident of the truth and correctness of Marxism, and of our Party's basic line and plan for revolution, we know that through open struggle, it will win out, and more than that, will be the motor for rapid leaps. It will win far more fighters, co-conspirators, from among the revolutionary-minded people." Through this "100 Flowers" campaign, we will continue to elaborate and clarify our views in the pages of the paper. But for the struggle to be thoroughly joined, for the common cause to be advanced to the max we must continue to hear from you.

"We've Got Some Surgery of Our Own to do."

RW:

I think that it needs to be emphasized, and the 100 Flowers is doing just that, that our own understanding is principal in the campaign, that political line is at the heart, and from there we impart this to the advanced, and they struggle it out with us and among themselves and the broader masses. In my experience selling the RW and coming to grips with its political significance, I found that the topic of most interest to revolutionary-minded people was how the RW networks were going to create an organizational conspiracy that would outfox the police, and ultimately be able to send out and implement the call for armed insurrection; create the conditions whereby millions would be acting under the guidance of a single line. Now these people need to be struggled with to understand that the principal function of the RW is to create broad public opinion, that not everyone that can be and must be won to revolution is as advanced as them, and even the advanced do not have a perfectly clear view of who the enemy is, how weak they really are, what false programs will be thrown out there to divert and confuse, who are potential allies and on what basis do we unite with them and why we have to, what is going to replace this hell and how do we keep it from reversing, etc., all this given an unshakeable hatred for the system as it is. But there is nothing wrong with their interest in the nuts and bolts of overthrowing the bourgeoisie! This is a very good question, "how are we going to beat this motherfucker?", even if what they are mainly concerned with right now is tactical and organizational questions, coming from a position of "call me when it's time", or "we're going to

make revolution on May Day" or whatever. As pointed out by the Chair, the position of these people is closer to reality than many others who do not see the reality, are not coming to grips with the fact that it has fallen to us to lead a revolution, and the fact that the revolution with a "little" r has begun.

So it seems to me that this is not being explained to the advanced (who do not always come out and say, "I want revolution"), and therefore it is not understood. Of course the underlying problem could well be that they don't want to understand it, because they do not see the possibility of revolution in this decade, they underestimate the objective situation and the bourgeoisie's weakness (overestimating their strength, and/or finding their rule tolerable). To these people the over-anxious advanced are left idealists, and so is the Party's line. Talk about networks and conspiracy is so much "cops and robbers" and makes them more than a little nervous if not embarrassed. They see the Party as "ahead" of the masses, not as a vanguard, not as knowing something vital that must be urgently passed on, but as actually wrong on the assessment of conditions and possibilities, tripping out on a dream that may come true in the distant future but actual preparation for which right now is insane and the masses know it. They clearly disagree that the Party is actually behind the objective situation and in its ability to divert the upsurges we've seen and more we'll soon see, including among the industrial proletariat. They think we're ahead of the masses like an acid freak, and not at all behind them which is where we ought to be. They are growing more uncomfortable daily with the fact that, while behind right now, the Party is a revolutionary proletarian vanguard, and is drawing the wrath of the bourgeoisie and the respect of the advanced (and proletariat). Meanwhile, for the people who really want to make revolution and advance humanity worldwide and are starting to drool a little bit at the untold possibilities to do this in the very near future, where we can count in months when this opportunity might arise, for these people it is crucial to see the nationwide paper as central to creating an organization of insurrectionaries that goes far beyond the Party itself. It's high time to start getting professional about this thing, to see that paper out there like little red corpuscles in the bloodstream of a mighty and complex organism, pulsing now every week and later more frequently, and coursing to every extremity, bringing nourishment and growth. If it gets pierced at any one point or even several at a time, and even direly, it calls on all its reserves through its regular and continuous routes and connections, to rebuild and grow even if it weakens for a time. The heart is deep down inside, drawing from and giving to the organism as a whole. And there are other organs and parts that perform different functions, but all integrally related and with one common purpose, all thriving off those little red corpuscles that come around so regularly, with a beat. This sounds professional like a doctor but that's OK because we've got some surgery of our own to do.

The roads to the proletariat is directly related to this point about the RW and organization and tactics. In addition to them hating this shit, they have had direct experience with some of its most endearing attributes, like trying to kill them, and they have fought back in certain ways. Most likely this has been frustrating, as without Marxism how could they see how to fight and win? This is not to say that all of them are cynical, either, because to varying degrees they do see that in the people is the power. I remember talking to this one Black veteran who learned how the Vietnamese people fought peoples' war to beat U.S. imperialism, and he knew how peoples' war was fought in different terrain, like in the desert or in the hills of Afghanistan. And he told about how he applied this knowledge, combining it with his familiarity with the turf in the city where he lived. I know foreign born who know how to elude the INS, women who have gone underground to escape their husbands, prisoners on the lam, people who were snipers against the National Guard in the '60s who never got caught, and on and on. All of them to one degree or another relied on friends and sympathizers they never knew, and on a certain faith

in the broad masses. All of them are not desperate economically but they desperately want to put an end to this system. And they are not going to go with a solution just because it speaks eloquently to their highest aspirations (and I tell you I've heard more internationalism coming from the advanced at recent events than from some revolutionaries), if they don't think that tactically and organizationally this solution can be implemented. They do not spontaneously see the fabric of revolution being woven around a nationwide newspaper. This we have to first understand, then explain.

The point about May 1 being an advance that raised the stakes in certain ways among the advanced, like scorching revolution across their minds and also raising bigger questions that must be addressed, can be deepened I think by analyzing the contradiction right now between "no forces" and "many forces." While it is true that millions are being drawn into politics and into one or another kind of motion, that does not mean that right now hundreds are going to step forward into the ranks of active revolutionaries. What this period means to many of the advanced is a reevaluation and a searching, with surges and setbacks, on the questions of is revolution possible and how. Not whether it's desirable—not so much among the really advanced. What that means for us is that the challenge to wage and win the 100,000 campaign is a direct challenge to these people to get off their butts and make it happen, make it possible, in the most concrete way imaginable, with a nationwide revolutionary newspaper like has never been seen in this country. We've got to arm them, mainly with the newspaper and the Programme and Constitution drafts, with the line about how revolution is possible, and how this newspaper is going to make the difference if anything is. We need to grasp the dialectic of going broad among the advanced and going deep with them to win them over to becoming active, and in that way going broad among the broader masses and going deeper with them and bringing them forward, while raising the level of the backward. There are indeed many forces, but we need to be scientific in tapping this manifestation right now of the unquenchable thirst of the masses for revolution. Here are a couple of contrasting examples: We ran into a Black autoworker who has read Mao and was involved in the rebellions of the '60s. He had this kind of understanding of the potential and significance of May 1 "I think in this city alone we could get 10,000, but if there's only 1, and that red flag is up there, it will be tremendous". He read a couple of issues of the RW, listened to the tape of the Chairman's speech last May 1 and talked like he was going to sell the paper. But after 3 or 4 sessions of struggle, it becomes apparent that he really thinks that things can be patched up, and he's really resisting becoming active. The question comes up do we keep up the pace with this worker, or are there other advanced out there that we can be reaching, while not writing this guy off? We've got to go broadly among the advanced. The next example is an older Black worker, who has bigger questions, like about Martin Luther King, but when he read, the RW about it he started to turn around. He took 10 RW's for a few weeks, but doesn't come through with the money from selling them, raises more questions, and doesn't come to any events. But you can tell he's reading the paper, because he makes comments about certain articles, both to agree and to disagree. So the question comes up—do we hang in there with this man as a network? We persevered with him and he kept selling and even paid for the past sales, and the struggle continued. We need to persevere and go deep with the advanced when we can see that there's motion and struggle and things are moving ahead. I think that since May 1 the number of people we can call advanced and their class consciousness increased qualitatively, but that doesn't mean that their questions are any less important in holding them back from activity, nor certainly that their questions are any easier to answer. The basis to go broad is even better, and the basis to win people to class conscious action is better when their deeper questions are answered (the stakes being up, their actions become all the more signifi-

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# U.S. De-Stabilization Oils Seaga's Slide Into Jamaica Top Spot

As reported in last week's *RW*, the U.S./CIA won the Jamaican elections. On October 31, U.S. puppet Edward Seaga replaced Michael Manley as the new Jamaican Prime Minister in an election whose outcome was virtually assured by the U.S. since it was called almost a year ago. According to U.S. press reports, Seaga won by a margin unparalleled in Jamaican history, his Jamaican Labor Party taking 50 of the 60 seats in the Jamaican parliament. Headlines in the *Washington Post* gloated that the election results "far exceeded the forecast." Of course, no one was actually surprised, since the CIA had been actively carrying out a massive destabilization campaign in Jamaica that included murder, bombing, assassination and arson, while at the same time, the U.S. imperialists and their financial tentacles, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and AID program, tightened their stranglehold over the island's economy. All this extended right on down to election day, when Seaga's armed thugs were spotted numerous times "patrolling the polls." In fact, the emergency rooms of hospitals were filled, and dozens of people were killed on election day, some shot for voting the wrong way, and others caught in the crossfire between Seaga's followers and Manley's followers. For extra insurance, Seaga's people were seen stealing and running off with the ballot box in a number of districts where the vote was judged to be going in the wrong direction.

Not that the election results were by any means the deciding factor. The U.S. was prepared to go to any means necessary to install Seaga. In a *Washington Post* article printed the day before the Jamaican elections, the U.S. let it be known that they were prepared to go to the limit to get their man "in office." Painting a vivid picture of the bleak situation in Jamaica and blaming it on Manley and his "religious fanatic" followers, the *Post* forewarned of a "bloody crusade for power in the wake of the elections." Citing public opinion polls that showed Seaga with only a slight lead, the *Post* stated, "Each side is girding to fight if

they feel they've been cheated of victory." The *Post* article held nothing back; noting the importance of the Jamaican situation to the U.S., it stated, "This ninth election since Jamaican independence is unlike any other in its past. The stakes are higher, the world is watching, and there are more guns. When both candidates claim that the future of the nation is on the line, nobody doubts them." And in order to further create public opinion around a possible bloody coup and to present it as the result of rival Jamaican political parties, not U.S. contention with the Soviet Union for domination in the area, the *Post* quotes Manley as saying, "Thursday is judgment day, Thursday night, punishment night." In response, Seaga is quoted as saying that if he unexpectedly loses the election, "The hell to pay is not my hell to pay. I can't account for everyone who supports me." An obvious reference to the army, police and U.S.-sponsored military operations.

Although Seaga and his U.S. backers were prepared to do whatever necessary to firmly capture power, the transfer of power was in fact relatively smooth. Michael Manley, the loser, had basically been left high and dry by Cuba and the Soviet Union. Apparently the Soviets had summed up that they weren't capable of, nor willing to, back Manley against the U.S. to the bitter end—at least at this point. This was borne out by the fact that just two days before the election, Cuba cancelled all air traffic between Jamaica and Cuba, stating that this was done to prevent any accusation of Cuban or Soviet interference in the election and its aftermath. With the Ar-

my and the police backing Seaga, Manley was forced into quiet submission.

As his first official act upon taking power, Seaga immediately began to plan transfer of Jamaica back into the firm grip of the U.S., and, as if to prove where his loyalty lay, less than a week after taking office Seaga expelled the Cuban ambassador from Jamaica. Although the anti-imperialist sentiment and struggle among the Jamaican people has forced Seaga to thinly cloak his subservience to the U.S. with talk about "non-alignment," he has also shown that he is more than ready to bare an iron fist when necessary. On election night, a few hours after his victory was announced, Seaga ordered the police and military to carry out "Operation Wipeout." In response to attacks on a number of police stations throughout Jamaica, Seaga security forces patrolled the streets of the slums, gunning down anyone who looked suspicious.

The U.S. was undoubtedly elated over Seaga's "electoral victory." As the State Department stated, "The result was warmly welcomed." However, it's more than just putting Seaga in power that has the U.S. overjoyed. The fact that Seaga was able to take power "peacefully" through the elections has given the U.S. an added benefit. From the beginning, the U.S. has cast the terms of the elections as the Jamaican people choosing between Manley's "visionary, socialist future" and Seaga's free enterprise philosophy. Immediately after Seaga's victory, the U.S. press moved into high gear. In the *Washington Post*, Manley was photographed with his head in his hands, looking totally demoralized, while suddenly the Jamaican slums were portrayed as being filled with people ecstatically dancing in the streets, hailing Seaga with shouts of "deliverance," "financial wizard," and "culture leader" (a reference to Seaga's long years studying voodoo). According to the *Post*, "After eight years of the progressive, socialist, but increasingly inefficient government headed by Manley and his People's National Party, the theme heard most of-

ten in the streets today was deliverance." The article goes on to state that Seaga's strongest selling point among the Jamaican people was his virulent anti-communism. In an editorial on November 2, the *Post* continued to hammer away at this theme. Entitled "Jamaica Changes Its Mind," the editorial started out saying: "The Jamaican election returns are a resounding repudiation of Prime Minister Michael Manley's march toward socialism." The *Post* authoritatively declares that Manley's accusation of economic strangulation leveled at the U.S. and the IMF "couldn't convince the voters." Yet, they go on to state that the lesson to be drawn is "If a country organizes its economy to achieve high growth through foreign investment and trade, it cannot safely indulge in the kind of political gestures that threaten investors and traders." Of course, Seaga will have no trouble getting money from the IMF, not just because of his "safe" policies, but more, according to the *Post*, because the IMF is extremely anxious to clean up its image after the political beating it suffered under Manley.

Not to be outdone, the *New York Times* also joined the fray. Quoting Carter and Reagan hailing Seaga's victory as a "defeat for revolutionary socialism," (hardly a description of the mild program of reforms Manley was associated with), the *Times* goes on to assure one and all that now the U.S. government and business will undoubtedly "make a special effort to help Jamaica." And as a sort of crowning point to their campaign, a Nov. 5 *Times* editorial entitled "Deliverance in Jamaica" took extra care to disassociate the U.S. "Deliverance is near, promised the opposition billboards, they promised too much. But what has happened in Jamaica is nonetheless a deliverance of sorts. A left-wing regime in a key Third World country has been buried by an electoral landslide—and without any heavy breathing from Washington, much less 'destabilizing' threats like those that once helped topple an elected government in Chile. Jamaicans alone brought about Edward Seaga's defeat of the three-term Prime Minister, Michael Manley."

"Without heavy breathing from Washington, much less 'destabilizing' threats...???" Shameless, but worthy of note. This is aimed at domestic consumption. That they must print such outrageous lies indicates not only their alarm at their still-precarious position in the Caribbean, but at ever greater exposure of their crimes in the eyes of the people of this country as well. □

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A key article from the Revolutionary Worker

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A Year,  
A Decade  
of  
Historic  
Importance

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

## Support Statement For The UN 2

To the Committee to Free the UN 2:

I am writing to express the support of the National Conference of Black Lawyers for the legal position expressed by your lawyers in the case of the UN 2. After a review of the issues and the decision in this case, it is our considered opinion that the court erred in not charging the jury with instructions that should have allowed the jury to include a lesser included offense in the same section of the statute.

The vigor which the U.S. Attorney and the court has shown in the prosecution and sentencing of the UN 2 reveals a political motivation for punishment beyond what the facts of the case would merit.

The same vigor and determination seems wanting when questions concerning the rights of minorities and the poor are at issue. We only have to recall the case in Houston where three police officers were found guilty of violating the civil rights of a Mexican-American suspect by beating him to death. They received a sentence of only one year.

We believe that the statute under which the UN 2 were convicted provided the court with the discretion to charge the jury with the lesser included offense. The clear absence of intent to injure or to do bodily harm by the defendants would seem a sufficient and a convincing reason to follow such a judicially sound path. The entire judicial process is undermined when courts go beyond the facts and law presented to them and reach into their own subjective worlds of political beliefs to reach decisions on jury charges and sentencing. We urge the Court of Appeals to reconsider this error by overturning the conviction and ordering a new trial with new instructions to the jury.

Sincerely,  
Victor M. Goode  
National Director,  
National Conference of Black Lawyers

# FROM IRANIAN COMMUNIST PRESS

The following are excerpts from an article that appeared in Haghghat (Truth—the central organ of the Union of Iranian Communists) No. 88, in the first part of September, putting forward this organization's views on the embassy seizure. This article was written before Ayatollah Khomeini announced four conditions for releasing the hostages on September 12, and the U.S.-instigated Iraqi invasion of Iran which began a week later. The translation from the Farsi was done for the RW.

## Paving the Way to Surrender to U.S. Imperialism A Discussion About the Correctness of the Hostage-Taking Tactic

Last week there was a discussion among the highest ranking authorities of the Islamic Republic. The question was whether it was correct or incorrect for the "Students Following the Imam's Line" to take the American spies hostage last November. This discussion was started by that famous gentleman who brags a lot about his frankness and straightforwardness—that is, Mr. Ghotbzadeh, the foreign minister of the Islamic Republic.

In a recent letter to the Islamic parliament (Majlis), Ghotbzadeh demanded that the hostages be released and that a discussion on this be opened. The news of this letter and its contents were first revealed through an interview with Ghotbzadeh in *Time* magazine on September 1. This shows how much the authorities of the Islamic Republic want to place this question before the people, because we, like others, first heard it from *Time* magazine and the Voice of America. In this letter, Ghotbzadeh recommended that the hostages be set free and Iran avoid putting them on trial. In reply to a question from *Time* if he had volunteered to write such a letter to the Majlis, Ghotbzadeh answered that:

"Nobody dared to break the ice. The Majlis wanted President Abolhassan Banisadr to write the letter. Already stung by his rivals, the President refused to comply. The buck went round again. The country matters more than a personal desire for vengeance. Thus I decided to shoulder the thankless task of resolving the hostage problem for them. I expressed my unqualified opposition to the idea of trying the U.S. hostages. Such trials, from any angle you look at them, are against our interest. Our main demand—the extradition of the criminal Shah to Iran—has become irrelevant." Ghotbzadeh only asked for the release of the \$8.5 billion (in Iran's overseas assets frozen by the U.S.—RW) and believes that our isolation in the international diplomatic arena is a bad thing.

Of course Ghotbzadeh is not the only one who is paving the way to surrender the spies. He has only opened the discussion and initiated the first step. Voice of America has announced that Beheshti and Bani-Sadr also agree on setting the spies free. Another example is the letter of Mansour Farhang, the former ambassador of Iran to the U.N. He has been writing a series of articles in the *Islamic Republic* newspaper and has claimed to "prove" that the taking of the hostages has harmed Iran politically and economically and has asked indirectly (from the Majlis) for their release.

Our concern is not the nonsense of Ghotbzadeh and Farhang. We won't learn anything from answering them and their cohorts. This only shows the degree of their compromising and capitulation. Our working class and oppressed people must see what lies behind these speeches and must answer some important questions. First, why has Ghotbzadeh all of a sudden today discovered that seizing the hostages is not beneficial for Iran's revolution, accusing our youth of following a "blind radicalism." Do you think we have forgotten that in the first few days after capturing these spies Ghotbzadeh announced on TV that the students could use all the facilities of the TV and radio stations? How come he never thought of this "blind radicalism" at that time? How come he didn't reach these eye-opening conclusions 10 months ago? *What political and social changes have taken place during this period so that all of a sudden Mr. Farhang writes in one of his letters, "When I think about the question of taking the hostages, it does not give me a logical answer to my own questions."*

The second question which must be answered is this: do these statements by Ghotbzadeh and Farhang have anything to do with the threats and the blackmail of U.S. imperialism against Iran? Do the Iranian authorities want to stand up against and resist threats and blackmail? Or are they looking for suitable pretexts to compromise and retreat? Let's answer these questions very briefly.

What has been the situation from the time of the occupation of the U.S. spy center up to the present?

After the occupation of the spy center by the Students of Imam Line a great wave of anti-imperialist struggle shook the entire country and deeply spread into every corner of Iran. People in their millions came to the streets; the spy center was the rendezvous for expressing their deep anti-imperialist sentiments.

The main demand of the embassy takeover was to extradite the Shah; this demand by itself was limited and did not have the power to lead an all-around anti-imperialist movement. Therefore, there were two contradictory responses to this anti-imperialist move. The first was given by the revolutionary forces (and unfortunately not all of the revolutionary forces, because some came up with supposedly leftist "reasoning", labelling it as a "plot") who were working hard to promote and deepen this struggle and aim it at the roots of U.S. imperialism within the country. The second response came from the compromisers and counter-revolutionaries within the government who wanted to end this struggle immediately. They always wanted to one way or another disperse the crowds, push aside the anti-imperialist slogans and lower the tone of the struggle.

From the beginning the compromisers declared their opposition (whether overtly or covertly) to the hostage taking and to the anti-imperialist movement. Outwardly the Islamic Republic Party and Co. "defended" this struggle, because they couldn't do otherwise in the face of hundreds of thousands demonstrating against U.S. imperialism. But

they were trying hard to compromise behind the backs of the masses. They put forward three wishy-washy demands. 1. The return of the Shah's wealth, 2. Confession of the U.S. government to its "mistakes" in Iran, 3. Putting the Shah on trial by an International Court. Basically what these compromising elements wanted to do was to divert the attention of the masses who were targeting the roots and base of U.S. domination in Iran, so as to be satisfied with a few propaganda points which would not do the Iranian masses any good. When the Shah left the U.S. for Panama these compromisers hailed this loudly as a "great victory." However, the level of anti-imperialist struggle was very high at the time and the people would not fall for this trap.

Therefore these compromisers and imperialists and some so-called progressive countries with the o.k. of the U.S. thought of another trick. Kurt Waldheim and compromising elements in Iran formed an international commission of inquiry to investigate the crimes of the Shah and the U.S. in Iran and inform the people of the world about their "findings". One could not tell how learning about some of the Shah's crimes and the U.S.'s involvement would benefit the Iranian people. Everybody by then knew these obvious things. The "Revolutionary Council" and the government put the students under severe pressure to surrender the hostages to them. However, the people stood up to freeing of the hostages and prevented the students from giving the hostages to the "Revolutionary Council". The international commission of inquiry angrily left Iran and this made the compromisers even more angry. After the unfolding of this plot for freeing the hostages, U.S. imperialism bellicosely announced that Iran's authorities had not complied with their secret promises and deals. The only factor which stopped this plan was the revolutionary fervor and powerful anti-imperialist struggle of the Iranian people.

The compromisers found out that there is only one way to divert the anti-imperialist sentiments of the people and take them down an incorrect path, and that was to lull the people to sleep. Therefore they decided to stop talking about the embassy takeover and ignore the whole thing. Even after breaking relations with the U.S. after the vicious attack of Tabas (the aborted U.S. military raid in April—RW), these capitulationists did a lot to quietly ignore the hostage question in order to prevent a new anti-imperialist wave of struggle among the people from igniting. At this point many questions about the raid were not being answered, and the role of the Iranian armed forces and their complicity in the raid were deliberately not publicly exposed. The Majlis, which was supposed to have the question of the hostages in its hands dodged taking one single step in this matter.

Then, attacks on centers of anti-imperialist struggle, such as the workers' councils, started. Before every plot and conspiracy they added maximum fuel to the confusion and tension among the people. Armed assaults on the universities happened just before the Tabas raid. Attacks on the revolutionary forces, particularly the Mojahadeen, reached a new height; this was followed by the chador question (this refers to new regulations that women working in government ministries had to wear chadors or scarves—RW). In all this the compromisers did everything they could to divert and silence the anti-imperialist fervor of the people. To some extent they were successful. One of the main reasons why these compromisers and capitulationists have dared to raise their flag is the lowering of the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses.

What is the relationship between the question of the hostages and the ultimatums of U.S. imperialism? Today, everybody knows that U.S. imperialism is determined and is actively plotting to crush our revolution. (We refer you to previous *Haghghats* and other articles about the recent coup attempts and activities of the Ghashghai tribes.) One of the excuses the U.S. imperialists have used is the question of the hostage taking. The liberals and capitulationists who see the threats of the U.S. as serious, according to their liberal logic say that we should not give the imperialists any excuses to attack us; therefore they say that the hostage question should be resolved immediately. This is indeed a retreat in the face of U.S. imperialism's threats and ultimatums. The liberals and compromising elements who are incapable of struggling against the U.S. imperialists have chosen to retreat and surrender, because they do not base themselves on the masses of people. This is indeed the first step for the greater and bigger retreats leading to the total defeat of our revolution.

We know that the threats and ultimatums of U.S. imperialism have never been because of the hostages. They are precisely aimed at the total crushing of our revolution. Even if they did not have this "excuse," with or without any excuse U.S. imperialism would continue and step up their conspiracies and plots, threats and ultimatums. The statements of Ghotbzadeh and Farhang and other "authorities" are indeed a green light to the imperialists to intensify their threats, blackmail, ultimatums and plots. Statements, policies and actions such as these indeed reveal the weakness and vacillating position of these internal forces and are of direct service to U.S. imperialism.

These types of ultimatums and imperialist blackmail are nothing new in Iran's history. During the Constitutional Revolution in the second session of the parliament (approximately 1910-11—RW), Czarist Russia sent an ultimatum to the government of Iran to expel Schuster (a Belgian who

# ATLANTA: Authorities Plot To "Keep The Peace" As Murders Continue

Atlanta, Georgia. On Sunday, November 2, the body of another murdered Black child was found. He was 9-years-old, and coroner's reports put the time of his death at just 24 hours before his body was discovered. This latest brutal slaying brings the total of completely unsolved kidnappings and murders up to 16 in the past 15 months. Four children have yet to be accounted for and are listed as missing. The tension in Atlanta is running high, while the authorities here, as well as the entire ruling class, are falling all over each other in a frantic effort to clamp down on a situation that is racing out of their control.

"Isn't that a bunch of shit!" A Black Vietnam vet summed up the feelings of many at Atlanta's Bowen Homes housing project. He went on to bitterly denounce Mayor Maynard Jackson, who along with his bodyguards, personally visited all the families of the dead and injured children from the explosion that rocked the day care center there two weeks ago. Jackson was playing the role that only a Black mayor could play in this situation. His role is best described in the sickening words of the *Atlanta Constitution* columnist; "I'm not one of Maynard Jackson's fans. But he's the mayor, and the ball is in his court. And I'm also counting on him... Go to those people, Mayor. Soothe them. Stroke them. If you have to, stay with them 24 hours a day... so go, Mr. Mayor. Take Lee Brown and George Napper with you. Call in Hosea Williams and A. Reggie Eaves... [all Black leaders]... Forget politics. Go work your tails off to save this city from brewing hate."

Save the city from hate? Not quite. What does need to be rescued however is Atlanta's carefully constructed image as a "model city" for Black people—Atlanta comes complete with a Black mayor, Black police chief, Black public safety director, and a Black city council. And at the same time, the lid must be kept from blowing off in this extremely volatile situation.

Perhaps the most glaring expression of the desperate situation faced by the authorities was the fanfare displayed over the "bringing in" of "psyhic" Dorothy Allison. Four days of headlines focused on every one of her inane comments, both in Atlanta and nationwide. But the statement that held center stage was her claim that the killer is Black. No national oppression here. No "racial motivation" involved. On her fifth day in Atlanta, Allison snuck out of town almost completely unnoticed. She had done exactly what she was supposed to try to do: "psyche" the people into cooling down.

That Allison's efforts were being orchestrated by forces other than spiritual was graphically demonstrated at a secret meeting held while she was still in town. In attendance at this meeting were the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce, the NAACP, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Anti-Defamation League, the local police and, among others, the feds. Ozell Sutton, the U.S. Justice Department's Community Relations Service Regional Director sternly addressed this gathering: "There is some perception in the Black community of this [the kidnap/murders of 15 Black children and the day care center explosion that left four children and one teacher dead and dozens injured] as a concerted attack on Blacks. We hope to get the community leaders in a position to allay those fears. Perceptions can cause you as much problem as facts. They must be dealt with affirmatively or they may get out of control. We are not trying to muzzle the anger, but to focus that anger into constructive channels."

This meeting was called to discuss the building tension in Atlanta following the day care center explosion and the continuing inability of the authorities to settle any of these "problems" in the

Black community. The first item on the agenda was the potential effect of a murder trial scheduled for Atlanta—the murder trial of one of the Miami cops involved in the beating death of Black insurance executive, Arthur McDuffie. (It was the acquittal of five other cops in a trial last May that sparked the Miami rebellion.) Immediately after the body of the most recently slain Black child was discovered, this trial was moved right out of town and sent express to New Orleans.

Rapidly developing events began to outstrip all these measures. Exactly one week prior to the secret meeting in Atlanta, a 13-year-old girl found a live bomb wired to the door of the Galilee Baptist Church—a major Black church in Birmingham, Alabama, a nearby sister-city to Atlanta. The bomb was not a figment of anyone's imagination, but a powerful binary explosive equal to six sticks of dynamite. During the early '60s, Birmingham was known as "bombingham" because of the numerous bombings aimed at Black people—the most infamous one coming in 1963 when a bomb went off in a church killing four Black children. And now, there is the much publicized KKK para-military training school (which was pushed on page 4 of the *New York Times*, and has been the subject of a number of publications and t.v. reportage) only minutes away. Also, a recently run televised interview with a Klan leader showed him promising that his boys—no doubt in harmony with the more official forces of "law and order"—were preparing for any disturbances that might erupt in Birmingham during the coming re-trial of Tommy Lee Hines. (Hines is a mentally retarded Black man outrageously framed up two years ago for raping a white woman.)

The attempted bombing in Birmingham has added fuel to the anger of Black people in Atlanta and a significant development has taken place that has hit the local authorities like a lightning bolt. The members of United States Veterans (a Black veterans group) issued a leaflet from their national office in Atlanta, and distributed it throughout the Black neighborhoods, calling "on all Black armed service personnel to protect their families from intimidation by terrorist groups such as the KKK and neo-Nazis." They also

declared their intentions to set up and organize training in self-defense. Predictably the leaflet has brought forth a storm of reaction from the city's ruling elite, and not without reason. The veterans have been deluged by phone calls and letters from Black vets from across the country since the issuance of their leaflet.

### "Investigation" Concludes

The Atlanta authorities have concluded their "extensive" (two week) investigation into the explosion, and have issued their report, prepared in cooperation with the FBI. Public Safety Director, Lee Brown, summed up their findings; "Human error caused the explosion. Someone fouled up. There will be no criminal charges filed. As far as we're concerned, the case is closed." But what about the safety switch that was deliberately wired to prevent it from working? Or the two white men seen leaving the day care center at 4 a.m., just six hours before the boiler blew? No investigation was done to find them, because in the words of Lee Brown; "Whites go there to buy dope all the time." And also because residents refused to submit to lie detector tests—who can believe them anyway? The *Atlanta Journal* summarized: "The report confirmed the initial conclusion of experts on the day of the explosion." Case closed. Surprise, surprise.

But besides not sitting well with the masses of Black people in Atlanta, this decision has also irked the Atlanta Housing Authority (AHA); but for different reasons. These bureaucratic slumlords don't want the stamp of "accident" on this because it only reveals the miserable conditions that Blacks are subjected to, especially as the crisis of imperialism worsens. Thus a conflict has arisen between the AHA and the Mayor and company. The result of the bickering is further sharp exposure.

The defense attorney for the AHA has found a scapegoat—the city day care Nursery Association, who, in his words, "showed poor judgment" in locating a classroom near a boiler room! It isn't enough that several of these teachers were hurt in the explosion, and one killed in it—now they're responsible for it! Here, the women who struggled hard to teach and care for the 82 pre-school children in a project day care center are

being cynically lined up to take the fall (and possibly also millions of dollars in law suits). To the AHA this is a wind-fall; but to the masses of Black people in Atlanta it is another slap in the face by the authorities.

Meanwhile, not only have 800 cops and firemen continued to stalk the community, but the Governor has recently called out the State Patrol to be used in the neighborhoods where the missing and murdered children lived. And Lee Brown issued a statement last week that the police were considering using hollow point bullets again.

The role of the police, irrespective of their color, is becoming a focus of deep questioning and struggle among the people. And the bourgeoisie knows it. On the regular Sunday night "Meet the Mayor" show, every single caller wanted to talk about the case of the murdered children. The major capitalists in Atlanta have spent millions of dollars in media coverage, staged events, and generally promoted ideas and activities aimed to "focus that anger into constructive channels." One of the largest department stores in the area, Rich's, had a full page ad run in the city papers calling on people to attend the "Police Appreciation Day" rally sponsored by the Atlanta Bar Association. Literally no one showed—unless of course you count the several hundred cops and their spouses as anyone. Of course the theme in all the stories is always paying homage to the "honorable and dedicated police," and how well the city has "pulled together." This was especially true when slightly over 1000 people (which the press estimated as a crowd of 3,000), including cops on horseback and several Marine units, searched a wooded area for the missing children last week.

The authorities continue to have a field day with these searches, never missing the opportunity to publicize them with a vigor comparable to that which surrounded "psyhic" Allison. But as the days drag on and as newer and sharper attacks against Black people hang heavy in the region, these schemes of unity between oppressor and oppressed grow increasingly exposed. Keeping the lid on the situation in the "model city" of the South is proving to be a very difficult task indeed. □

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## From the Bridge of USS Imperialism

## ADMIRAL SOUNDS BATTLE STATIONS

The waitresses scurried from table to table, clearing the dirty dishes and bringing trays of cocktails. The posh dining room of the Commissioned Officers Mess at the naval base in Seattle was filled with the polite chatter of after dinner conversation. Officers in their dress blues, sipping their drinks, swapped Navy stories with retired officers and their wives. But tonight was not just another Navy League dinner, tonight they would get to hear "the CNO."

As Admiral Thomas B. Hayward, Chief of Naval Operations, looked down on the assembled "friends and patrons of the U.S. Navy," he must have thought to himself that he could scarcely hope for a more receptive audience. Here was an assembly of obedient servants of U.S. imperialism.

The babble of the expectant gathering quickly subsided as the master of ceremonies rose in the evening's program. The officers were all introduced, first the admirals, then the captains and finally the commanders. The board members and officers of the Navy League were introduced, each one rising to acknowledge the polite applause of the audience. Then came the introduction of the "honored guest."

Admiral Hayward stepped to the podium and wasted no time in getting to the point. "Our military strength relative to our principle adversary is an issue, one that should be openly debated and understood by the American people at large, and one that is *above* politics." "The latest issue of *Newsweek* magazine," he declared, holding it aloft, "provided us a special

report—'Is America Strong Enough?' ... The *New York Times* recently ran a seven part series on defense—which I thought was very profound and to the point. Some of the headlines are eye-catching, to say the least: 'Major Questions on Military Capability Arise Amid Big Gains by the Russians,' 'Loss of Skilled Air Force people Prompts Concern Over Its Readiness,' 'Gaps in Training and Equipment Hinder Rapid Deployment Force,' 'Doubts Persist on Quantity and Quality of Enlistees,' 'The Shoddy State of the Armed Forces.'"

But tonight's mission called for more than just a normal alarmism about "startling gaps in American military strength," which has become the typical fare turned out in the bourgeois press. Now, tonight's audience must be convinced of the greatness of their cause; the ultimate hopelessness of the upstart Russians' challenge to U.S. supremacy, the certainty of American victory—if only the American people close ranks, if only we provide "our boys" with the tools to do their job. "But ladies and gentlemen—you have a hell of a fine Navy today! Let me tell you that our Navy today is the best I've ever seen in peacetime. And I have never been prouder of what our Navy is doing around the world—stretched as thin as it is. Our Navy and Marine Corps personnel are doing one spectacular job for the United States of America."

This was more than just your standard military gung-ho hype. It was aimed not to convince the audience that the U.S. military needed more weapons,

ships and planes, they were already convinced of that—but to convince them that the U.S. could fight and win a world war. "The Russians *are* in trouble," boasted the Admiral. "The Russians are *not* 10 feet tall. They're up to their armpits in trouble in Afghanistan and elsewhere. ... in fact, let me suggest that it is because of their failure that the Russians are trying so desperately to be ten feet tall militarily. Having failed in so many ways politically around the world to invoke their ideological way of life—having to live in an economic system which stifles initiative and imagination and breeds all manner of economic dislocation—the Russians have chosen to try to *out compete us* in the one area where a dictatorial, totalitarian system has an advantage over democracy in peace time—to develop strong military forces."

Up to their armpits in trouble? Failing to invoke their ideological way around the world? As a careful reading of the Admiral's remarks will render, this was *not* a description of the contradictions beset by U.S. imperialism, but those plaguing the "dictatorial, totalitarian" rivals of the U.S. And while there is a grain of truth in this ideological pile of crap, the basic point was clear enough: Now is the time to act. Even though the Soviets may appear to be strong, the U.S. can go to world war and win.

All this set the stage for the climax, an impassioned call to go into action behind U.S. war plans. "We Americans must have the resolve that if we're ever asked the question: 'Are we going to let

our men and women who are serving in the Indian Ocean know that they are members of the second best fleet in the world?' Or if we're ever asked the question 'Are we going to let the Russians out-compete us in national defense and national security?' then we're going to rise up and hold hands and we're going to say as enthusiastically and as resolutely and as fervently as we can, 'Hell no!'"

Unable to further restrain themselves, Hayward's spellbound audience leaped up in a standing ovation. As the crowd filed out, dozens came up to shake Hayward's hand and congratulate him for his speech. "Are you going to run for president?" asked one fawning admirer. "I agree—I agree 100%," said the wife of a New Zealand air force officer.

According to the Admiral's public affairs officer, the Chief of Naval Operations makes such public speeches four or five times a month. Aimed at a specific audience, these are intended to cement a solid base of support for U.S. war moves. If one were to judge only by Hayward's bellicose bombasts before such audiences it would come as a surprise that only a short year ago Hayward was the first member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to argue strenuously *against* the draft. "Once you have the draft I can see all the dissidents coming out of the woodwork and going through all that trauma," he moaned at the time. "I wish the draft had never gone away," he added wistfully. "But it did." Hayward knows full well the opposition that growing U.S. war preparations are bringing. The Admiral had more than one command in the Vietnam war and he no doubt remembers the "trauma" that war brought for U.S. imperialism quite vividly. And he is clearly worried about what the preparations for the next war will unleash.

But the Admiral also knows the necessity of preparing for the coming war. Of course, Hayward always knew that the draft would be necessary in the upcoming war, and "trauma" or no—the last year has seen the stepped up preparation by both superpowers for waging and winning world war. So a few months ago Hayward called some reporters in for a breakfast meeting to announce that while once earlier he had been the first to come out against the draft he was now going to be the first member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff to publicly call for the resumption of the draft. "The time has come for the country to get mobilized in its attitude about national security," he said. "We've got to recognize that as a leader of the free world we've got to have the country unified and strong and a strong commitment to national defense. I think conscription would help that, not hurt it."

But Hayward had not forgotten the fact that there were millions who had learned the ugly truth about U.S. imperialism through the Vietnam war, Black liberation movement and the upheaval of the '60s. He remembers how the U.S. military was racked by rebellion, how the draft became a focal point of opposition to the U.S. war machine. And he knows that many of "the dissidents," as he put it—are still around and he fears what could happen when these people, and new forces, "come out of the woodwork." When calling for the resumption of the draft Hayward said, "I'm absolutely confident that there would be a lot of youth organizations that would protest. But, would they in fact represent the national consensus?"

And this is why Admiral Hayward spends a great deal of time speaking to audiences such as that in Seattle. The imperialists' own "national consensus" must be forged and tempered. The Admiral's speech gives more than a glimpse of what this "consensus" is. □

# Sunshine, beautiful surf and cancer

**Southern California.** Palm trees bending gently with the cool sea breeze, sunshine 300 days a year, beautiful white-capped surf curling onto the clean, sandy beaches. The good life... like in the movies, Zuma Beach, Malibu Beach. And who would know it better than the L.A. County lifeguards and the thousands who have grown up surfing the L.A. beaches—the envy of people all over the country? The problem is that the water isn't blue—it's bright purple, yellow and orange water that makes your skin tingle. It's been known to give lifeguards "horrible headaches" and nausea. And it's apparently given at least five of them cancer.

Five L.A. County lifeguards, all who worked and swam frequently near the Pico-Kenter storm drain on the Santa Monica beach, have come down with cancer. One of them, Rex O'Dell, died last month.

According to County Supervisor Yvonne Burke, as soon as "we have any indication that there is a problem, we're going to act fast and give them (beach users—RW) the safety they need." For most people, five individuals getting cancer "indicates a problem". Nonetheless, the authorities are "acting fast" to cover the whole thing up and blame anyone but themselves.

Immediately after O'Dell died, county spokesman Dan Reeder said, "cancer specialists" believe the link between the lifeguards' cancer and the material in the storm drain "is remote." Apparently, Reeder became an overnight "cancer specialist," because not one test on the storm drain water had been completed when he made this statement, and a study to find out if there is a higher pro-

portion of cancer among L.A. lifeguards than normal hadn't even started (in fact, it now appears that it may not be started at all, as the county is holding back from giving researchers the names of all the L.A. County lifeguards). Later that same day, John Mitchell, district sanitation engineer, noted, "We don't have the equipment to test the chemicals that are carcinogenic." Obviously, what "is remote" is the link between what the county authorities say and the truth.

Two days later, Roger Baird, also from the county sanitation lab, proudly announced that after testing water samples in the storm drain, they found "no traces of carcinogens." (How could they? They "don't have the equipment" to test for carcinogens.) Supervisor Burke found this "encouraging." "I would have no fear of going to Santa Monica beach or swimming there," she said, "there is no reason to close the beach." Oh, added Baird, there is one little matter of some unexplained "mutagenic activity" found in the samples. Carcinogens are a cause of "mutagenic activity," but don't worry, Burke says, this same stuff is found in other "river and surface water sources in the County of Los Angeles," too. And as to the link, two of the lifeguards got the *same type* of leukemia at almost the *same time* (October 1978)—one of their doctors estimated the chances of that being a coincidence as 1 in 30,000!

The beach has gotten so bad that twice in the last two years they've closed it because of effluents from the Pico-Kenter drain. But a Santa Monica city task force, "acting fast," says, "the discharge problems" are caused by "mom and pop" businesses rather than the major corporations who, of course, haul away their waste chemicals. (Baird

even suggested his "mutagenic activity" might have been caused by someone changing the oil in their car and dumping it in the drain.) Yet both the Santa Monica bus line and the city have been cited in the past for illegal dumping in the drain.

Six years ago a commission preparing a Santa Monica beach master plan warned that Santa Monica beach was being polluted with toxic materials through storm drains and singled out the Pico-Kenter drain as being particularly bad. Some of these toxic materials listed in the report are: DDT (causes cancer), heavy metals, and polychlorinated biphenyl compounds (PCB's which are among the worst carcinogens around and are still used in thousands of electrical capacitors, found on telephone poles). How many "mom and pop" stores do you think sell that stuff? And why hasn't the county been testing for it these past six years?

One lifeguard said, "We've been complaining for as long as I've been out there about that drain and others, and nobody's paid a damn bit of attention to us... We had a running joke that they (the county) probably take a sample, go back to the office and dump it down the drain." But the county is taking care of all that, lifeguards have been ordered to check the Pico drain at least three times a day to see what kind of crap is floating in it.

The California "good life" is smelling kind of putrid. As one guard put it, "It's not just five lifeguards, there are hundreds of guards we've totally lost contact with—for all we know, they could have it too. And what about all those kids who've been surfing out there since they were five years old?" □

## Hospital Rules: No Blood for Chicano

In issue No. 69 we reported the brutal slaying of two young Chicano men in Longmont, Colorado. One of our readers had sent us the story about the gunning down of Jeff Cordova and Juan Garcia by the police in Longmont. Since then *Tierra y Libertad*, the newspaper of the Land Rights Council in Chama, Colorado provided more information about the events in Longmont that once again serve as testimony indicting the criminal nature of this system and the murderous oppression of the national minorities, in this case the Chicanos.

In our last article we stated that a grand jury investigation was slated for September 3, and we also said that that well-worn grand jury rubber stamp of "justifiable homicide" would undoubtedly send the gunslinging killer back out into the streets. Well, we were wrong. These bastards are not even going through the motions of grand jury investigation. No, the District Attorney has decided to conduct a coroner's inquest rather than a grand jury. Why? Because an inquest has no powers to indict—it can only determine the cause of death. It is up to the DA to make a ruling as to whether or not any criminal charges would be brought. A nice neat package.

In fact it has come to light that the murdering pig, Glen Herner, has not even been charged with the shooting death of Juan Garcia. *RW* readers may remember that it was Juan who sup-

posedly attacked this cop with a flashlight. Obviously the authorities feel that this "justified" Herner blowing Garcia away, and the case is closed. It's a little harder for them to get by with this around Jeff Cordova's murder though; you see, Jeff was running to get the hell away from this mad-dog when he was shot in the back. Herner remains suspended with pay awaiting the inquest ruling on Juan's death.

What has to be the most coldly calculated aspect of this racist slaying is what happened to Jeff Cordova at the Longmont United Hospital after he was shot. A decision was made *not* to operate on him. Why? Because it was decided that his life, weighed against the amount of blood required to perform the surgery on him, just did not balance: Jeff Cordova was left to die on the emergency room table while the pints of blood needed to try to save his life were stored only seconds away. Of course the DA has asked the Assistant Director of Public Safety for Longmont, Harry Johns, to look into the charges. Of course.

The Longmont police force has responded predictably. The local cops hope to enlist ten more porkers into intimidation and repression of especially the Chicano population. A newspaper article from the city also makes the point that newly acquired funds from the City Council will also be used to purchase "other equipment." Guess what kind of equipment it'll be.

An interesting development, which is

testimony to the growing anger among Chicanos in Longmont, Colorado, is the fact that the FBI has begun conducting its own investigation even before the completion of the local one. Standard operating procedure usually has the FBI being called in *after* the stamp of "justifiable homicide" has made its imprint. This time around they are there from the jump because of tension in the community, according to a Justice Department spokesman. Over 1,000 people turned out for the funeral of Jeff Cordova and Juan Garcia this past August 20, in what can only be described as a statement of outrage by the Chicano population. And throughout the town spray paint slogans are appearing which sharply de-

nounce the crimes of the cops. Clearly, the role of the FBI and Justice Department is to aid the local authorities in patching up their discredited image, and aim this "independent investigation" not at the police, but the people.

As we go to press, the findings of the inquest have not been concluded. We will continue to keep abreast of developments in Longmont. One thing that came to our attention was that along with the new equipment and the new cops for the force, the Longmont police are planning to hire a "human relations specialist." No doubt one of their duties will be to go around the town and "relate" everytime another Chicano is gunned down. □

## L.A. Adoption Board Follows Tradition of the Plantation

The Los Angeles County Department of Adoptions has decreed that Betty and David Whitmore are not fit to be the adoptive parents of 9-month-old Lana. It's not because they're too poor—they already have three children and have shown they could financially handle a fourth. It's not because they aren't good parents—in fact, they've cared for some 30 children over the past few years as foster parents, for which they are licensed by the county. It's not because Lana doesn't like them—they have raised her since she was two days old, and she clearly and obviously loves them as her own mother and father. No, there's only one reason why the Whitmores are "unfit"—they are Black and Lana is white.

The authorities told Betty Whitmore they "had decided not to proceed with my application because I am Black." Continuing the fine tradition of the plantation, the county decided that Betty had done a good job of "mammy-ing" the little girl, and now it was time for the child to assume the proper attitude of the white mistress (a sentiment she could hardly be expected to develop if allowed to remain with the Whitmores). As Betty put it, "It's like they're telling me, 'you done brought her up, now move aside.'"

Upholding their never-ending quest for "racial purity," a spokesman for the county's adoptive apparatus declared, "Based on Lana's age and background, we found no indicators that would warrant a 'transracial' adoption." In fact, the "uppity" response of the Whitmores has led an adoption supervisor to tell them that they should not be allowed to even foster parent any more white babies, saying the county doesn't want them "to get attached to" the wrong kind. Apparently, the crusader is fearful that these situations may develop into some illicit transracialism.

According to the director of adoptions, the county's policy is based on guidelines set down by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Generally speaking, the state apparatus considers it "healthier" "to maintain racial and ethnic heritage." However, there is apparently one form of "transracialism" that is sanctioned by the powers that be, at least in those instances where it can be assured that the children will develop the proper respect for white superiority. When he was asked if any Black children had been placed in white families, the director replied, "We certainly have placed transracially in *that way*." □

## LAPD Guns Down Kenny Ramirez 800 Angry People Attend Funeral

On the night of October 17, Kenny Ramirez finished up his swing shift at Lockheed Burbank and headed for home. He stopped by his fiancée's house to chat for a few minutes, just as he did every night after work, and then left for his parents' house in Mission Hills. Once home, he met up with his brother and two friends from work, Victor Villareal and Hector Quintana.

Said Hector: "Me and Victor and Chris (Kenny's brother) were talking out in the street when this cop car drives by real slowly. They didn't shine their spotlight or say anything, they just went up the street, made a U-turn, and started coming back."

"Kenny started walking out of the house. When he got in front of the car (one parked at the sidewalk), the police car stopped."

"The cop opened the door. He didn't say anything. He took a shot. Kenny fell. He didn't make a sound." Kenny Ramirez, 19, lay dead.

Word of the slaying of this young Chicano worker swiftly shot through the community. Almost as swift was the response of Stephen Yslas, the Latino member of the Police Commission. Yslas babbled, "I want to assure (the community) of my commitment to a thorough and objective investigation of the circumstances leading to the death of Mr. Ramirez. It's vital that we have an unbiased investigation..." But a more honest response came from the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) itself which immediately called the killing an "unfortunate accident." Officer Rhinehart, the murderer, "drew the gun and the damned thing went off," the LAPD spokesman whined, "it was a simultaneous thing." And how did this "unfortunate accident," this "simultaneous thing" take place? Rhinehart took aim and fired, killing Kenny Ramirez with one shot in the head.

The next day, the "official version" was expanded, Rhinehart had "accidentally discharged" his weapon. Ap-

parently asked by a reporter how an accident like this could happen, and trying to show their "concern" about this, LAPD experts testified that patrol cops only carry single-action revolvers, which take 8 to 10 pounds of trigger pressure to fire, "thus minimizing accidents." What it proves, though, is that the murder of Kenny Ramirez, like so many like it, was *no* accident. For the LAPD, gunning down unarmed Blacks and Chicanos is part of "department policy."

An accident! Only nine days after Kenny Ramirez's murder, another murdering cop, an L.A. County Sheriff, "accidentally discharged" his shotgun, killing 20-year-old Raymond Nicholson, who had been pulled over on "suspicion of having a shotgun in his car."

In fact, since mid-September, police in L.A. including the LAPD, sheriffs, highway patrol and assorted smaller police departments, have killed no less than nine people, each murder "accidental" or "well within department policy."

As an older Chicano who lives near Kenny's parents told the *RW*, "It was no accident. This stuff goes on all the time. The cops are racists. They arrested me and beat up my wife for drinking beer in our own front yard while we were having a barbecue. They said it was 'gang activity.' One of the cops told me, 'We're going to get all of you Mexicans out of here.'"

Over 800 people came out to Ramirez's funeral, many circulated petitions to bring the cops to trial. One week after the killing, more than 30 of Kenny's friends, co-workers and neighbors demonstrated inside the police station near Kenny's house.

Another Chicano dead, another step up in the LAPD's status as No. 1 killers among their brethren nationwide, and another "unfortunate accident" added to the hatred of the people for this system and its hired killers. □

## Revolutionary Killed at Bethlehem Steel

Larry Seide

**San Francisco, September 4th.** A forklift, improperly loaded, knocked down a welder and then ran over him. Larry Seide, age 37, was murdered—crushed to death. To Bethlehem Shipyards, the employer, it was another "accident," to be blamed on worker carelessness. To the working class, it is yet another example of the bloody hand of capital at work, and the loss of a class-conscious fighter. Larry Seide was an independent Marxist who since the anti-Vietnam war movement hated and fought against imperialism. An intellectual who became a revolutionary in the storm of struggles during the '60s, Larry took up the science of Marxism and went to the working class. Although he never joined the vanguard of the proletariat in this country, he took a firm stand against both imperialist superpowers and their war preparations and the revisionist coup in China. On May 1st, Larry marched in the historic International Workers' Day demonstrations.

Some of Larry's friends recently sent the *RW* a letter, which concludes: "For those of us who knew Larry as a close friend and political ally, who learned from him and derived strength from him, his death is a tremendous loss. He would have thrived on the sort of daily, intense, mass struggle which will accompany socialism. We should honor his strength and commitment to study and struggle by struggling with one another not to become confused and retreat, but to fight for revolution here and around the world. Mao Tsetung described the death of those who stand with the enemy as 'lighter than a feather,' and that of those who fight for the people as 'weightier than Mount Tai.' Larry Seide's death was truly 'weightier than Mount Tai.'" □

# Power

Continued from page 1

The big news that has been splashed across the newspaper front pages and endlessly repeated on TV from election day onward, was the supposed "swing to the right" by the masses of people that led to "a massive outpouring from the people" resulting in a "Reagan landslide" and a Republican majority in the Senate. Suddenly after months of be-moaning the fact that there was so little enthusiasm around the elections, and andy of the candidates, a great so-called "mandate of the people" has been delivered. But wait just a minute, not so fast Mr. Pollsters and election analysts, we too can analyze your elections and we'll use your very own (and very limited in value too) statistics. While your election figures only indicate some of the more superficial aspects of the mood and outlook of some sections of the masses of people, even the results of this rigged con game are somewhat revealing. A quick look at even these tells quite the opposite of the fairytale being spun out by the media. What is revealed instead is an attempt by the bourgeoisie to scare, threaten and just generally bum people out with various notions that the masses of people themselves are solidly behind the attacks and crimes of the ruling class and just love reactionaries like Reagan.

Look at what they did. If you turned on your TV set early on election day, or opened an early edition of the

newspaper, in many places there was a big to-do about HEAVY VOTER TURNOUT! This was a total lie as the actual results show that only 52% of eligible voters went to the polls, the lowest percentage since women got the vote. But this lie was run out in order to help create the idea of a landslide "swing to the right." The next day there was hardly a mention of the turnout in the press, and they had to admit that they had been wrong. And how quickly we are supposed to forget that, even by their own admission, real enthusiasm for any of the candidates in this election was at all time lows. For example, *Time* magazine ran a poll a while back showing that only 11% of eligible voters really dug Reagan, with 9% for Carter and 6% for Anderson. And large sections of those who *did* vote Reagan did not do so because they were gung ho for him or his politics but rather they were sucked into the arguments that any change would be better than Carter. The 51% of the 52% who actually voted for Reagan were overwhelmingly not workers or the more basic masses of people, who are much more likely to stay away from the polls in disgust, period. In fact the average American voter is a fairly well-off petty bourgeois and it was these forces, professionals, small owners, white collar workers, the labor officials and a very small strata of better off workers who are mainly responsible for the Reagan victory. While eventually significant numbers from among these sections can and will be won to side with the working class in the course of making revolution (on the basis of the visible strength of the working class and the

masses of people), on the whole they are vacillating elements. In times like these, when the economy is in crisis, and the future for them shows only worse, they tend to go in a conservative direction toward people like Reagan. This is not to say that a number of workers and other oppressed people didn't vote for Reagan, but we hardly have a picture here of anything even vaguely resembling a "landslide" or a "swing to the right." Instead, we have the bourgeoisie doing just what it did throughout the whole well orchestrated and stage managed election campaign, lying and manipulating for their political ends, which in this case are to unleash the more backward and conservative forces in the country and attempt to intimidate and bum out the masses of people, particularly the more advanced who are trying to find a way out of this madness.

And since the election they have set their prostitute press loose trying to sell this so-called "mandate" to the millions who aren't buying. With the appropriate red, white, and blue flag-waving laid on real thick they have waxed poetic. As one hackneyed member of the press put it in *Newsweek* in a smug attempt to make silly, circular, deadend logic seem quite profound:

"As much as I pity those people who have never known democracy, I pity Americans whose souls are dead to the poetry of our politics, the generally civilized and civilizing churning of a great nation. However much our campaigns may at times seem to trivialize politics, they have an essential dignity, inherent and indestructible, because through them a great people conducts the peaceful disposition not just of power but of authority—legitimacy. That act, viewed against the tapestry of history, is a social miracle, nothing less."

Here we see expressed the wishful dreaming of a truly desperate and threatened class, a handful of "dead souls" or, more correctly, dying parasites who must constantly convince themselves and the masses of people of the "essential dignity" and "indestructibility" of their crisis-ridden empire and their decadent political system. And it is the maintenance of the "legitimacy" of this political system that they are hoping for "social miracles" to further.

In fact the sheer numbers of tears and movieland hopes for the future of "making America great again" etc., that have poured out from Carter, Reagan and the rest during this campaign tell the real story behind the flag waving headlines and arrogant editorials. They do have much to be worried about.

They didn't have the political stage to themselves during this election by any means. Significant, new and growing opposition to their election con game was demonstrated on November 4 from the masses of people, including class conscious workers (see other articles this issue), and fittingly election time rolled around at a time when the U.S. was in the throes of trying to recoup its losses from a humiliating blow delivered by the Iranian people (see page 5 this issue).

Better this not be mentioned in their election coverage however. Instead it was: Why, the screaming mobs have spoken and have invested the ruling class with a virtual carte blanche to step up its war preparations and other attacks on the people in this country and around the world! People want a change—more of the same and worse—or so the fairytale goes. Now it's become all the more clear exactly how they were setting up the elections. All the talk about "the rise of the right" has reached a grand orgiastic culmination in this colossal "election mandate" fraud.

And some demised Democrats (the ones shown all over the newspapers weeping and wailing) and the liberal media are stammering, aghast at this supposed conservative tide that is washing over the country, trying to make a big case that their slightly more eloquent mask for the crimes of U.S. imperialism is truly a more civilized and American one to have in the Oval Office and the halls of Congress. Even some progressive people who have no real stake in covering up the crimes of this system have been falling for these hustler's pitch. Somehow many have forgotten that Jimmy Carter, like all the

rest of their politicians, is not exactly what could be described as a progressive figure. After all, it is the Carter doctrine that was issued by the U.S. imperialists in the past year in which they state they will defend their interests in the Persian Gulf "by any means necessary." And which president is it that ordered the abortive raid on Iran. And under whose administration are unparalleled military buildup and provocations taking place in the Persian Gulf, including the gangster style attacks on Iran through the Iraqi invasion? Under whose administration has "defense" (war) spending reached record levels? The list could go on for pages, but that really isn't necessary, only a quick and clear-headed glance over Jimmy's record of service to the rulers of this country is quite sufficient (or any president for that matter).

And the truth of the matter is, that while the bourgeoisie has quite systematically been trying to unleash the neanderthal reactionaries and backward elements in this country in general (which the Reagan campaign is in fact part of), and while they have even made some progress in this area, most of this "rise of the right" is media hype pure and simple, as we have already shown. In the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker* and in the RCP's pamphlet on the elections titled, "Bourgeois Dictatorship and the 1980 Elections" this question has been spoken to. It is well worth reprinting a few parts of the election pamphlet here in regard to their "phenomenon" and the Reagan campaign:

"...imperialist dogs that they are, this country's rulers are trying to blame their rabid warmongering on the masses of people saying that this preoccupation with preparing for war is a result of a 'swing to the right' by the American people. This notion, spread by the media, goes something like this: 'The leaders of this country are responding to a rightward wind coming from 'pressure groups' and large sections of the people, or at least the white people. This is forcing these leaders to make bolder and bolder war moves and generally step up reaction on all fronts. In particular, Ronald Reagan's candidacy is a result of this tide of reaction, and the increased military spending and war moves, etc. by the Carter administration are a response to this demand from the people. . . ."

"The bourgeoisie has spread all over its press, story after story about this so-called 'rise of the right,' with hyped-up stories about the growing strength of every right-wing organization from the KKK to the Moral Majority (in reality a decrepit minority) and other groups of the 'evangelical right.' . . ."

"Certainly there is no shortage of right-wingers and neanderthal reactionaries in this country. One would have to be blind not to recognize this fact. There is a so-called 'evangelical right.' There is a John Birch Society and a KKK. There is an American Legion and a VFW, etc. And there are backward forces among the masses, especially in the petty bourgeoisie, but also among the workers.

"But there has been no dramatic or sudden enlistment of millions of new members in right-wing organizations, and in fact what rise in membership there has been has been accomplished with the direct help and publicity of the bourgeoisie. In fact, it is the bourgeoisie who prop up, nurture, promote, and in many cases actually finance these organizations and movements for their own political purposes, and who are also constantly trying to win people over to their reactionary politics. To portray what the bourgeoisie does as a response to pressure from the 'increasingly right-wing masses' is both to stand reality completely on its head and to actually legitimize the rule of the bourgeoisie, because, as they say in true gangster style, 'This is a democracy and we just give the people what they want.' . . ."

"In many ways, the Reagan campaign is acting as a spearhead, in a certain sense, for the kind of aggressive stance and stepped up attacks on the masses that the imperialists are being forced to take as America declines and the struggle between the U.S. and the Soviet Union heats up rapidly toward a massive showdown. What better way to push patriotism and the devotion to fight and die for the greater glory of U.S.

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**"This decision doesn't just mean that we are back to square 1 in the case, but represents a serious escalation which must be met in exactly the way that forced the government to back off the case last November, with an outpouring of support by thousands of people from all walks of life. Specifically, we're calling on people to rise to the challenge and send letters and telegrams in protest of this outrageous decision to the D.C. Court of Appeals, contribute money needed to fight this railroad both in the courts and out among the people, and step forward and build political opposition to this railroad in their local areas."**

Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants

Rise to the challenge! Send letters and telegrams to:

D.C. Court of Appeals  
500 Indiana Avenue N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20001

Committee to Free the  
Mao Tsetung Defendants  
Box 6422 "T" Station  
Washington, D.C. 20009

## Mao Tsetung Defendant

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only solution—world war against their rival mob in the Soviet Union. This necessity more and more sharpens up the contradiction between them and what is rising and developing—the revolutionary upsurges of sections of people here and around the world. People aspiring to get from under the shit that they're putting down. In their own way I think the bourgeoisie realizes this. But like a sick junky robbing old folks they're struggling to survive. They know that Miami was only a preview of what is going to be happening in the streets of this country.

But what they cannot stand, what throws the whole thing up for grabs is having leadership and consciousness infused into the situation. Their worst nightmare is a working class conscious of their interests and what needs to be done. United around a program with another road other than theirs. In the last year alone, with the development of the objective situation, the vanguard Party of the working class has led a class conscious section of the advanced on to the political stage on May Day. They have spread a conscious conspiracy of the *Revolutionary Worker* well down the road to 100,000 co-conspirators, opened up the struggle over the other programs that must be out there—the Party's *Draft Programme*, and most recently gave class conscious

expression to the sentiments of millions around the election con game. And as the imperialists prepare for war, the RCP has made important contributions to developing a truly international communist movement. So, no, the RCP didn't fade or capitulate as the bourgeoisie hoped. (They should have known better—when they attacked the righteous demonstration exposing the Chinese revisionists, declaring that "Mao Tsetung did not fail, *revolution will prevail.*") Instead the Party stepped up the pace, geared towards coming from behind to make revolution.

So is there any doubt why the railroad of the Mao Tsetung Defendants and particularly and most especially of Bob Avakian, is back in motion. And why it must not only be stopped but turned into its opposite and lay the ground for further leaps towards revolution. Far from being an act of strength this is an act of desperation. The ruling class's freedom is less than it was last year and the exposure of their nature will be much greater. As Bob Avakian said, "The masses of people no matter what they think, have something to say about whether or not they can destroy the revolutionary vanguard Party in this country."

Daryl  
Mao Tsetung Defendant

# Election Fog

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slaves could rely on the slave masters for salvation. These ballots spelled it out: THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID. I DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF ITS CANDIDATES. While far fewer in number than those who half-heartedly (or half-mindedly) pulled the official lever, the actions of these more conscious forces had an impact far greater than their numerical strength. This was highlighted by demonstrations in San Francisco and Detroit. These demonstrators knew there was far too much at stake for the oppressed not to take to the streets on election day as they raised not only the slogan from the ballot but "Down with U.S.-Soviet War Moves" as well. The actions and the impact of the class-conscious forces during the 1980 elections revealed in many ways that the potential for many more to act with understanding had been far from exhausted. Those that dared to act in their real interests challenged, inspired and provided direction for others to break free of the bourgeoisie's grip, to shake off cynicism and to in turn help loosen the ruler's grip on millions more.

## San Francisco Bay Area

In the San Francisco Bay Area where some of the advanced took out this campaign in a big way (like some AC Rapid Transit drivers who reportedly collected ballots in shoeboxes aboard their buses in the week before the demonstration), a total of at least five thousand ballots were signed and returned, and a wide variety of forces endorsed and or participated in the S.F. demonstration including The Committee in Support of the Continuing Iranian Revolution, the Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center, the Pan African Student Collective, Vietnam Veterans Against the War (AV), Union of Iranian Communists, the Iranian Students Association, the Eleventh Hour Battalion (California revolutionary feminist group), the Africa Media Information Service, anti-nuke and anti-draft activists, and the New Movement in Solidarity with Puerto Rican Independence and Socialism, who earlier in the day had marched on both Carter's campaign headquarters in L.A. and Reagan's in S.F. demanding "Free Puerto Rico!"

On election day, as a determined crowd of 140 gathered in front of the federal building for the march the authorities found themselves confronted with a real challenge to their election hype. Quickly dropping their facade of freedom and democracy, they paraded out the bottom line of their bourgeois rule—the armed force of the state in the form of dozens of helmeted police who raced their motorcycles alongside the crowd, attempting to intimidate the marchers, confiscated poles being used for banners and revved up their engines to drown out the chants. But as the march moved out into the downtown area, people in the street stepped forward to join the demonstration, grabbing stacks of leaflets, straining to reach through the police cordon to pass them out to others and eagerly taking up the chant, "Anderson, Reagan, Carter all agree—To keep U.S. No. 1 we need World War III!"

Suddenly the cops were being forced to back off as it became apparent the demonstration was being received by hundreds with an enthusiasm these pigs hadn't expected—smiles broadening on people's faces, cheers breaking out and fists raised in exclamation of support.

After another mini-rally in downtown S.F. where many people came forward and filled out ballots and listened to the speeches, the march moved on to the world headquarters of Bank of America where hundreds of ballots that had been signed were unceremoniously plastered all over a huge stone sculpture, appropriately entitled "The Bankers Heart," in a powerful statement exposing just who in fact rules this country and just whose interests the elections serve. That evening the widespread indignation at the bourgeoisie's election farce exploded across the bay in Berkeley as a demonstration that had been called for earlier in the day by a Berkeley anti-draft organization to protest the elections, regardless of which

presidential candidate won, spilled out into the streets of the city and continued into the following days.

## Detroit

Meanwhile the stage had also been set for an intense battle for public opinion around the elections in Detroit, a city viewed by the bourgeoisie as a key test of their ability to retain the allegiance of some of the most oppressed sections of the people—the industrial proletariat and the Black masses—to their shuck of "voting will determine everything." When Ralph Abernathy made his surprise endorsement of Reagan, it was the signal for a media blitz about the importance of the "Black vote", the "union vote", etc., etc. Detroit mayor and Democratic Party hack Coleman Young also got into the act, virtually declaring the city would fall apart and along with it the entire auto industry if Carter was not re-elected. On the Sunday before election day this barrage reached a fever pitch as a grandiose Carter rally was held in the downtown civic arena in which the bourgeoisie dragged out every imaginable hack from Ted Kennedy and UAW president Doug Fraser, to Coretta King and Muhammad Ali, and provided lots of free entertainment to drum up a frenzy of "the lesser of two evils" and "Vote for Carter."

But outside the arena there were people exposing this hype, turning a number of folks away and convincing some to sign the ballots targeting the system. This scene and others like it around the city did not bode well for the bourgeoisie's hopes of smoothly holding their elections uncontested as the battle around the elections spread right into the heart of the auto industry. At Ford's River Rouge plant some of the advanced marched into the cafeteria with a toilet bowl, sparking widespread debate that resulted in 170 "This system is putrid" ballots signed and collected there. At Chrysler's Dodge Truck, ballots were posted all over the plant. Workers there told RW sellers that they had stayed up late into the night talking about the significance of the election and the RW broadsheet. That this demonstration and the activities surrounding it had broad repercussions among the masses in Detroit was revealed by a dramatic increase in sales of the RW at Dodge Truck, with a number of workers buying five at a time to take in and sell to others. Likewise sales at the Rouge plant in the days following the election reached the highest level ever.

The authorities who at first moved to deny a permit for the election day, demonstration in Detroit had begun to think twice as it was becoming apparent that this would be too much of an exposure of the democratic fraud they were trying to put over at the polling booths. Nevertheless, the seriousness with which they viewed the action that began with about 50 people was immediately apparent as it moved toward the downtown rally site on election day surrounded by all manner of plainclothes pigs, mounted police and motorcycle cops who attempted to screen people off from joining as they followed along the sidewalk—including many Black people the city fathers had hoped would be out voting for Carter that day. In the face of this cop intimidation, 200 stepped up boldly to cast ballots into the giant toilet bowl carried at the head of the march and at the rally where the people listening numbered 150 at any one time.

Of particular significance was a four foot high banner signed by 105 residents of Bowen Homes housing project in Atlanta (where a recent KKK-style bombing claimed the lives of five children) and sent to Detroit in solidarity with the election day action. Addressed to "The imperialist rulers and all their lackeys" it read:

"The twisted metal and shattered glass of Bowen Homes nursery and the five who died here stand as another monument to your vicious system and the oppression of Black people that it thrives on.

"Your crimes are exposed to millions, yet you must prepare to drag the world's people into the mass murder of WW III. Now you are desperately trying to sucker us into putting our stamp of approval on your rotten system on election day.

"We are joining with others to

understand that now is the time for the slaves to stop waiting on the slavemaster to break the chains. This whole system is putrid! We don't believe in any of its candidates!"

This banner was carried proudly and prominently in the election day demonstration and had a profound impact on the many who saw it.

A number of people who joined the demonstration were being moved to play a more active role, speaking out at the rally and urging others to take a stand. One Black vet, who not only marched but had recorded RW agitators on his own cassette tapes to play for his friends and in public places, took the mike himself and spoke of the jolts going on in society, the U.S.'s war preparations and declared:

"I ain't gonna fight my brother—not no more! Not after I've been exposed and seen what's happening... what I'm trying to say is this—Can't we wake up and say look man! Can't we see through this game they're trying to pull? Why is it that they're down saying 'go and vote!' This is an unprecedented time. Never have they asked us to go down there and vote like this. They know the disgust with the Black leaders... They've sold out."

Another Black woman who also spoke at the rally, spent the rest of the day with a team taking the ballots around to plants and communities and stayed up late that night to discuss

revolutionary theory.

## Coast to Coast

In addition to demonstrations in S.F. and Detroit, many stepped forward in a number of other cities across the country determined to expose the lie of American "democracy." From the garment district in New York, where class-conscious workers took stacks of the election broadsides into different shops, to the meat packing plants in L.A., where workers who signed the ballots engaged in sharp and fruitful debate over such vital questions as the necessity and possibility of civil war to overthrow U.S. imperialism, and the opportunity presented by the elections was seized to awaken others to the possibility of a different future than that of languishing in the grip of the oppressor. This election-time around, our rulers definitely did not have a free hand in running their politics unopposed.

Clearly the slogans of this election campaign were giving active and much needed expression to the interests and requirements of the advanced and enabling them to become a lever to move others forward. One brother in Cincinnati, a Black student, called into an open talk show and put out the line of, and raised views similar to those in, the RCP's election pamphlet and completely changed the direction of the

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**If you get out and vote, we'll get out the coffee and cake...FREE!**

**Alphy's** restaurants

**This election day we'd like to give you some food for thought.**

**And to put some extra bite in this year's election, we'll give you a hot dog for voting.**

**THE BROADWAY**

**Show the nation L.A.'s Bicentennial Spirit. Vote.**

**America is at a turning point**

Unless you take an active part in electing leaders capable of acting in your behalf and making your needs known to them, American leadership cannot help but be unconscious. And during these trying times, this great nation of ours cannot afford to have unconscious leaders.

You, and every American like you, can help initiate positive change by becoming well-informed on the issues and candidates in the upcoming election. Your vote will contribute to the intelligent resolution of the problems that challenge our government. As a nation, we must look to ourselves for the solutions to this country's problems. We must seek out the strong leadership of our country—ourselves! Now more than ever before, it is imperative that our voices be heard. We need strong leaders, and, in turn, they need our vision, our common sense and our support.

You can make a strong personal statement in your country's best interest by casting your vote at the general election this November. By doing so, you'll help celebrate L.A.'s Bicentennial in the democratic tradition in which it was founded. And you'll help ensure that the government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

**After you vote come to Vons with Vons voter's dollar and your voter's stub.**

They will be worth twenty-five cents in four Vons department stores for a total of one dollar off. Offer effective November 4 and 5 only.

MEAT ITEM	25¢	PRODUCE ITEM	25¢
BAKERY ITEM	25¢	DELI ITEM	25¢

Sponsored in the public interest by: VONS GROCERY COMPANY

**"Help ensure that the government of the people, by the people and for the people, shall not perish from the earth" and get 25¢ off on any meat, produce, bakery or deli item—some of the bourgeoisie's last minute efforts to get out the vote.**

## Secret Memo from Top U.S. "Diplomat" in Iran:

"... Great sensitivity to any hint of CIA activity... cover (must) be the best we can come up with."

In their patriotic campaign to make the 52 hostages being held in Iran appear to be "innocent victims of an act of international terrorism"—when the U.S. embassy was taken over and occupied in November of 1979—the rulers of the U.S. have gone to great lengths to conceal just what their precious employees in the Tehran embassy were doing there. This secret cable, which makes it abundantly clear that the embassy was a nest of CIA activity, is one of the 25 classified spy documents discovered by the students holding the embassy and given to the "Send the Shah Back/Hands Off Iran Delegation" from the U.S. when it was in Iran last December. (Several of these were reprinted in *RW* No. 33, 12/21/79.)

L. Bruce Laingen—the chargé d'affaires and the highest ranking U.S. diplomat in Iran at the time—sent this cable in August 1979 from the embassy to the State Department in Washington D.C. on the subject of obtaining the necessary "diplomatic" titles for two CIA officers—Malcolm Kalp and William Daugherty—who had just arrived in Iran. Laingen explained that in order to keep these two agents' covers intact, they had to be placed in "second or third secretary" positions in the embassy, and provided with the appropriate State Department "R Designation" (as Foreign Service Reserve Officers).

Laingen emphasized to his bosses in Washington D.C. that such coverage was necessary because of "the great sensitivity locally to any hint of CIA activity"; he also recommended that this particular "SRF" program that Kalp

and Daugherty were to work in (it is not clear what aspect of the CIA's intelligence gathering and political counter-insurgency program in Iran the "SRF" initials refer to) should be limited to 4 officer assignments "until we see how things go here."

Here Laingen is clearly referring to the difficulty for CIA case officers such as these in mid-1979 to maintain covert contacts with Iranian counterrevolutionaries and intelligence sources by operating directly out of the embassy—which he knew was being watched closely by the Iranian people, and by anti-imperialist and revolutionary organizations in particular. And because the U.S. embassy in Tehran had to pack off many of its CIA "old hands" after the Shah was overthrown in February 1979 by a massive popular uprising—in the midst of which many extremely "sensitive" records were seized in SAVAK headquarters, military bases and numerous Iranian government offices that referred to their CIA contacts in the U.S. embassy—they had to start "from a clean slate in SRF coverage at this mission."

This document provides but a small glimpse into the workings of the U.S. embassy in Tehran in the fall of 1979, less than two months before it was occupied and correctly labeled as "a den of spies." In the near future, the *RW* will expose the sordid backgrounds of some of these great "hostage heroes" and explain more fully how the embassy in Tehran functioned as an important part of the U.S. imperialists' attempts throughout 1979 to reverse and crush the Iranian revolution. □

SECRET

TEHRAN 9933

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ZNY SSSSS ZZH  
R 091237Z AUG 79  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TC SECSTATE WASHDC 3153  
-BT  
SECRET TEHRAN 08933  
ROGER CHANNEL

CLASS: SECRET  
CHRG: STATE 8/9  
APPRV: CHG: LBLAINGEN  
DRFTD: CHG: LBLAINGEN/BJH  
CLEAR: NONE  
DISTR: CHG

E.G.: 120SJ RDS 2 8/9/99 (LAINGEN, L.B.) OR-M  
TAGS: PINR  
SUBJ: SRF ASSIGNMENTS

REF: STATE 202349 AND 202350

1. S - Entire Text
2. I concur in assignments Malcolm Kalp and William Daugherty as described reflets.\*
3. With opportunity available to us in the sense that we are starting from a clean slate in SRF coverage at this mission, but with regard also for the great sensitivity locally to any hint of CIA activity. It is of the highest importance that cover be the best we can come up with. Hence there is no question as to the need for second and third secretary titles for these two officers. We must have it.
4. I believe cover arrangements in terms of assignments within Embassy are appropriate to present overall staffing pattern. We should however hold to the present total of four SRF officer assignments for the foreseeable future. Keeping supporting staff as sparse as possible as well. Until we see how things go here.
5. We are making effort to limit knowledge within Emb of all SRF assignments; that effort applies particularly to Daugherty, pursuant to new program of which he is a product and about which I have been informed.
6. I suppose I need not mind the department that the old and apparently insoluble problem of R designation for SRF officers will inevitably complicate and to some degree weaken our cover efforts locally, no matter how much we work at it. LAINGEN

BT  
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\*"Reflets" are reference telegrams. Here Laingen is saying, "as described in the telegrams you referred to"—*RW*.



## 366+

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was brought into the U.S. on October 22.

By the beginning of November Tehran was on edge. Many Iranians were fed up with the government's drift toward internal reaction and rapprochement with the U.S. Millions sensed that something was in the works. They remembered the last time the Shah was driven from his throne in 1953, only to be returned on the shoulders of a CIA coup d'état. Then on November 2 it was announced that Prime Minister Bazargan and Foreign Minister Yazdi had met secretly with none other than U.S. National Security Council Chief Zbigniew Brzezinski in Algeria. For millions this was a sure signal that the revolution was being sold down the river to the U.S. imperialists and that forces inside the government were compromising and betraying everything they had fought and died for. Then the demonstration and the seizure of the U.S. Embassy exploded the whole scene. The Bazargan government was brought down in a matter of days and other pro-U.S. forces were up against the wall, or rather looking for a hole to crawl back into to avoid the tremendous wave of anti-U.S. imperialist struggle that swept the country in support of the embassy seizure. The Iranian people had not merely captured a "den of spies." They had dealt a stinging blow to U.S. imperialism's efforts to bring Iran under its thumb once more.

The U.S. government had expected some sort of incident in Iran when they brought the Shah to the U.S. and when word got out about the secret meeting with Bazargan. But they hadn't expected this. Undoubtedly the U.S. hoped that bringing the Shah into the U.S. would give heart and encouragement to reactionaries inside Iran to step up their activities and that this would coincide with their attempts to undermine the revolution through Bazargan and his allies in the government. They miscalculated. As one Carter Administration aide summed up recently,

"We pushed too hard on too weak a friend," referring to Bazargan. Once again, as was the case during the earlier stages of the revolution when they thought they could prop up the Shah, the U.S. think-tanks and policy makers hadn't included the Iranian people themselves into their calculations.

The Khomeini forces, while they were wary and in many cases opposed to the Bazargan forces' rush to come to terms with the U.S., had not been about to really mobilize the masses of people in opposition to U.S. schemes. But now the embassy seizure had mobilized millions and they had no choice but to go along and give support or be exposed, and perhaps swept aside.

#### New Conditions for Rallying Anti-Imperialist Forces Created

Stunned by the takeover and the massive anti-imperialist upsurge that jumped off inside Iran, the U.S. ruling class responded like a wounded beast. However, as they roared about being "victims of terrorism" and screamed their "concern" for the hostages, they were busy trying to capitalize on the situation. But not only had all their attempts to move quickly back into Iran in force been blown out of the water, the embassy seizure had created new conditions such that every move the U.S. made afterward only served to expose them further as the enemy of the Iranian people and intensify the sentiment against them.

The U.S. froze some \$8 billion in Iranian bank assets in the U.S. They cut off oil shipments from Iran and stepped up military maneuvers in the area. But all this only served to exacerbate the central contradiction still facing the Iranian revolution: the struggle between U.S. imperialism and the masses of the Iranian people. When the U.S. tried to use the UN and the International Court in the Hague to bludgeon the Iranians into submission and force the release of the hostages, as far as the Iranian people were concerned, it only served to expose these institutions as tools of U.S. imperialism. When the U.S. was finally able to pressure its European allies to agree to economic sanctions against Iran it helped define for the

Iranian people the dimensions of the enemy camp, the imperialist alliance arranged against them. When the Pope piously called for the release of the Americans on "humanitarian grounds" Khomeini and others sarcastically demanded of "Mr. Pope," why no pope had ever uttered one pontifical peep against the Shah and his tortures. When both the Soviet and Chinese revisionists voted in the UN for the return of the hostages, it only confirmed for many Iranians that these once revolutionary countries were now enemies of the revolution.

The U.S. tried to paint the condemnation of the hostage seizure by the bourgeois governments of the world as representing universal, mass opposition to the action of the Iranian people, to claim that it was Iran standing alone against the world. But this was proven false by the international wave of demonstrations and upheaval sparked by the embassy seizure. The U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan was sacked. Militant actions directed against the U.S. and in support of the Iranian people took place in Kuwait, Bahrain and other countries in the Middle East, and as far away as the Philippines. And it was not accidental that the rulers of other Moslem countries, like Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, already nervous about the impact of the Iranian revolution, were shaken by the embassy seizure. Millions of people throughout the world saw it for what it was: the Iranian people standing up to U.S. imperialism, and they were encouraged and inspired by it.

The taking of the embassy also provided some immediate and very direct exposure of the U.S. Despite the frantic efforts of embassy personnel to burn sensitive and revealing documents in the hours and minutes before the students took over the buildings, thousands of documents were captured. These documents proved that the decision to bring the Shah into the U.S. was a calculated political move that had nothing to do with "humanitarian concern" for his health. They showed that this "diplomatic sanctuary" was full of CIA officers working to set up networks of Iranian counter-

revolutionaries and intelligence agents throughout Iran and even organizing assassinations. Other documents were released that exposed people within the Iranian government as agents of the Shah or as continuing to have secret contacts with the U.S. These included Deputy Prime Minister Amir Entezam and the Ayatollah Shariat Madari, whom the U.S. had tried to promote in opposition to Khomeini.

For both the U.S. ruling class and the Iranian people the embassy became a focal point of the battle, not simply over the fate of the 53 Americans, but over the whole future course of the Iranian revolution.

All the exposure of the U.S. and its Iranian friends had helped deepen the people's understanding of the continued roots and the role of U.S. imperialism within the country. And the way the whole country was galvanized into mass political activity after the hostage seizure gave Iran's anti-imperialist and revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces new freedom to work openly and spread their influence and political organization, and restricted the government's freedom to attack them. Within a matter of weeks after the embassy takeover Tehran University was once again bursting with leftist literature. In December a left-led demonstration in support of the seizure drew between 300,000 and 400,000 people. This new surge of struggle, focused clearly against the U.S. imperialists and their Iranian allies, and coming on the heels of a succession of political and military defeats for the government's efforts to crush the battle for national autonomy being waged by the Kurds, gave the government added reason to seek a ceasefire in Kurdistan.

The impact of the hostage seizure on the balance of forces within Iran should not be underestimated. With millions of people awakened to a new level of political life and activity, not only did the genuine revolutionary forces have greater opportunities to agitate, propagandize and organize for continuing the struggle to wipe out all the semi-feudal and imperialist relations that kept the masses in the bondage of ig-

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norance and exploitation, it also sharpened up the contradictions within the government and new ruling classes. In the wake of the takeover mass debate raged among workers, peasants and other strata of people. How do we cut off all ties of dependency on U.S. imperialism? What should we do with the hostages? How should the revolution move forward? Do we need to rely on the Soviets in order to break free of U.S. domination?

The mass outpouring was so strong and the contradictions with the U.S. heightened to such a degree that the section of the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois elements as well as some hidden pro-U.S. elements centered around the Islamic Republic Party, headed by Ayatollah Beheshti, were forced to support the embassy takeover and take new measures against the U.S. These people took a dual approach to the embassy seizure. On the one hand they tried to use the mass upsurge to consolidate their own position and build loyalty for the government. They quickly held a referendum on the new reactionary constitution, held presidential elections in February of 1980 and parliamentary elections in March, in which they successfully won the majority of seats. On the other hand they continually searched for ways behind the scenes to come to terms with the U.S. without giving any indication in public that they were willing to capitulate to the U.S. Cloaked to some degree with the popularity of Khomeini himself, though by no means sharing his stature among the people as a revolutionary leader, the leaders of the Islamic Republic Party (IRP), mainly clergy, used their public support for the hostage seizure to strengthen their position against other forces in the new government, most clearly represented by President Bani-Sadr, who openly argued that keeping the hostages held no advantage for Iran and that they should be returned immediately. But for none of these forces was it a question of using the hostages to deepen the mass struggle to eradicate the imperialists' influence in Iran. Even for Khomeini and his closest supporters, who recognized the growing threat to the Islamic government presented by the U.S. and felt compelled to risk stronger support for the embassy militants and further political arousal of the masses, it was a question of "how far they had to go with this hostage thing."

For them it was more a matter of having a tiger by the tail and figuring they'd better wait for a better time to let go. This can hardly be interpreted as stabilizing and consolidating the position of the Islamic clergy or any other bourgeois forces within the country. Certainly, in the twists and turns, the advances and setbacks that characterize any revolutionary struggle, the forces of the national bourgeoisie in Iran, including many top-ranking clergymen, have been able to consolidate temporary and still shaky positions of power. With the Iraq war some of the most reactionary, old pro-Shah forces, especially in the military, have even managed to emerge with some new power and position. But all these forces are in the tiger's cage and that tiger is the revolutionary consciousness and political activity of the Iranian people. They are all trying to control it, to tame it, to make it jump through hoops for them. They are as nervous and jumpy as hell that something is going to shatter their act and unleash the tiger to spring at them, either some action by the U.S. or some further exposure of their own role inside the country. Meanwhile the revolutionary Left continues to agitate and arouse the people against jumping through hoops for anyone.

The extent to which the embassy seizure sparked and influenced the new surge of political activity and anti-imperialist consciousness of the masses of people, and in the process disrupted and wrecked the imperialists' efforts to trick or beat them into submission, was demonstrated in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late December 1979. A demonstration of some 10,000 people marched through



**American flag burned at Iranian New Year Celebration in front of U.S. Embassy in Tehran.**

**Carter doll—when the bottom is pulled he pounds his head with his hands.**

the streets of Tehran, going first to the Soviet embassy where they burned a Soviet flag and chanted "Death to Social-Imperialism." The demonstration then proceeded straight to the U.S. embassy where chants of "Death to U.S. Imperialism" filled the air.

#### **Embassy Seizure Sparks Political Struggle in U.S.**

Despite the blow the embassy seizure dealt U.S. plans for Iran, some people will say, overall the Iranian seizure of the embassy and the hostages was a bad thing because it enabled the U.S. bourgeoisie to unleash a tremendous wave of anti-Iranian sentiment among the American people and helped them whip up public opinion here for a "tougher" U.S. stand in the world, particularly in preparation for war with their imperialist arch-rivals in the Soviet Union.

But the logic of this thinking that the embassy seizure was a "bad tactic" is like arguing that the Vietnamese people shouldn't have taken to arms because that allowed the U.S. imperialists to whip up reactionary public opinion (which they did). The embassy seizure was correct because it was a necessary counteroffensive on the part of the Iranian people to expose and thwart the maneuverings of U.S. imperialism, as well as the compromisers and reactionary elements within the Islamic government, which we have described earlier. The imperialists will always try to turn reality on its head when the oppressed rise up against them. If all U.S.-owned plants in Iran had been expropriated, or some other offensive against the U.S. had been taken, the imperialists would have tried to use that to whip up national chauvinism too. Also the "bad tactic" analysts overestimate the extent to which the ruling class was able to create this so-called massive public opinion against the Iranian revolution. They ignore the fact that in attempting to whip up public sentiment, they were forced to draw millions of people in this country into public controversy and debate, not only over the hostage seizure but the whole history of U.S. activities in Iran. This created fertile ground for revolutionary and progressive forces to create some public opinion themselves, joining in and stirring up this debate to expose the U.S. imperialists and what they were up to.

Take a hard look at what the ruling class has been able to whip up around Iran. On the whole, it is not that impressive, considering the almost unprecedented media barrage against Iran. Some "spontaneous" demonstra-



tions were organized that featured a cabal of imperialism's most ignorant and chauvinist supporters. Violent attacks were organized against Iranians living in the U.S. The trade union bureaucracy—that loyal arm of the bourgeoisie in the working class—jumped out at the call of their masters. The head of the AFL-CIO, Lane Kirkland, called for a "free the hostages" petition to be circulated in U.S. factories. The openly reactionary leadership of the International Longshoremen's Association and the

supposedly "progressive" International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union both ordered their members to refuse to load ships bound for Iran.

Of course the media seized on any little burp of reaction and used it to try to convince people that the reactionary tide was gigantic and irresistible. Any pro-Iranian demonstrations or statements were completely blacked out and the papers gushed that the American people had never been so united since Pearl Harbor.

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cant). We can and must win this campaign to involve thousands of advanced in the highest and most widely applicable form of class conscious action right now—selling 100,000 *RW*'s on a sustained basis.

L.W.

## Rely on the Masses

*RW*:

Something I want to get into that hit me off of thinking about the article "Relying on the masses" (*RW* No. 75) and some of the letters around the hundred flowers is around the difference between asking people to take some extra papers (which many times reflects the content of my practice) and calling on people to become co-conspirators. The difference isn't one of numbers, it's more a question of line, around what does it mean to rely on the masses and what will 100,000 co-conspirators represent. "... it is undeniable that bringing forth increasing numbers of the people themselves to step to the forefront of the current campaign to boost *RW* circulation to a consistent 100,000 a week is critical to that campaign's success. Grasping more firmly and applying more deeply the principle of relying on the masses—this is a task for now." "Revolution depends on the conscious activism of the masses. Unless the advanced section of the masses is armed to consciously grasp the tasks at hand from the standpoint of making revolution, then nothing of much lasting significance can really be done." (Both from the article.) Conscious activism, grasping the real effect and role of the *RW* in preparing and launching a revolution, and taking up the paper as their own, a co-conspirator—how does "take extra" stand in comparison (or more accurately in opposition). It first sees the 100,000 campaign only in the quantitative aspect, x numbers of papers sold, without seeing the qualitative changes that 100,000 papers represents, a leap in forging a class conscious force, a core of advanced that will be trained to lead the millions plunged into political life by the death throes of imperialism in seizing power, not just a bigger circulation. This thing of only seeing the quantitative aspects of things, which Mao in "On Contradiction" calls metaphysical, "vulgar evolutionist", and has a bottom line that all things are unchanging and "immutable"—in terms of the campaign it gets reduced to a question of more readers, more papers, increased sales, more production, period. Not the changes that this would represent, just more production, networks are set up to get out more papers than could be distributed with less people, the advanced are reduced to a bunch of extra hands. But the content of a network isn't just the "physical" aspect of getting out papers, it's the political aspect of taking up the paper as your own, consciously taking out the line of the Party and creating public opinion for revolution, and only in that sense is it sinking roots, creating something that will withstand any attack by the bourgeoisie, not just in terms of police attacks, but also ideologically and enable the masses of people to overthrow the bourgeoisie when the opportunity arises. Otherwise it reduces the advanced to the bourgeois version of paper boys, "it don't matter what's in the paper or why, you don't even have to like it, it is just a job, and the paper has nothing to do with you." Or it's a question of "laying our trip on you," the advanced are merely the "cast of a thousand" to the few, if it's not a question of people seeing it as *their* paper and *their* party, that they must be involved in the struggle to grasp, apply Marxism to make revolution (and as the struggle around the Draft Programme and the hundred flowers shows, the advanced are taking this up).

But not only does this stuff reflect on the 100,000 in terms of reducing it to a quantitative change, and really no difference at all in terms of a leap in the stage of preparation for revolution, but also on the role of the masses, not just in the campaign, but in general. That point in the article that the question of relying on the masses "... is not a moral question. It is not something that can be 'added' on to the way we carry out our tasks. Still less is it the last resort when you absolutely, positively can't figure out any other way to carry out a task. Rather, relying on the masses is a cardinal principle of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and is at the heart of genuinely communist practice." And when it is reduced to just being able to get the work done easier, which is what the quantitative view does, then it goes right up against what that article brings out. The question of relying on the masses is related to the fact that a handful of people can't make the revolution and transform society, nor is the revolution for a handful of people, but that it is a thing of the masses seizing power and transforming society including themselves in terms of class consciousness, 'cause while a handful can't make a revolution, a

handful can seize power and "organize things" (like many of those "leftist" military regimes) but all that amounts to is capitalism, which we already have. It's like that point in *Red Papers* 7, "The struggle for socialism must be and is a struggle for the conscious control of society by the working class... Without the growing participation and mobilization of the masses of workers there can be no socialism... It is impossible for some classless group of 'bureaucrats' to rule society in the name of the proletariat, because in order to maintain such rule these 'bureaucrats' must organize the production and distribution of goods and services. If bureaucratic methods of doing this prevail and come to politically characterize the planning process under socialism, and if a group of bureaucrats, divorced from and not relying upon the masses, makes the decisions on how to carry out this process then inevitably this will be done along capitalist lines."

J.T.

## What We Need to Unlearn

I would like to comment on the letter from "Someone Who's Got 100% But Isn't Putting It Out" (in *RW* No. 77) and other letters which have said in one way or another that the 100,000 campaign is necessary but not possible. I'm glad several different shades of this line have appeared in this column, because they've sharpened up the question of what is it that makes it necessary for us to go "100%" for winning the battle for 100,000 co-conspirators now (not a year from now).

"The limits of what is 'possible' for you to do are restricted by the narrowness of your outlook" (as Lenin says to the Economists in *WITBD?*). I'd like to contrast this statement to the pessimistic, pragmatic line that oozes out of this letter. The author makes the correct point that there are "100,000 revolutionary-minded people out there," (In fact, there are many more than that!) and that anyone who denies this "would have to be blind or a stone cynic." But what does the author say happens to such people when they take up the distribution of the *RW*—they are smothered, "struggling against all the backwardness and flak they'll get." Then with mathematical precision the author works this one-sided, static picture into 357 such people per city, not being able to sell 10 copies a week each. Talk about "don't get hung up on numbers"! It reminds me of the "numbers" summation of May Day; the Party called for 1000 marching in this city, there were only about 300, so the Party's line must be 3/10ths correct!

Not to digress, but the incorrect essence of the line of this letter (which takes the form that the qualitative leap to 100,000 is possible, but not now) jumped out in the author's comment on May Day. "I think we can learn something from the May Day campaign, and that is that in the period we're in now... it takes more than a few months to bring forward the quality of people we're talking about bringing forward." Well, that's not what we can learn; we need to *unlearn*, to break with that incorrect summation of May Day and the narrow, determinist view of the world it implies.

Right after May Day I suffered from what you might call postpartum blues. This tremendous event had taken place: the birth of a class conscious, revolutionary workers' movement. No one denied that May Day had changed the objective situation, but the struggle raged over *how*. My line was that the baby was weak and shaky, and after all could not walk. That this demonstration was a beginning but wasn't enough, and that I (and this implied that the Party, whose leadership I followed) had made too many mistakes, missed too many opportunities. I agnostically summed it up: "not a victory, not a defeat"... "while there was loss, there was gain."

What is the unity between my summation then and what this letter puts forward about both May Day and the current campaign? The underlying outlook that although there are advanced masses in U.S. society, they are frail and insignificant because they (and we) can have little impact against the ferocious strength of U.S. imperialism. It's a line that denies the dialectic between the downward spiral of this system and the actions of a class conscious minority, exposing the contradictions and mobilizing all the people full of hatred of the way things are to act consciously to hasten its downfall.

About the period we're in, this author claims to understand "how fast it's changing, and that imperceptible quantitative changes going on beneath the surface will soon burst forth as qualitative changes both in the state of the world and state of people's thinking." Even though at the beginning of the letter the author refers to the "conscious dynamic role of the masses," the basic line of the letter is a "howling contradiction" to this. The author's view of the objective situation is that things are getting worse

(who can deny that?) and somewhere along the line this will propel the 10,000 or so co-conspirators into motion (a qualitative change in the "state of people's thinking"). Are we to do work "aimed at the advanced" which will convince them that in "perhaps a year" it will be possible to sell 100,000 newspapers, because by then people in general will be more ground down and spontaneously looking for a way out (perhaps there will even be a spontaneous, and mass, movement then!).

No. It's dead wrong to base our thinking on the stultifying, upside-down imperialist logic that's been pumped into us all our lives, and then to put that thinking off on others and assert that *they* won't be able to grasp the significance right now of spreading the revolutionary conspiracy of the *RW*. How similar to my vacillating about the significance of May Day. I looked at it and said, "it made a difference, but not enough of one," an agnostic view that held me back from seeing the revolutionary possibilities May Day 1980 opened up. One of the things other correspondents have pointed out, that I think is crucial to rooting out this stuff, is the study of dialectics. When we discard dialectics then even seeing the huge numbers of people who are being pulled into political life, and recognizing that hundreds of thousands of people have a revolutionary hatred of this system, will not allow us to see the possibility, at this time, of making a qualitative leap in the distribution of the *RW*. Because the spontaneous pull will be to see only the backward who are being whipped up by the ruling class (and to forget that this is a sign of their desperation), or to sum up that since the numbers of class conscious are small now, that the masses in their millions will only be propelled into political life by increasing misery, not because of the actions of the advanced in showing the source of the present misery and where it's headed. It struck me in the recent article "In Revolution, Is Relying on the Masses an Optional Accessory?" how intensely Lenin must have run up against this type of thing in the struggle for the subbotniks. The article points out that, "The advanced experience of the masses was more significant—more true, more real, if you will—than the numerous other cases because it more deeply corresponded to the future, to the place where life was and the direction it was heading." The pull must have been strong toward the rightists' summation, and their tally sheets and graphs of "declining production."

The battle for 100,000 co-conspirators is the same kind of question—it's going to be a lot of work in applying dialectics to figure out where and how breakthroughs can be made, not teeth-gritting and saying "it's necessary, so it must be possible," but actually putting into practice the Party's understanding of the real necessity for this leap, applying the Party's line on the revolutionary currents within the working class—the roads to the proletariat, and developing networks of co-conspirators, which is how the distribution will become sustained and the *RW* will be able to become the lifeline to growing numbers of people.

The last thing I would like to point out about this letter is that the author, in all the discussion about why this leap is needed but not possible right now, never mentions the responsibility of the proletariat in the U.S. to the revolutionary movement worldwide. The campaign to make this leap to 100,000 in our distribution right now is in every way linked to our ability to carry out a revolutionary defeatist line in the face of world war. We have to prepare organizationally and politically, and the *RW* is the key to both. But with this line that the masses are in a swamp of backwardness (the only effect this author gives to our reaching a lot of people is that we "maybe... can stir up so much shit that the reactionaries will call one of their caveman marches..."), how are we ever going to recognize the millions of people who are already thinking and talking some way about internationalism—those from other countries who've known first-hand what U.S. imperialist domination means, and those others who've observed and felt, and fought, its boot from where they are in this country. From reading some history I get the picture that it wasn't so popular to call for the defeat of their own bourgeoisie in Germany before and during WWI. The pull to capitulate was tremendous, and even the "Lefts" who overall didn't, tried to soften up their stand to conform to the rampant nationalism. In the article in *Revolution* (Vol. 4, No. 10-11) "Lenin's Struggle Against International Opportunism: 1914-1917" this point is spoken to very well in the conclusion:

"The opportunists—who prided themselves on being 'practical men,' who called the Bolsheviks' aim of turning the imperialist war into a civil war a 'far-fetched dream'—based everything on the idea that the relative strength of the bourgeoisie and weakness of the revolutionary proletariat at the beginning of the war would remain unchanged. The whirlwind that arose tore their house of cards to bits. The Bolsheviks, who based themselves on the fundamental and long-range interests of the masses and on what was rising and developing within that situation, were able to play the crucial role in bringing out of this crisis a profound change in the relative strength and weakness of the two opposing classes on a world level, by upholding the banner of revolutionary Marxism and

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enabling it to become a material force in the hands of the masses of people themselves in transforming the world."

Studying this point has helped me understand better both the necessity and possibility of making this leap now.

Signed,  
S.K.

## 100% Economism—It Won't Do!

Comrades:

In 1957 when speaking about the Rightist who had been resolutely annihilated by the proletariat in the one hundred flowers campaign Mao said: "...some people say this was a covert scheme. We say it was an overt one. For we made it plain to the enemy beforehand: only when ghosts and monsters are allowed to come into the open can they be wiped out; only when poisonous weeds are allowed to sprout from the soil can they be uprooted. Don't peasants weed several times a year? Besides, uprooted weeds can be used as manure..." They hope—he says—"...Fanning flames everywhere would stir up workers and peasants, students' big character posters would facilitate the taking over of schools, free airing of views would touch off an explosive situation—there would be instant chaos everywhere and the Communist Party would crack up at once..." (*Selected Works of Mao Tsetung*, Vol. V, "Wen Hu Pao's Bourgeois Orientation Should Be Criticized," p. 454).

In this connection, allow me to say a few things about this most shameless letter that appeared in *RW* No. 77 (Vol. 2, No. 25) where this person had *RW*'s "coming out of their ass" and *shit coming out of their head*. Could it really be that their backsides sit on their shoulders and their head sits right below the lower back? No—this letter is a most poisonous weed with its unadulterated economism and condescending contempt for the masses.

Right off the bat this 100%er attacks the *RW* as not being "thought provoking" or "discussion provoking" until the letters started being printed which speak in "regular language". Of course they fail to mention that there has been two sides to these "regular language" letters, no doubt he adores the ones which emphatically stated that the masses can't consciously grasp this stuff—that there will have to be some big changes in the objective situation—some big movement, etc., etc. before the masses will be able to consciously grasp the process of revolution. And that therefore the Party is on a big left idealist trip to postulate revolution on the great Marxist principle of relying on the *conscious creative activism of the masses*. You see—everybody including our 100%er knows the advanced are small—Mao and the Chairman make the point that even under communism the advanced will be in the minority, but the point is to ascend heights and special interests and requirements of these advanced workers and *not* descend to the depth of the average or majority of workers. You see everything is dialectical and the advanced interpenetrate and influence the average. They are the lever that once they become class conscious and begin to act in a class conscious way will have the effect of jolting and rallying others to political life and greatly influencing them to more seriously weigh the revolutionary road as opposed to the well-worn rut of reformism and reaction.

If we were to ignore these special "interests and requirements" of the advanced who want to know *how* is it that we make revolution then we would be contributing to the very thing we claim to abhor—the advanced being suffocated by the average or the backward.

Our 100%er says "...Well, I think we can learn something from the May Day campaign—and that is that in the period we're in now (and I think I understand how fast it's changing, and that the imperceptible quantitative changes going on beneath the surface will soon burst forth as qualitative changes both in the state of the world and the state of people's thinking) it takes more than a few months to bring forward the quality of people we're talking about bringing forward. Just look around at the Comrades who are relatively new and who are advancing, or even 'sticking it out.' We're talking about years not months..." But don't the quality of people we must and will bring forward already exist? Haven't the "quantitative" and "qualitative" changes of the objective forces throughout the world and the "quantitative" and "qualitative" changes of the subjective forces in this country and throughout the world produced such people? You mean to tell me that what happened in China and the demo in D.C. in response to it has influenced no one? Aren't people already debating the Iranian revolution? The recent leaps toward world war and the response of the

masses in relation to it? Aren't people debating Miami? Didn't May Day influence and awaken millions here and throughout the world? The problem isn't that the "quality" of people who must and will be welded into a class-conscious force have yet to be produced—the problem is that by taking economism to them instead of Marxism our friend the 100%er is destroying them politically and prohibiting them from playing the class-conscious role necessary for them to politically unleash even broader sections of the masses under the proletarian banner and who will politically unleash and lead ever broader sections of the masses in the armed confrontation against the class enemy when the conditions are ripe—all this in relation to the development of the objective conditions for sure—but, the objective conditions have never waited on us and have already changed people's thinking overnight. This and no other way is how the proletariat is going to go from having a relatively small political influence over the masses to having relatively large influence over the masses—it won't do to tell us it will be *years* before there are such people—it won't do—it won't do—we *are already here!*

In his "Crucial Questions" the Chairman stated: "It is both true and of great importance that today in the U.S. the work of our Party continues to seriously lag behind in its ability to give political guidance and leadership, not only to outbreaks of protest and rebellion among non-proletarian strata and social movements, but specifically to the interests and requirements of the advanced workers. As pointed out in the *Talk Coming From Behind To Make Revolution*, these workers in particular have many profound political questions. This is because, in many cases at least, they do have much and varied political experience and have been exposed to many different political lines and tendencies, and they precisely require—and often directly demand—serious answers to profound political questions that have arisen on this basis. And it is also because in striving to influence and activate broader numbers of workers, they are consistently confronted with serious and often very sharp questions which they have difficulty in answering—and will continue to have difficulty in answering, unless and until they are systematically armed with the line and programme of the Party and the Marxist-Leninist principles and method on which they are based, as well as an all-around view of society and its different class forces. What is or can be more important in meeting the interests and requirements of these workers than developing, strengthening—politically and organizationally—our ability to carry out comprehensive exposure and systematic agitation and propaganda, and to not only put this at the disposal of these workers but to train them (as well as others) in these spheres and functions as well? And what is or can be of more central importance in this than the wielding of our main political weapon—the *Revolutionary Worker*—greatly expanding the numbers who regularly read it and increasingly converting readers into distributors—more, into the pivots of the political life and struggle of which the paper is the guide and organizer?"

You see there is a dialectic between fighting and winning—between spontaneity and consciousness—and we most definitely want the proletariat to *win*. Look at what happened to the CP (Communist Party—*RW*) and the advanced around it when it descended its political orientation and agitation to the average and backward. Is this what our 100%er wants us to do?

Do we tell the advanced that they themselves and the masses are too backward and you can only hope to take 10 papers a week and sell 9 if you're stubborn? Do we look at things as one big, static, unchanging block?

Or is our approach like the Chairman's when he said, in his "Opening Talk" at the 1979 Central Committee Meeting: "What do we say to people—and there are such people—who say, 'Listen, Goddammit, I've wanted to make revolution for 45 years, and I can't wait another day?' Do we tell them, 'Look, if you're really serious about that you've got to take this paper out and not only sell it to one hundred people every week, or five hundred people, but you've also got to get at least 20 of those people to distribute it every week to at least 20 more'? Do we really see it that way or is it, 'Hey, that's really great, here's somebody who agrees with us?'"

Certainly our 100%er would never dare such a thing—and if they would it would be on some narrow economist basis—they think we are too ignorant and backward—but we should tell this 100%er what it is that brought us forward. Especially those of us who have just recently become politically active or re-active. Why is it that we came from the prisons, the ghettos, the factories, what have you, to take up the *RW*, the revolutionary theory, and distribute it and agitate about it. Yes, we have done this and not because we find the theory of revolution and revolu-

tionary exposure in the *RW* not "thought provoking" but because we now understand that revolution ain't no dream—ain't no utopia or some other nonsensical bullshit but that it is a historical process and that it's something that has to be *fought for* by the masses consciously, and most crucially the proletariat becoming conscious of its historical and international mission as a class which it can only get from its Party—the Revolutionary Communist Party. And along with this—from devouring this theory and the experience we've gained from this we now understand that imperialism is the era of proletarian revolution and that because they are in crisis that only the winning of world war can extricate them from and that this blind drive forces them to strain the fundamental contradiction between the proletariat and bourgeoisie to the utmost—that there will certainly be revolutionary situations around the world, as there already have been, and quite possibly right here, and we plan to do all we can in our international duty to make sure the proletariat comes out on top in as many places as possible, including right here.

This here is what unleashed us. And we can't get enough theory (one friend told me she wished the *RW* came out every day) so that we can grasp this more deeply, more fully and in a more all around way so that we can break it down for others like us who've been wanting revolution all their lives.

It's like the Chairman said in his "Don't Be A Typical Commie, Be A Communist" article (in *RW*, Vol. 1, No. 42) when talking about our revolutionary theory. "The more deeply you grasp this, the more deeply and in an all-round way you really grasp this, the more you're able to put it forward to the masses of people in the way of sharp agitation and not dull, blunt dogma. When you find yourself falling back on reciting rhetoric, falling back and acting or talking like a typical 'commie,' then you know that that's when you've run up against the limitations of your understanding and you're falling back on some phrases you heard somewhere to try to get you out of a tough situation. Now we've all done that. And we'll probably do it again. But the most important point is, that should teach us something real important. That should teach us the key lesson here—that precisely the more deeply and in an all-round way we grasp this revolutionary theory, then the *more*, not the less, we're going to be able to translate that into sharp and cutting exposure, agitation and propaganda, and the more we're going to be able to bring forward the masses and inspire them to take up the revolutionary struggle and inspire them to get down on this theory so that they can consciously take it up and struggle consciously in the interests of our class and bring forward still broader ranks of the people into this struggle..."

This is what happened when I was in D.C. with the volunteers and the masses were politically unleashed and came forward to defend the Chairman and as a crucial part of that took up the paper (this theory) in a big way to become co-conspirators—this is what happened when the foreign-born workers were politically unleashed around May Day and were selling 2-300 papers a week. This is what was happening when I was in prison and we developed ways to smuggle the Party's press in and couldn't wait to get out and hook up with the RCP and this is what's happening today where Marxism and not economism is being fought for.

But of course nothing like this can happen if you got 100% economism—and one hundred percent contempt for the masses and you are putting out 100% economism and one hundred percent contempt for the masses. When you do this then most definitely the masses—the advanced masses will rightly have 100% contempt for you!

Our 100%er says it will take "*years*" to bring forward the quality of people we are talking about, but with your political orientation and line you can work from now to now on and you won't *ever, ever* bring forward the quality of people the proletariat is talking about.

You see we are determined to win this battle—to leap this chasm like we have leapt others before—not because we are some bad motherfuckers, but because Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought again and again teaches that once the ideas characteristic of the advanced forces are grasped by the masses, they turn into a material force which changes reality and changes the world.

Forward to 100,000 Co-Conspirators!

Co-conspirator  
D.F.



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But for all of this hype, their efforts did not succeed as well as they hoped, and needed them to. Their "outpouring of unity and support for the hostages" was overall rather puny, succeeding mainly in actively mobilizing some hardcore reactionaries, but nothing approaching a broad section of the masses of people. "They burn more flags in Iran than we put on display," one matron bitterly complained after the bourgeoisie's December 18th "Unity Day" in which Carter's call for every home in America to fly Old Glory was generally ignored and even the media was forced to comment on the pathetic state of American patriotism.

In contrast to the mindless blathering and shouting of insults against the Iranian people by a relative handful ("Invade Iran," "Camel Jockey Go Home," "We're No. 1—No More Shit," "We Love the Shah," and "Deport, Deport, Deport," were some of their brilliant utterances and "Send Me" and "Nuke Iran" t-shirts became the fashion for some of these fools)—in contrast to this stood the history of U.S. crimes against the Iranian people exposed to the world by the Iranian hostage seizure. And try as they did, the U.S. bourgeoisie and their media could not succeed in ruling this out as an irrelevant question. The Shah—and the U.S. imperialists behind him—stood exposed as a vicious tyrant and a butcher. Few people were won to endorse U.S. support for him by the statement made by one ruling-class spokesman that "he may have been a son of a bitch, but at least he was our son of a bitch."

As the controversy over Iran began to rage from one end of the country to the other, millions were forced into the arena of political discussion and struggle in one way or another. Large debates broke out on college campuses, on street corners, and in plants from California to Washington, D.C. In city after city flag-waving troglodytes were publicly confronted by revolutionaries and other progressive-minded people in heated open-air debate, while hundreds, sometimes thousands looked on, struggling to understand and sort out the truth. In the course of all this many people who had not been at all politically active, who knew little about Iran, came to learn about the crimes of U.S. imperialism and to respect the tremendous strength and determination of the people of Iran. Many others, though not completely won over, were disgusted by the blatant racism and warmongering that was revealed to be the true content of this "mainstream" Americanism and patriotism.

Another result of the controversy

stirred up by the hostage seizure that should not be overlooked, and has not been by the U.S. ruling class, is the fact that revolutionaries were able to unite with a small but important section of advanced workers to step forward and play an active, class-conscious role in support of the struggle of the Iranian people against imperialism. At one electronics plant in the San Francisco Bay Area, for example, over 40 workers held an "Iran teach-in" in the face of company intimidation and harassment. Nineteen workers at a defense plant in Los Angeles, most of them with over 15 years seniority, signed a statement of support for the Iranians. And as the initial flush of the bourgeoisie's "wave" of patriotic fervor faded, many of these advanced workers came to a clearer understanding of the fact that the ruling class' wild attacks on Iran and the stepped up warmongering and flagwaving are not signs of strength, but of the growing weakness and vulnerability of

U.S. imperialism.

The class-conscious proletariat in the U.S. has an important responsibility to understand why the seizure of the U.S. embassy and the hostages has been such a sharp blow against our "own" imperialist rulers, and to understand the significance of the Iranian revolution for the worldwide struggle overall—and to spread this understanding broadly among the masses of people in this country. But more than that, we must act on this understanding to join the struggle of the people of Iran against imperialism and by determined action expose and block any and all efforts of the U.S. bourgeoisie to recoup its losses in Iran and crush the revolution.

Even if at this point Iran's vacillating bourgeois ruling forces capitulate and hand over the hostages to the U.S. imperialists in the face of their armed and aggressive blackmail, this in no way lessens the significance and the impact of the hostage seizure. Nor does it by

any means guarantee the end of even this stage of the Iranian revolution.

As for those who see the hostage seizure as a sort of "boomerang victory" for the U.S., especially if the hostages are released without even the revised conditions of the Iranian government actually being fulfilled, this brings to mind the statement attributed to the ancient Greek king Pyrrhus after he achieved an objective in battle at the expense of the loss of much of his army: "One more such victory and we are lost." The release of the hostages would indeed be a pyrrhic victory for the U.S. imperialists—most definitely in a long-term strategic sense. But also very possibly in a more immediate sense, since it has been the masses of Iran—especially the workers and peasants and their growing class-conscious leadership—who have been the motor of the Iranian revolution and have been steeled and tempered in its many twists and turns to date... □



Sat. Nov. 1st, Chicago, Navy Pier—Officials of the Chinese revisionists' travelling trade fair, "1980 National Exhibition of the People's Republic of China" discovered that they had an unexpected (and unwelcome) additional display. Two banners, upholding Mao Tse-tung, the Cultural Revolution and the so-called "Gang of Four" mysteriously appeared on the ornate entranceway to the show. All hell broke loose as cops and exhibition officials ran around, attempting to determine how they'd gotten up there, and especially how to get them down, something they were unable to do until that evening.

## 5 Killed in W. Virginia Mine Explosion

**Madison, West Virginia.** An explosion, produced by a methane gas buildup, ripped through the Westmoreland Coal Company's Ferrell Mine No. 17 on November 7, at 3:30 a.m. Five miners (all but one being "red hats"—inexperienced miners), were trapped two miles into the side of a mountain and over 300 feet below ground. But rescue crews did not arrive on the scene until 8:40 a.m.—over five hours after the explosion. Why? Because Westmoreland company officials, did not report the explosion until 7:15 a.m.—nearly four hours later! In fact, they denied that there had even been an explosion in the mine!

First, a roof collapsed. But big deal, thought company officials, there's no need to investigate that. But whatever happened had caused all the A.C. power in the mine to go out—forcing everyone to stop work—and thereby forcing the company officials to look at it a little closer. Miners, working in an adjacent mine not owned by Westmoreland, reported later that they heard the explosion from the nearby shaft. But Westmoreland spokesman, Steve Anderson, knew better. "There was not an explosion in our mine," he

# Miners Fate Sealed by Company Coverup

told reporters.

But now, faced with overwhelming evidence (like the high levels of explosive methane gas and high concentrations of toxic carbon monoxide produced by the resulting fire, found by the rescue workers), the company has indeed agreed to the obvious—there was an explosion. Predictably the capitalists have unleashed the press to try to take the heat off of themselves. Their usual scapegoat, the workers themselves, are fingered in the blame. Late releases from the Associated Press are pushing this timeworn line: "The nearest miners, working about a mile away, did not initially realize what had happened, and that delayed attempts to rescue the five, company officials said." But it was the early hours of attempted cover-up that sealed the fate of these five miners. And by 1:00 a.m., nearly 24 hours after they were trapped, the dead bodies of Herbert Kinder, 22; Howard Gillenwater, 28; Howard Williamson,

39; Carlos Dent, 39; and Fred Pride-more, 26, were found.

Given the four hour delay in reporting the explosion by the murdering Westmoreland Coal Company, the news was not unexpected topside near the portals (mine entrances), where immediate family and relatives had waited throughout the rescue operations.

Westmoreland is particularly notorious for its safety violations, so much so in fact that the government last month fined the company \$40,000 for falsifying coal dust records. (The levels of coal dust are supposed to be strictly monitored because too high a concentration turns the mine into a time bomb.) The explosion is testimony both to how seriously the company reacts to government supervision of its operation and how serious the government is in monitoring these companies. In fact, in the midst of economic crisis (20% of the miners in West Virginia are unemployed), there is a general offen-

sive against what is known as "restrictive mining laws"—safety laws—in order to accelerate coal production and boost sagging profit rates. Thus, this year 24 miners have been killed in W. Virginia alone. In reaction to the recent explosion—which brought this number to 29—miners at all the Westmoreland mines near Farrell No. 7 wildcatted.

It was these strikes that propelled both the governor of West Virginia, Jay Rockefeller, and the president of the United Mine Workers Union, Sam Church, instantly to the scene. Rockefeller made personal visits to all the waiting relatives at the mine site and, with the blood of the miners on his hands, told them: "We don't want to point the finger of blame at anyone now, in the moment of tragedy." But in case anyone might get the idea to do just that, Rockefeller had trusty Sam Church present to thwart such efforts.

As we go to press, there are reports of some other local mines going out on strike against this outrage. And as word of Westmoreland's calculated attempts to cover up spread, so will the anger. □

# IRAN: Class Struggle Sharpens in Face of Imperialist Blackmail

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that President Carter recently announced—"A solution must protect our national honor and vital interests and insure the safe return of the hostages"—must be examined in this light. The rulers of the U.S. do want the hostages released, but not for any "humanitarian" reasons, only imperialist ones. As demonstrated in their so-called "rescue mission" into Iran in April (which even the CIA estimated afterwards would have ended up with most of the hostages dead), the U.S. imperialists don't give a damn about the lives and "safety" of their captured employees in Iran.

The key words in Carter's statement are "national honor" and "vital interests"—which are just shortened forms for saying that the U.S. imperialists are determined to "show the world" that they command a powerful superpower with "vital interests" in every part of the globe, and that they are prepared to ruthlessly put down any and all challenges to this empire—from the genuine revolutionary struggles of the people of Iran and other countries, or from their equally voracious rivals in the Soviet Union. It is this situation that makes the U.S. ruling class so desperate to get their 52 hostages back—but *only* on their own terms.

As we said in last week's *RW*, this is a fine example of "U.S. diplomacy"—conducted at gunpoint. The muscle is being most directly applied by Iraq's reactionary regime, whose 7 week long invasion of Iran has been carried out with U.S. approval and backing, including economic and military aid from Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other U.S. allies in the Middle East. (In addition, France recently announced it was preparing to ship 60 F-1 Mirage fighters to Iraq, helping to make up for Iraq's losses of Soviet MIG's during the war.) In order to keep up the pressure on Iran, last week Iraq launched a new drive in the Mehran-Kermanshah area while they stepped up their around-the-clock artillery bombardment of Abadan further south.

Another element that the U.S. is counting on to make "progress" in these negotiations: the sizeable U.S. military forces now assigned to the Persian Gulf area, including the two aircraft carrier task forces cruising in the Indian Ocean and unofficial U.S. military bases in Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Rounding out the picture, the U.S. has dangled the bait of "spare parts"—and the implicit promise of more "aid" in the future along with the other benefits of a "normal" relationship with the U.S.—before the Iranian government as a reward for yielding the hostages.

But even as they forced the Iranian government to the negotiating table, the U.S. imperialists through both official government spokesmen and the media started up an all-out effort to stand reality on its head. A gigantic din was raised about refusing to be "blackmailed" by Iran. Newspapers in every major city churned out editorials warning against any "compromises" that would "harm the national interests." A few of the more reactionary hostage wives issued well-publicized statements saying they would rather see their husbands detained longer than to "give in to the demands of Iranian terrorists." Dorothea Morefield, a cavewoman whose husband was one of the three top-ranking U.S. diplomats in Tehran, made this "typical comment": "The Iranians know we could have snuffed them out at any time. But they also know after a year that we have respect for human life, patience and determination in the face of blackmail..."

The bourgeoisie especially milked the presidential election for all it was worth—charging the Iranian government with trying to force their "demands" on the long suffering U.S. just before the election, and openly speculating that Carter might be preparing to make a deal to get re-elected. Both the Reagan and

Anderson forces solemnly warned Carter not to play politics with the hostage issue. Through this stage-managed "national debate" on whether "we should pay ransom to Iranian terrorists"—in many ways similar to how they used the elections as a whole to create public opinion for war, with debates on questions like whether "we need MX missiles or B-1 bombers"—the bourgeoisie has been working at concealing their predatory actions in the Persian Gulf and at getting a popular mandate to get "tougher" in the future.

Of course, once the election was over, at his first press conference, President-elect Reagan emphasized that he did not think that President Carter would "do anything that violated the honor of our country, or of our interests." Thus, whether Carter or Reagan had won the election, the basic tactics and objectives of the U.S. imperialists remain the same: Keep up the strident bellowing about the "national honor" and the "national interests" while stepping up the pressure on Iran's vacillating, bourgeois rulers to release the hostages and capitulate across the board to the U.S.

## The Terms

The conditions advanced last week by the Iranian government for the release of the hostages (essentially the same as those Khomeini announced two months ago), represent a major retreat on its part, though not yet far enough for the U.S. bourgeoisie's liking. More than being the terms for setting the hostages free, these "conditions" and the "hostage negotiations" themselves are aimed at setting up new economic, military and political ties between Iran and the U.S. bloc based on Iran's subordination and dependence. The four conditions were:

"Non-intervention: The U.S. should now guarantee not to intervene either militarily or politically, either directly or indirectly, in Iran's affairs.

"The Assets Freeze: The presidential order of November 14th, 1979, that blocks our assets should be declared null and void by a presidential order... Every legal procedure must be taken to avoid the order concerning the confiscation of Iranian property by U.S. Courts...

"Claims Against Iran: Legal procedures should be put into effect to cancel and annul all U.S. claims against Iran...

"The Shah's Wealth: The U.S. government should officially recognize the right of the Iranian government to the wealth of the deceased Shah and that of his close relatives..."

The demand for a "pledge of non-intervention" by the United States in Iran's internal affairs is ironic indeed. Right now, while Iraq continues to pound at Iran with U.S. backing, while U.S. client regimes throughout the Middle East are calling for the overthrow of Iran's government, and while the U.S. itself is doing everything it can to lay the basis for bringing an openly pro-U.S. regime to power in Iran—while all this is transpiring—the U.S. is, of course, "ready and willing" to agree to such a ritual "pledge of non-intervention", which every imperialist "great power" is always willing to extend to countries it already controls or intends to subjugate.

Iran's parliament then proceeded to the questions of getting the U.S. to unfreeze more than \$8 billion in Iranian assets in the U.S. (including several hundred million dollars worth of military spare parts) and of how to handle the claims of U.S. banks and corporations against Iran. What the U.S. is demanding in the secret negotiations going on, and the path the Iranian government is beginning to take as well, was revealed by the director of Iran's Central Bank, Ali Reza Nobari, in an interview on November 6. Nobari told CBS News that "his country intended to honor its financial obligations and repay between \$1 billion and \$2 billion in loans from the United States and other Western nations"—loans contracted under the Shah's regime by Western banks that sucked huge amounts



Two Iranian women fighters prepare to meet Iraqi invading force in Ilam Province. In many areas where the government's troops have retreated or have been held out of the fighting altogether, irregular armed squads—some of them led by the Left—have carried the brunt of the U.S.-instigated Iraqi attack.

of wealth out of the country.

This is an action demanded by the Western imperialists for Iran to be considered, once again, a "responsible member" of the international financial community—a necessary step to bring Iran more firmly into the imperialist network of loans and "aid" for reconstruction, accompanied by increasing exploitation and enslavement of the masses of Iran's workers and peasants. According to the *New York Times*, this proposal is being advanced by Iran as a way of "untangling the financial claims and counter-claims" between the two countries in order to expedite coming to terms on the hostage question—another not so subtle clue about what is actually at stake in the negotiations.

Another subject of intense behind-the-scenes negotiations is the spare parts and other military equipment sitting in warehouses in the U.S. that has already been paid for by Iran. In typical fashion, the U.S. imperialists are using this as a major bargaining chip. They have apparently offered to start shipping approximately \$100 million worth of spare parts to Iran, and just like a dope dealer who gives out small samples at first, with promises of stronger doses (heavier equipment such as aircraft and missiles) later on if the necessary progress is made in bringing Iran back into the clutches of the U.S.

## Struggle Brewing In Iran

As for the Iranian government, which is acutely aware of the possibility of having to contend with a storm of mass resistance to their capitulationist plans, it is continuing to deny that it is even negotiating with the U.S. over terms for releasing the hostages. In order to pave the way for doing just that—and more—the government has issued an avalanche of statements over the past week claiming that this is a "just settlement" that is in the full interests of the revolution. The Islamic Republic Party (IRP), which is the dominant force in the Parliament and the government as a whole, has launched a demagogic campaign to convince the masses that releasing the hostages on these terms will "seal the defeat" of U.S. imperialism in Iran. The IRP's speaker of the Parliament, Ayatollah Rafsanjani, even recently expressed the hope that the struggle around the embassy had made the U.S. government "come to their senses and will observe human rights everywhere."

While claiming a week earlier that the hostage issue should not be decided before the U.S. elections, the IRP switched its line in a matter of days to claiming—and attracting more than a little attention inside Iran in the process—that the time to get the "most concessions"

from the U.S. was *before* the elections, and that Iran needed the spare parts from the U.S. immediately in order to "finish off Iraq." In fact, after this switcheroo, *Islamic Revolution*, the newspaper controlled by forces linked to President Bani-Sadr (who has managed to stay out of these debates on the hostages by paying some timely visits to the war front), reprinted an article it had run nine months earlier advocating basically the current weak conditions for releasing the hostages, demanding of the IRP why it took them so long to "agree with us." Many people have taken note of this reactionary exchange, further exposing both of these forces. And though there are indications of disagreements on the hostage deal among some people in the government, none of them have yet come out against it (which would mean going against the stamp of approval that Ayatollah Khomeini has given it). This is yet another indication of how great the pressure on the government to come to terms with the U.S. imperialists on the hostages is at this point.

In an attempt to keep up the appearance that "nothing has changed," the government called for an anti-U.S. demonstration outside the occupied U.S. embassy on November 4, on the same day the terms for releasing the hostages were announced publicly in Iran; this was also the first anniversary of the embassy takeover and two years since the Shah's troops broke into Tehran University and shot down 80 revolutionary students. This demonstration of nearly a million (reported as 100,000 in the U.S. press) was used to ratify the transfer of the hostages to the government. The students who had been holding the embassy made a statement to Khomeini that they were giving up the hostages in order to go to the front to fight Iraq, and the demonstration as a whole was geared to be a show of "national unity" (under the government's leadership of course) against Iraq in order to cover up the hostage deal.

The slogans carried in this huge march, which stretched for blocks and blocks, were mainly aimed at the U.S.; within this, many sections—especially those organized by the revolutionary forces—raised slogans such as "No Deals with the U.S.!" In order to guarantee that things stayed under control, this march was held under the watchful gaze of large contingents of Pasdaran (the government's "revolutionary guards").

While the question of the hostages has become a much bigger question in Iran over the last week, it is still presently overshadowed by the fight against the Iraqi invasion, which is widely understood

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# IRAN: Class Struggle

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throughout Iran to have been instigated by U.S. imperialism. And exactly because of the major effect the war has had on the country, it is around the question of how to fight the war and resist imperialism that the sharpest debates have begun to break out.

Recently it has become widely known that some high-ranking generals fled the country to Iraq at the beginning of the war—in fact, right after Khomeini had announced that the “Islamic armed forces” were “loyal to the revolution.” In addition, within a week after the outbreak of the war, the government called for all those who had left the armed forces in 1977 to register with the army. But after 80,000 signed up all over the country, nothing was done with them for weeks—it recently came out that reactionary commanders in the army had refused to take them in.

These exposures have appeared at the same time that a debate around military strategy has broken out within the government, and among the Iranian people more broadly. The IRP has come out and said that the population should be evacuated from Abadan, Ahwaz and the other cities in Khuzestan that are under Iraqi siege, and *then* send the military in to “drive the Iraqis out.” The forces around President Bani-Sadr are arguing instead for holding on to the cities, but for recapturing them by relying on the regular armed forces. According to several reports, Bani-Sadr’s army has disintegrated in many areas of heavy fighting. Both the IRP and Bani-Sadr forces, not surprisingly, are insisting that the hostage question be settled quickly so that Iran’s regular armed forces can get the spare parts they need from the U.S. in order to carry out their bourgeois and capitulationist military strategy.

On the other hand, a wide range of forces—including sections of the Pasdaran, the Mojahadeen, and much of the Left—have been demanding that the masses of people both at the front and throughout Iran be mobilized and armed. Many of the revolutionary forces, including the Union of Iranian Communists, have been sending more of their forces to the south, where the fighting has been sharpest and the government’s control of the situation has been weakest. In working class neighborhoods of cities such as Abadan, Ahwaz and Dezful, workers councils or shoras—many of them led by the Left—have grown rapidly; and they have set up military training classes for the population, various forms of political education, and have created their own fighting squads independent of the government.

As this struggle over the conduct of the war with Iraq—which is widely seen as the key battlefield today against U.S. imperialism in the country—sharpens up further, it will undoubtedly widen in scope and focus attention on the deal the government has struck up with the U.S. for releasing the hostages. This can only have the effect of more broadly exposing the capitulationist moves of the government and the various maneuvers of the U.S. imperialists in Iran—especially their new ties with bourgeois forces in the Iranian government that *both* of them are so worried about concealing right now.

## Vice Tightens on National Bourgeoisie

It has always been inevitable that the vacillating and inconsistent Iranian national bourgeoisie, regardless of how much some sections of it may resent imperialist domination and remember the vicious U.S. role in subjugating Iran, would gravitate spontaneously towards abandoning the line of resistance to imperialism as “too dangerous” and “impractical.” Other pro-U.S. comprador sections of the government, of course, have been consciously plotting to return Iran to the Western camp from the beginning. Faced with repeated revolutionary upsurges among the masses—and, in some cases, hoping to take Iran on an “independent” path of capitalist development—the bourgeoisie naturally has spoken in “revolutionary” rhetoric and breathed fire and brimstone against imperialism. But faced with the brutal invasion by the U.S.’s Iraqi surrogates and the stepped up imperialist threats of

economic strangulation and military dismemberment, these same forces just as naturally are rushing to seek an “accommodation” with the U.S., seeking to avoid offending the imperialists while at the same time attempting to avoid the appearance of capitulation in order not to touch off a storm among the masses.

It should not come as a shock that Iran’s bourgeois government is taking the course it has at this time. The national bourgeoisie, particularly when it holds state power as it does in Iran today, is utterly incapable of maintaining a consistent stand against imperialism. As is generally the case with the bourgeoisie in the colonial and neo-colonial countries, it is weak and its growth is stunted, and while they have contradictions with imperialism, which can be felt very sharply, they are usually tied to imperialism to one degree or another themselves and also have many connections to comprador elements who seek to deliver the country into the hands of imperialism. The national bourgeoisie also has sharp contradictions with the working class and the broad masses, constantly seeing their participation in the revolution—even when they are forced to ally with the masses against the imperialists at times—as a threat to their hegemony and even to their survival.

For these reasons, the national bourgeoisie is not only unwilling, but unable, to mobilize the masses in the all-out struggle against imperialist domination and its internal agents. Instead, due to their bourgeois nature, they tend to stand in awe of imperialism and conclude—particularly at such a decisive stage of the struggle as they now face in Iran—that there is “no choice” but to move towards capitulation. (Of course, the U.S. imperialists, while glad to accept such moves on the part of the Iranian government today, may not be satisfied with the pace and degree of this capitulation, and may well move towards overthrowing the present government and crushing these forces altogether.)

But the Iranian national bourgeoisie, while it has been the dominant class in power since the downfall of the Shah in 1979, is not the main force propelling the revolution forward and certainly does not by its actions alone “decide” the fate of the revolution. Had this been true, the Shah himself could never have been overthrown. The backbone of the revolution has been the workers, peasants and urban petty bourgeoisie; their revolutionary energy and determination in the struggle against U.S. imperialism and the Shah’s despotic regime have at every stage been decisive in advancing the struggle, and in preventing these gains from being snatched away. However, the key transformation, the necessary realignment of the political situation in Iran that must take place for the revolution to continue to advance, is not for the proletariat and the masses to somehow “persuade” or “pressure” the bourgeoisie not to give in to imperialism. Rather, the proletariat—led by its conscious revolutionary vanguard—must seize the leadership of the revolution from the bourgeoisie, for only under proletarian leadership can the democratic and anti-imperialist tasks of the revolution be achieved and the basis laid to advance to socialism.

In this regard, it is useful to study the writings of Mao Tsetung on the class character of the Chinese revolution during its anti-imperialist, anti-feudal stage. Although the situation in Iran and the world today differs in many important respects from the situation in China in the 1920s and ’30s—nevertheless the basic theory and method developed by Mao remains an extremely significant contribution to the science of revolution. Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, in his book, *Mao Tsetung’s Immortal Contributions*, makes the following comments on Mao’s analysis of the relationship between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution:

“The link between the two revolutions and the necessary conditions both for victory in the democratic revolution and the advance to the socialist revolution was the leadership of the proletariat. This is something which Mao consistently

ly fought for and gave leadership in achieving. It was a basic point he explained over and over again...and a condition he repeatedly and resolutely struggled inside and outside the Communist Party to realize and develop.

“In ‘On New Democracy’ Mao analyzed again the development of a bourgeois-democratic revolution in China and the line of new democracy. He explained that new democracy would be the stage of the Chinese revolution for a considerable period and that ‘In the course of its progress there may be a number of further sub-stages, because of changes on the enemy’s side and within the ranks of our allies, but the fundamental character of the revolution remains unchanged.’”

In the new-democratic revolution, the national bourgeoisie can and should be included in the revolutionary alliance against imperialism, under the leadership of the proletariat, to the extent that it is willing to oppose imperialism. But, as Comrade Avakian writes,

“At the same time Mao analyzed the tendency of the Chinese bourgeoisie to conciliate with the enemy and the fact that it was not even as thoroughgoing a revolutionary class in China at that time as were the bourgeoisies of the capitalist countries of the West in the period of the rise of capitalism there.

“Applying this to the situation in China at that time, Mao summed up that, ‘Today, whoever can lead the people in driving out Japanese imperialism and introducing democratic government will be the saviors of the people. History has proved that the Chinese bourgeoisie cannot fulfill this responsibility, which inevitably falls upon the shoulders of the proletariat’...This was in accordance not only with the correct analysis of the necessary stage of new democracy in general but also with the particular sub-stage at that time, represented by the struggle of the Chinese nation against Japan and those Chinese traitors who collaborated with it. But, again, in this specific sub-stage of the Chinese revolution, and more generally, overall what gave the united front its revolutionary character and what defined this overall stage of struggle as *new democracy* was, as Mao insisted, the leadership of the proletariat and its Communist Party.”

At the same time, the necessity of proletarian leadership in the new-democratic revolution is conditioned not only by the inability of the bourgeoisie to fulfill the “democratic” tasks, but by the very close connection between the new-democratic and the socialist revolutions. Mao wrote that,

## Berkeley

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Texaco.”

As the protests continued in the days following, they were widely portrayed in the media as simply “anti-Reagan” and written off as a response to the fact that as Governor of California, Reagan “got tough” with campus radicals and clamped down on the Berkeley campus. While there was a certain tendency for the demonstrations to focus mainly on Reagan, the sentiments that propelled thousands out into the streets of Berkeley were far deeper and broader than just the hatred for this one imperialist mouthpiece. Many students are increasingly pissed off at life in the “land of the free” period, especially the plans of the rulers of this country to send millions off to WWII.

This was borne out the next day as hundreds showed up at a rally on campus called by the Progressive Students Organization. After listening to the featured speakers, Berkeley’s “progressive” mayor Gus Newport and liberal Assemblyman Tom Bates, shamelessly call on people to work hard in the next elections “so someone like Reagan can’t get elected again”, people were up for something just a little more inspiring, as several yelled, “Get the politicians out of here!” Three hundred

“The democratic revolution is the necessary preparation for the socialist revolution, and the socialist revolution is the inevitable sequel to the democratic revolution. The ultimate aim for which all communists strive is to bring about a socialist and communist society. A clear understanding of both the differences and the inter-connections between the democratic and socialist revolutions is indispensable to correct leadership in the Chinese revolution.” (All quotes are from pp. 24-25 of *Mao Tsetung’s Immortal Contributions*.)

At the present time in Iran, the national bourgeoisie is in the process of committing itself to a policy of reconciliation with imperialism. This does not mean that there are not still divisions within its ranks, or that no distinction needs to be drawn between the significant hard-core pro-U.S. comprador wing of the bourgeoisie and other forces, who the proletariat and the masses may still be able to unite with under new conditions in the future. Because the national bourgeoisie is still in clear leadership at the present time, and its capitulationist moves are beginning to become more widely exposed, the government is finding it necessary to tread very warily. They are viewing, and with ample reason, the revolutionary masses as developing a powerful obstacle to implementing their program of new ties with imperialism.

In addition, the revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces have been gathering strength during the war; and while the strength of the proletariat and its allies is not yet close to the point where it is possible to mount a decisive challenge to the leadership of the bourgeoisie, the potential for rapid leaps in the balance of forces will continue to grow as the “two roads” become clearer and clearer to the Iranian people. And this is especially true during the current turbulent period of war, with all its attendant maneuvering and political struggle, and the freedom this allows for the revolutionary forces.

Today, forces of imperialism and counter-revolution are on the attack within Iran, and this obviously poses serious dangers to the revolution. But because the U.S. imperialists have succeeded in frightening the bourgeoisie, this doesn’t mean that even the current upsurge of the anti-imperialist revolution, which is based on the masses, is over. The U.S. bourgeoisie’s “experts” are given to drawing such smug conclusions no matter how many times rude reality has slapped them in the face in the past. Far from running its course, the Iranian revolution, which has already left such an indelible mark on history, has only just begun. □

then marched over to the ROTC building chanting, “ROTC Off Campus!” and then moved on the Chancellor’s office in California Hall to demand ROTC’s removal. When campus police arrested one student in their attempts to seal off the building, the protestors decided to sit in and 150 managed to get into the building issuing a set of demands including releasing the arrested student, ROTC off campus, guns off the police, shut down the nuclear weapons lab, no cutbacks in ethnic studies or in minority admissions, and no university complicity with the draft. That night police busted 54 demonstrators, charging ten with resisting arrest. But the next morning protests flared up again as hundreds again rallied in Sproul Plaza and 70 marched back over to the ROTC building behind a red banner, chanting anti-ROTC slogans and then again attempted to go into the Chancellor’s office, only to find the building locked down tight.

To be sure, some, including a few who actually claim to be “communists,” have attempted to push the line that “Reagan’s the warmonger,” focusing on slogans like “The CIA is now in the White House” (as if they had ever ceased to be part of the state’s apparatus), to channel the outrage that has marked these protests back within the safe confines of electoral reform and praying for the lesser of two imperialist war hawks. But the broad and varied demands of the students are testimony to the fact they are outraged by much more than which marionette is now being dangled in the oval office. □



# LETTERS ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME & DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE RCP, USA

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

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

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

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

## Reply on Consciousness and Alienation

I want to address the basic points raised by R.G. in his letter in last week's RW "On Consciousness." Fundamentally this comrade is dead wrong. To reply to every point he raises would require more pages than I can write right now, but I think I can show pretty clearly the idealism and metaphysics of what R.G. is putting forward.

R.G. raises Wilhelm Reich, George Lukacs, Herbert Marcuse and the Frankfurt School, and Marx's *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844*. One could say a lot about Reich, Lukacs, Marcuse and similar people. They represent attempts to combine Marx with Freud, or to Hegelianize Marxism, and it would be quite possible to give a detailed critique of both their theories and their political practice. These theories are attractive to some as they start to move into revolutionary activity because they seem to offer more scope for human consciousness and even seem to offer a more radical and all-embracing critique of bourgeois society than more "orthodox" Marxism-Leninism. In this respect they are like anarchism, or like the "Marxism" of Sartre. All of these are in part a reaction to the revisionist betrayal of Marxism and revolution—but a reaction which essentially expresses the point of view of the petty bourgeoisie (see "Existentialism, Marxism and Jean-Paul Sartre," RW 54, for some points bearing on this). And because of this, these theories can also serve those who want to maintain a Marxist mask while withdrawing from or pitting themselves against revolutionary practice (and this describes Reich, Marcuse, etc., and many of their followers).

However, rather than giving any such critique, I think it would be more fruitful to make a few comments on Marx's *1844 Manuscripts* and then deal directly with the criticisms and recommendations of R.G..

These writings of 1844 contain many penetrating insights, but they also contain a lot of idealism. At this time Marx had still not fully broken with Feuerbach, who (as Engels put it) was an intermediate link between Hegelian philosophy and Marxism. This is where "species being" comes from—a Feuerbachian term denoting the abstract human essence, all human potentialities. Marx uses the concept here in a Feuerbachian way: posing the human essence against human actuality, what man should be (and is, in his "species being") against what actually exists. In this way the species being serves as an ethical norm for judging the way things are and finding them wanting. And the way in which human beings have become estranged from the human essence is through "estranged" (or "alienated," as the German word is often translated) labor. Thus: "In tearing away from man the object of his production, therefore, estranged labor tears from him his species

life... [and] the proposition that man's species nature is estranged from him means that one man is estranged from the other, as each of them is from man's essential nature." (These are from around the same place that R.G. quoted from, on p. 114 of the International Pubs. edition of the *1844 Manuscripts*.)

This is all definitely *not yet* Marxism, and does not yet represent a thoroughgoing materialism (any more than Feuerbach did, even though he was the first to try to "stand Hegel on his feet" and move from Hegelianism to materialism). In the first place, this adoption of an abstract ethical stance, judging things against the (abstract) human essence, is both metaphysical and idealist. Metaphysical because it separates off the thinker (the philosopher-critic) from the world, giving him a privileged (and impossible) position outside of society and its historical development from which he can scrutinize society and compare it to the supposed human essence. And idealist because, by the same token, it simply posits an abstract ideal by which to judge the present, rather than seeing that the ideal in the light of which the present must be judged and changed, has itself developed historically (not dropped from the sky)—that the ideal to be realized in the future arises out of the contradictory reality of the present. (See "How Marx Could Envision Communism," RW 64, on this.)

Thus the "estranged, alienated labor" which Marx talks about here is simply seen as an estrangement of humanity from its essence, in other words as a wrong which is to be judged by reference to the timeless criterion of the abstract human essence. Now Marx shows signs in these *Manuscripts* of moving away from this viewpoint, and he is by no means simply a Feuerbachian. But how far this yet is from Marx's fully developed viewpoint can be seen by comparison with a later (1857) passage dealing with much the same matters: "Universally developed individuals, whose social relations, as their own communal relations, are hence also subordinated to their own communal control [in other words the future communist society], are no product of nature, but of history. The degree and the universality of the development of wealth where this individuality becomes possible supposes production on the basis of exchange values as a prior condition, whose universality produces not only the alienation of the individual from himself and from others, but also the universality and the comprehensiveness of his relations and capacities." (*Grundrisse*, Random House, p. 162.) In other words, it is not at all a matter of simply counterposing alienation against the ideal of communism, but of understanding how capitalism produces not only alienation but some of the necessary prerequisites of communism, so that not only the ideal of communism, but its possibility and necessity, are historically developed, vibrant in the contradictions of capitalism and imperialism.

(I have deliberately used a text in which Marx uses the term "alienation" [estrangement] which is very rare in his later writings and does not appear at all in works published by him. It is a Hegelian-Feuerbachian term which he later for the most part abandoned, I think, because of its implication of an original human essence from which humanity had become "alienated." Also what he had called, in a general and global sort of way, the "estrangement of labor" in the *Manuscripts* he later deals with in terms of a number of different aspects—see for example the "fetishism of commodities" at the end of the first chapter of *Capital*.)

It is precisely these idealist and metaphysical holdovers from Hegel and Feuerbach, whose casting out was a big part of Marx's development, that R.G. wants to hold on to and which permeate this comrade's criticism and recommendations. Here, for instance, is how R.G. puts it when he starts to develop his idea of the road forward:

"It seems that what is to be gained here is an understanding that the subject—the individual—must be made conscious of how it is fettered... It seems that in fact the subject's awareness of this fettering is in fact the first step the subject must take in transforming reality and itself... The subject must be made to grasp the full implications of its activity on reality, that by approaching social life with a restricted and fettered attitude, as a means to maintain physical existence, the individual does his part in unleashing the forces of capitalism."

Note the pure metaphysics: first the individual must sit down and become aware of all sorts of things, including "the full implications of its activity on reality." Only then will he be ready to act. This negates the dialectical inter-relation both between theory and practice and between individual and society: people learn through *social practice*, not as contemplative isolated monads. And, closely connected with this, note the pure idealism, to be seen not only in the negation of practice, but in the fact that human liberation becomes essentially a mental act, to be accomplished through each individual liberating his mind, so that he no longer "approaches social life with a restricted and fettered attitude." And the implications of all this are profoundly reactionary: the individual, each of us, is to blame for "unleashing the forces of capitalism," because we haven't cleaned up our mental attitudes! At best this can only lead to utopian socialism, trying to convince

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each individual, person by person, to "unfetter" himself; more likely it will quickly flip over into cynicism and the line, implicit if not explicit, that the masses are to blame for their own misery and the generally sorry state of things, having "brought it on themselves" by their refusal or inability to "unfetter" their attitudes.

The idealism and metaphysics only become more profound throughout the last part of this letter. R.G. mentions repeatedly "the personal nature of society's social power," by which he seems to mean the supposed fact that each individual "gives" society its power by his mental attitude, and talks of "the real subjective factor in social development—alienation." Marx, even at his most Feuerbachian, never thought alienation was simply something subjective, nor that it could be overcome by a subjective or mental act. As he developed in his understanding and revolutionary practice, this conviction sharpened, and he criticized Feuerbach for his failure to be thoroughgoing in his materialism and for his closely related metaphysics. One of these critiques is the concentrated and profound *Theses on Feuerbach*, and I want to end by quoting the third of these theses because I think it fits R.G.'s case pretty well:

"The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men that change circumstances and that the educator himself needs educating. Hence, this doctrine necessarily arrives at dividing society into two parts, of which one is superior to society (In Robert Owen, for example).

"The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can be conceived and rationally understood only as *revolutionising practice*."

Isn't this exactly where R.G. is at, seeing the job of the revolutionary as running about trying to educate people to "unfetter" their minds, "grasp the full implications" of their activities, thus setting up the (supposed) revolutionaries as separate from and superior to society, and not in fact grasping revolutionising and revolutionary practice?

M.B.

## On Revolutionary Defeatism and War

RW,

The Draft Programme is weak on the question of the proletariat's response to the outbreak of World War. In fact this question is only dealt with in two places in the Programme and Constitution—once very briefly and vaguely in the section "The Future, In This Country And the World, Is Coming Up For Grabs" and on page 103 of the Constitution. In neither section is Lenin's term "Revolutionary Defeatism," which has come to represent the heart of the proletariat's response and strategy in the event of the outbreak of world war, ever used. This term along with a deep explanation of it (especially in the Programme section) is nowhere to be found. It's true and correct that the Programme should not be tilted toward revolution being possible only during or after world war. This would go against the real possibility and necessity for revolution to prevent war—and lead to capitulation and complacency. But there is a strong possibility that world war will break out first and the proletariat's Programme must have a clear line on this.

I propose that an addition be made to the Programme in the United Front Against Imperialism section to strengthen our line on this question. Because if war does break out first, the heart and main content of the United Front Against Imperialism strategy will be revolutionary defeatism. I think a quote from Lenin using this term (to show its roots and universal application) should be part of the addition. Also revolutionary defeatism must be posed against what have been some of the main opportunist errors in the Communist International (and that will be in the future), for example "Defense of the Fatherland" and Dimitrov's *United Front Against Facism*. The article in a past RW on "National Nihilism" was excellent on this question. A few points concentrating the content of this article should be added along the lines I mentioned above.

Also at this time I want to raise some additional points on world war which should not go in the Draft Programme, but could possibly be the basis for an article in *The Communist*—the RCP's theoretical journal. The series of articles on world war which appeared in past issues of the journal were an excellent contribution and advance in the understanding and line of the international communist movement. More needs to be written to deepen and develop this line. For example, it is the Party's line that the nature of World War II changed principally from an inter-imperialist war to a war in defense of socialism when Germany invaded the Soviet Union—in fact this became one justification for why communists and workers should join the army of the U.S. imperialists. My question is—didn't the nature of World War II undergo another change after Germany was defeated at the battle of Stalingrad and the German army retreated from the Soviet Union. Shouldn't the policy of the proletariat have been to expose and condemn this inter-imperialist war and work for revolution wherever possible. My second question is—was it, or is it ever correct for the proletariat and its Party to advocate that the working class join the imperialists' army... even if there is a war in the defense of a socialist country. For example why didn't the party in this country advocate that workers' brigades be sent to the Soviet Union to defend socialism and carry out proletarian internationalism. Obviously the revisionism of the old Communist Party USA has a lot to do with this question, but there certainly needs to be a more thorough summation of this period and deeper analysis carried out.

A.V.

## Humanity, Nature and Nuclear Weapons

RW:

I am writing in response to the letters which have dealt with nuclear weapons, several of which have raised other important questions as well. In particular, I was struck by the criticism raised of the Draft Programme that "the use of nuclear weapons, or even the implied use of them, would be great power chauvinism on our part..." (letters in RW No. 59, No. 73). This is a particularly serious question for the Party in a country like the imperialist U.S., the monster which not only invented nuclear weapons but was the first to use them and today threatens to use them on an incredibly barbaric scale. I felt that the question of how the proletariat should deal with nuclear weapons had not really been answered by the letters written in response—or more accurately had been answered incorrectly.

But before getting into this question, and in order to really thoroughly deal with it, it is necessary to first respond to the analysis raised in the RW No. 73 letter that the Draft Programme's line on nuclear weapons is really a symptom of a deeper erroneous tendency that "... seems to pervade the ranks of Marxists... that the identity and destiny of the human species, are somehow tied into the ultimate *conquering* of nature." This "conquer nature" line, according to the letter, "amounts to idealism," and results in an unnecessary "antagonism" between man and the rest of nature. In this view, for communists to keep or use nuclear weapons under any conditions is incorrect, a reflection of this "antagonistic" outlook on the rest of nature. These are, the letter notes, certainly questions of "theoretical guidance and long term strategy."

Instead of "conquer," the comrade suggests the term "master," which is what the DP uses and which I believe is in fact correct. The word "conquer" does imply man ruling over nature like someone standing outside it and it fails to convey the sense of understanding imparted by "master." But even more fundamentally, it im-

plies too much of a sense of finality, of a metaphysical utter vanquishing of nature, for once and for all.

But the comrade is going after far more than the incorrect connotations of the word "conquer." At the heart of why the letter disagrees with the "conquer" line is its line on antagonism. As the letter states: "To speak of conquering nature, just as in the conquering of a people, implies the use of force to overcome resistance. It assumes the existence, or the creation, of an *antagonistic* contradiction. Certainly there is a contradiction between humanity and the rest of nature, but that contradiction becomes antagonistic only under certain extreme conditions. These conditions have existed only for a brief moment in the history of human society, since the advent of classes."

This use of the concept of antagonism is wrong, and it is misleading. Antagonism is a form of the struggle of opposites; it means struggling through use of material force and violence as opposed to struggling through reasoning, discussion, criticism, persuasion and education. But then, it seems to me, the distinction between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions only applies within the sphere of conscious matter. Within the realm of conscious matter, and particularly within human society, it is clear that some contradictions are antagonistic—for instance that between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, where the most basic and essential form of struggle, and the only way the contradiction can be resolved, is material force and violence; on the other hand, some are non-antagonistic—for instance that between the proletariat and the peasantry under socialism, which is resolved by the peasantry eventually becoming workers themselves, where the method of struggle is basically and overall persuasion, etc. Obviously this distinction between persuasion versus force doesn't apply in the relation between conscious and unconscious matter, and thus the distinction between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradiction doesn't apply.

But in actuality antagonism is not the issue. The issue is really the struggle that goes on between the two aspects of any contradiction. This is *always* a struggle by each aspect to become (or stay) principal, a struggle by each to gain (or keep) mastery over the other—a struggle by each (as will be gone into more below) to *eat up* the other. This is just as true of non-antagonistic contradictions as of antagonistic. The proletariat eats up the peasantry just as surely as it does the bourgeoisie, but its method of struggle to eat it up is different.

Now look at the letter's picture of primitive society as one where mankind "coupled their 'primitive' relatively simple technology with an intuitive understanding of ecological interconnections in their environment to maintain a lifestyle that (contrary to 19th century myth swallowed unfortunately by many Marxists) amply satisfied their physical and cultural needs."

Isn't it clear that the writer is actually attributing balance, equilibrium and harmony to the relation between nature and human beings in primitive society and pretending that there was not fierce struggle between them? Given the letter's picture, it is incomprehensible why mankind would leave this Golden Age at all. But he did. Because actually man was driven by forces he neither understood nor controlled, rivers that flooded his crops, droughts that starved even his prey, so that man deified and worshipped nature's forces, praying for their mercy. The life-and-death struggle between man and nature, and particularly the fact that nature was definitely trying to eat up humanity, impelled man forward to more and more master nature. To laud the fact that primitive man wasn't able to have much effect on nature is exactly wrong; this fact is not an expression of the goodness of primitive communism, but of how primitive it was, of its restrictedness, poverty and weakness—and of the imminent danger of conscious matter getting swallowed up by unconscious matter.

Instead of this understanding, what is promoted by the letter is a view of harmony and equilibrium, of man and nature in balance with each other, a balance which class society supposedly disturbs but which communism will restore.

Engels himself is even brought in to buttress the letter's view, with a passage from *Dialectics of Nature* which includes the statement that "For each such victory, nature takes its revenge on us," apparently implying that any disturbance of the supposedly correct balance between man and nature will have bad effects. But what does Engels go on to say in the two sentences immediately following the quoted passage? "And, in fact, with every day that passes we are learning to understand these laws more correctly and getting to know both the more immediate and the more remote consequences of our interference with the traditional course of nature. In particular, after the mighty advances of natural science in the present century, we are more and more getting to know and hence to control, even the more remote natural consequences at least of our more ordinary productive activities." (*Dialectics of Nature*, International Pub., p. 293) Instead of equilibrium, what emerges from a fuller examination of Engels is a picture of man's increasing mastery of nature's laws, so that nature's "revenge" can be foreseen and brought under control.

How does class society affect this? Even here where the letter attempts to draw a bead on the class enemy, its tendency to posit equilibrium as the natural state of man's relation to the rest of nature succeeds in throwing off the comrade's aim. What, according to the letter, is the root cause of the havoc class society wreaks on nature? It is because class society "... means an intensification of human use and exploitation of nature and its objects, and results in a qualitative change in the contradiction into antagonism. Nature 'responds' by a decrease in its ability to support human and other forms of life." Man's increase (in mastery) disturbs the equilibrium, and nature responds by decrease (in what it will yield to man)—until the equilibrium is restored.

Is this correct? No—in fact, class society's intensification of the use of nature has resulted in a giant *increase*, not a decrease, in the earth's ability to support human life. Could 3 billion people have survived under the conditions of 10,000 years ago? For how many days? The problem is not "intensifying" use of nature but the organization of class society and the rule of capital which determine the organization and use of the productive forces, most especially man and his knowledge—and these productive forces are nothing but *methods of mastering nature*.

Humanity's mastery of nature is alternately blocked and facilitated by its own social organization, the mode of production, which is the way in which human beings are organized to interact with nature. The forward motion of humanity becomes one of successively revolutionizing this social organization, the mode of its interaction with nature. The fact that each successive mode of production still only very partially masters nature, and that as the social organization becomes reactionary it holds back the further development, turning humanity's progress against itself, that capitalism is the capstone of this process, means that nature does indeed "revenge" itself. But this doesn't come out of intensifying the use of nature and the failure to seek harmony with it, but from the fact that this form of social organization has outlived its usefulness *precisely* as a form of mastering and consciously understanding nature.

In fact a symptom of the fact that capitalism is holding back the forward progress of the forces of production is precisely the way in which the bourgeoisie promotes "harmony with nature" from the point of view that nature, and man's relation to it, is basically mysterious and not understandable. The idea is, don't mess with mother nature, you never can tell what might happen. The whole question of ecology is made into something at the same time mysterious and trivial—focused on the question, for instance of the Snail Darter. Meanwhile, of course, this same ruling class prepares to cold-bloodedly and calculatingly incinerate literally millions of people in nuclear war, while an ad by Commonwealth Edison of Illinois reassures everyone that among the survivors of the atomic blast at Hiroshima, although "there were excess cancers, especially leukemia," there was "not the epidemic a lot of people expected, though, not even close," while "at Nagasaki, where the bomb produced mostly gamma and beta radiation, the same two types released in Pennsylvania, no incidence of excess leukemia was found at doses below 100,000 millirems. That's over seventy thousand times more than the

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average dose at Three Mile Island." (Ad in Chicago *Sun Times*, 10/28/80.) Now the writer of this letter, of course, is not trying to promote ecology-as-ignorance, but what he calls "the interdisciplinary science of ecology," and there's no doubt that part of mastering nature is to understand its ecological inter-relations, including those involving mankind. And there's no doubt at all that capitalism is driven to disregard of these ecological relationships, as illustrated in the way it proceeds with regard to nuclear power and nuclear weapons, and in a thousand other areas as well. But the point is that capitalism's ecological barbarity is caused by the fact that the social organization of capitalism, the capitalist relations of production, are holding back the mastery of nature. It is not that capitalism (or class society generally) introduces disharmony and disequilibrium into a "natural" relation between humanity and nature, but that after having facilitated for a time the human struggle to gain mastery over unconscious matter, capitalism now acts as a tremendous fetter on that very struggle.

The philosophical root of this view of equilibrium between man and nature which, in the garb of non-antagonism, characterizes the letter, is a metaphysical treatment of contradiction. This comes out in a number of ways. First, the letter objectively makes the *unity* between man and the rest of nature principal over the *struggle*, in opposition to Lenin's summation of the law of dialectics that from the emerging of any contradiction, unity is "conditional, temporary, and relative," while struggle is "unconditional and absolute." The comrade hammers at the point that "matter is a pre-condition for human existence," and that man himself is part of nature. This is true—but what does it mean? Man is nature conscious of itself—he is matter in motion in one of its higher forms, a product of the contradictoriness of matter, of nature dividing into two, into conscious and unconscious matter. As such, man can only exist in contradiction and struggle with the rest of nature, one transforming into the other (for instance at birth, unconscious matter transforming into man, and at death, vice versa). But this means that man's history, then, is part of natural history, it is part of the history of nature—and as man achieves mastery over the rest of nature, and over himself, this is actually nature achieving mastery over itself, it is the self-transformation of nature. This history of man and of nature as a whole is one filled with the struggle between the different forms of nature, a history progressing from lower to higher, as nature in the form of man masters larger and larger parts of itself. How will this end? While any particular form of conscious being, including mankind, has its beginning and its end, Mao is not *simply* trying to shake up stagnant thinking when he says (in his "Talks on Questions of Philosophy," *Chairman Mao Talks to the People*, p. 228) that the end of mankind will give rise to something more advanced. While any particular form of conscious being may end its existence by being converted back into unconscious matter (e.g. mankind being eaten up by the solar system collapsing into itself) just as any particular revolution may be reversed, matter in motion reaches the form of conscious matter over and over again, so that infinite nature, through conscious beings, will achieve mastery over *ever larger* parts of itself, passing through successively higher stages of consciousness, in a struggle that will go on throughout eternity.

Does harmony and balance characterize this process? No, the fact that man is part of nature does not imply such equilibrium, but rather, the fact that nature contains the contradiction between conscious and unconscious matter implies constant change through struggle, and leaps in the forms of matter in motion, a product of the unity and struggle of their contradictory aspects, which will continue to propel forward the history of man and nature as a whole.

In getting back to earth and the struggle immediately before us, a struggle to take the initial step to communist society, it is necessary to point out that the letter's view of communism is also metaphysical. In fact, it has much in common with the view criticized by Chairman Avakian in the "Philosophy" chapter of *Mao's Immortal Contributions*, pp. 184-85, where he makes the analysis that the negation of the negation cannot be considered a law of dialectics. The negation of the negation leads to the view of the motive force of a contradiction being the movement from a lower unity through struggle to the original unity on a higher level, or as the letter has it, from primitive man's non-antagonistic relation to nature (the thesis) through class society's antagonistic relation (the antithesis) to communism's non-antagonism, now on a higher level (the synthesis). Although the letter does not explicitly use the negation of the negation in its analysis, it gives such a similar analysis exactly because it shares the same incorrect treatment of synthesis of contradiction as does the negation of the negation.

What is synthesis? As Mao put it, "One thing eating another, big fish eating little fish, this is synthesis." "Synthesis shows how, through the struggle of the two opposite aspects, one prevails, defeats and eliminates the other, how an old contradiction is resolved and a new one emerges, and how an old thing is eliminated and a new thing triumphs." (*Three Major Struggles On China's Philosophical Front*, Foreign Languages Press, p. 60) It is through just such a process that capitalism gives way to communism. From primitive communalism on, the contradiction between the forces and relations of production is what drives on society, and for a brief period in human history, this takes the form of classes. One class, representing the new and higher relations of production, eating the old, as man moves to grasp the laws of nature and society on an ever higher level, until finally the proletariat eats up or synthesizes the bourgeoisie, and man moves through socialism to communism, from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom, as Engels put it. It is here, that in Engels words, "... man finally separates in a certain sense from the animal kingdom and that he passes from animal conditions of existence to really human ones. ... The conditions of existence environing and hitherto dominating humanity now pass under the dominion and control of humanity, which now for the first time becomes the real conscious master of nature, because and insofar as it becomes master of its own social organization." (*Anti-Duhring*, FLP, p. 366)

Instead of this view of leaping forward in history through the struggle between the aspects of a contradiction leading to a process of synthesis, of the new eating up the old, synthesis becomes, for this letter-writer, as Chairman Avakian puts it, "something which resurrects elements of the thing first negated (in this case non-antagonism—M.A.) (but on a different and qualitatively higher level) and tends to be viewed as an end product of development. ..." (*Mao's Immortal Contributions*, p. 185) Isn't this just how the letter portrays communism—once again, just as in primitive communalism (supposedly), man's "physical and cultural needs will be amply satisfied" while man keeps the "human vs. nature contradiction from developing into antagonistic forms." Not only did this static kingdom of great harmony not exist in primitive society but it won't in communist society either.

For a sharp contrast with the view put forward in the *RW* No. 73 letter, look at an excerpt from an article written in China before the coup:

"Displaying infinite creative power the liberated people of China have launched war against the earth, marching on production in breadth and depth. On their vast land, they are fighting against heaven, earth and the class enemies. They have built up a socialist New China with initial prosperity. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Chinese people, filled with boundless enthusiasm, make mountains bow and rivers give way. To them, any difficulty in the world is surmountable, and any human miracle can be performed. As determined as the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains, they dare to dress the sun and moon in new garments." (They go on to make the point that "to be masters of the earth, they must first be masters of society" but more on that later—M.A.) They conclude: "In the historical period of socialism man himself and all his activities including natural science, will advance swiftly with the force of landslides and the power of a thunderbolt. Like the rising sun, they will outshine everything in the past. The future of society belongs to the people. The future of earth will certainly also belong to the people." ("Man's Knowledge and Reconstruction of the Earth," *Red Flag*, 3/3/74)

Isn't this the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat, unleashed by its revolu-

tionary science?

That the comrade's view is something far different from this comes out once again in the suggestion for inclusion in the Programme of the "need under socialism for conscious, rational direction of the development of production in a way analogous to the lawful development of life in nature. ..." and that this includes choosing technologies "not only on the basis of properly understood political economy, that is, to serve the needs of the people and the development of society, but also on the basis on the science of ecology, applying the laws, filling the needs and enhancing the development of that in which humanity plays the role of subjective consciousness, *life* in the ecosystem."

This formulation of meeting the needs both of man and "life in the ecosystem," eclectically combines the two aspects of man and the rest of nature, raising them as equals, and in effect reduces man to a subordinate role of filling and enhancing the needs of the rest of nature instead of struggling to consciously master and transform it. Instead of grasping mankind as the rising and dynamic aspect whose conscious struggle is more and more the principal factor transforming nature (including himself), once again the view comes out that the goal is working for harmony within the larger balance. This view should not be included in the Programme of the Party which is determined to lead the proletariat of this country as a fighting detachment of mankind's ascent through history.

Although there are a number of other, significant factors which come into the question of analyzing how the proletariat should deal with nuclear weapons, the letter's view of nukes is consistent with and influenced by its incorrect analysis of the relation of man and nature. In particular, its heavy emphasis on harmony and non-antagonism as the Alpha and Omega of man's relation to nature, especially as the end point of its development, leads to raising the struggle to do away with anything that threatens this harmony above the requirements of the struggle taking place within society itself. As pointed out earlier concerning synthesis, the letter fails to sufficiently grasp that the motive force in the transition from capitalism to communism is the struggle of the proletariat to synthesize the bourgeoisie, and that it is this struggle that is the main factor determining man's relation not only to man but to the rest of nature, for it is only through revolutionizing its social relations (through class struggle at this stage of its history) that humanity can advance its productive forces—that is, move forward in mastering nature. Since, thus, man's mastery of nature is inseparably bound up with social struggle, the letter's metaphysical line on man's relation to nature also influences its view of the struggle within society, and leads it (most probably against the author's intentions) to land in opposition to the further struggle to transform society (and to opposition to methods such as temporarily keeping nuclear weapons which may prove necessary to that), because this struggle within society will lead, not to the letter's goal of harmony with nature, but towards the proletariat's goal of mastery over it.

This does not mean that the struggle to abolish nuclear weapons is unimportant and in fact, before going further, I think it is absolutely essential to point out that the interests of the proletariat on this question are *not* restricted to keeping nuclear weapons temporarily under socialism. Unlike the Draft Programme, not one of the letters written on nukes, including the responses to the criticisms of the DP, has set Marxist terms for this argument. Examine the DP—following its statement that the proletariat on coming to power will need the weapons the bourgeoisie has, including nuclear weapons, in its arsenal: "The proletarian state in this country will take up the struggle to abolish nuclear weapons the world over—and this struggle will be fundamentally different from the phony 'disarmament' talk of the imperialists." This is NOT window-dressing, some kind of bullshit sop to anyone!

Lenin sharply criticized the Marxists of his day for allowing the terms of the controversy with the anarchists to become are you for or against the state. He came back with "We do not at all differ with the anarchists on the question of the abolition of the state as the *aim*." (*State and Revolution*) Marxists believe the proletariat needs the state *temporarily* in order to disarm the bourgeoisie and then carry on the struggle to abolish classes.

"Are you for or against keeping nuclear weapons?" Isn't this how the letters in *RW* No. 72 and *RW* No. 75 respond to the criticisms of the DP on this question? Compare the line of the DP on conducting a genuine struggle to abolish nukes with what the letter in *RW* No. 75 lays out as the tasks of the proletariat on nukes in the international arena: "... a key part of this is propagating among the masses internationally *why we have nuclear weapons*, and that we have no intention of *initiating* their use, contrasting *this* to the phony mouthings of bourgeois hypocrites, that we have these weapons precisely as part of ridding humanity of 'this monster of mutual slaughter among men' by getting rid of the class that breeds it." (emphasis added) What happened to the *actual* struggle "to abolish nuclear weapons the world over"—which is what the DP contrasts to the phony mouthings of the bourgeoisie!? Replacing it with a promise to not use them first, surrounded by our good Marxist intentions, just won't cut it.

This is because, contrary to what *RW* No. 75 letter states, nukes are a qualitative development in weaponry. Why else do people say 'ban the bomb' and not 'ban the bullet'? Before nukes, weren't bombers a qualitative development, and machine guns, firearms, bow and arrows before them, etc., etc.? Khrushchev's revisionism did not consist in saying nukes were a qualitative development, but that they were such a development that they overshadowed class struggle, that humanity was indivisible before their destructive power.

The fact that they are a qualitative development is why, while the proletariat will some day bury all weapons of war, the DP is correct to single out nuclear weapons for struggle to bury them even sooner, doing ripping exposures of the imperialists in the process, while recognizing that this will be a protracted struggle. Meanwhile, the proletariat faces the necessity to keep nukes *temporarily* to better fight the remaining imperialists.

The original criticism of this section (*RW* No. 59) made the point that keeping nukes would not ultimately deter the imperialists from attacking a socialist country, but "only assures that the war will be that much more destructive." This point, while *not* granting sufficient importance to value of time gained through deterrence, is essentially correct.

But does this mean the proletariat should immediately dismantle the nukes? Look at another weapon that was also a major leap in weaponry: bombers, which ensured the deaths not only of millions more soldiers, but of millions of non-combatants as well. Should the proletariat, for instance in 1949 People's China, have dismantled its bombers, arguing just as the letter does? It could have, but only at the price of weakening itself—that is, weakening its own ability to destroy weapons and troops. It is hardly necessary to point out the precarious position the proletariat was in in China at this time. So then it's true that keeping bombers, or the much more destructive nuclear weapons, makes war all the more destructive, but the proletariat can ill afford the alternative of allowing the imperialists a large unnecessary edge in the firepower of their weaponry.

Well why not? After all, aren't the masses the decisive element in warfare? Several letters, for instance the letter in *RW* No. 75, raise this point, but in a mechanical way. The letter goes on and on about how people, not weapons, are decisive, quoting Mao. Mao also said the masses are the makers of history, but didn't the bourgeoisie defeat our comrades in Russia and China, however temporarily? The point is not that the masses don't make history, but that the bourgeoisie has real teeth. In answering this question it is not enough to argue that the masses are decisive in warfare, that nukes are paper tigers so why are you trembling in terror before them, etc. While strategically speaking those points are correct, and the defeat of the bourgeoisie is inevitable, it is not inevitable that *in any given war* the proletariat will win simply because people and not the bourgeoisie's weapons are decisive. Was Stalin's defeat of Hitler inevitable? I don't think so.

Why are weapons important? Because they are instruments to eat up troops and secondarily other weapons. Mao's formulation that "weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people not things that are decisive" expresses the strategic relationship: people are principal and they will eventually

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# Class-Conscious Actions Cut Through Election Fog

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discussion. Soon people were calling in demanding to talk about the possibilities of revolution and the way forward in the '80s in a lively telephone debate. By election day, in Cincinnati, hundreds of "spit on the con game" ballots had been signed, including 400 on Nov. 4 itself that were dumped in the middle of an army recruiting office as agitators laid bare the U.S. imperialists' war plans in front of those about to enlist, pointing out that those who had signed these ballots were taking a stand in opposition to all of this.

On Sunday before election day, people went out to the Convention Center where thousands had come to check out a flagwaving rally featuring Ronald Reagan in person, seizing the opportunity around the elections to draw large numbers into struggle over the cardinal question of revolution right in the heart of the bourgeoisie's electoral turf.

As Reagan did his vaudeville routine with fellow neanderthal Bob Hope up on stage, people began to filter out to listen to the exposure of what was going on inside. One man took a stack of ballots back inside to get signatures and two women requested bundles of RWs to distribute. Before long, literally hundreds of people drawn into political life under the reactionary banner of the bourgeoisie were crowding out of the Reagan rally, spilling into the street, many casting ballots against the crap going on inside into the toilet set up for this purpose. The terms of the debate had changed from Carter vs. Reagan to the question of revolution against all this, and fearing the effect on their carefully staged roadshow, some Reagan aides rushed outside whipping up some of the backward to how all this was "treason," and how wonderful it was to have free speech and the freedom to vote guaranteed by the Constitution, etc., etc.

But the debate only grew more intense with people arguing at the top of their lungs, and at this point a brother stepped forward to thoroughly denounce these fools in front of the crowd, calling out the elections as a tool of this country's rulers, pointing out that under their precious Constitution Blacks had originally been counted as 3/5 of a vote and that their only freedom today is the freedom to be shot down in the streets for looking sideways at the pigs. As the Reagan aides sputtered, the cops rushed in and, in a demonstration of the finest bourgeois tradition of free speech, quickly whisked the agitators away from the crowd. As debate continued to rage in the street, an "I Love America" rally to support the hostages in Iran that was scheduled for the same time down the street in hopes of drawing people from the Reagan rally flopped completely as only 20 people showed up.

In Chicago, where cynicism over voting runs deep, as the Democratic Machine regularly turns out the vote through such democratic traditions as intimidation of city patronage workers and bribery, even the dead regularly rise for the occasion to cast their ballots. Starting at 5:30 in the morning, agitators hit the major rapid transit lines distributing "This whole system is putrid" ballots and urging people to cast them en masse at a downtown rally scheduled for noon. Many had just gone through the paralyzing motions of voting, still clinging to the hope that maybe one candidate is a particle better than the other. But when agitators on one train sharply spelled out the importance of the action to be taken at noon, that people would be consciously acting in their own interests against the imperialists, instead of as pawns in their con game, it was as if a heavy blanket of pessimism had been lifted. Grinning

with enthusiasm, 25 people on this car marked ballots and many said they would check out the rally. This spirit also pervaded a morning rush hour bus where a bus driver, who yelled, "Shut up, people don't want to be disturbed by this," was booed down by passengers demanding that the agitation continue.

Controversy like this was generated across the city, from students at the Art Institute to workers at the Ford Trench Ave. plant on the south side, to the many shoppers and office workers who stopped at the action downtown at Daley Plaza. At one small manufacturing plant in Chicago, where the workers were on strike, the following scene took

place. When agitators arrived with the ballots and RWs, one of the workers grabbed a ballot and crumpled it up and stuffed it inside the agitator's coat, saying, "We don't need this shit. Don't you know we're on strike fighting for more money. That's what we need to worry about now." The other strikers gathered around the picket line fire laughed at him, saying, "Yeah, all he's worried about is money." Struggle and discussion ensued, as RWs, Draft Programmes and ballots were taken up by the strikers, including the class-conscious workers struggling with the "reluctant" worker about his narrow viewpoint. Finally the dude came back and put his hand out to the agitator, saying, "I'm sorry, I didn't know what this was all about." "Well, since you feel that way, I happen to have this ballot right here," said the agitator taking the crumpled ballot out of her coat, "Why don't you put down what you think about this whole system." As he marked the ballot, the others cheered

approval. Downtown, middle-class whites, businessmen, students and Black, Latino and white workers plunged into struggle with each other over serious questions about the system—hardly the picture of the "apathetic voters" or "non-voters" the bourgeoisie paints of the masses who, in reality, are doubting, deeply questioning, or outright repudiating the imperialists' elections.

That evening hundreds of ballots that had been collected that day were cast in a fitting manner. Just as the hysteria was reaching a fever pitch at Republican headquarters over Carter's concession to Reagan, a toilet seat with its lid plastered with photos of the three candidates appeared in the crowd as ballots representing the real feelings of millions in this country—were scattered in front of TV cameras.

In Orange County, California a student, along with several of his friends from an organization known as the Vets Conspiracy, saw the election broadside



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(Below) Giant toilet "ballot box" stirs controversy—  
(Man on Right)—"That's my flag!"  
(Man on Left) "That is a toilet." (Man in Center) "My brother was killed in Vietnam, that's not my flag, I won't fight for it."



Revolutionary Worker

and decided on their own to construct a papier mache toilet over the weekend and take it down to Laguna Beach to see how many people they could get to cast a revolutionary verdict on the system. They were surprised to find that almost all of those who stopped to talk dug the ballot as nearly 100 people signed, including 2 young women who declared they were rebels and took hundreds of broadsides and passed them out all over the beach.

This brother told the RW: "We told people if all you do is don't vote you're just putting up with this shit... It was just great... We let people out there know that there's some revolutionary work going on and there were a lot of people who were really excited about it... I've been getting the RW but I haven't been getting into it 'til recently... it's played the whole role... I also read a book on Marx that also changed my thinking... and I was bringing things out myself instead of waiting for someone else..."

Two days later on election night at L.A.'s Century Plaza Hotel, where Reagan had just made his victory speech, a contingent brought up a ballot-box-toilet and flushed all ballots collected since the day before—an action which, according to KNX radio, took place "to the delight of hundreds."



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All the results of the balloting are not in. Write to the RW and tell us what creative thing you did with your ballot.

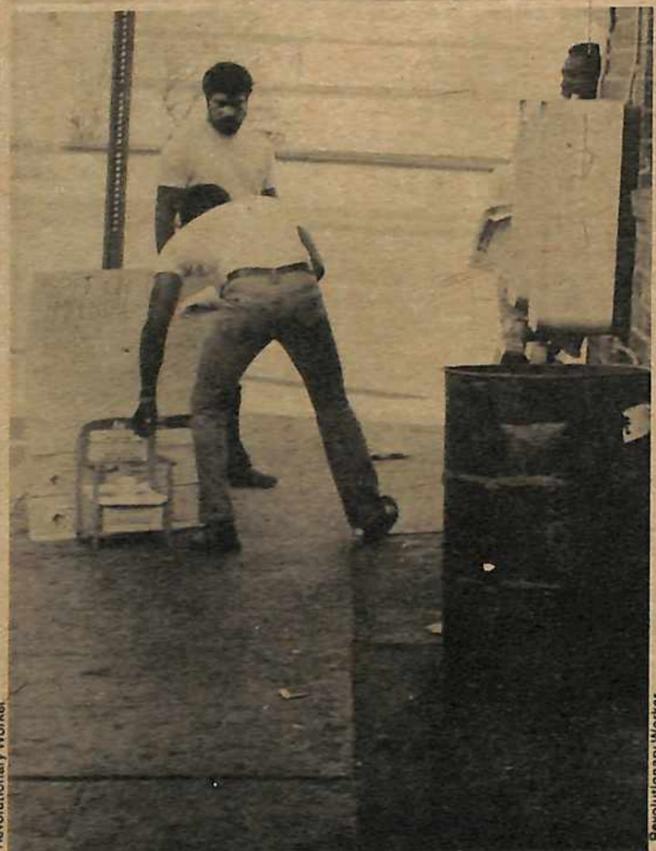
Mass debate in Atlanta.



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San Francisco demonstration

## FROM THE IRANIAN COMMUNIST PRESS

Continued from page 8

was running Iran's financial affairs—RW). They were demanding that Iran agree from then on to employ foreign advisers only with the consent of the Russian and British imperialists. Reactionary elements were in the majority of this parliament, but because of the activities of a few patriotic and revolutionary elements such as Sheik Mohammed Khiabani (a famous revolutionary democrat who played an important role in the Constitutional Revolution and later after the Russian Revolution of 1917—RW) and because the Iranian people were watching this situation closely, the parliament didn't dare to go ahead and accept these demands, and rejected them instead. Because of their fear of Czarist Russia, the reactionaries and capitulationists headed by Prime Minister Nausserolmolk staged a coup against the parliament the very same night and accepted the ultimatum of Czarist Russia.

Today, the decision about the hostages—that is, the answer to the open and secret ultimatums of U.S. imperialism—is in the hands of the Islamic parliament, and the eyes of the Iranian people are watching to see what these representatives are going to do. In this situation, all capitulationists are trying to set the stage for Majlis to resolve the hostage question in an "honorable" manner, and indeed surrender to the ultimatums of U.S. imperialism. They want to push this down the throat of the entire body of the Majlis. It goes without saying that many members of the Majlis—the liberals and the staunch supporters of the IRP—agree with such a "resolution." However, there are a few progressive elements who will not be willing to go along with this plan.

Our revolution is facing serious threats. Compromisers, monopolists and liberals have begun their surrender. The revolutionary forces must immediately wipe out their deviations and with unity take up the tasks and duty which the struggle has placed before them. They must help the workers and toilers understand that this capitulationist move represents more than a dispute about "the tactic of hostage taking"—rather it is a move to surrender to U.S. imperialism. We must immediately prepare the masses and ourselves for new coup attempts and bear the heavy load which is on the shoulders of the revolutionaries to meet this important test. □

## Nazi/Klan Trial

Continued from page 4

project. There was never any talk of violence. If there was, don't you think they'd have Eddie Dawson [police informant in the KKK] in here to say so?"

All this was put in sharp contrast with the demonstrators who were attacked by the Klan and Nazis. Cahoon read long sections of the leaflet calling for the November 3 demonstration and then summarized that the demonstrators, "really mean they hate the police more than the Klan. They mean to undo the police and courts and the government. Misguided as they may be, these boys [the defendants] knew what I didn't know!"

These reactionary appeals to the all-white jury have everything to do with the legal arguments of the defense as well, which rest overwhelmingly on their claim that the anti-Klan demonstrators ambushed the KKK and Nazis as part of their plot to "gain Black followers for the revolution." The Klan and Nazis, set up by the police and government informants, only fired back in self-defense against the demonstrators who were the ones planning violence, so the story goes. Why did the videotapes of the massacre show the Klan coolly attacking the demonstrators? Because the press had been manipulated by "communist lies" and "myths" about KKK violence and didn't aim their cameras at the real initiators of the violence. Why was the supposed arsenal of the communist attackers not in evidence? Because the police were so busy rounding up Klansmen and Nazis, the demonstrators had plenty of time to "rearrange" the evidence. Going even further, defense lawyers tried to do a little rearranging themselves to "show" that some of the dead could have been killed by their own people—"friendly fire" as one lawyer put it.

The prosecutors went after some of the obvious contradictions in the defense's legal arguments and distortions of ballistic evidence. Somewhat of a marked change from the three months' prior courtroom action. Of course, the prosecution can't and won't call even their own informants and agents into court to reveal the role of the state in the massacre. In the last round of the trial, there has been some mention of the principles of the Klan, "their bias, bigotry and prejudice," as one D.A. put it. The prosecutor appeared far more energetic than at any time in the trial (surprising many reporters who had covered the entire proceedings). This show was no doubt for the benefit of the public generally, devised to connote an impartial air to the court and a vigorous prosecution of the pro-

secutors. Network TV cameras rolled away as the trial drew by far the most significant national media attention since it opened.

But the prosecutor wasn't alone in grandstanding in the final days of this trial and the full week of the defense "arguments" was meant for more ears than those of the jurors. For the first time in weeks, local news stories of the trial made the front page: "Cahoon: Communists Killed Three." They quoted the defense at length, "If we ever have another Pearl Harbor, you won't have to say, 'Where are the men we tried in Greensboro?'" Another opportunity to reinforce the message of the massacre—defend the red, white and blue, by any means necessary.

For those outraged by the naked Klan/Nazi murder and unable to swallow all this, every effort has been made to point the finger at the victims and produce fact out of incredible fiction. This idea—that the demonstrators themselves are responsible for the killings—was introduced months ago when CWP members were indicted on riot charges (court dates for this have been put off until after the Klan/Nazi trial is over), came up again and again in the trial and is now being reinforced in the pages of the press. Articles which quote police as saying that the Communist Workers Party (who, despite the name, are not communists) are organizing underground cells "in preparation for violent attacks on targets around the country," are posed against those in which a Klan leader only pledges to "campaign against city officials who have helped prosecute the Klan defendants." One article entitled "Day of Death Stays With Families" portrays the "agony" of a Klan defendant's family without income while he's on trial. An editorial sums it up, "One of the lessons of November 3 is that words, violent words, have power to do harm. When violence-prone people gather, the line between a dare and a death is frighteningly thin." Now it is "words" which murdered five people on November 3.

The Greensboro City Council declared the weekend of November 1 and 2 "Community Unity Day." No matter what the verdict, the people of Greensboro should not let it "divide the community." But there is already a division—one which the people in Greensboro have learned more about in the course of this trial. While all in authority continue to cover the real criminals behind the massacre, the people here and elsewhere have begun to recognize the irreconcilable division which exists between themselves on the one hand, and the courts, cops, Klan, Nazis and the rulers who have orchestrated the brutal murders on the other. □

## DRAFT PROGRAMME

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eat up weapons, but weapons are not unimportant. If nukes were "paper" but not "tigers" too, why would the proletariat need to keep them against the bourgeoisie? While I agree with RW No. 59's letter's suggestion that the proletariat should work on perfecting accurately targeted conventional missiles—and I would add wherever possible the proletariat should replace nukes with other such weapons—there is no denying the qualitatively larger explosive power of nuclear weapons, which so far as I know cannot even be approached by that of conventional weaponry, which is on the one hand why we need to keep them and on the other why we must wage a genuine struggle to abolish them as soon as possible.

I would like to make one last point in closing.

RW No. 75's letter argues that "We must fight the bourgeoisie with everything at our disposal." RW No. 73's letter argues that "the proletariat has the responsibility to choose the forms of violence necessary to protect its forward advance in a way that is consistent with its general line and strategy of reliance on the masses and 'revolution by all the peoples of the globe until capitalism is defeated.'"

What neither of these grasp is the freedom and necessity facing the proletariat. The proletariat may or may not fight with everything at its disposal. This is a question of necessity. Will we automatically use nuclear weapons or any other weapon of mass destruction regardless of the concrete situation, what the bourgeoisie is doing, whether we're winning, etc? Of course not, and to argue that we will be bound to give rise to a little bit of a Socialist Dr. Strangelove syndrome. But on the other hand, the statement from the letter in No. 73 omits the question of what underlies our freedom to choose weapons—that it is not independent of the forms of violence chosen by the bourgeoisie, and it is not at all impossible that there will be powerful well-armed imperialists remaining after a revolution in this country. As Chairman of the Chinese delegation of the UN Chiao Kuan-hua put it in a statement several years before the counter-revolutionary coup:

"Nuclear weapons are something which people can neither eat nor wear. China is a developing country and certainly does not want to spend one penny more than necessary on such stuff. China is making nuclear tests under compulsion. Her nuclear tests are taking place in her interior, and their number is limited. China is ready at any time to stop all her nuclear tests, but only on the day the nuclear weapons of the nuclear superpowers and all other nuclear countries are completely prohibited and thoroughly destroyed and not before."

I believe that the Draft Programme is correct as it stands. It is a guide to those who burn with hatred for the most destructive weapons ever created by man and whose hatred can be tempered with an understanding of the source of such weapons and then unleashed in furious struggle to overthrow the bourgeoisie and eventually bury them along with all their weaponry of war.

M.A.

### A Short Critique of Bourgeois Democracy

RW No. 76 contained a letter criticizing the Draft Programme for saying that under socialism, a revisionist "power grab can be avoided 'only' by 'developing the forms of mass struggle and mass organization,' to involve the workers in running society, while immersing Party leaders in the life, work and political struggles of everyday people." It claimed that "other" (bourgeois democratic) "ways... must be looked for."

The essence of this criticism is that bourgeois democratic rights do not have a bourgeois class character but can be put to use by the proletariat in power.

This is totally wrong. It represents a political error—seeing these specific, historically conditioned categories as transcending classes. Within that, there is a philosophical error—the separation of thinking from being. These were some of the fundamental questions over which Mao and the Four fought the revisionists in China.

Bourgeois rights (taken collectively—the system of bourgeois democracy) are predicated on and in turn reinforce a state power which stands above the masses and prevents them from direct participation in the affairs of state. The key feature of all bourgeois rights is that they allow the masses to contemplate the affairs of state, but prevent them from actually entering and transforming them.

The bourgeoisie, like previous exploiters, must concentrate state power in its own hands. But unlike them, it cannot rule over its complex social order by fiat. (Just as they cannot manage their complex productive process with slave labor.) They must have a highly flexible form for molding public opinion to accept—and even advance—the bourgeoisie's political interests. This is especially true in times of crisis and war but it is true at all times.

All bourgeois rights—in particular free elections—are perfectly adapted to this purpose. A free election is free to the extent that the electors freely abdicate any participation themselves in state affairs in favor of those they vote for. And the elected are free of any sovereign authority—such as a king. (In actual fact, in bourgeois society, the elected politicians are not free of the truly sovereign bourgeois class but are wholly dependent on it. This dependence is very rarely expressed as compulsion, since the very process of the election produces exactly the public opinion—and with it exactly the politicians—that the bourgeoisie wants. This will be made clear below.) The most free election, by its very nature totally separates the masses from the running of the state.

Because of this, a free election is the worst possible arena for the class-conscious proletariat to train the masses in their class interest and the best possible arena for the bourgeoisie to win the masses to its programme.

The proletariat is characterized as a class by its lack of conscious control of its own social labor, by the fact that it confronts its own social activity as something alien, as the will of capital. Because of this, the proletariat can only become conscious of its own class interests by overcoming this split between thinking and being; by revolutionary exposure of its own interests, mass struggle to transform the world based on this consciousness, learning more about the world in the course of changing it, and thereby changing itself.

Because this dialectic between thinking and being is broken by the very process of a free election, it is absolutely impossible for the mass of the proletariat to learn its class interests through one.

On the other hand, the bourgeoisie is characterized as a class precisely by the fact that it organizes and directs socialized labor in which it does not itself participate. For this purpose it has surrounded itself with a horde of intellectuals to assist it in formulating and "interpreting" its plans, a huge bureaucracy to flexibly transmit these plans in immense detail to the actual producers and has at its disposal means of communication expressly adapted to transmitting its plans to those who passively carry them out (the proletariat). In addition, it has developed and saturated society with bourgeois philosophy (in its million and one varieties) all of which codify the separation of thinking and being as a general framework for the separation of mental and manual labor in society.

Therefore, a battle of ideas separated off from actual implementation is an ideal terrain for the bourgeoisie to wage struggle. They have the skills to organize, the personnel to implement, the physical means to transmit and even the necessary philosophical environment to systematically implant their political views in the broad masses—who are left to passively carry them out by voting. None of these advantages depend on the bourgeoisie having state power. They depend only on the degree of development of the bourgeoisie as a class, on the degree to which capital exists as a social relation. They are however multiplied in their force when the bourgeoisie does have state power. The more free such an election is and the more fiercely it is waged, the more thoroughly all of society is imbued with bourgeois political opinion and the more the final vote represents

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# DRAFT PROGRAMME

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the proletariat's seal of approval on this alien class interest.

When the proletariat seizes power, it uses its power as a lever to replace the blind control of labor by capital, with its own conscious control. The character of this proletarian state must be in accord with this task. It cannot separate political debate among the masses from the affairs of state, but must increasingly involve the struggling masses directly in the affairs of state. That is, the proletariat must organize itself as a ruling class.

Of course the extent to which it can do this is historically limited at any given time. The proletariat lacks the skills necessary (individually—but more importantly, the collective experience necessary) to directly rule society. Further, owing to its lack of political development, and more fundamentally the lack of development of the productive forces, there is still a certain division of labor in production and all society. This with the fact that a certain section of backward workers don't want to participate in the affairs of state, make it impossible for the proletariat as a whole to directly run society (until classes have been eliminated.) Therefore, the proletariat must to a certain extent delegate some of its authority to its most capable (i.e. most class conscious) members. To this extent, the state remains above (i.e. is in contradiction with—or alienated from) the masses of workers.

This delegation of authority may (in most cases will) take place by some democratic method such as democratic elections or democratic consultation. But these elections will no longer be free and the elected no longer sovereign in the bourgeois sense. They will be limited by and subordinated to other forms of political activity of the masses—namely mass struggle and mass organization. The elected will not be free of the masses' continued interference in the affairs of state and the very process of the election will be conditioned by other forms of mass struggle.

A good example of this (not in elections—but in the related bourgeois freedom, free speech) was Mao's Hundred Flowers Campaign. Here a free debate was called for over the future of socialism. Even this was restricted by the guidelines of the campaign. But the main restriction on this free debate was that the masses did not restrict themselves to the terms of the debate itself, but mobilized through other means (mass struggle) to combat the bourgeoisie when it jumped out and exposed itself. The bourgeoisie said this was "unfair"—which it was—the proletariat refused to be bound to the bourgeoisie's terrain—and in fact only entered this terrain because it kept the initiative in other more favorable terrain.

All bourgeois freedoms are similarly simply the open expression of the proletariat's lack of conscious control of various aspects of its collective life-activity. That is, its "freedom" of any such control. As such, all such freedom will be overcome as the proletariat gains such conscious mastery. This will be an active process which the bourgeoisie will resist—all under the banner of "freedom."

In production, to the extent that the proletariat lacks conscious control of its own collective labor, to the extent that it freely confronts this as something alien—as capital—this freedom is expressed as bourgeois economic right. (No longer, as under capitalism, the "right" to sell their labor-power, but still the right to equal pay for equal work, etc.)

In law, to the extent that the proletariat lacks conscious control of the means of its own social regulation, to the extent it freely confronts this as something alien—as a body of law, courts, etc. this freedom is expressed in legal rights, fair trials, etc. (No longer the right to hire someone to navigate laws written in the interests of capital—in Latin no less, but still in equal administration of law.)

In broad political life, to the extent that the proletariat is unable to consciously formulate its collective political will, to the extent that it freely confronts this will as something alien—as the disjointed sum of individual views, this freedom is expressed as free press and free speech. (No longer are the means of such expression monopolized by capital, but there remains the freedom to express the fragmented view of the individual.)

In philosophy, to the extent that the proletariat lacks consciousness of itself in relation to the world, of its own social being, to the extent that it freely confronts its own social being as something alien, as a bourgeois God, this freedom is expressed as freedom of religion.

All these freedoms will provide fertile ground for the bourgeoisie to maneuver. As pointed out earlier, their features as a class make them perfectly adapted for this. And they will wage sharp class struggle from these positions. The freedoms cannot be eliminated by edict; they exist objectively as a result of the low level of development of the proletariat (fundamentally as a result of society's division of labor). They can however be consciously regulated and restricted. Fundamentally, this means the conscious supervision of the masses.

First by taking away all freedom from proven counter-revolutionaries. The bourgeoisie is bound to take advantage of various bourgeois freedoms to promote counter-revolution. When this has been sufficiently exposed to the masses, why shouldn't they, under the leadership of revolutionaries, through other means (mass struggle) deprive these counter-revolutionaries of their best turf! And in some cases, precisely because bourgeois freedom is such good turf for the bourgeoisie, they will pose a threat to the proletarian power before the masses can be made conscious of this. In this case, the class conscious proletarian leaders must arrest such people on their own initiative, without waiting. The alternative might seem very democratic to the bourgeoisie, but would be positively criminal as far as the proletariat is concerned. Of course the first method is preferable to the second, not because it is more democratic, but because in the long run, the proletariat's ability to maintain and strengthen its rule depends on its conscious mass activity and mass struggle—and nothing else. (What after all are the lessons of the aftermath of the Tien An Men Square Riot—both the correct suppression of Teng and the ensuing failure to contain his coup despite the efforts of revolutionaries to organize mass struggle against it—if not this?)

The same separation of thinking from being which is at the foundation of the theory of all bourgeois freedoms, also guides the writer to his opinion that "no one, no matter how wrong or offensive his views, should be punishable as a 'counter-revolutionary' merely for expressing them. Only criminal acts, such as bribery, sabotage, assassination, or actually plotting to take over state power, as evidenced by concrete acts such as purchase of weapons, should be enough to arrest or imprison an alleged 'counter-revolutionary'."

It sounds fine not to arrest someone until he purchases weapons, but what if he already is an army commander and is putting guns in counterrevolutionary hands simply by "expressing his opinion" to those who already have guns—his troops? What if he is in the Ministry of Culture and is preparing broad public opinion for counter-revolution simply by promoting bourgeois and suppressing revolutionary culture? What if he is high up in the Party and has influence over all these sectors of society?

In 1965, Mao called in a general and asked him "What would you do if revisionists seized power in the Central Committee?"—"I would march on Peking," he confidently replied. "By then it would be too late," Mao dryly observed. (The general took part in the '76 coup.) If the decisive role of consciousness and its dialectical relationship with revolutionary struggle is not grasped—the revolution is lost. This will be an enormous question under socialism (and is already a big question today—witness the 100 Flowers Campaign).

Finally I'd like to comment on the threat made by the writer "But they" (many progressive Americans) "will never be won over—in fact, they will fight you to the death—unless your Programme shows that you care deeply about their political freedoms under socialism, and that you will treat with respect the basic forms of freedom—free speech, fair trials, etc.—which they hold dear," (my em-

phasis), which, though it is made "In Friendship," is a threat nonetheless, because I think it is true that he speaks for millions of progressive intellectuals and others when he says this. So I want to respond to this also in friendship. Illusions about bourgeois freedom are extremely deep and widespread and take root even more so among intellectuals, partly because of their social position as assistants to the bourgeoisie in organizing society, and partly because of their position of relative privilege compared to the masses. Both these factors mean that bourgeois freedoms do give the middle classes some slight room to maneuver. But fundamentally, even for these strata, these freedoms are a fraud. The class-conscious proletariat is not going to be intimidated by such opposition into giving up its programme of proletarian dictatorship as the transition to classless society, in favor of enshrining bourgeois democracy and the class privileges that go with it. It will instead be more determined to go out among its friends, expose the extremely limited, historically conditional character of these freedoms. It will win some over to see that a society consciously and voluntarily transforming itself and the world is a qualitatively higher freedom—the only freedom worth fighting to the death for. And it will continue to struggle with those who do not yet see this as friends in a common fight against imperialism and all reaction.

T.K.

## Power

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imperialism than to set it up as a demand from the masses embodied in the figure of a well known trigger-mouthed fool?"

They are rubbing their noses in their "swing to the right" landslide to frighten people into giving up in fear or running into the arms of their slightly more sweet-talking liberals who offer consolation while committing the very same massive crimes as the Ronald Reagans they rail against. In fact, as the Republicans are quick to point out, it has been the Democrats who presided over every major war in U.S. history. This is not to say that this trend cannot be broken, but nevertheless they have in fact used the sweet talk and reformist promises of the Democrats to suck people into uniting behind the imperialist conquests of the U.S. The facts of the matter are that their politicians, of whatever stripe, do whatever is necessary to further the rule of the ruling class they so dutifully serve. The only variation in all of this is how they sell it to the masses of people.

As has been spoken to in previous articles in the *RW*, the real policy decisions for the U.S. bourgeoisie are not made by their presidential mouthpieces or in the "hallowed halls" of Congress. No, these decisions are made largely in deep secrecy by the various policy making boards of the ruling class and carried out by their government departments. On these boards and departments sit members of both parties, liberals and conservatives and whatever, but all are ruling class representatives who don't even go through the formality of being elected; they are placed there by the bourgeoisie. Presidents, legislators, and judges are only the instruments of and mouthpieces for the real powers behind the throne.

A vivid illustration of how these political frontmen are little more than props in which the bourgeoisie sticks various tape recordings to be played to the masses of people is the "moderation" of Ronald Reagan. While trying to make maximum use of the fact that Bonzo is a long-time right-winger, they have been taking careful steps to surround him with the appropriate advisors and to moderate his image significantly. No doubt it won't be long before some of his hardcore supporters are calling him a traitor to their cause. These steps have been taken out of necessity, mainly because it is in the interests of the imperialists to have the appearance of moderation and the desire to keep the peace as they prepare for war. They must, as much as possible, paint the Soviet Union as the aggressors and the cause of the outbreak of war when it's time to go down. It must appear that all possible peaceful means of stopping

their enemies have been exhausted. While Reagan will definitely project a more aggressive stance than Carter (who himself would have moved to roughly the same stance had he been reelected), he will mention the words "peace" and "stability" just as often as Jimmy did. And the forces impelling the U.S. and the Soviet Union toward war will accelerate at the same rate under Reagan as under Carter.

The point here is that U.S. imperialism and its mouthpieces will do what they have to do here in this country and throughout their empire and all of it is completely reactionary and monstrously criminal. It makes absolutely no difference if a Bonzo or a Bozo or a Teddy is in office. It is long past time to realize this increasingly obvious truth. We don't need or want their saviors in the wings and their promises to "deliver us from the fascist hordes." These honey-lipped reformers have the same blood dripping from their jowls as a Reagan or a Wallace, whether the Democrats or the Republicans have been in the White House, the police and National Guard are called just as quickly and viciously when the masses of people begin to challenge our rulers. And just as many other crimes and abuses are committed.

What we do need is to break out of this trap of looking to our enslavers to free us or at best console us that they have locked so many millions in. We have no interest in seeking to prettify a system which is ugly, decrepit and rotting, emanating a stench that reaches to every corner of the globe. This system is wracked and riddled with crisis and is decaying even as it grows bloated, feeding off of the people of the world. Things are sharpening up in the world not only between the two superpowers but between these imperialists and the masses of people the world over. Further and deeper attacks on the people are bound to go down as the imperialists get more and still more desperate. Likewise, new conditions are coming into being where great advances toward striking down the imperialists can be made. There is no time for those who are sickened and filled with anger at the workings of this set-up to sit around and join the reactionary moans of the liberals for a more "civilized" facade over the bourgeoisie's class dictatorship—one that uses a little perfume to cover its stench—any more than there is time to join in the reactionary longings of the Reagan's to "make America great again."

The whole worldwide system of imperialism is destined for the scrap heap of history. It has long since ceased to have any progressive character whatsoever. It will never change its ways no matter which wax dummy is in the Oval Office. There is urgent work to be done now to actively expose the real nature of this enslaving system we live under, to create public opinion for its destruction, to prepare to seize the opportunity when conditions have ripened to take the decisive action necessary to put the whole system in Madame Tussaud's Wookey Hole. □

