



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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# 1980

## A Year, A Decade of Historic Importance

By **Bob Avakian**

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.

### I. New Year, 1980. We are on the Threshold Of Tremendous Upheavals and Momentous Events Throughout the World and Within This Country Itself.

The next decade. Where are we headed? Millions ask this question, and not just because a page of the calendar is turning, but because the whole world is turning, turning upside-down. We are about to enter the '80s. When we emerge on the other side, we and the whole world will be drastically changed. For we are headed into a decade different from the past, a decade where all the basic contradictions in the world will be increasing with piercing intensity.

War—world war—and revolution are not distant words but looming realities. There is the possibility of a revolutionary situation developing right within this country. And it is a real possibility, one that even the ruling class of this country is thinking about, no matter how much they try to hide it, for who can deny the deepening crisis and the drive toward war?

And faced as they are with these developments, our rulers, like scorcerers—these mummified merlins—are driven to conjure up forces they cannot control, including and most fundamentally, the force that they

most hate and fear. They must drag the *masses of people* into political life. Of course, they aim to do this under *their* banner—to whip up a reactionary and flag kissing hysteria against their own enemies—whether they are reactionary rivals like the Soviet Union or revolutionary peoples around the world. But once this “genie,” the masses of people, and most especially the working class, is roused up, *everything* can be thrown up for grabs—including just who is going to stuff who into what bottle.

The rulers plan for this “genie” of the masses is to be battalions for the capitalist masters, but it's not as simple as that. Once on the loose, this mighty force can become the gravedigger of this capitalist system. And the chance of this is all the greater because of the position of U.S. imperialism in today's world. This crumbling colossus is not in the same position as before and so it does not have the same strength it had in situations leading up to previous periods of war and crisis. And in this situation, their great difficulties put great opportunities, and great tasks, before all those who dream of being out from under the oppressive, bone crushing weight of this system.

Not only this decade, but this very year of 1980 is one of tremendous importance. And its importance centers around May 1, 1980, which will sound the first

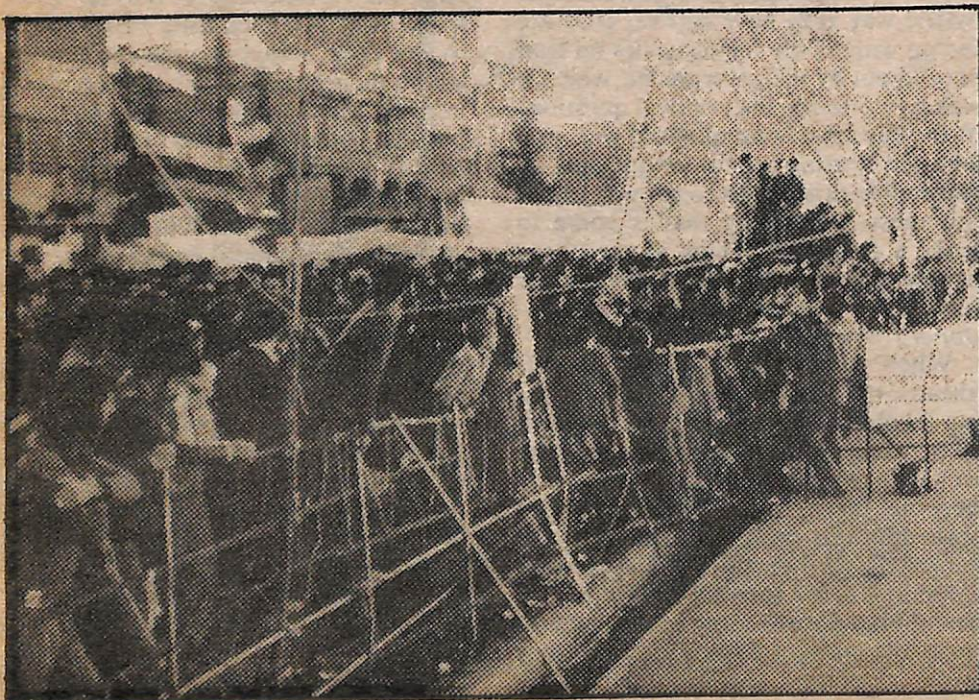
revolutionary salvo of the 1980s, a day when a force of thousands of class conscious workers and others will march on the streets, refusing to go to work, to go to school, to remain passive but instead begin to take history into their hands, and *out* of the hands of those vicious bloated dogs like George Meany and the rest who claim the mantle of the U.S. working class and drag it into the cesspool of reaction. Seizing this banner of the working class and holding it high together with millions worldwide is not just a matter of replying to an insult. It is a matter of political necessity.

The stakes in the short period that lies ahead, leading up to revolutionary May Day are very critical. The struggle to build revolutionary May Day is a crucial battle, one that will put an opening mark on the decade. And it will be taking place at the same time as the bourgeois election campaign in this country is going on, parading in front of the masses of people such stars as Jimmy Carter, a has-been peanut farmer, Ronald Reagan, an embalmed leading man, and Ted Kennedy, shining Knight of the Living Dead, the capitalist class. In these elections the bourgeoisie, because of its situation, will be forced to shed some of their paper hat platitudes and focus on some political questions, questions of world affairs, and reveal some

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Report from  
People's Delegate

## First Hand From Iran



Part of a crowd that daily gathers outside U.S. Embassy in Tehran

Following is a first-hand account by Clark Kissinger, who headed the Send the Shah Back, Hands Off Iran delegation of Americans recently returned from Iran.

### Getting There

Getting to Iran in the midst of this U.S.-manufactured crisis took a little doing. We were quite aware that the government would attempt to sabotage any people's delegation trying to get to Iran. Just the last week the State Department revoked the passport of the former CIA officer Philip Agee to prevent him from traveling to Iran to take part in investigations of CIA activities in that country. And one of our own delegation, Rev. W.J. Stafford of Decatur, Ga., had the conditions of his parole changed to prevent him from leaving the state of Georgia when his travel plans became known to his parole officer.

Thus we met in secret in Washington, quickly dropped by the Iranian embassy to obtain visas, and drove directly from the embassy to Dulles International Airport with tickets for Paris only. The plan was for Rev. Stafford to follow the next day after we made a safe getaway.

All this meant, of course, that we were not able to do the kind of preparations before we left which we would have liked to. Money was a big problem because we couldn't do public fund raising. And there were many individuals and groups who we know would have liked to join in advance in supporting the delegation, yet each additional phone call increased the risk just that much more.

The delegation members had to get acquainted on the way over. Carol and Becky worked together in the same women's health clinic in L.A., and Fred from VVAW and myself had met earlier in Washington as volunteers in the

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# HANDS OFF BOB AVAKIAN!

The following statements are telegrams and letters sent to various government officials which oppose continued attempts by the U.S. government to pursue both the legal railroad of Bob Avakian through the appeal of the felony charges dismissed in November and the escalated attack represented by the current Secret Service "investigation." They are only a small sampling of the numbers of statements that are beginning to pile up on the desks of Jimmy Carter, Stuart Knight and others.

12/12/79

We found out from the Revolutionary Worker newspaper your latest plot against Bob Avakian.

We are spreading the word to our fellow slaves in these factories, this attack will be beat back as was the last one. We will not stand for legal railroads or murder to silence Bob Avakian.

Tell your fellow capitalist lackeys, U.S. Attorneys Rauh and Abrecht, to withdraw the appeal against Avakian and the Mao Defendants.

We remember Fred Hampton. Keep your bloody hands off Bob Avakian.

22 auto workers  
Ford Rouge  
Dearborn, Michigan

12/24/79

H. Stuart Knight  
Director of Secret Service

Dear Mr. Knight:

The undersigned Hawaii attorneys have learned of the current Secret Service "investigation" of Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, for an alleged threat to the president's life. Although Mr. Avakian publicly denied ever making a threat, the Los Angeles Times acknowledged their misquote of his remarks, your agents

are apparently still pursuing the matter and are right now looking for Mr. Avakian threatening his arrest and prosecution.

This entire episode has all the markings of political harassment. Having failed recently in their efforts to prosecute Avakian and 16 others in Washington, D.C., the government now is employing just another weapon in its arsenal to prevent Avakian from expressing political views that are in opposition to their policies and the entire system of capitalism.

We strongly oppose your "investigation" of Bob Avakian and call upon you to cease this current form of harassment and issue a public statement confirming that the matter has been dropped. We join with thousands of people in this country (including Hawaii) and abroad who recognize the thinly disguised political motives that underlie this latest effort to silence and jail Bob Avakian, just as similar means have been employed to silence and even kill revolutionary leaders in the past. We demand that it be stopped.

Very Truly Yours,  
14 Lawyers from Hawaii  
(telegram includes signatures)

To the Secret Service:

We know what you're up to and we want you to keep your god damn murdering hands off Bob Avakian.

16 inmates at a drug rehabilitation facility in Washington D.C.

December 10, 1979

Mary Ellen Abrecht, Esq.  
Assistant United States Attorney  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D.C.

Re: *United States v. Avakian, et al.*; F-563-79

Dear Ms. Abrecht:

The National Emergency Civil

Liberties Committee has examined the record in the above case and has concluded that the arrest and prosecution of the defendants constitutes an interference with the rights of the defendants under the First and Fifth Amendments to the Constitution.

Accordingly, we, as counsel for N.E.C.L.C., have been authorized to file an amicus brief with the District of Columbia Court of Appeals on behalf of the defendants. We would appreciate your consent to the filing of such a brief and request that when the brief on behalf of the government has been filed, a copy be sent to us so that we may make timely response by way of an amicus brief.

The N.E.C.L.C. is a nation-wide organization devoted to sponsoring litigation, engaging in

legislative activity, and, in general, carrying on educational activity primarily in support of the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution. The organization has maintained an active litigation docket in many courts throughout the United States over the past several decades.

Yours sincerely,  
Victor Rabinowitz  
Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard,  
Krinsky and Lieberman  
Attorneys at Law  
30 East 42nd Street  
New York, N.Y. 10017

To the Secret Service:

America desperately needs intelligent leadership. Stop hounding Avakian.

A Washington D.C. professor



## Now You've Got It In YOUR Hand....

O.K. Now you've got your hands on the *Revolutionary Worker*. Think about the tens and tens of thousands of people in this country who are sickened by the way they have to live, who are fed up with all the jingoistic lies on Iran poured out by the government, who are waking up to the big political questions of the day, the threat of world war, and who are starting to stir, getting that ir-repressible urge to do something about this mess—something that is going to make a difference. Think about all the people who have revolution on their minds that don't yet have the *Revolutionary Worker* in their hands.

When you think about the decade ahead—the possibility of actually making revolution, the urgency and necessity of what we do *right now* to prepare to seize the time whenever it arises become very stark. The task of spreading this conspiracy of slaves, of spreading the networks of the *Revolutionary Worker* to every corner of this crumbling prisonhouse that our rulers have the nerve to call "civilization," where oppressed and exploited people are looking for answers, is at the top of

the agenda, and it's right on time. And it's a crime that there are people who are looking for revolution who don't have the *Revolutionary Worker* every week. And this is causing some people to lose sleep, thinking about how to get it into their hands, like one reader told us: "I didn't think revolution was possible before I read the *Revolutionary Worker*. How many people like me are out there? Why shouldn't they be working for revolution?" The answer is, they should and can and will, because right on the threshold of the 1980s the distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker*, voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, is taking a big leap. In the next two weeks, a big push is on to complete plans to double the circulation of this paper to 40,000 a week, and it's not going to stop there, either. It's got to keep on leaping and bounding into the '80s, right into the gale winds that are stirring now. Join the conspiracy! Spread the conspiracy! Now that you've got the life line of the revolutionary movement in your hands, stretch that line to thousands more. Create public opinion... Seize Power!

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# 1980

## A Year, A Decade of Historic Importance

Continued from page 1

things, expose each other, even expose their system in part. All this, too, makes May Day, together with other revolutionary political work, all the more necessary and all the more possible.

### II. Events Right Now Confirm This Analysis

Events are already confirming this basic analysis. As concentrated right now around Iran, these events show not only that these developments are indeed taking place, but that they are *accelerating*—showing further the urgency of the situation and the tasks ahead for the working class and all other oppressed people.

Right now the power of the masses is bursting forth in revolution—not only in Iran, but also in other parts of the Middle East and other parts of the world, including Latin America. Each week, it seems, puffed up reactionaries in this country are driven to a new frenzy as they are forced face to face with the reality of yet another people, in another part of the world, rising up to smack their imperialist tormentors in the teeth.

And right along with this are the moves, the preparations of the imperialists, in response to the crisis in moving toward World War 3. They have their plans to use the situation around Iran. They are whipping up reactionary hysteria, racist and chauvinist frenzy with even more in mind than preparing public opinion for a reactionary coup in Iran, or even military intervention there. They're aiming at whipping people up for the next imperialist world war, by fanning blind reaction, by getting the people in this country to blame their deteriorating conditions and increasing suffering conditions on other working people in other countries, and by trying to divert people away from the *real source* of all this misery—the imperialist ruling class that feeds on the blood of people in this country, in Iran, and around the world.

They are callously, cynically, and more and more openly using the situation around Iran as preparation in all spheres—politically and ideologically as well as militarily for World War 3. Politicians and military spokesmen each outdo the other in efforts to use Iran as an “example” of their need for a greater so-called “defense” budget. And just in case you didn't get the message that the American people are supposed to be getting ready for World War 3, they constantly repeat the refrain around Iran that “the American people have never been so united since the days of Pearl Harbor.” Get it—Pearl Harbor—world war.

But all this frenzy also shows their *weakness*, their difficulties. They are not even succeeding all that well in whipping up a social base of patriotic, idiotic flag-wavers, and even more importantly all this also shows that these imperialists, particularly the U.S. imperialists, just can't bully their way around the world as they were able to for a while coming off World War 2. Their frustration about this knows no limits, and they resort to gangster logic, moaning, “We've been pushed around too long” and bellowing “That's enough, pretty soon we'll draw the line.” These biggest gangsters, the most monstrous oppressors in world history, have the nerve to cry about how they've been “pushed around,” and there is nothing too low or shameless enough for them when it comes to stirring up a swarm of reaction. But still all this is secondary, and it is their weakness, both material and, reflecting that, ideological, that stands out. Even the fact that the U.S. imperialists have to protect the likes of the Shah (and other hated tyrants like him) is a glaring exposure not only of U.S. imperialism's reactionary nature, but also of their weakened and vulnerable position. No longer, as after World War 2, are they able to parade around the world as some kind of “democratic” or progressive power working to “free the world from tyranny”—that is to replace the tyranny of other imperialist powers with the tyranny of U.S. imperialism. Now, exposed to the people of the world, they are the naked defenders of murdering reaction, and they grow more isolated daily.

Of course, the U.S. imperialists are not alone as top-rank world reactionary powers, they are in neck-and-neck competition with their Soviet act-alike rivals. The Russian social-imperialists are finding themselves in a

similar situation in various parts of the world (stemming from their same fundamental nature as imperialists and as a superpower heading up the other imperialist bloc); they are not only face to face with the U.S. imperialists in areas all over the world, but are also finding themselves the direct and indirect target of mass uprisings. Right now, copying the U.S. imperialists' performance in Vietnam, the Russians are facing popular uprising in Afghanistan (a country which, not irrelevantly, borders on Iran).

### III. Step Onto the Political Stage

The urgent need for the working class—most specifically in this country—in particular the politically aware, class-conscious workers, to step onto the political stage under its revolutionary banner, to take what the Russian revolutionary leader Lenin called “independent historical action”—this is dramatically and powerfully demonstrated in the events around Iran. What a significant blow, what a jolting effect, for the working class, as embodied in these class-conscious workers, to take the field in this way, starting right now around this issue. No other force in society can or will play this role in the same way and with the same impact. This urgent need is all the more urgent because today, around Iran, the imperialists are being forced in their own perverted way to “involve the masses in politics.” And as reactionary as these imperialist politics are, as contradictory as are the views of the people from all strata of society who are being tossed into motion—this political turmoil is a good thing—a greater necessity *and* opportunity for the class-conscious workers.

The U.S. imperialists, their allies, and even, despite their sharpening contention, their Soviet imperialist rivals, all these have the nerve to conduct a sickening, motley and historically out-of-tune chorus about how the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people, together with all revolutionary struggle, is “condemned by the ‘civilized world’”; they parade around as though the world belongs to them, bellowing in anger that the people of the world are not allowing this bullying and see that they no longer need be cowed or enslaved by these dinosaurs and historically mummified tyrants. These imperialists are like the wicked witch in the “Snow White” fairy tale who kept anxiously and insistently demanding of the mirror, “Who is the fairest of them all”—and they got infuriated by the answer.

The fact is that, as opposed to the reactionary governments and ruling classes, the *people* of the world have their fundamental interests in unity with and are more and more standing with the people of Iran and the overall fight against imperialism and reaction.

It's time (and past time) for the working class in the U.S. to take its stand with and join the surging and resurgent movement of the working class and oppressed peoples of the world, break decisively with the imperialist rulers—and their desperate, chauvinist lashing out and bellowings—join the struggle and play a key role in helping to bury them and their system—not acting blindly and against their own class interests in a miserable attempt at clinging to and going to the historical grave with the imperialists, but recognizing and acting upon their real interests and role and part of the international proletariat to be the gravediggers of imperialism and all forms of exploitation.

These are the two roads, the two camps shaping up and stretching out before the working class and the masses in this country. As we said in the *Revolutionary Worker* editorial on November 16, these two roads, two camps, will be shaping up, mustering forces in the period ahead as the crisis of this imperialist system deepens. Some will choose to cling to crumbs tossed them from the rich table of the imperialists who gorged themselves on the blood and bones of the masses of the world. These are like people who live in an outhouse with a little pretty wallpaper on it, who live dripping with the filth piled on them by the imperialist system, but who screech at the masses of people of the

world, “You fools, who says this country stinks.” But then there are those, still a comparatively small number but ultimately the decisive force, who say, “To hell with all this scandalous stuff, we throw our lot with the people of the world and with revolution here to end all this.”

All this, in particular right now events in Iran, shows the *acceleration* of events, the *urgency* for the working class, especially its revolutionary, politically aware, class-conscious section to step ahead, to step forward and take action starting now.

### IV. The Great Importance of Preparation The Tremendous Impact of the Actions of the Advanced

“The revolution itself must not by any means be regarded as single act... but as a series of more or less powerful outbreaks rapidly alternating with periods of more or less intense calm,” wrote Lenin in *What Is To Be Done?*, making a statement which is full of meaning for us today. The work we do now, the battles, especially the major political battles, we wage now can be crucial not only at hitting back, politically, at the enemy, and not simply as general preparation, but beyond that perhaps in deciding the outcome whenever the conditions for revolution do ripen.

The initial call for May Day 1980, issued by our Party last May Day, 1979, put it this way, “...our force will be overwhelming and will finally triumph. And that time will surely come! But to bring this about, we have work to do and struggle to carry out. Not just in the future, but in an on-going way—and from today forward. Work and struggle to bring closer and to prepare the revolutionary ranks and the broadest numbers of people for that day of reckoning.”

Or again, in the call issued this fall for May Day 1980, “We must come from behind, catch up to the gathering momentum and march to the head of it, enabling the revolutionary movement and the conscious understanding of millions of people to take a leap forward, to keep pace with the rapidly changing times. And we must do this now, for if we do not we may very well miss the tremendous possibilities that lie ahead.”

This emphasizes, again, that all we are doing now is or must be, precisely preparation for when the conditions do ripen, *and* that (in line with the statement by Lenin referred to just above) they are, in another sense, a *part*, a very important part, of the whole process of revolution and have a great deal to do with victory or defeat when there is a qualitative leap in the situation.

In no way should the taking of “independent historical action” by the advanced section of workers in this country, even if it is relatively small at this time, be underestimated or downgraded. Nor should we be taken in by the lying, even desperate, propaganda of the imperialists that everybody is “united” behind them (under their boot, or parallel to it, with their tongue out); events more and more show how desperate they are and this is precisely why they devote so much effort to spreading such propaganda for it is not only aimed at unleashing and mobilizing their backward social base, but also at intimidating and paralyzing those who see through them, know them for what they are and want to fight back.

And in this light, and in relation to the role of the action taken by advanced, class-conscious workers, it is important to take note of the advances now possible, of the opportunities and necessities in the period ahead to unite broadly with other strata, other social forces in U.S. society. And there will not only be the opportunity and necessity to unite, but also, and in order to do so more deeply and fully and toward the goal of revolution, to carry out struggle with the forces for the correct road ahead. This, too, requires the leadership of a Party and the material force of the actions of the advanced.

The recently published Central Committee report of our Party refers to the impact of these actions both on other, broader, strata in society and on the wider ranks of the working class, saying this “shows in practice the revolutionary character of the proletariat and its class interests and its tremendous potential to unite the people to seize control of and remake society.” And as for the impact of this action internationally, the May Day call puts it right, “The giant heart of the international proletariat will skip a beat as thousands of their own thunder through the streets of America, ushering in a new decade.”

To *move thousands* (and to strongly and directly influence tens or sometimes hundreds of thousands) now is *very significant*. In his “Lecture on the 1905 Revolution” Lenin points out that before that revolution the Bolsheviks were “derisively called a sect” since they were hundreds leading thousands. But then, “within a few months,” “The hundreds of revolutionary Social-Democrats [communists] ‘suddenly’ grew into thousands; the thousands became the leaders of between two and three million proletarians,” and these workers influenced still more forces—peasants and soldiers. “In this manner a colossal country, with a population of 130,000,000 went into the revolution...” (Lenin, Vol. 23) And in another work Lenin sums up how there are “masses” and then there are “masses.” “In the history of our movement... you will find many examples where several thousand non-party workers, who usually live a philistine life and drag out a miserable existence, and who have never

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# Verdict in Peltier Trial

Los Angeles, December 22. The judge chosen to preside over the railroad of Leonard Peltier sat in stunned silence, reading and rereading the jury's verdict. The jury had delivered guilty verdicts on Peltier for escape and possession of a weapon, and on Bobby Gene Garcia for escape. But on both the heavier charges, conspiracy and assault on a federal officer, the verdicts after 4 days deliberation were "not guilty." On Rocque Duenas' charges of assisting an escape, the jury was deadlocked, and so a mistrial was declared. No wonder Judge Lydich, who had given his all to this railroad, was stunned. For 5 weeks, the government had had a clear field to run their lies, had connived to keep 90% of all defense witnesses from testifying and had prevented Leonard Peltier as well as his fellow prisoners from telling of the government's plots on Peltier's life. Even so, the government didn't get the across-the-board convictions they expected.

When the verdict came in, the courtroom was packed with more than 60 supporters as it had been for the last two weeks of the trial. They waited until the judge had scurried back to his chambers and then they stood, fists clenched, to honor the Native American freedom fighters that the government is so anxious to crush. During the trial, letters of support had come from Germany, France, and Japan. From Native Americans came this message, "89 tribes listen to, pray for, look to as a leader, and seek to free Leonard Peltier." Prisoners of all nationalities had

risked retaliation to step forward as witnesses to the government's attempts to kill Peltier, whose uncompromising stand has won him respect throughout the prisons. All this testifies to the growing support for the resistance of the Indian people that Leonard Peltier has come to symbolize.

This clearly had an effect on the jurors, some of whom held out for acquittal for four days, because "maybe he had a good reason to escape" as one said afterwards. In the end, they split the verdict—guilty on some counts, not guilty on others—and went home for the holidays. The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee made a point of saying "the jurors were brave to stand up to the pressure as long as they did. But in the end they decided on what was the law and not what was the truth."

The capitalists still have Leonard Peltier in their clutches serving two consecutive life sentences for the "crimes" of standing with his people and defending them against armed government attack. Additional sentences of up to seven years for these new convictions could be added; five years could be added to Garcia's three life sentences. The government plans to send both Leonard and Bobby to the sensory deprivation program in the "Control Unit" at Marion, Illinois to try to complete what they failed to do earlier—crush their resistance, or end their lives.

Defense Attorney Lew Gurwitz and Bruce Ellison still face charges for asking the defendants forbidden questions

like "Why did you escape?"

The answer to that question would have exposed the vicious FBI terror and murder carried out against AIM activists—in particular their hiring assassins to kill Peltier. Repeatedly, any testimony relating to self-defense was cut off and ruled irrelevant. More time was spent having testimony stricken from the record, and banning lines of questioning in conferences before the judge, than in actually hearing testimony. The legal lynching was so heavy-handed that even an *L.A. Times* reporter was forced to ask whether there was something the government was trying to hide. However, this trial turned out to be far more costly politically than the authorities would

like to admit.

Just before the verdicts came in, Leonard Peltier summed it up, "We were able to raise people's conscience and commitments have been made to expose the genocide that is coming to this day against Indian Nations. This is great in winning sympathy. However sympathy is not what we want—nor is it enough in exposing the U.S. government acts of terrorism and genocide against our people... Indian people cannot afford to indulge in self-pity and self-humiliation. We must remember that all Indian Nations are in political bondage and captives of the U.S. We must struggle for our freedom today using all means of resistance that is available without fear or guilt." ■

## Agee: Target of U.S. Dirty Work

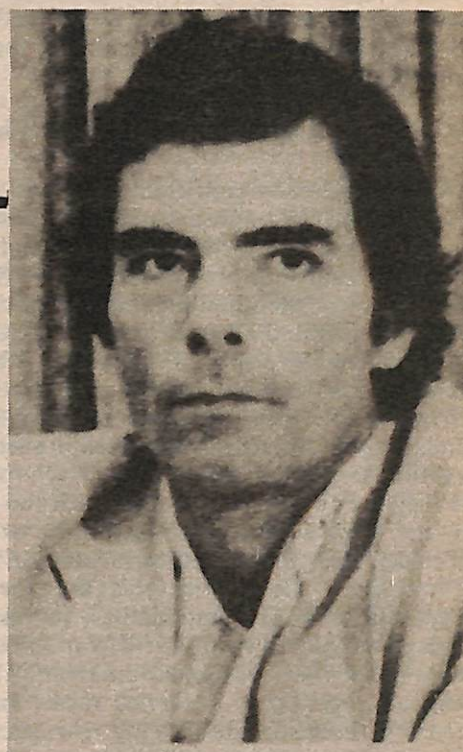
On Sunday, December 23, a short press release issued by the U.S. State Department broke the news. The Secretary of State served notice on Philip Agee at his residence in Hamburg, Germany that his passport had been revoked because "...his activities abroad were causing, or were likely to cause, serious damage to national security and the foreign policy of the United States of America..." Almost immediately the West German government started to rumble about deportation proceedings.

A few days earlier, the Iranian students holding the U.S. embassy in Tehran had asked Agee to join the planned international tribunal to expose the role of the U.S. in Iran as well as to help in developing the case proving the CIA activities of various embassy employees. Citing the holding of hostages as the reason, Agee has thus far refused to participate in the tribunal, although he did offer what he thought would be a step in securing the release of the hostages. Agee called on the U.S. government to turn over to the Iranian people all of its files on CIA activity in Iran since 1950. While this is far from meeting the righteous demand of the Iranian people for the return of the Shah, it was more than enough to send an ice-cold panic through the offices of the State Department and upward.

Despite the official denial by the State Department of any connection to the situation in Iran, it is pretty obvious that the U.S. imperialists are more than a little anxious to shut Agee up. Agee is a former CIA agent who resigned after spending nine years working as an undercover agent in Latin America. Stationed in Ecuador, Uruguay and Mexico, he participated in at least two coups as well as the constant bribery, manipulation and murder used to insure the continued domination of U.S. imperialism over Latin America and to crush developing insurgent movements. Agee was recruited by the CIA in 1956 while he was a student at Notre Dame University. He served the agency unquestioningly for a number of years until the 1965 U.S. invasion of the Dominican Republic and President Johnson's explanation that it was necessary because 58 trained communists were about to take over the government.

At this point, Agee began to critically reflect on his activities as a CIA agent. Finally in 1969 he quit the CIA and disappeared.

In 1974 Agee's first book, *Inside the Company: CIA Diary*, was published. The book caused a tremendous furor in U.S. intelligence circles, as it named every agent, contact and method used by the CIA in Latin America. With the publication of this book, Agee also announced his decision to bend every effort to expose the CIA wherever and whenever he could. The CIA was forced



to completely reorganize its Latin American operations as a result of Agee's exposure. Of course, the government struck back, trying to brand Agee a Soviet-Cuban spy, threatening espionage trials, and trying to ban the book altogether.

In a letter to the *Washington Post* on February 23, 1975, Agee declared that, "The CIA is the secret political police that protects the interests of the *Washington Post* owners and those of every other American company. The agency's operations in Chile were necessary, as they were in Greece and many other countries, given the traditional definition of American national interest." For the next few years he continued to expose the CIA activities around the world, naming agents, contacts and front groups in places like Jamaica, Greece and Australia, among others, causing tremendous uproars in those governments. During all this time he faced continual threats and harassment from the U.S. government and the CIA, resulting in his deportation from England, France and the Netherlands, all for reasons of "national security."

In 1978 this exposure of the CIA became systematized and reached audiences worldwide with the launching of the *Covert Action Information Bulletin*. At that time Agee stated that people shouldn't stop at reading the names of CIA agents in their countries but should "...organize demonstrations against those names—both at the American embassy and at their homes—and where possible bring pressure on the government to throw them out. Peaceful protest will do the job. And when it doesn't, those whom the CIA has most oppressed will find other ways of fighting back." In late 1978 Agee's second book, *Dirty Work*, was published as an exposure of the CIA in Western Europe. A third book on the CIA in Africa is due in 1980.

With this as the background, it's no surprise that the U.S. imperialists launched a new attack on Agee in connection with their Iran crisis. All this time the U.S. has been denying or refusing to comment on the charge that they

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If you want to understand what's going on in Iran, to rip through the barrage of lies appearing daily on TV, in the capitalist newspapers and the White House Press Room; if you want to know what's going on in the world—from the politics involved in the Pope's travels to what's behind the Ku Klux Klan to our rulers' plans for World War 3—and you want to change it—then join with thousands of others, Black, white, Latino in the revolutionary movement.

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## Soviet Imperialists Mass Troops in Afghanistan

# Out of the Frying Pan

On December 27, the Soviet press agency *Tass* gave favorable coverage and full approval to a speech broadcast the same day over Radio Kabul in Afghanistan. The speech was delivered by Babrak Karmal and stated in part: "At last, after terrible sufferings and tribulations, the day has come of freedom and rebirth of all the fraternal peoples of Afghanistan. Today is the breaking of the machine of tortures of Amin and his henchmen, wild butchers, usurpers and murderers of tens of thousands of our countrymen, fathers, brothers, sisters, sons, daughters, children and old people." It was with this fanfare that the execution of former Afghanistan president Hafizulla Amin and the installation of a new government headed by Karmal was announced.

Karmal failed to mention, however, the means by which this "breaking of the machine of tortures" was taking place. Predictably, *Tass* failed to mention it, too. For only hours before this latest Soviet puppet pledged "freedom and rebirth" of the Afghani people, the Soviets sent an additional 4,500 combat troops into Afghanistan, supplementing the thousands of Soviet "advisors" and combat troops already there.

As we go to press, details of the Afghanistan coup are still sketchy. And while a more full analysis of events there will be presented in the next issue, the recent Soviet maneuvers are clearly a result of the sharpening war of national liberation presently being waged by the people of Afghanistan against a successive string of Soviet puppets and increasingly against the Soviets themselves.

The struggle has raged for over a year and a half, growing since the April 1978 Soviet-sponsored coup of Nour Mohammed Taraki. Since that time, the Soviets have found themselves in deeper and deeper trouble, and at each step have responded to the developing revolutionary struggle with increased direct and indirect military action. Soviet "advisors" maintain Soviet military technology and train Afghani troops loyal to the puppet regime.

Soviet pilots have flown bombing missions against villages. This direct military role for the Soviets has largely been the result of wholesale desertions by puppet troops to the ranks of the people, an indication of both the breadth of the popular movement and the depth of the contradictions faced by the Soviets. And now, with the recent step-up in combat forces inside Afghanistan and also the increase of from three to five infantry divisions on the Afghanistan border, the Soviets are truly jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

The Soviets have had a difficult time maintaining stable puppet governments in Afghanistan. In September of this year, Amin launched a coup against Taraki, apparently without the full support of the Soviets. His bargaining chip evidently amounted to promises that one way or another, the mass struggle would subside with him in power. But the opposite occurred, the struggle grew sharper, and as far as the Soviets were concerned, Amin's probation period ended on Dec. 27 at the hands of Karmal.

Babrak Karmal is the leader of the Parcham Party, which joined with Taraki's government in 1978. The Parcham Party is a revisionist party with long and deep ties to the Soviets. Key positions in the new ruling apparatus will undoubtedly be filled with other Parcham members. By putting this party and key members of it into Amin's shoes in Afghanistan, the Soviets hope to secure a far more stable situation in the country. And fundamentally, what this means is smashing the mass struggle.

Karmal's speech the day of the coup sounded strikingly similar to that given by Amin the day after he overthrew Taraki. Similar were the promises of a "new, proud, free and independent Afghanistan," promises of the release of political prisoners, and promises of "independence and democracy." Yet the entire episode clearly represents the opposite—a tightening of the grip by Karmal's masters on the people of Afghanistan.

This is the first time, in fact, that the Soviet social imperialists have massed troops outside the Warsaw Pact countries or Cuba.

Naturally, the U.S. State Department has grown quite alarmed at all this. Word of the coup was splashed all over the front pages of every major newspaper, and while the U.S. imperialists laughably expressed indignation at "such blatant military interference in the internal affairs of an independent sovereign state," the obvious point was to call public attention to another ingredient in the "Iran crisis," i.e. a severe Soviet threat on Iran's eastern border and another source of "instability" in the entire region. It is interesting that, while a

pro-Soviet government has been in power in Afghanistan for nearly 20 months, the U.S. has waited until *now*, as it maneuvers around Iran, to point this out so vehemently.

In their contention with each other, both superpowers are clearly jockeying for position in this area of the world, and as elsewhere, they will attempt to ruthlessly suppress any opposition to their plans. But the U.S. has discovered an element in Iran that has delivered a punch in the gut to these plans—the masses of people who will fight the imperialist system to the end. And as the Soviets multiply their military presence in Afghanistan, despite the new "stable" government of Babrak Karmal, they will certainly discover the same thing. ■



Student protests rocked Istanbul, Turkey on December 24 marking the first anniversary of the bloody massacre in the city of Kahraman Maras last year. The massacre was carried out by busloads of paramilitary fascist gangs who went on a three-day rampage through the city in coordination with the army and police who effectively surrounded and sealed off the area. Armed resistance to this assault was widespread. Here a group of high school students—part of the more than 1,200 arrested in Istanbul on the 24th by government forces—are forced to lie face down on the pavement at gunpoint. Turkey today is a powderkeg ready to explode.

## UPI Spy Nest Frames Vets

Just a little over a month ago on Veterans' Day 1979, the Vietnam Veterans Against the War took a bold and dramatic action in support of the struggle of the people of Iran, seizing and barricading themselves in the Washington Monument. The banner unfurled from the top of the monument made their stand crystal clear: "U.S. Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Iran! The Shah Must Face the Wrath of the Iranian People!" This action, which heads a long list of others carried out by VVAW, was broadcast all over the world by Radio Iran, but was blacked out by the great majority of the press in the U.S. In fact, in their desperate attempts to promote the most reactionary patriotic and jingoistic garbage to create public opinion favorable to the U.S. imperialists' position in Iran, the media have systematically refused to admit that veterans are taking a proud stand in solidarity with the Iranian people.

In this light it was indeed surprising to see and hear a nationwide story on the VVAW come over the United Press International wires early in the morning on December 22nd. However, the surprise quickly turned to disgust at the outrageous contents of this little 3-sentence release, obviously composed by the demented and twisted slime who occupy the offices of the various U.S. spy agencies. Their COINTELPRO-style message read as follows:

"Oakland, Calif. (UPI)—The 23-member East Bay Chapter of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War said

early today that if any of the U.S. hostages in Tehran were harmed or killed, it would take "appropriate action" against Iranian nationals and Iranian diplomats in this country.

"Asked what such action might be, a spokesman, who identified himself only as Steve, said, 'We will punish them the same way the Ayatollah (Ruhollah Khomeini) would punish our citizens.'

"The chapter also said it would put up a \$100,000 reward for the assassination of the Ayatollah should U.S. hostages be harmed."

The intentions of this pig statement are obvious. First of all, it is an attempt to discredit VVAW, throw confusion into the ranks of veterans and others who have looked to and respected VVAW, and head off the growing support and solidarity being built for the struggle of the Iranian people. The sight of vets taking over the Washington Monument, occupying the commander's office on Selfridge Air National Guard Base, and sending a representative, Fred Hanks, on the people's delegation to Iran which recently returned to the U.S., has filled the imperialists with hatred and dismay. They no doubt spent many hours hatching this ridiculous scheme.

Secondly, they hope to be able to use the UPI release as a reason to initiate more direct attacks on VVAW in much the same way as an *L.A. Times*-fabricated "quote" from Bob Avakian was used as an excuse to begin a Secret Service "investigation" aimed at Bob Avakian. It just so happens that the

Secret Service is responsible for guarding foreign diplomats. How "coincidental" that the UPI release mentions taking "appropriate action" against "... Iranian diplomats in this country". Perhaps the government is planning to reaffirm its "respect for the rights of foreign diplomats." How big-hearted and "American" that would be. How eminently principled such concern for Iranians, whom they hate and vilify, would be.

### VVAW Responds

The response of VVAW to the UPI release was swift and clear-cut. VVAW called the UPI office in San Francisco, where the release originated, as soon as it began to be picked up around the country, and demanded an immediate retraction of the release by UPI, that a statement by VVAW accompany the retraction, and that a complete explanation of how and why the UPI allowed such an obviously phony statement to be put on the national wires. Supposedly, UPI prides itself on the authenticity of its sources, checking and double checking statements called in, and refusing to print something unless everything checks out. This is all routine and a matter of policy. The fact that UPI never contacted VVAW about this statement and ran it with no questions asked, even though by their own admission they were well aware that the release was totally inconsistent with what VVAW stands for, is highly suspicious, to say the least.

UPI refused VVAW's demands and

printed a so-called "retraction" on the afternoon of Dec. 22nd. This "retraction" was actually a further attack. UPI has even refused on the basis of "legal advice" to give VVAW a copy of this so-called "retraction" which states only that UPI received a phone call "from a person who identified himself as Steve, a spokesperson for VVAW," saying that the person who called in the previous story was an impostor and that the story was the complete opposite of what VVAW believes. It was also stated that VVAW was in favor of the Shah being returned to Iran. Conspicuously absent was an admission from UPI that their previous statement was indeed called in by an impostor and that they were in error for running an unsubstantiated statement. This second release was merely a statement of fact that UPI had received a call from a VVAW spokesperson and a reportage of a few bits and pieces of what was said.

The "retraction" was picked up very spottily across the country, with many stations who ran the original release not even running this second one. One San Francisco station, K-101, ran the "retraction" along with recorded answers from "man on the street" interviews conducted outside their studios—answers to questions about what people thought about the first UPI release. These answers were carefully edited to end with a couple of statements in support of the assassination of Khomeini called for in the phony UPI release.

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# BLUE DEATH STALKS OAKLAND STREETS

"They told us to get on the ground and we got on the ground and they started busting our heads. The next time I looked up they were beating everyone on the corner. They put a good 24 stitches in my head and I wasn't doin' nothin' but playing pin-ball. Police harassment, that's all it was." This is how L., a 17-year-old Black youth from East Oakland's flatlands, began his story of what went down on December 7 at Felix Whittaker's pool hall. He told how the pigs, 30 of them, converged from four corners in cars and on cycles, on this local recreation center.

That Friday night, city pigs, narcs, plainclothes and other assorted crud launched a well-planned attack. Twelve of them stormed through the front door, bolted it and beat on everyone inside. One of these cops, known as Batman in the neighborhood, jumped up on a pool table and just swung at heads. When they finished inside, the "suspects" were brought outside, put face down on the ground and beaten again. That's where three of the pigs were on L. and they weren't using just their usual clubs. They had sticks with steel rings. One guy told the RW, "What was cold about it was no one was resisting arrest, everybody just put their hands up and they started busting them in the head." The pigs asked one guy if he was hurt. Despite the beating, he wasn't hurt bad enough, so they cuffed him, told him to walk, and then tripped him, proceeding to finish the job.

When the time came, everyone was lined up in a nearby lot and the pigs opened bidding on who would bust who for what. L. described the scene, "It was like we were slaves or something—they were all standing around and we were lined up and they said, 'Which one you gonna take.'" After they got L. in the paddy wagon, he

looked out to see some more of his family being attacked. "My mother, she got shoved to the ground, and my sister got choked. My oldest brother, they kept slamming him on the ground."

That night seven people got busted and most of them got sent to the hospital. L.'s brother was charged with possession of dope, and they still can't come up with any evidence. He is also still in the hospital, with a concussion, and will probably lose his hearing in one ear. His other brother got busted for "panhandling." He had \$50 on him, which the pigs took and kept. A friend of L. ran down what he was taken in for, "Nothin'. I was going to get cigarettes." And they took his \$20 and charged him with resisting arrest. He also wound up with a broken arm. One man, waiting for a bus at the stop outside the hall had four charges on him, including inciting to riot. "They bust me every other week here—for something or other—for littering," he said. "Do you know how many jobs I've lost because of this and I can't do anything because you got to go to court and how do you tell your boss you got to go to court because they busted me, week after week, and you get fired."

The cops search Felix's three or four times a day now. As L. said, "They won't let us go nowhere. They say we're peddling dope, that's why they're harassing us. We hate them—that is the real reason they're after us." And this is not an isolated case by any means. The Oakland police are not even bothering to make up excuses and alibis for their terroristic attacks on Black people anymore. They are just out for the maximum in blood, declaring "open season" on Black people.

One month ago Talmadge Curtis was shot in the back of the head and killed by an Oakland plainclothesman. And just two weeks ago the pigs committed

their seventh murder of the year when a cop killed a 30-year-old Black man because he was double-parked. Immediately after Talmadge was gunned down, the media launched an overtly racist public opinion campaign. They painted a picture of the cops as some kind of boy scouts going into the Black ghetto. They whined about how the cops were in danger every time they went out and how they need a free hand to use their .357 magnums.

A focus of this media barrage was an incident involving a Black woman pig who not only got hit with her own billy club but the incident occurred in front of 100 eager onlookers. When asked why she just didn't kill her attacker, she said, "The only thing that entered my mind was we've been in so much hot water lately with police shootings." Asked if she had to do it again, she replied, "I would probably have shot him." No doubt she would have. This is exactly what the media campaign was all about—trying to get public support

for the poor, innocent cops beating and murdering "dangerous and violent" Blacks. And it was an attempt to counter a potential explosion of opposition to their murderous activities.

As the media cranked out its "support your local police" campaign, Oakland's finest took the offensive. While Oakland's own Uncle Tom, Mayor Wilson, was saying a police review board was the solution to the problem, 450 thugs in blue marched to city hall. They were demanding a free hand to shoot people, as if they didn't already have the legal right to blow people away. How many have they murdered already and gotten off scot free? The pigs with their hands on their pieces were issuing a clear warning to the people of Oakland, "We intend to beat you and kill you if we so choose." Police marches like this one have occurred in a number of cities recently and are much more than just spontaneous actions by rabid and crazed cops. The bourgeoisie is paying a lot of attention to the systematic unleashing of their dogs in blue. These actions and the accompanying media barrages are conscious efforts to lay the basis for stepped-up and more blatant murder and terror. These campaigns must be exposed and taken head-on politically. ■

## Through the Grapevine, Over the Wall

LETTER FROM  
W.V. PRISONER

*On November 21, Governor Jay Rockefeller ordered an occupying army of 100 state troopers into the West Virginia State Penitentiary at Moundsville. Since then the 680 inmates have been subjected to systematic and brutal attacks. Each prisoner has been shaved, issued a new uniform, and forced to march in step back and forth to meals. Many have been beaten and also attacked by guard dogs. Personal property has been confiscated and destroyed. All visitation rights have been suspended.*

*A vicious public opinion campaign has accompanied this assault on the prisoners at Moundsville. The state, through their obedient media mouthpieces, has done everything to isolate and slander the struggle of the prisoners. The following letter received by the RW was written by a prisoner who has boldly exposed the continuing atrocities of the state police and defended the struggle of the inmates in this 113-year-old hell-hole.*

Dear—

I received your communications to myself on this date, and it is truly heartwarming to know that there are others in this state who view the situation as it truly is.

Sir, I will be more than happy to assist your organization in any way possible, and I definitely would like to receive your newspaper. At this time I would also like to inform you that I have been transferred from the state penitentiary in Moundsville.

As you expressed in your letter, it is extremely hard for accurate information to reach the people as the ruling class has a vested interest in keeping the public belligerent to the oppressive and exploitative tactics used to coerce the poor hapless individuals confined in the penal system. The broad spectrum of atrocities perpetuated against the individuals who are confined in our penal system is a class indicator that the reactionary forces in this country are willing, ready, and very prepared to institute similar and exact measures against the general populace at the slightest indication that they are ready to shed the yoke.

Sir, I am approximately 72 days away from discharging my sentence and then I shall be in the position to more effectively continue this most necessary struggle. At the time I finish this sentence I will have served 6 years in the so-called rehabilitation facilities of the state, and if not for a superhuman effort on my part I quite possibly could

have become one of the broken and beaten individuals who are perpetually manufactured by our system.

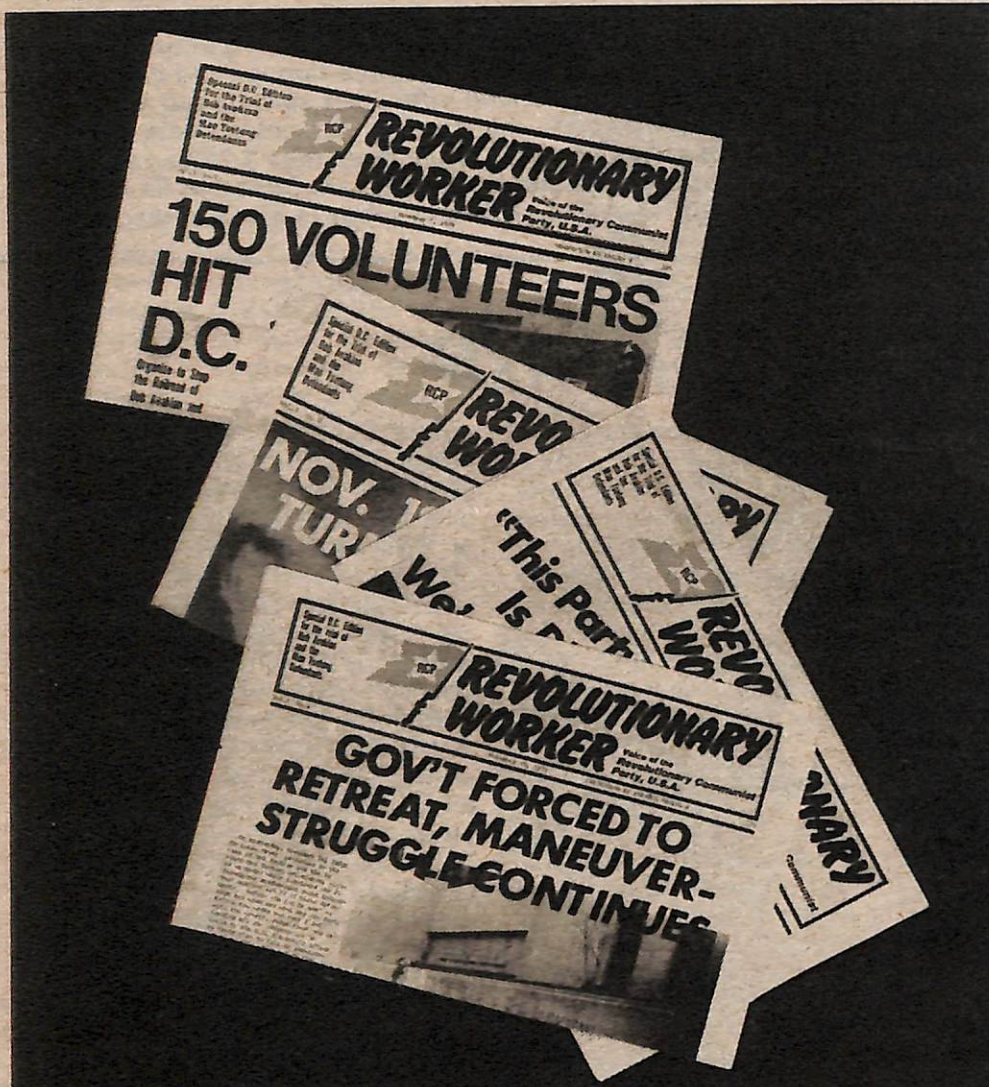
As I said previously, I have been transferred, but I'm receiving information through the grapevine that inmates are still being subjected to indiscriminate beatings, denied access to legal materials, interrupted mail pick-up and delivery, and denial of reading materials and exercise. The form of discipline that they are attempting to impose upon the inmates confined in Moundsville is no less than a form of psychological terror which is meant to humiliate and dehumanize those individuals and break their spirit for resistance.

Sir, I will attempt to establish a concrete line of communications between yourself and concerned individuals who must remain confined in the penal system. It is my sincere hope and desire that we may be able to work together and institute a program which will educate the inmates and general populace to the needed and necessary changes that must be made in our society.

Sir, I will be looking forward to hearing from you or someone in your organization in near future, and I trust that through continued communications we will establish a relationship that will blossom and grow into an unending unity in the people's struggle against world-wide imperialistic oppression and capitalistic exploitation.

Sincerely  
"A Comrade in Arms"

P.S.: I must address my correspondence to you as such to insure that you will receive my communications.



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# Stalin's 100th

December 21, 1979 marks a hundred years since the birth of Joseph V. Stalin. The name of Stalin, which means "man of steel," is still the subject of heated controversy and debate, with different classes in every country taking different views. Today, more than 25 years after his death, why is Stalin's name still cherished by some as a great revolutionary leader of the working class, and violently denounced by others as a "bloodthirsty dictator"?

To hundreds of millions of people around the world, especially to the revolutionary minded workers and other laboring people, the name of Stalin symbolizes the truly historic achievements of building the world's first socialist state in the USSR and defending it against both the overthrown exploiters and the capitalists internationally. For three decades, the Soviet Union under Stalin's leadership was a great source of inspiration and support for the revolutionary struggle of the world's peoples. This is a legacy that can never be erased, even though after Stalin's death in 1953 a group of new capitalist elements led by Khrushchev, who had arisen within the Soviet Communist Party, seized power, overthrew the rule of the working class and restored capitalism.

On the other hand, everywhere in the world, including in the Soviet Union itself, the capitalists still hate and fear Joseph Stalin and what his name stands for. For more than 50 years, their paid propagandists have churned out countless books, magazine articles, textbooks and religious brochures calling Stalin a "20th Century Ivan the Terrible." According to such well-known bourgeois commentators as Harrison Salisbury of the *New York Times*, by adding up the people that Stalin supposedly "slaughtered" during the collectivization of Soviet agriculture in the 1920's, the "purge trials" of the 1930's, the millions who died fighting the Nazis in World War II (due to Stalin's "military blunders") Joseph Stalin is responsible for the death of more than 100 million Russians. This is quite a feat, for, according to readily available statistics, Stalin singlehandedly wiped out the entire population of the USSR in just 20 years!

And even though most hack writers are forced to acknowledge that Stalin did lead the Soviet people in dealing the decisive blows to fascist Germany in World War II (and the Soviet people sacrificed more than 20 million men, women and children in doing so), they will in the next breath call Stalin and Hitler "the most terrible dictators the world has ever seen."

First let's get something straight. Communists are not like fascists. The two are mortal enemies. Communists stand for the working class rising up and overthrowing the capitalists and eliminating all the evils of capitalism, while fascists like Hitler are the agents of the bourgeoisie. Under Hitler, after all, despite his "socialist demagogy," the fortunes of the capitalists like Krupp, the monopolies, the trusts and the syndicates were not only preserved but strengthened in Germany. Thus, when the capitalists call Stalin a "ruthless dictator," they are really attacking him for leading the Soviet working class, or proletariat, in ruling society and dictating over their own class—the overthrown capitalists.

Why is a dictatorship needed? Because as long as society is divided into antagonistic classes—in today's world fundamentally workers and capitalists—one class is going to rule over the other and use force to do so. In spite of all their fine talk about "freedom" and "democracy," the capitalists here in the U.S. rule over the workers and the vast majority of the people in order to enrich themselves, and they violently suppress any opposition to their dictatorship, both here and around the world.

The proletarian dictatorship is different in two ways. First, under socialism, when the workers rule over the capitalists, the only way that genuine freedom and democracy can be enjoyed by the overwhelming majority of the people is by suppressing the overthrown exploiters as well as new groups of would-be exploiters that develop within socialist society itself—both of



# Anniversary

whom will fight fiercely to destroy the rule of the working class and restore capitalism. Second, the purpose of the working class' dictatorship is not to become a new class of exploiters, but to continue the socialist revolution until exploitation and oppression are done away with, until all the inequalities and differences among the people left over from capitalist society, as well as the "me-first-how-can-I-get-rich" outlook of the bourgeoisie, are uprooted. Only when there is no longer any basis for capitalism with all its evils to be restored—in other words, with the achievement of classless society, or communism—will there no longer be a need for the proletarian dictatorship.

Stalin was a leader who stood with and for the working class and defeated repeated capitalist attempts to overthrow the workers' rule. However, in the course of leading the Soviet people in building and defending socialism for nearly 30 years, Stalin did make errors, some of them quite serious. While recognizing his great achievements, these errors must be correctly understood and learned from in order to further the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat.

## Stalin and the Building of Socialism in the USSR

Stalin played a major role in the work of the Bolshevik Party, including its underground work, from the time it was formed in 1903 to the earth-shaking armed insurrection of October 1917. During these years, Stalin made important theoretical contributions in all fields—particularly around the national question, both in Russia and internationally. When Lenin, the great leader of the Russian Revolution, died in 1924, Stalin stepped forward to defend and develop Lenin's basic line for the construction of socialism in the USSR and for carrying on the class struggle against the overthrown exploiters and their imperialist allies.

In the 1920's, Russia was still a backward, largely peasant society whose industrial base had been largely destroyed by years of war, and was encircled and constantly menaced by the imperialist powers. Inside Russia, the forces of capitalism, particularly the

kulaks (rich peasants) were still powerful. Under these extremely difficult conditions, and without any prior historical experience, Stalin led the Soviet Party and the working class, in alliance with the peasantry, in the advance to socialist industrialization and the step-by-step collectivization of agriculture. And with each new step forward in building socialism, the class struggle in the country greatly intensified.

This fierce struggle was concentrated inside the Communist Party itself, where Trotsky, Bukharin and other leading Party members, representing the interests of the bourgeoisie, opposed the correct road forward in building socialism at every turn. Trotsky argued that socialism could not be constructed in Russia because of its backward economy and that immediate revolution in Europe was required for it to survive. Changing his position as a snake sheds its skin, Trotsky then called for super-exploiting the peasants to achieve rapid industrialization and for granting concessions to foreign capitalists in strategic branches of industry. In the late 1920's, Bukharin outright opposed the collectivization of agriculture, instead advocating relying on the kulaks to "get rich". Thus capitalism was supposed to grow peacefully into socialism. Nothing less than the survival of socialism in the USSR was at stake—for if these "left" and rightist political lines had been implemented, they would have resulted in the overthrow of the proletarian state by its internal and external enemies.

Faced with this great danger, Stalin mobilized and led the Soviet Party and people in struggle against—and decisively defeating—these bourgeois agents in the Party, thereby clearing the way for delivering further defeats to the old exploiters and for the successful construction of the material base of socialism in the USSR. In the course of leading these great class struggles, Stalin further developed the Leninist line that it was both possible and necessary to build socialism in Russia on the basis of maintaining the worker-peasant alliance and without capitulating to the imperialist encirclement or to the overthrown capitalists

and landlords within Russia itself.

## What Way Forward?

In the early 1930's, the socialist transformation of the Soviet economy had been mainly completed. Stalin and the other Soviet communists faced an uncharted course. New questions required a further development of the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. What was the decisive task now in the continued advance of socialism towards communism: developing the productive forces of society, or continuing to wage class struggle against the forces of capitalism?

Stalin's conclusion was that the forces of capitalism in the USSR had been essentially vanquished and that the class struggle was coming to an end. At the 18th Party Congress in 1939, Stalin reported that:

"The feature that distinguishes Soviet society today from any capitalist society is that it no longer contains antagonistic, hostile classes; that the exploiting classes have been eliminated, while the workers, peasants and intellectuals, who make up Soviet society, live and work in friendly collaboration."

Thus the chief task in the USSR was to develop production and master advanced technique. In 1931, Stalin raised the slogan "technique decides everything," and later developed the related concept that cadre capable of mastering this technology are the decisive factor in the advance of socialism. Throughout the 1930's and 40's, Stalin continued many policies from the period of rebuilding the economy in the 1920's such as one-man management, technical "experts" in command, bonuses and piece-work. Even the socialist emulation campaigns that were launched by workers in many enterprises, while they challenged some of these practices, focused on raising production.

From the early 30's on, Stalin accurately predicted the coming world war and that the USSR had but a short period of time to prepare for an all-out attack. This led him to further emphasize the "battle for production."

However, by concluding that the forces of capitalism in the USSR had been eliminated upon achieving socialist—i.e., public—ownership, and that class struggle could be mainly reduced to the struggle for production, Stalin made a fundamental error. It was true that the ex-capitalists and landlords no longer existed as an organized class and by themselves posed little threat of capitalist restoration. But what he failed to recognize was that within socialist society itself, elements of capitalism continue to exist—such as the differences between mental and manual labor, between the level of development of the cities and the countryside, unequal wage scales and so on. In fact, a *new bourgeoisie* constantly reemerges under socialism and draws its lifeblood from these material inequalities and differences that are inherited from capitalism. This is also a continuing source for the development of bourgeois ideology throughout society.

It was this new understanding of the internal contradictions of socialist society and the continuing class struggle within it that Mao Tsetung developed through summing up the experience of the Russian and Chinese revolutions. Mao pointed to the decisive nature of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie under socialism, particularly around questions of politics and ideology, that fundamentally determine whether the masses of people are politically armed to assert their control over all of society, and are mobilized to further revolutionize the social relations in the factories, in the state and collective farms—so that the production they carry out remains socialist. This also lays the firmest possible basis for the working class to defend socialism from external attack at the same time as it continues to support revolution in other countries.

Further, Mao summed up that the

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# U.S. Gangsters Play the Numbers with Hostages

The U.S. imperialists appear to have one-upped the writer of that reactionary tune, "50 Ways to Leave Your Lover," with their own version, called "50 Ways to Use a Hostage." Their latest verse is a cynical and disgusting numbers racket based on the fact that the three clergy who recently visited the hostages at Christmas reported seeing 43 hostages while the U.S. official number is 50. And now the press is screaming about, "What have they done with the missing hostages?" The U.S. government itself has refused to publish any list of the hostages, putting great emphasis on the need to get one first from the Iranian government. The U.S. government can't publish a list because it just might blow the cover off the CIA spies that the U.S. had at the embassy, revealing more than a few undiscovered "Belgian businessmen" among the hostages, or might reveal names of spies who are operating under another cover in some part of Iran or some other such thing. Furthermore, they have seized on the occasion of this little discrepancy in numbers to try to salvage some ammunition from the trip of the three clergymen to Iran which turned out rather badly for the State Department.

While they scream publicly that the Iranians "used" the trip of the three clergy—William Sloane Coffin, William Howard and Thomas Gumbleton—for "propaganda purposes," privately officials say they are "irritated" over seeing the Iranians score points off the trip. After all this was supposed to be the imperialists' yuletide propaganda blitz with the clergy as the centerpiece. Particularly irritating to the bourgeoisie was the fact that the clergy's report that the hostages were all unharmed, well-fed and in good shape blew away the U.S. charges that the hostages were being cruelly deprived and mistreated. It would have been difficult to say that the clergy had been "brainwashed" although no doubt the State Department considered the possibility of developing a new theory of "contact brainwash."

And even as the U.S. government was playing "the numbers game" they were also putting out another variation of "Use the Hostages," which they have played from time to time—"Sacrifice the Hostages," and in this tune they let a little bit slip out. One U.S. official floated out again that, "at some time the nation's honor will become more important than the hostages." But the hostages have never been important to the imperialists except in so far as they can be used to keep people's eyes focused on this bogus issue, and away from the real issue of the U.S. imperialists' criminal role in Iran.

They are definitely upset about the fact that they have been relatively unsuccessful in creating the storm of reaction that they tried so hard to whip up, and have launched attacks against any people who have refused to be taken in by it, including many middle class forces and influential people crying aloud about the lack of "patriotism" in an attempt to stir up public opinion against these forces and isolate them or attempt to make them feel isolated.

"The most frightening aspect of the Iranian crisis is that Shah Pahlavi has become the central issue" begins one reactionary commentator, Dennis Prager. "We must avoid talk about the Shah," the author threatens, "or else such thinking will lead one to 'blame the U.S.'" And still worse, he says, is that "so many Americans are saying those things" which is "indicative of a society that no longer believes in the superiority of Western moral values." A whole spate of editorials harping on this same theme has surfaced. *Newsweek*, complaining about the lack of jingoism among the American people, asks, "Are we to reason and understand ourselves to utter immobility?" And finally another *Newsweek* commentator, George Will,

unfolding a vision of B-52 bombers, said, "What the world needs is a demonstration that the U.S. doesn't give a damn about opinion." If Americans weren't so unpatriotic, he complains, then "the U.S. could provide the dark if the Iranians want the dark ages."

In their screeching denunciations of the "unpatriotic," these guys who have the nerve to call *anyone* "fanatic," have only further revealed the true nature of the imperialist patriotism they uphold—barbaric, atomic, bomb-em-into-the-stone-age imperialism in all its red, white and blue glory.

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**The hostages at their Christmas party obviously in good health and well treated. This picture, released by the students, wasn't printed in many U.S. publications.**

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December 28. As the national speaking tour of the Send the Shah Back/U.S. Hands Off Iran delegation began, Judge Charles McClure in Florida issued a warrant for the arrest of Carol Downer, a member of the delegation just recently returned from Iran. Attached to the document was an article from the *Tallahassee Democrat* (a local newspaper) announcing the trip by the delegation and a statement by the judge that the trip was his reason for withdrawing a 90 day stay of execution previously granted her and for ordering her immediate return to Florida to serve a 60 day jail sentence. All this was done without even bothering with the usual formality of a hearing.

## Pope on Iran: Venom from the Vatican

In November Pope John Paul 2 voiced his "concern" over the fate of the hostages being held in the U.S. embassy in Iran and offered to intervene on their behalf. In response, the Ayatollah Khomeini invited the Pope's personal representative in Iran, Bishop Annibale Bugnini, to visit the embassy. Bugnini saw with his own eyes that the hostages are not only *not* being "mistreated," but are in fact being treated quite well under the circumstances, and are a thousand times better off than the thousands of impoverished Iranians who live in huts made of mud and oil cans only a short distance from the American embassy.

In an open letter to the Pope (see *RW*, Dec. 7) Khomeini pointed to the brutal oppression and exploitation of the Iranian people under the rule of the Shah. He asked his fellow cleric why, all of a sudden, he was so concerned about a handful of U.S. Marines, CIA spies and others when decades of suffering of the Iranian people under the iron heel of U.S. imperialism and its butcher Shah had elicited not so much as a peep of concern from the Pope.

"When people wonder if the Christian clergy agreed with these crimes committed," Khomeini wrote with bit-

## FLASH.

In September of this year, Carol Downer had been convicted of "criminal trespassing" following an inspection of the Tallahassee Memorial Hospital to expose harmful childbirth practices. Judge McClure had granted the stay while the case was pending appeal in the federal courts.

At a news conference held today, Downer said, "Three of us were granted a stay by McClure on November 9, 1979, and there is nothing different about any of our positions except that I went to Iran to support the Iranian revolution, to demand the return of the ex-Shah, and to return to the United States to break thru the conspiracy of silence of the press." Rebecca Chalker, also a

member of the delegation and present at the press conference, stated, "I think this kind of action by Judge McClure is consistent with the kind of action taken by the probation officer in Atlanta, Georgia (who prevented Rev. W.J. Stafford of the Free for All Baptist Church from going to Iran as part of the delegation—*RW*) and by the federal court that just yesterday ruled in the immigration case of Iranian students. There is no longer any pretense of political freedom in this country when these type of things can follow so closely 1-2-3 around the same issue."

ter sarcasm, "I do not know what to tell them..." The Pope was, of course, fully aware of the history of U.S. imperialism's crimes in Iran. It was exactly this criminal history of imperialist plunder that the Pope was rising to defend with all his pious pleas for the release of the hostages and cynical lies about the way they are being treated. But it seems that the Pope's November statement has failed to have the desired effect—the U.S. is in as much trouble as ever in Iran. Time for another impassioned plea on behalf of the "poor, humble, and innocent" U.S. imperialists from "his holiness."

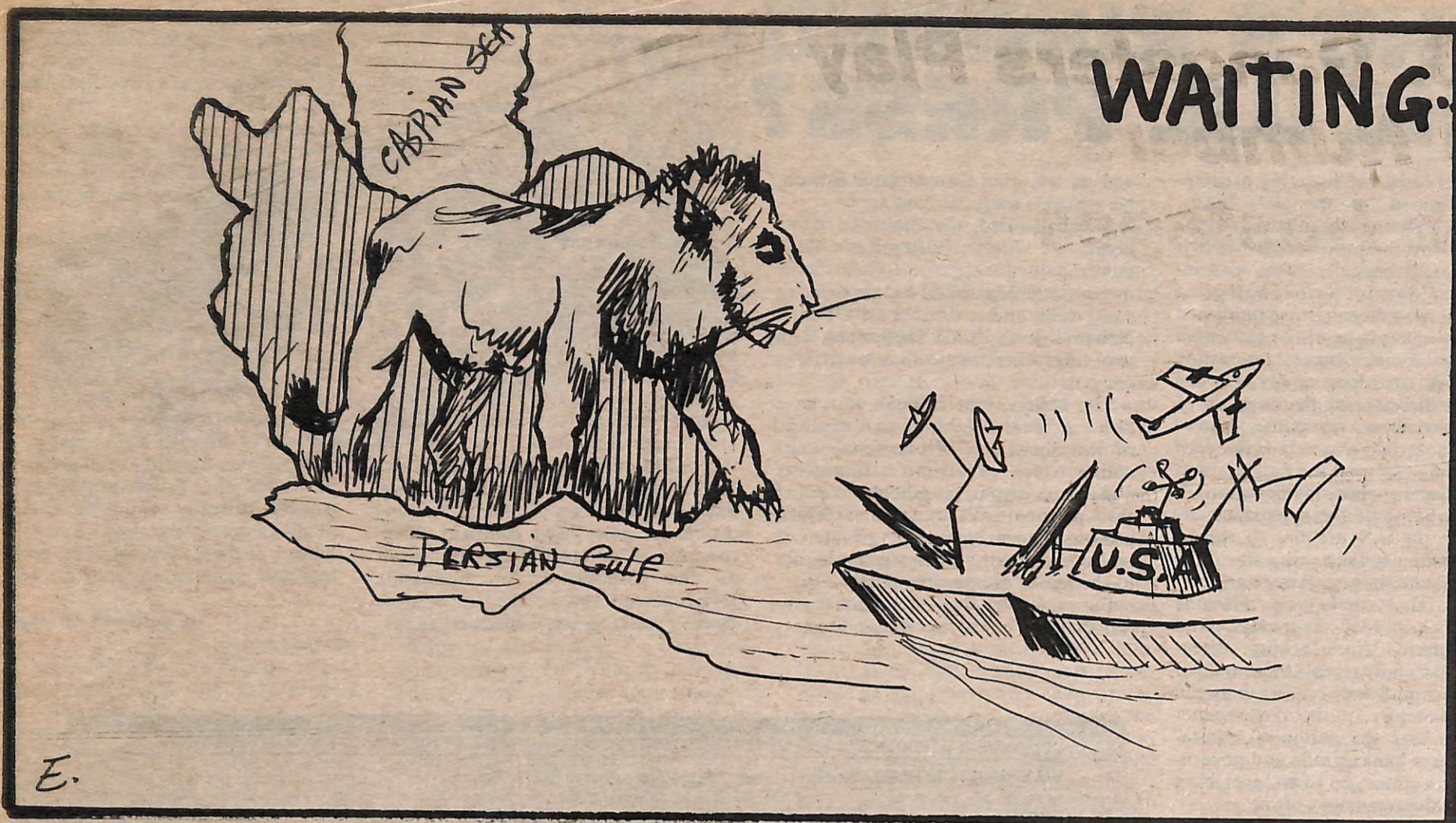
Knowing full well that the embassy hostages were really treated quite well even before hearing the first-hand report of Bishop Bugnini, the Pope was nevertheless moved to speak the "will of God." He again denounced the so-called "violation of unshakable principles of international law" (meaning the embassy takeover) and claimed that the Iranian people were causing "most grave sufferings to the persons involved and their families." But he didn't stop there, he went on to denounce not only Iran, but all of the oil-producing OPEC countries for the "suffering imposed upon the anonymous crowds of humble people" because of their "exorbitant prices for certain supplies" (namely,

oil) that make the cost of basic necessities go up.

Not once during his speech did John Paul 2 use the words "Iran," "embassy," "Khomeini," or even "oil." After all, it wouldn't be fitting for god's number one spokesman to make such open references to worldly matters. But for one whose mission on earth is supposedly of a "spiritual" nature, standing above the mundane and secular considerations of international politics, the Pope's speech is remarkably in tune with the political realities that his real masters face.

The only "humble people" he was speaking for were the ones from whom he derives his own "humility" and his own world outlook—the U.S. imperialist ruling class. And in repeating the wretched lies about the "grave sufferings" of the embassy hostages, John Paul 2 made clear his response to Khomeini's letter. But we already knew what it would be in advance. He doesn't give a damn about the masses of oppressed people of the world—the Iranian people in particular or even the hostages. He only wants to see his U.S. masters succeed in whipping up all the venomous anti-Iranian and U.S. chauvinist sentiment they can, and he has volunteered his blessed services to help them do it. ■





## First Hand From Iran

Drawing by a hotel worker in Tehran given to American people's delegation during their visit to Iran.

Continued from page 1

campaign to free Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, but everyone else was meeting for the first time. Yet there we were, hastily thrown together through our mutual contacts with Iranian students in this country, on our way to Iran with a sense of urgency and the potential of our mission to change the course of events.

In Paris we take a quick bus trip between airports, then damn! we are \$300 short of the price of our round trip tickets to Tehran. It seems the dollar had plunged again and the ticket prices were in francs. Miraculously, Skip, a defense lawyer from L.A., produces some more travel checks (he had brought all his savings along just in case!). Lisa, a French major from the University of California at Berkeley, handles communications with some difficulty.

At last we board the plane. Six Americans on the 747 full of Iranians on our way to Tehran. A startled cabin attendant, an Irish national, encounters us in the aisle: "Do you know where this plane is going?"

"Yes, we know."

"Are you sure you want to go there?"

"Yes, we are quite sure."

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### Arrival and First Impressions

Any apprehensions we may have had about going to Iran quickly melted away on our plane trip. All of us chuckle a little bit now when people ask us, "Weren't you afraid to go over there with all that anti-American sentiment running so high?" On the plane we didn't sit together, but spread out among the other passengers. People politely asked us who we were, and when they learned we were Americans and what our mission was they became very friendly, with people in adjoining rows bending over to join in. Universally they expressed concern for the American people and how they were being misled. We talked to several Iranian students on their way home from the U.S. All of them had stories to tell of various kinds of harassment, yet they blamed the American government and media and not the people. Some had been forced to leave the U.S. because the government had frozen Iranian bank accounts which meant they could not pay their tuition. This in turn meant that they lost their student visas since they were not officially enrolled.

People gave us names, addresses and phone numbers. "Please come and see us if you have time."

At the airport we had our first taste

of the two forms of political power which exist in Iran today and the struggles going on. We easily passed through the uniformed officers inspecting passports, but that isn't enough to get you into Iran these days. There is also a committee of student activists and armed "guardians of the revolution" or *pastars* who inspected everybody also. When we produced our U.S. passports, the whole machine lit up TILT! We were politely asked to stand aside and the student activists disappeared into an office for a quick telephone consultation. We were then waived on to customs where diligent inspectors were busy pulling whiskey bottles out of the incoming baggage. The sale and importation of alcohol is prohibited by the new Islamic government, and there was a whole shelf of confiscated fifths there to prove it.

Again we were intercepted by a student committee at customs and once again we followed a young activist to a nearby office. In this office a big squabble was in progress. A woman had just been caught carrying into the country a wad of U.S. currency (twenties and hundreds!) big enough to choke a horse. She was screaming her protests as the students methodically dumped out all her baggage to see what other goodies she was smuggling into the country. Again another phone call and the student walks up to us, smiles, pats us on the back and says "Welcome to Iran!"

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### The New Tehran

Seen from the air or from the top of a tall building, Tehran gives the appearance of a bustling modern city built on a sloping plain reaching up to 16,000 ft. snow-covered mountains. Down at street level the reality is both startling and exciting. There is hardly a piece of wall in all of Tehran which is not covered with revolutionary posters and spray-painted slogans. Indeed the monumental extent of spray-painted slogans, in quantity, size and artistic quality would cause the most hardened New York subway sprayer to fall back in awe. And the spraying gives further clues to the complex class struggle in progress with posters and slogans of competing groups occasionally scratched out or painted over each other.

Tehran is also a city of marked contrast. Supposedly a monument to the Shah's "modernization" program, Tehran is probably the largest city in the world (almost 5 million people) without a sewer system. When it rains water runs through open culverts at the

curb from the wealthy northern suburbs through the center of the city and finally inundates the low-lying slums of south Tehran. Throughout the north-side one sees abandoned construction sites and half-completed high rises which were destined to be resort hotels, corporate offices of American firms or luxury apartment buildings for the Iranian front men of U.S. investments before the revolution.

Even in our hotel the changes are evident, beside the elevator is a drawing by a hotel worker showing a lion, symbolizing the Iranian people, with one paw raised menacingly while an American warship with planes and missiles approaches. It is captioned "Waiting..." We buy a map of the city from the desk clerk, but it isn't a whole lot of help. It's a pre-revolution map on which the main East-West street in Tehran, which comes from the airport, through the city, past Tehran University, is labeled "Eisenhower Street"! Glancing over the map we find the other main drags of Tehran were formerly named "Kennedy," "Roosevelt," and a bunch named after members of the Shah's family. As a consolation prize, the British were awarded a "Queen Elizabeth II Street." We had lunch at a basement restaurant on what was formerly "Pahlavi Street" (the family name of the Shah). It's now named for Dr. Mossadegh whose nationalist government was overthrown by the CIA in 1953. And when I got home I found all the kids in my youngest daughter's class were forced to send Christmas cards to the hostages in the embassy. Little did they know that the new street name in the embassy address "Talligani" is named for the Ayatollah Talligani, a beloved leader of the February revolution who was considered to be to the left of Khomeini.

Iranian money today is a lot of fun. All the old money with portraits of the Shah is still in circulation, and the masses vie with each other in novel ways to desecrate the Shah's picture. We saw bills with "X" across his picture, bills with his eyes burned out by a cigarette, Shahs with horns and fangs, and finally the government got into the act with an oriental design printed over the Shah's portrait on new bills.

The cops in Tehran are a sorry sight. Many are the same ones as under the Shah. They still wear the absurd broad caps of the imperial days, but their guns have been taken away and they are dejectedly resigned to directing traffic. Even this some of them prudently do from the curb, as many of the people are not yet ready to forgive or forget. Yet despite this great come-down in the world, the half-way nature of Iran's revolution was reflected by the fact that

not only the cops but almost the whole civil service are holdovers from the regime of the Shah.

### Mobbed at the University

Since the Tehran University was a hotbed of revolutionary activity against the Shah, we were all anxious to go there and check it out. Today there seems to be some polarization between Tehran University and the Polytechnic, with the Tehran U. more the territory of the Moslem militants and leftists more concentrated at the Polytechnic. Still the atmosphere at the Tehran U. was symptomatic of the significant changes in the domestic political situation created by the embassy seizure. Two months ago, before the embassy takeover the rightists were riding high. Barzagan and Yazdi were the leading lights in the government. They are notorious pro-U.S. politicians representing Iran's capitalist class. As members of the Revolutionary Council (along with Khomeini and others) they were dragging domestic policy swiftly to the right. Many former SAVAK types were running the local Comités, and the Left was being denounced more vehemently than imperialism.

In this situation most of the left groups could not even operate openly. Their demonstrations were attacked by rightists and *Savakis* posing as the most devoted Moslems seeking to destroy the atheistic communists. The Left calls these gangs "phalangists" after the fascist Phalange parties in Spain, Lebanon and elsewhere. Ironically, only a few short months after the revolution, the same fascist goon squads were at work again, attacking the Left and the masses as usual, only now in the name of Islam rather than in the name of the Shah.

But the takeover of the embassy dramatically changed this situation. At the top, Yazdi and Bani-Sadr were quickly exposed and removed from office and more important at the bottom, faced with the prospect of U.S. military invasion, the masses were demanding the arming of the people and unity of all those opposed to U.S. imperialism. The Right responded by calling for the arming of all Moslems. But the same Khomeini who just a short while ago was calling on the people to turn in their guns, responded to the pressure of the masses calling for the arming of all the people and the tide was turned. In front of the University where only a few months previously leftist publications could not be sold, today literature of all persuasions abounds, from orthodox Moslem to Marxist-Leninist.

Of course the truce is an uneasy one. The leftists have their literature tables

# WHO'S RUNNING THE U.S. PRESS?

There is often the lingering assumption, drummed into people's heads, that while certainly the media may be influenced by the powers that be, it is somehow still basically "free and independent." But for anyone harboring such illusions, a recent article published in the November issue of the *Columbia Journalism Review* makes interesting reading. A year-long study of the boards of directors of the nation's 25 largest newspaper companies shows that far from being merely influenced by the ruling class, all the nation's major newspapers whose dailies account for more than half the newspaper circulation in the U.S. are directly run by the very same capitalists who sit on the boards of the largest American corporations that make up *Fortune* magazine's top 1300 companies. And beyond these "interlocking directorates," the study reveals thousands of other direct and indirect ties between the 300 directors of these newspaper companies and the nation's corporations, biggest banks, trade and governmental institutions, up to and including high federal government office.

Take, for example, the Ford Motor Company which shares directors with the corporations that publish the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *L.A. Times*, the three most prestigious newspapers in the country. When the gas tanks of Ford's Pintos began exploding and dozens of people were killed on the nation's highways, this of course was not considered to be particularly newsworthy. Mark Dowie, a reporter who finally broke the Pinto story in a small publication, *Mother Jones*, recalls how the information was available all along and that when the major newspapers were finally forced to pick it up, "All they wrote was the company line, if they wrote anything at all."

The article in the *Review* reveals connections that read like a capitalists' mutual benefit society (See illustration). A few highlights follow:

● J. Paul Austin, a board director of Dow Jones which publishes the *Wall Street Journal*, is also the chairman of the board of Coca-Cola and a director of Continental Oil, Federated Department Stores, General Electric and Morgan Guaranty Trust as well as being Jimmy Carter's bosom buddy.

● Marian Heiskell who sits on the board of the *New York Times* is more than just the sister of the chairman of the board, Arthur Sulzberger, and the wife of the chairman of the board of Time Inc. She is also a director of Ford Motor Co., Merck Pharmaceuticals

and no less than Consolidated Edison, New York's major utility.

● Marshall Field, the chairman of the board of Field Enterprises which publishes the *Chicago Sun-Times*, is the owner of the Marshall Field department store chain and a director of the First National Bank of Chicago along with two other directors of his publishing company.

The pattern that emerges casts in a rather ridiculous light the code of ethics of the Society of Professional Journalists which proclaims: "Journalists and their employers should conduct their personal lives in a manner which protects them from conflict of interest, real or apparent. Their responsibilities to the public are paramount."

But even more interesting than the interlocking of newspaper board directors

with individual capitalist enterprises are their links with the U.S. government which represents the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole. Former government officials on newspaper company boards include such luminaries as Clark Clifford, once Secretary of Defense, at Knight-Ridder, the company that publishes *The Detroit Free Press*, *The Miami Herald* and *The Philadelphia Inquirer*. And there is also William Rodgers, a former Attorney General and Secretary of State, at Gannett which publishes *The Oakland Tribune*.

At the *Washington Post*, renowned for its international news coverage, no less than three of its directors sit on the Council of Foreign Relations, which serves as a sounding board for the political and military options of the U.S. imperialists in different parts of the world. One of them is Nicholas Katzenbach, former Attorney General and Under Secretary of State. These and dozens of other news company directors also sit on such influential bodies as the Committee for Economic Development (where the imperialists discuss how to best plunder under-

developed nations overseas) and governmental think-tanks like the Brookings Institute and Sperry-Rand Corporation. What all this drives home is the role of what Lenin described over 60 years ago as "...the richest newspapers in the richest countries, which spend tens of millions on their distribution and disseminate bourgeois lies and imperialist policy in the tens of millions of copies..."

What is particularly significant, for example, about the fact that William Scranton is a board director of the *New York Times* is not so much that he is also personally a director of American Express, Bethlehem Steel and IBM. More importantly, he is a former Governor of Pennsylvania, a one-time ambassador to the UN and sits on the Council of Foreign Relations, the Advisory Committee to the State Department and the Trilateral Commission which is basically a Rockefeller-backed planning agency for the U.S. war bloc. Since it is these very councils, committees and commissions that are schem-

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COMPANY AND DIRECTOR	OTHER DIRECTORSHIPS	CIVIC, TRADE, AND GOVERNMENT POSITIONS
<b>WASHINGTON POST: Washington Post, Trenton Times, Everett (Wash.) Herald</b>		
Robert D. Campbell, chrmn., Newsweek	Almaden Vineyards; Sawyer-Ferguson-Walker	Comm. for Economic Development; Council on Foreign Relations; Foreign Policy Assn.; Conference Board; Nat'l. Assn. of Manufacturers; N.Y. Board of Trade; Pacific Basin Economic Council
Joel Chaseman, pres., Post-Newsweek Stations	(Westinghouse Broadcasting)	
Peter A. Derow, pres., Newsweek	(CBS)	
George J. Gillespie III, partner, Cravath, Swaine & Moore (N.Y.C. law firm)	Pinkerton's; CIA Fundidora De Monterrey S.A.	Boys Club; John M. Olin Fdn.; Nat'l. Multiple Sclerosis Society; Pinkerton Fdn.; Rye Country Day School
Donald E. Graham, publisher, Washington Post		Federal City Council
Katharine Graham, chrmn., Washington Post	(Allied Chemical); The Associated Press; Bowaters Mersey Paper	Comm. for Economic Development; Council on Foreign Relations; George Washington Univ.; John F. Kennedy School of Gov't., Harvard Univ.; Museum of Broadcasting; Univ. of Chicago; Urban Institute; (Advertising Council of America); Conference Board
Mark J. Meagher, pres., Washington Post	Bowaters Mersey Paper; Maple Press	Foreign Policy Assn.; NAACP; Urban League; Washington Hospital Center; Downtown Progress Comm., Wash., D.C.; Federal City Council; Met. Wash. Board of Trade; Nat'l. Alliance of Businessmen
Eugene Meyer III, professor of medicine, Johns Hopkins Medical School		Johns Hopkins Hospital; Maryland Children's Center; Washington School of Psychiatry; Wm. Alanson White Psychiatric Fdn.
John W. Sweeterman, ret'd. publisher, Washington Post	American Security & Trust	Catholic Charities; Catholic Youth Org.; Georgetown Univ.; Redskin Fdn.; St. Joseph's Home & School; United Givers Fund; Downtown Comm.; Federal City Council
Warren E. Buffett, chrmn. of the board, Berkshire Hathaway (0)	Assoc. Retail Stores; Berkshire Hathaway; Blue Chip Stamps; Buffalo Evening News; Cornhuskers Casualty; Columbia Insurance; Diversified Retailing; Illinois Bank & Trust; Munsingwear; Nat'l. Indemnity; Nat'l. Fire & Marine Insurance; Omaha Nat'l. Bank; Pinkerton's; See's Candy Shops; Sun Newspapers	Boys Club; Grinnell College; Stanford Univ. Graduate School of Business; Urban Institute
Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, v.p. & general counsel, IBM (0)	IBM	Addiction Research & Treatment; Council on Foreign Relations; Int'l. Voluntary Services; Nat'l. Multiple Sclerosis Society; NAACP Legal Defense Fund; Overseas Development Council; Princeton Univ.; Puerto Rican Nat'l. Defense Fund; Supreme Court Hist. Society; Vera Institute of Justice; (asst. atty. gen.); (attorney general); (deputy atty. gen.); (Pres.'s Comm. on Law Enforcement and Adm. of Justice); (under sec. of state)
Arjay Miller, ret'd. dean, Stanford Univ. Graduate School of Business (0)	Ford Motor; Levi Strauss; SRI Int'l.; Trans World Airlines; Utah Int'l.; Wells Fargo Bank	Brookings Institution; Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship; Int'l. Executive Service Corps; Trilateral Commission; United Nations Assn.; Urban Institute; Bay Area Council; Conference Board; Advisory Comm. on U.S. Trade Policy; Pres.'s Nat'l. Comm. on Productivity
Richard M. Paget, pres., Cresap, McCormick & Paget (mgmt. consulting firm) (0)	American Int'l.; Cresap, McCormick & Paget; ICI Americas; Josten's; Leggettgroup; NL Industries; Simplicity Pattern; Skandia Am. Reinsurance; Union Dime Savings Bank of N.Y.	Metro. Museum of Art; N.Y. Medical Center; Northwestern Univ.; St. Barnabus Medical Center; U.S. Dept. of Defense, Advisory Comm.

## From the Struggling Masses in D.C. to the Fighting Masses of Iran

On Thursday, December 13th, the Iranian embassy dispatched a telegram to Tehran, Iran signed by 193 residents of Washington, D.C. The signatures were gathered in less than a week through *Revolutionary Worker* networks, Revolution Books, small shop owners displaying them on their counters, on university campuses and in housing projects and neighborhoods throughout D.C. After passing from hand to hand, it was sent to coincide with the visit of the Send the Shah Back/Hands Off Iran delegation. The telegram stated in part, "From the Struggling Masses of D.C. to the Fighting Masses of Iran: We, the undersigned people from Washington, D.C., stand with the Iranian people against the designs of the U.S. imperialists to pull off a coup in Iran. The revolutionary might of the Iranian people drove the U.S. and their puppet Shah out of the country... The Iranian peo-

ple have responded to the master bringing his puppet under wing by taking over the U.S. embassy and taking hostages. The U.S. rulers then turned to the American public and cried about "our" oil, "our" embassy, "our" red, white and blue, "our" people being held hostage... The U.S. rulers' aim is to slip the noose of imperialist domination back around the neck of the Iranian people. They parade the most backward and reactionary forces to try to make us think that all Americans are half-crazed fools rattling off reactionary garbage like "Nuke Iran," etc. They want to get over their objective. But the people aren't going for their mess. We can see through it. The Iranian people are fighting our slavemaster to be free. We stand in solidarity with the Iranian people against our common oppressor.

(signed) 193 residents of Washington, D.C."

## L.A. Workers Say: "It's Not OUR Embassy"

LA NUWO to Iran

The following statement was circulated by the Los Angeles chapter of the National United Workers Organization and signed by 97 workers. It was read at an event sponsored by Iranian students several weeks ago in southern California.

To the Iranian People from American Workers:

The history of U.S. imperialist domination of Iran has been written in the blood of the Iranian people—witness the 1963 student massacre that occurred at the time of Nixon's visit to Iran that we remember here tonight.

Comrades—Iranian brothers and sisters:

For too long this domination of the Iranian people has been carried out in the name of the American people and the American workers. We reject this and stand wholeheartedly with the heroic struggle of the Iranian people against U.S. imperialism and its bloody rule. This domination has never been passively accepted by the masses of Iranian people and we state today, the passive acceptance of this criminal activity in our name is ENDING!

The Iranian revolution is soaring to new heights and is forcing the U.S. rulers to increase their attacks, including preparations to invade Iran militarily, to retake "our" embassy. But it's not our embassy! It represents nothing else but U.S. imperialism's attempt to reinstitute their bloody rule over the Iranian people and tighten their grip on the masses here and worldwide.

Therefore, we demand:

U.S. KEEP YOUR BLOODY HANDS OFF IRAN!  
DEPORT THE SHAH TO FACE THE WRATH OF THE IRANIAN PEOPLE!  
"NO" TO U.S. MILITARY INTERVENTION IN IRAN!

# NEW NUKES FOR N.A.T.O.

At a meeting in Brussels, Belgium, in mid-December, representatives of the U.S.-led NATO alliance agreed on a plan to beef up Western Europe's nuclear arsenal by deploying nearly 600 U.S. ground-launched cruise missiles and Pershing II mobile missiles in the next three years. While the missiles will be stationed in West Germany, Britain and Italy, they will be manned by U.S. technicians, and the U.S. will pick up the \$5 billion price tag. The new generation of intermediate-range (1,000—1,500 mi.) nuclear missiles will be aimed directly at targets within the Soviet Union.

This new missile force is being justified on the grounds that it will "deter a Soviet attack on Europe"—that they are strictly "defensive" weapons designed to counter the USSR's SS-20 mobile missiles and Backfire bombers that are aimed directly at Western European targets. In fact, this gives the U.S. the ability to strike directly at the Soviets through their allies in Western Europe, and gives the U.S. a European-based nuclear *first-strike* capability. The Soviets, for their part, are sure to respond with their own version of a new "defensive" arms buildup in Europe. How "peaceful" and "defensive" these rival gangster imperialists are!

Moreover, this new nuclear missile force represents a significant tightening of the U.S. imperialists' military and political alliance with their Western European allies. Within Western Europe, there has been significant resistance to this in recent years. On the one hand, most of the Western European imperialists recognize that a third world war is rapidly approaching, and

they expect to be in the thick of it from the start. Realizing that their own fortunes as imperialist powers are inextricably tied up with the U.S. in actually winning the war, most of them have been rapidly increasing their own military expenditures in recent years and have advocated tying their countries more directly into the U.S. military machine. On the other hand, they know that any nuclear missile sites within their borders would be prime targets for the Soviets, and they face widespread public opposition to moves such as this that would clearly bring mass death and devastation throughout Europe. The West European imperialists' toughest job has thus been, and continues to be, selling this new military buildup to their own people as a stronger "deterrent" to war and guarantee of peace.

But all talk of deterrence is a hoax. What characterizes the situation in Europe, and around the world, is the growing contention between the two superpowers, drawing them and their respective blocs inexorably toward war. What the new NATO missile buildup represents is an escalation of this contention on the part of the U.S. bloc.

Of course, all of this falls well within the framework of the SALT II agreement, which is supposed to bring the world one step closer to eternal peace by limiting the escalation of strategic nuclear weapons. As it turns out, Cruise and Pershing II missiles are not covered under SALT II because they are not "strategic"! There is more involved here than a question of semantics—it is a question of imperialist gangster logic that calls for stepped-up nuclear sabre-rattling in the name of "peace" (synonymous with "SALT

II"), and at the same time justifies the missile build-up as a necessary step in preparation for SALT III!

The U.S. self-righteously pleads the necessity of the missile build-up on the grounds of Soviet superiority in medium-range missiles in Europe. Once the build-up has begun, then the Western bloc will have something to negotiate about with the Soviets. Voilà! SALT III! Already they have outlined the purpose of the proposed SALT III talks, according to an article in *The Economist* of London: "To set a limit on land-based nuclear weapons in Europe." Of course, this all makes perfect sense to the imperialists, who are careening into the abyss in their war chariots, fully intent on dragging the masses of people down with them.

For their part, the Soviet imperialists have responded to the NATO decision by sharply denouncing the U.S. moves and claiming that the Soviet bloc are innocent, peace-loving victims of U.S. imperialism's evil designs. "The production and stationing in Western Europe of new types of U.S. medium-range nuclear missiles," they said in a recent communique from a meeting of their Warsaw Pact bloc, "would destroy the basis for the (SALT III) negotiations." As an indication of their "peace-loving nature," the Soviets have withdrawn 20,000 troops and 1,000 obsolete tanks from East Germany (leaving 380,000 troops and 6,000 modern tanks behind).

In response to this the U.S. has announced its decision to withdraw "as soon as feasible" 1,000 of its own obsolete warheads now positioned in Europe. One NATO diplomat, in a rare moment of candor, accurately describ-

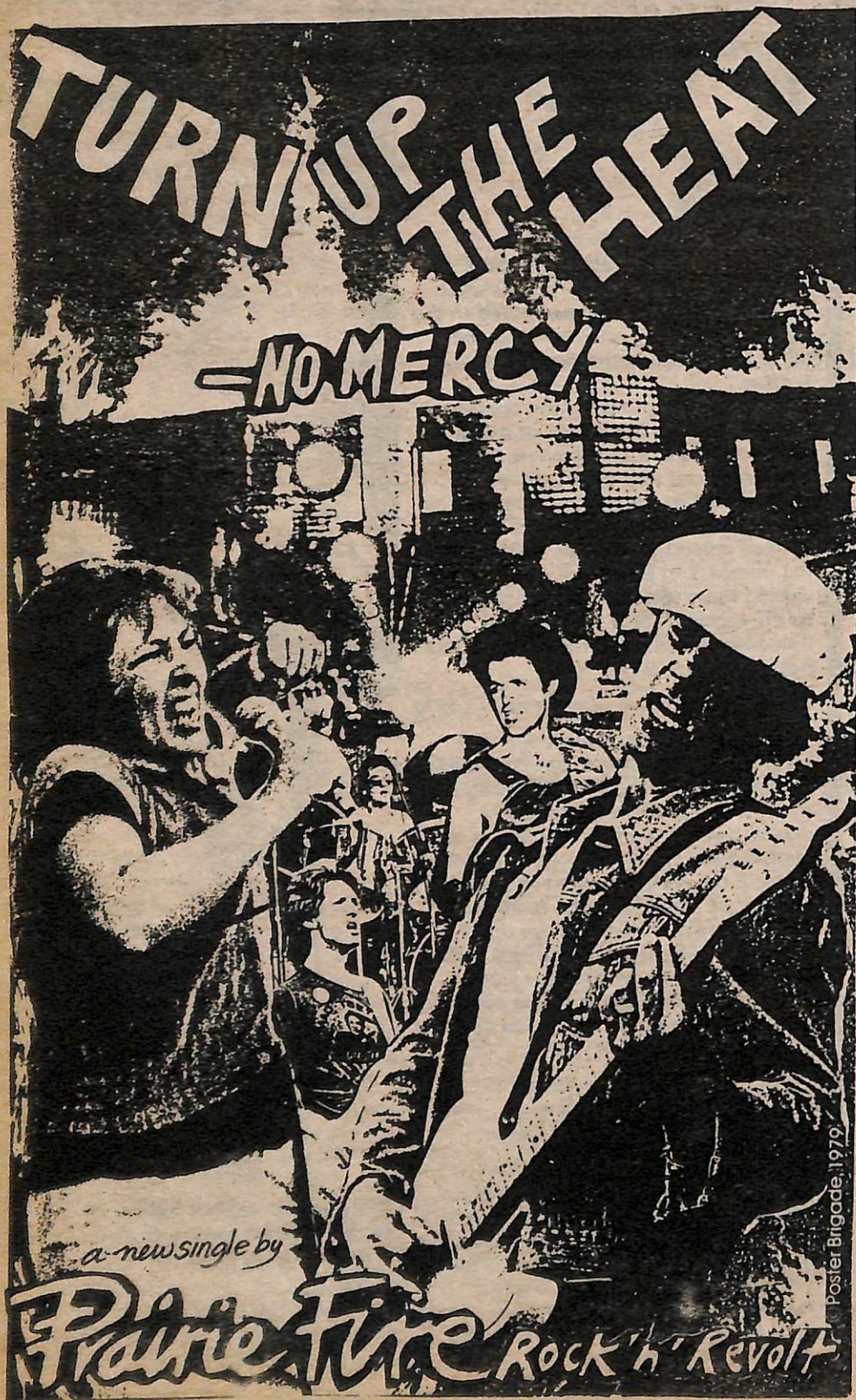
ed this little back-and-forth "disarmament" game between the U.S. and Soviet warmongers as trading "our garbage for their garbage."

The windy accusations and loud invective hurled by the two superpowers at each other can only intensify as their cut-throat contention leads them closer and closer to war. In the meantime, and as a necessary preparation for that war, both are trying to consolidate the countries in their respective blocs and galvanize them for the inevitable showdown. But as yet things are not falling into place as smoothly or easily as 1, 2, 3.

While there are significant divisions within the NATO alliance, there remains the major stumbling bloc for the imperialists—the masses of people themselves, who in their millions oppose the war preparations of the superpowers and their own imperialists. It was in large part the widespread opposition of the people of Western Europe which led the governments of the European NATO countries more than a year ago to balk at the U.S. proposal to develop the neutron bomb and deploy it in their countries.

But despite popular opposition and strong reservations and pleas for delay on the part of Denmark, Holland and Belgium, the other members of NATO (particularly West Germany) gave the missile plan their solid approval. The deployment of the new missiles is scheduled for completion in 1983, and for the U.S. imperialists it is an important step in tightening up their bloc for war. To them and their system (and the same holds true for the Soviets) it is a life and death question—to kill or be killed in the superpowers' redivision of the globe. ■

## Long Distance with Prairie Fire



The new Prairie Fire single "Turn up the Heat/No Mercy" broke through the somewhat hesitant but nevertheless threatening winter greys in Chicago, and as soon as we had heard the record, we had to find out more about this excellent new development. So we got on the phone to the West Coast and rapped with Mat Callahan, who fronts the band and writes Prairie Fire's material. It had been a long time since the *RW* had reviewed Prairie Fire's appearances in Chicago after the Rock Against Racism concert here where people learned a lot about why a certain class of people don't want Prairie Fire to be heard (*RW* June 15), and there was a lot of catching up to do, especially with a fast-moving band like this one. Mat quickly closed the long-distance gap as that same intensity which burns up the stage when the band cuts loose smoked through the wires.

*RW*: It's been almost six months since we reviewed your performances after the RAR here in Chicago. What has brought you from there to this new 45?  
*PF*: Well, as far as activities, we did a brief tour of the Midwest, mainly in the Cleveland area and it was actually very exciting and successful, in the sense that not only did we play to a lot of new people but also, in some ways more significantly, we learned some things about what it takes to get out to the broad masses and actually not only did we learn some things, but we did some things. In other words, we united with some people in the media, including some influential people, and also some club owners and we got together with a promoter from Toronto who got us a booking up there and that was actually a by-product of the performances in the Midwest. But what all that led up to in terms of what Prairie Fire is doing now, out in the Bay Area, is that we've really learned that it's not just a question of standing up on a street corner or going out in a park somewhere and playing and the masses will gather, but of actually going out broadly and uniting with and winning over certain forces of the influential strata of the entertainment industry, namely writers and D.J.s and what have you. And this is

definitely a struggle but it's also a struggle that can be won. There's actually a relatively small handful of these people who influence millions, who are writing articles that are read by everybody, spinning platters that are heard by everybody, who are doing shows that are attended by everybody and we found that we need to work with these people and in fact there is a basis to unite them.

One thing that has to be recognized, and I'm sure the readers of the *RW* would be interested to know if they don't already, is that this is definitely a form of the class struggle. That was one thing that we learned off the Midwest tour, and actually, summing it up, we did very, very well out in the Midwest considering the amount of time we played. We were playing all the time with a couple of small short breaks. In the Bay Area it is more difficult to play. People might be surprised by that but that's a fact. So-called liberal center Berkeley is one of the hardest nuts to crack—more so than San Francisco. We've had much less trouble with the police over there than we have in Berkeley.

There are two clubs in particular that we have played in Berkeley. One place we packed the house four times and the guy was just loving us because we were raking it in. Every time we played the pigs came and told us we were too loud. And the last time we played they were making sounds about fire ordinances and this and that, indicating in a covert but threatening manner, and we were told we could not play there any more. Another very important club where we auditioned and people really dug it—"You got the job, no questions asked." And that was back in August and it dragged on and on and stalled. And we finally found out that the cops had come down to his place and told him that if we ever played there they were going to bust us for vandalism because some people, we don't know who, had managed to decorate some of the walls around here. And last but not least, the most famous story of all: as we were playing in Provo Park, the

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# UPI Spy Nest Frames Vets

Continued from page 5

As the plot began to thicken and the complicity between the UPI and other media and the vermin who make up the U.S. imperialists' spy network became more clear, VVAW issued a press release exposing and denouncing this attack and hitting hard at the media's

systematic blackout of VVAW actions in support of the struggle of the Iranian people. Press conferences were held in the Bay Area and Los Angeles. And a letter to Mr. Ali Agah, Chargé d'Affaires at the Iranian Embassy in the U.S., was sent, reaffirming VVAW's

firm stand with the Iranian people.

### Plot Thickens

Far from being content with floating out a pack of slander on VVAW, UPI and those whose dirty work they're doing are clearly out for much more. This

is shown by the steadfast denial by UPI to print a complete retraction and also quite clearly by the recent exchange, printed below, with UPI's top man in San Francisco:

When asked about the phony story run by UPI, he replied, "The story UPI put out was dumb, stupid, and I'm sorry." Here are his answers to further questions from VVAW:

**VVAW:** Did you release it? (the phony story—RW)

**UPI:** No, a night editor did.

**VVAW:** How did he do it? Didn't he check to verify the source?

**UPI:** I don't know. He's on vacation and I can't find him.

**VVAW:** Yeah, sure. This is starting to smell like you know what—

**UPI:** No, he's worked here 25 years. . . . And we don't tolerate people fabricating stories.

**VVAW:** Do you understand that your wire service report is justification for the Secret Service to investigate and attack VVAW, since they guard foreign diplomats?

**UPI:** (Calmly, coolly) Yes, I know.

**VVAW:** Don't you know we never said those things, the things UPI reported in this attack?

**UPI:** I don't know you didn't say them. You may have gotten drunk Friday night and called it in, and Saturday morning sobered up and took it all back. I don't know.


**VVAW:** Don't you see that this is the same kind of thing the government is doing to Bob Avakian with their secret service investigation?

**UPI:** No. I know all about past VVAW investigations. . . . if you aren't being investigated by the Secret Service now, I'm sure someone else is investigating you. . . . Look, you guys are paranoid. . . . You don't need a retraction now, it's the Christmas holidays.

When asked about the involvement of the FBI and CIA in the media, this UPI man said that in the 1950s the CIA had been on the payroll, but that had all been cleaned up. In light of his following statement, it would be an excellent bet that exactly the opposite is the case. He said, "Look, fellows. . . we could do a real job on you guys. . . . Instead of four sentences, we could write four paragraphs, a whole page. . . . We could guarantee the story would appear in 500 dailies."

This is obviously not a statement from someone who "stays in the middle," as he contends UPI and the media in general do. Unless, of course, he means smack dab in the *middle* of the bourgeoisie's moves against VVAW and right in the *middle* of their propaganda mill which pumps out lies and distortions by the millisecond. ■

## Support the Revolutionary Communist Party



**MAY DAY  
INTERNATIONAL  
WORKERS DAY**

**IN IRAN, AROUND THE  
WORLD, AND HERE  
AT HOME, FLAMES OF  
REVOLUTION ARE  
SPREADING!**

**DOWN WITH U.S. AND SOVIET WAR MOVES!  
FREE REVOLUTIONARY FIGHTERS AND  
LEADERS FROM HOUSTON TO WASHINGTON DC!  
WORKERS UNITE TO LEAD THE FIGHT AGAINST  
ALL OPPRESSION!  
HASTEN CAPITALISM INTO ITS GRAVE!**

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MAY DAY 1979**

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1 mg. tar, 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May 78**

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1 mg. "tar," 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May 78

**We are about to enter the '80s. When we emerge on the other side**



**we and the whole world will be drastically changed.**

other side,



# 1980—A Year, A Decade of Historic Importance

Continued from page 3

heard anything about politics, begin to act in a revolutionary way... When the revolution has been sufficiently prepared, the concept 'masses' becomes different; several thousand workers no longer constitute the masses. This word begins to denote something else," the majority. (Vol. 32, "Report to the Third Congress of the Communist International")

With the development, and especially the full ripening, of the situation, sudden and dramatic changes take place: millions awaken to political life (and already to move and influence thousands and tens of thousands does have at least indirect, or quantitative, influence on broader masses—even millions). These millions who awaken to politics do, of course, enter in with all their misconceptions, prejudices, etc., at the start—but they learn quickly.

Iran, again, is what Lenin referred to in the above "lecture" as a crisis "in miniature" showing on a smaller scale and in a less developed way what will happen in a thorough and deep-going crisis in society as a whole. And in this "miniature crisis" around Iran, again despite the lying propaganda of the imperialists, especially where the revolutionary line and stand of the class-conscious proletariat has been able to penetrate, as focused in the work of the RCP and those allied with it, many, many people have learned and been turned around—and all this shows all the more the need for the class-conscious to act, especially around such burning questions as Iran that do awaken many to political life.

With the development, and especially full ripening, of the situation, with millions, awakening for the first time, the thousands who rally now around the revolutionary banner of the international proletariat become millions, ultimately tens of millions, who, at the least come to support the program of the communists—the program of revolution and all the concrete, immediate programmatic things (such as the end to a war, the abolition of unemployment) that revolution means in such circumstances—and the thousands and tens of thousands who have been trained in "normal" times can become the leaders of millions and tens of millions.

## V. Concrete, Immediate Tasks

In the coming year, in the coming decade we've got real work to do:

- Around Iran, in the teeth of this reactionary blitz, we have to bring forward new forces. Ever more strongly, we have to hold up the stand of the international proletariat and rally increasing numbers of people being awakened to political life to wake up and take that stand and to rally around the proletariat's

revolutionary banner.

- We must defend, support and build the leadership of the Revolutionary Communist Party in this country. Here is the leadership that can forge the way through the storms of struggle in the decade ahead and forge the way to revolution. Politically, organizationally and ideologically this Party must be still further strengthened and its material force—its numbers and influence—must grow. And its leadership, sure to come under ever more vicious attack as the ruling class lashes out to cripple the force that can lead millions in finishing off this system, this leadership must be defended. And to assist the Party in carrying out and expanding its all around revolutionary work, the RCP's Million Dollar Fund Drive must be brought to a victorious conclusion by the end of this month.

- May Day 1980—an historic and critical battle, a battle whose result in the coming months will mark a leap forward, or backward for the working class! The fact that such an event has never taken place before in this country emphasizes all the more the leap that must be taken, the leap it will represent. And this event, more than any other single battle, will put the imprint of the class-conscious working class on "The '80s," and it will put it on with a bang, right off the bat! In this key time on the threshold of this decade whose potential we have analyzed, the advanced must act now, and act in such a way on May Day 1980, International Workers' Day, that breaks sharply with imperialism and unites us here with the whole international working class.

- The *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, the main weapon we have today for revolution, must be wielded much more seriously and much more urgently. This is because it is our main tool of preparation for revolution, and it is also central overall to the other battlefronts in the class struggle, including May Day itself, though May Day and other battles do have to be built "in their own right."

Through this whole period of, as Lenin described it, powerful outbreaks alternating with periods of calm, our work requires the flexibility, the consistently revolutionary thrust that only a newspaper can provide—linking all these events, in whatever period to the great goal of revolution. Using this newspaper must become as vital and central as breathing in and out. There is no other way to understand the events of the world and begin to shape them other than through the regular work of a newspaper. There is no other way to build the organization, consistent in principle and flexible in tactics, that will be up to the task of revolution. So today this conspiracy has to spread, and in particular a successful conclusion must now be

reached in the campaign to boost the sales of the *Revolutionary Worker* to 40,000 as a takeoff point to higher levels still in the year ahead, with networks of distribution of this paper sinking deep roots among the oppressed so that they may never be pulled up, no matter what attacks the bourgeoisie may launch.

- At the same time as all this, we must contribute great efforts to building the unity of the communist movement and revolutionary forces internationally, in the struggle against imperialism and reaction, and against revisionism and opportunism of all kinds and from whatever quarter within the international communist movement. We must defend, apply and strengthen proletarian internationalism in theory and practice—so as, in the stormy period ahead, full of dangers and difficulties but also great opportunities, to actually and concretely advance the struggle toward the defeat of imperialism and all reaction and toward the victory of proletarian revolution throughout the world.

## Conclusion

As the decade opens, the future, the possibilities of war and revolution open before us. Now so too does the press of immediate tasks in the present, which become all the more important, which reach their full significance when viewed in light of the future and the long term goals we cherish. We see the outlines of the period before us—right before us and the stormy, tumultuous decade of "The '80s"—and we see clearly that, as the Central Committee report of our Party put it, "The question is not whether heavy things are going to be happening, the question is whether they're going to be one-sided or two-sided in a basic sense."

The critical question—that is, the thing we can effect and take freedom initiative around—is the role of the Party and the advanced. We can seize this initiative in wielding the weapon of the *Revolutionary Worker*, in waging political battles, in influencing and activating, mobilizing around their real interests and the revolutionary stand of the international proletariat, the many who already are beginning to and increasingly will be drawn into political life; training class conscious forces among the ranks of the proletariat and others awakening to political life and struggle, developing them into (and as) revolutionary communists, armed with the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and to the greatest degree at each point, through the upheavals of the period ahead and pointing always and clearly toward the final goal. And in doing all this we will be laying the strongest possible basis to seize the time when the times do become ripe...



# We Won't Work That Day—Will You?

Get your Revolutionary May Day 1980 Button and Bumper Sticker

Available from the RW. See local addresses p. 2.



# First Hand

Continued from page 9

on the left side of the main gate and the Moslem groups are to the right side. And while U.S. and Soviet literature has no market at all, both the super-powers are represented by proxy with Chinese and Cuban literature.

As we walked down the street a big crowd quickly gathered. (How could they tell we were Americans? Could it have been the sun glasses and cameras?) Everybody wanted to talk to us. Interpreters volunteered themselves out of the crowd. There were many points of view. Some wanted to convert us to Islam assuring us that only the brotherhood of Islam which does not know race or nationality could put an end to suffering of Iran and the world. Others were a little suspicious of us and thought we might really be U.S. journalists or spies (the two rate about the same with Iranians). Others wanted us to explain why Americans were attacking Iranian students in the U.S. who had done no harm to the American people. But all were insistent that we go back and tell the American people that Iranians consider the American people to be their friends: it was the American government they were fighting against. In particular they were vehement against Carter, and they all also assured us that all Iranians, whether Moslem or Marxist, whether from Tehran, Tabriz, or Kurdistan, would fight to the death in the event of an American invasion.

As we left, people shook our hands, waved us good-bye and helped us catch a taxi for our next appointment.

## The Embassy

Visiting the U.S. embassy in Tehran is either difficult or easy depending on how you go about it. When we first got to Tehran we spoke to many people, from the foreign minister Sadegh Ghotbzadeh to student contacts we made. We said we would like to meet with the students occupying the embassy to express our support for the Iranian revolution and for the demand to

have the Shah returned. Everyone assured this could be arranged, only nothing happened. It was only after about a week that we figured out that our delegation was not only controversial in the U.S. but in Iran. Those who supported the militant stand of the students were genuinely happy to have us there, but those forces in government who wanted to compromise with the U.S. would just as soon put us on the back burner and play up other forces seeking to "mediate the crisis."

So we took the bull by the horns, got ahold of the embassy phone number and just called up. "Hell," I said, "is this the liberated embassy?" "Yes it is," came the clear reply in English.

Now watching TV in the U.S. you get this idea that the embassy is just a building, like the embassies in Washington, D.C. you see pictures of. But let me tell you, the U.S. embassy in Tehran is something else. First off, it's more like the size of New York's Central Park. The embassy compound takes in over 27 acres with many buildings, because for many years the embassy was used by the U.S. to operate the whole country of Iran—its economic, military and political life. At its peak it had a staff of hundreds. And what you see on TV is just one of several entrance gates to the whole affair.

The scene outside the embassy is one of both anger and joy. Anger over the continued insistence of the U.S. on sheltering the hated Shah (along with General Somoza, General Thieu, and other thoroughbreds from the stable of U.S.-backed dictators). Yet joy at the knowledge that the militant Iranian masses have got one of the world's most hated imperialist powers strung out over a barrel. After 25 years of SAVAK tortures and the Shah, the embassy seizure is genuinely a festival of the oppressed. Everybody wants to go down there and take part, everybody wants to be able to tell their grandchildren that they were there, that they participated in this historic event against the U.S. imperialists. Day and night there are crowds around the embassy entrance. A kind of on-going show of support by

the Iranian people and a warning to people in high places that they are not in a mood to compromise.

If you listen to the garbage on TV here at home, you'd think the crowds out front were glassy-eyed, screaming Moslem fanatics who are performing for the TV cameras. In reality they are crowds of ordinary people, young and old, men and women, people bringing their whole families down, little kids, grandmothers, everybody. There are food vendors with little carts and steaming dishes. Displays of literature are spread out on the street for sale. Banners of support are hanging everywhere, some of them in foreign languages from around the world. The students have rigged a huge public address system with speakers hanging from the embassy wall all up and down the block. On top of a guardhouse by the gate, they have arranged a speakers' rostrum, and programs seem to be continually going on. The Iranian people are particularly fond of poetry, and poets come to read their work from on top the embassy wall. Meanwhile, huddling around the front gate is a little clump of foreign newsmen, ignored by the crowd, carrying out their vigil.

Most of our delegation went down to the embassy more than once. We didn't go as a big group because we didn't want to cause a commotion. But the spirit was contagious, and we wanted to talk with the people.

On our final night in Tehran we made arrangements to go down to the embassy as a group and present our statement of solidarity. It was wild. People are jumping up and down and giving us the fist. The western press is going berserk. This wasn't supposed to happen! Everybody is supposed to be supporting the President. And here's a bunch of Americans from the States, together with Americans living in Tehran, standing there denouncing U.S. policy. We are reaching through the gate, shaking hands with the students, everybody's smiling and cheering. The newsmen are fainting. Carol and Becky are giving interviews right and left. Fred throws his arm around one of the *pastars* guarding the

gate. He gives a big grin, hugs back and waves his AK-47 to the crowd. The crowd is chanting, "Marg ba Carter, Marg ba Shah!"

We unfurled a banner signed by dozens of postal workers in Chicago reading, "U.S. imperialism get your bloody hands off Iran!" More cheers. We present it to the students, who hang it on the embassy wall the next day.

The gate unlocks, but no newsmen need apply. From the rostrum on top of the gatehouse, I read our statement, ending with "Long live the friendship and solidarity between the peoples of Iran and the peoples of the United States!" People are crying with happiness. It's true. It's true. Imperialism can never destroy the bond that binds oppressed and exploited people of every nationality together.

## To the Students Occupying the U.S. Embassy in Tehran

Dear brothers and sisters,

Your bold action in occupying the U.S. embassy has raised before the whole world the question of the refusal of the U.S. to return the ex-Shah to answer for his many crimes. The ex-Shah styled himself as the king of kings, the light of the Aryans and the shadow of God. But to the people of Iran he is the dog of dogs, the prince of darkness and the shadow of U.S. imperialism. We urge you to stand fast in your just demands and we pledge ourselves to carry back to the American people the truth of what the United States government has done in Iran and would continue to do if allowed.

Long live the friendship and solidarity between the peoples of Iran and the peoples of the United States!

That night in the States there's nothing on the news from the embassy. I guess nothing "newsworthy" happened.

Next week: *The Shah, SAVAK and U.S. Imperialism*

# Royal Harpies Hiss in Press

Last week's papers featured the vindictive wailings of two members of the upended Iranian fascist family of the Shah. In the December 23rd *New York Times*, Princess Ashraf Pahlavi, the Shah's twin sister took out a full page ad describing her many contributions to the goals of the United Nations. On the same day in Paris, Princess Azzadeh Shafik, the Shah's niece announced she was starting a "counter-revolutionary campaign to restore the monarchy in Iran."

Princess Ashraf, twice arrested international heroin trafficker, known as the "Black Tigress" to the Iranian people, criticized U.N. Secretary General Kurt Waldheim for trying to put distance between the United Nations, U.S. imperialism, and the Shah. She reminded

him that Iran was a founding member of the "noble world forum" that had been hailed by the U.S. for its contributions to "social progress" and that they had congratulated the Shah himself "for all he has done for this purpose" on December 10, 1974. After reminding Waldheim of these embarrassing truths, she indulged in a brief flight of fantasy, denying that the Shah had executed political prisoners, while accusing Khomeini of numerous crimes including that he does "not even keep an account of the oil income."

In Paris, the 28 year old Azzadeh raised suspicions that she'd been using what Ashraf's been selling as she predicted she would return to Iran in two months to "lead the imperial family's younger generation back to

power." She complained bitterly that the U.S. government seemed to favor overthrowing Khomeini to install former Premier Shapour Bakhtiar instead of her family, and promised that "once the principle of monarchy is restored, it will be for the people to decide who they want as king." When asked how she would pull off this caper, she replied, "We're going to take a plane and fly back, just like he (Khomeini) did. Why not?"

At the same time as these murdering harpies received widespread coverage, the *Washington Post* announced that it had refused to sell the Iranian government space for a one half page "Christmas message to the Christian world" from Khomeini saying it was "potentially libelous."

# Venom from the Vatican Who's Running the U.S. Press

Continued from page 10

ing, among other things, to re-establish U.S. imperialist control of Iran, one would hardly expect the *Times* to print anything resembling the truth about the just struggle of the Iranian people and what is really going on over there. And given the abundant ties of other major newspapers to the State Department, it is surely no accident that not a single one has seen fit to print the documents found by the Iranian students in the U.S. embassy that provide indisputable evidence of the State Department's plotting to overthrow the government of Iran, even though these documents were readily distributed to the members of the press.

While the Columbia study concludes rather timidly that the ties of newspaper

board directors "may have adverse journalistic consequences," it is hilarious to consider this anything but a foregone conclusion. Though newspaper executives cynically cry that the directors play no role in the newsroom, one newswriter explained the obvious: "Because of the tremendous shared interests at the top, coverage is limited and certain questions are never asked." Reporters who value a choice beat, not to mention the job itself, will think twice before filing a story that "goes too far." And even if they do, there's always the free-swinging axe of the editor who knows the preferences of the publisher who is generally a member of the board of directors.

As the jingoistic reportage on Iran reaches peak after peak of unbridled frenzy, it is clear that, far from passive-

ly censoring the news, the press is an ideological weapon wielded directly by the capitalists to mold public opinion for their aggression here and around the world. In fact, the role of the press hasn't changed a bit since the turn of the century when William Randolph Hearst's father gave birth to modern "yellow journalism" with his sensationalistic and manufactured stories in the *New York Herald* of Spanish atrocities in Cuba that were used to whip up the American people for the Spanish-American conflict. When an artist sent by Hearst to sketch these alleged "atrocities" reported back that conditions weren't so bad, this capitalist newspaper magnate reportedly shot back, "You furnish the pictures and I'll furnish the war."

## Correction

In the last issue of the RW (Dec. 21), the text of a letter from the Send the Shah Back/Hands Off Iran Delegation to the Ayatollah Khomeini (page 14) contained a typographical error. The corrected text of the letter follows:

Dear Brother,

We are a delegation of American people who have traveled to Iran to express our support for the people of Iran and to demand the return of the ex-Shah to Iran. We could not leave Iran without coming to Qom to pay our respects to you. We are disgusted that you are so reviled and slandered by the government and press in the country from which we come. And why is this? It is because you have never wavered in the struggle to free Iran from the grip of the ex-Shah. And it is because you continue now to articulate the determination of the people of Iran to keep their country free of foreign control and bring the ex-Shah to justice.

Please accept our greetings on behalf of the justice loving people of the United States.

**REVOLUTIONARY WORKER**  
Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.

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# Prairie Fire

Continued from page 11

once-center of hippie rebellion in Berkeley, the pigs came up and at the very appropriate moment when we were singing "Overthrow the Government," where the line says, "You got freedom of speech as long as nobody hears you," they pulled the plug. And that was very interesting how that went down, and that also got us a lot of press because we took it out and people were definitely shocked to say the least, that "radical" Berkeley would have such a thing happen. But at the same time, like always, they attack and we basically get more friends; and it becomes more controversial and more people come and dig it.

**RW:** There's a lot of pressure on the club owners from the police, etc. like you were saying, but tell us, haven't there been times when the club owners stood up to this stuff?

**PF:** Oh yeah, definitely. Basically the club owners fall into two categories: the ones that shake and the ones that shake—I mean the ones that basically are scared stiff of this stuff and the others that are willing to stand up and say fuck it. And usually they say it on the basis of "nobody's gonna tell me how to run my club." We have one out here, a very famous, notorious punk palace in San Francisco and that's the stand and the attitude of the promoters there. The same thing happened in Cleveland, at one of the big places we were at, three or four club owners apparently called up this guy and said, "Don't book that commie band." And he said to us, "Look, I don't agree with where you guys are coming from, but I told them to shove it." And I think that at the present time there's a little bit of disbelief that that even happens, you know.

**RW:** Why are you guys doing this record right now?

**PF:** Well, first of all we had to. I mean it was like we had to have a record out before New Year's. The point is that 1980 comes only once in whatever. Anyway, it's never going to happen again. And we gotta do this, we have to have this thing out on the streets now, because the people demand it. It's like the times demand it and the people demand it. Everybody is putting out their stuff in the music world for the 1980s, right? Everybody is talking about the sound of the 80s and everybody is talking about the new thing and all this. But most of it is not the new thing. It's old wine in new bottles at best. Most of it is old wine in old bottles and it's just in the way. So you can't just stand there and say how terrible it is. You've got to put something else out there. You've got to put something out there that people can rally around and take up as their own. And it's urgent. It's an absolute necessity. And we decided this had to be on the streets by January 1st. There's no way we could allow January 1st to roll by without a statement of what's to come and what we're calling on people to do out there. People should just read the rest of the *Revolutionary Worker* this week and the following week and from now on to see what I'm talking about.

**RW:** Why did you decide to make your own record?

**PF:** We tried to get this record put out by another company. You know we tried to unite with some other people for the purposes of distribution and reaching the broadest masses of people that we could. Failing to do that we decided we had to do it now and this had to be on the streets like I said. But basically we felt we couldn't put out a record without at least making this attempt which we began right after the Midwest tour. As far as the big labels, basically only two of them were interested at all, and finally they just said, "Look this isn't where it's at these days—politics." They're completely out of touch with the masses. And even if they weren't I think they're scared shitless. I was talking to The Clash when they were here in San Francisco and I raised this point to them, and one of the things the drummer told me, was: they can't put this stuff out because we want to bury them, they're not going to let that shit happen. Which is of course obviously true. Although I might add,

The Clash is not exactly a minor threat either and they did get signed by a major label so it's not absolutely out of the question.

I mean they still might black us out. I don't kid myself about their ability to try to do that because they hate what we're saying. And the crisis is deepening so fast I wouldn't be surprised if they called this stuff treason pretty soon, and prevent us from getting a contract. But barring that, I think there's a possibility that things will definitely be better after the success of this record.

**RW:** There's a lot of controversy among various bands, some of whom are putting out their own records and so forth, about the question of signing a contract—you know, the line that even if you can get one, the minute you do, you're dead.

**PF:** Well, I don't think that's true but I do think it's really difficult. It's a man-eating system and it chews up people and spits them out as garbage, and it turns them into commodities and buys and sells them, literally, their work, their sweat, their soul. And people see that. Rock and roll's really been going for 20 years and there's two generations right there and the latest generation really saw this in a big way. People have learned. They are not stupid and they've picked up on a lot in the last 20 years. And people are more aware that it's sinister.

It's wrapped up in tinsel and the good life and wealth and black limousines, but I think that a lot of musicians know that it's bullshit. And a lot of people have gotten into that trap and gotten sucked in and destroyed and people have seen that happen. I mean, shit, capitalism killed Buddy Holly, they killed Jimmy Hendrix, they killed Janis Joplin, they killed so many people. I mean it was cold-blooded murder when they killed Otis Redding, because he was a threat, he was going to form a Black record company. And this sort of thing is more widely understood and I think people want to fight against it.

On the other hand, it's difficult, yes, but not impossible. And I'd say this—I'm glad that The Clash has a record out. I'm glad they have a record that I can go get, in spite of the difficulties and I think they've fought them. They are a good example of some people who have really fought to try to maintain their integrity and their honesty and stand with the people. And to me they both prove how difficult it is and also that it can be done. Musicians recognize the necessity of reaching millions of people. That's not just a matter of profit, of being famous, although that's always out there in people's consciousness. But a lot of people want to really say something and I think The Clash are a great example of it, I think Springsteen is a great example of it, I think Gil Scott Heron is a great example of it, and I think there are numerous other artists that I would want to name that are not as famous that are a great example of it. They genuinely want to reach people. They want to wake people up. They want people to think. They don't just want people partying down and getting stoned. They know something is wrong in this world... And they also recognize the limitations the system places on people because they monopolize distribution, and in the music business, they monopolize the distribution. And they are not going to relinquish that control until we overthrow them.

I want to say one thing and that's about this thing of selling out. A lot of people have seen artists that they had faith in turn mealy-mouthed and shitty on them and I think people have to understand what it is that burns people out. But I don't see it so much as a question of cadillacs and all that, although that can definitely have an effect. But mainly, man, it's a turn in your thinking that I see.

Like Springsteen said, and I'm not sure if these are the exact words but he said something like this: if I ever turn on the people, they ought to throw me out of the bus going 60 miles an hour. And that's a correct stand and what he's speaking to is the hope and faith that people place in their artists and people they look to and that come from their ranks.

**RW:** At bottom it's the system that's

responsible but people do have choices. Like Bob Dylan, he didn't have to do what he did.

**PF:** Now that's a sellout, that's a traitorous dog and there will come a time when he will eat his guitar. This guy is a sellout and I will call him that to his face and in fact we did. When he came to town for his opening show, Prairie Fire put out a leaflet—we were playing that week ourselves—and on the leaflet it said, "Dylan says kneel and pray. Prairie Fire says stand and fight." And then we took the words to his own songs you know that said, "Get out of the way if you can't lend a hand, 'cause the times they are a changin'." And we put that down there and said, "Bobby did you write this?" And then we put our words which said, "No mercy! We're gonna drag 'em from their throne, we're gonna overthrow God himself." And people really dug the leaflet and really grabbed it and he was booed that night very resoundingly. He turned from somebody who I think was clearly visionary and a real powerful force in the movement of the '60s and had a tremendously broad influence and he was on Columbia records... but just being on a record company didn't make him a sellout.

Anyway the whole thing was to say that signing a record contract and struggling in that sphere is just another arena of struggle. Struggling in that sphere does not mean that automatically you're gonna go bad, it doesn't mean you have sold out. Selling out is much more a question of your outlook and who, which class, you serve in practice.

**RW:** Why do you think other artists/musicians should do this sort of thing?

**PF:** The thing is that if artists are really going to produce anything that has any meaning it's got to have meaning for the people. It's got to reflect to one degree or another their interests, you know. It seems to me that the artists reflect what is happening in the world, what is happening around them, and more and more what is happening is that the world is exploding. And the more the dynamics of crisis affect the situation in which artists find themselves, which is everything from the overall world situation to what is happening in a particular country or state or city or struggle or amongst a particular group of people, this is going to be reflected in the art of the artists, independently of their will. They are going to reflect some attitude towards that whether they like it or not. And the question is: why don't you take control of that, why don't you take a look at what's actually happening, take a side and it should be the side of the people. It's got to be the side of the people. Take that stand and put that in your art and that's what's gonna give it power, that's what's gonna give it meaning and direction and a whole new vision. You're not going to be able to see a fucking thing if you're looking at flowers in the hills now—that ain't nowhere, that ain't where it's at—or some other kind of escapist shit, or for that matter telling people to boogie

down or whatever. I really don't think there's anything else for artists to do at this point. I don't know how else to say it. And maybe this is just because I'm so into it myself that it's hard for me to even deal with somebody who doesn't see the need to consciously express what is happening in the world and particularly take a stand with the struggling masses, the people who are trying to change the world.

And artists are doing this, that's the thing. This isn't just Prairie Fire and a couple of other people. This is where it's going right now.

**RW:** We understand that you recently united with some other bands to put on a very successful benefit to Keep Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants Free and are currently working on doing a "Burn the Shah" night in one of the San Francisco clubs. What does this sort of thing unleash, in terms of musicians uniting together for a higher cause?

**PF:** Well, you know it's what these musicians really want to do. The bourgeoisie has infected a lot of musicians with this dog-eat-dog competition, wanting to be stars and wanting fame and fortune and all that, but they haven't completely gotten over with all the bullshit by any means.

And I gotta say, hey you musicians out there, Prairie Fire doesn't have to fight with you. We're not competing in the same way. I don't feel that towards other musicians because I'm not after fame and fortune, certainly not the kind of fame and fortune the bourgeoisie offers. We'd love to be famous in the sense of revolutionary politics being out there on a massive scale and we'd love to see some money go to revolutionary culture and stuff like that because it would help its proliferation and we could use it in the struggle to Keep Bob Avakian Free and so forth and so on. But the thing is that we don't have that kind of competition going on because we are fighting in a common cause. Other musicians who join us and join in this cause feel the same way: it's not going to be like a star trip with big shots and little shots and who eats shit and who eats cake.

So we see it as we're part of a battle, part of a struggle, part of an army. We're not just a bunch of individuals out there knifing each other in the back trying to get a bunch of crumbs off the master's table. And anybody who's been there knows what I'm talking about and anybody who's seen it knows what I'm talking about and anybody who is going to wallow in the wake of that shit and fight on the stage just to get a fuckin' position at a goddamn local nightclub for 25 bucks a night knows what I'm talking about.

Like one musician we did the benefit with said, "We may not agree on all things but we do have some common ground and on that ground we can stand." I think that's where it's at, because the common ground is the struggle against oppression, the struggle to liberate mankind, and I think that people aspire to that and can and want to aspire to that.

## Agee

Continued from page 4

actually had spies operating out of the embassy and throughout Iran for the last 30 years. And now here comes Agee into the picture with the potential to blow their whole "good guy and apple pie" story sky high. Quite an embarrassing situation for the U.S. imperialists.

But a little deeper look at things is even more telling. While the revocation of Agee's passport is obviously connected with the situation in Iran, there is some truth to the State Department's referral to Agee's "campaigns and disruptions of intelligence services around the world" being the cause of their actions against him. With Agee on the loose there's a lot more at stake here than just a few more embarrassing moments.

While Agee represents a threat around Iran, also significant is the question of the U.S. rulers' preparation for world war. Today the U.S. is moving to tighten up its war bloc, pulling coups to insure reliable governments,

influencing Western European governments both to draw them closer and to counteract Soviet influence, infiltrating and spying on Soviet-influenced areas, and as always, sabotaging and counteracting developing revolutionary movements. In all these preparations, the CIA as well as other intelligence agencies plays a crucial role. And it's exactly these preparations that Agee and his exposures put in jeopardy. The ruling class is moving to get rid of him whether it's through the secrecy laws currently in Congress or by forcing Agee back to the U.S. to face trial, possibly on espionage charges.

But the question arises—from which particular enemy is the U.S. government so anxious to conceal knowledge of its dirty dealings worldwide by silencing Philip Agee? The Soviets? Unlikely. They probably know as much as or more than he does about U.S. intelligence operations.

No. As the U.S. imperialists move toward war with their Soviet counterparts, it's the masses of people in this country and around the world that must be prevented from hearing the story that Philip Agee has to tell.