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Talk with
Latin American Workers

“I Take Great Pleasure in Fighting Imperialism”

San Francisco. “My whole country knows of the Chicago Haymarket martyrs. We are very conscious of where May Day began.” As workers from Nicaragua and I talked in an apartment in San Francisco’s Mission District, the translator seemed almost unnecessary. As we talked, the words of the *Internationale*, the battle song of workers from every country, rang in my head—“The international working class shall be the human race...” Eduardo sat across from me, a May Day 1980 button and a pin with Lenin’s profile on it worn proudly on his denim shirt.

Six weeks ago he had begun selling the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper—twenty a week. Four nights ago, he was arrested by the pigs on a three year old parking ticket and questioned about his political activities in the Mission. When he returned for his property, they gave him back everything except eight copies of the *Revolutionary Worker*, saying only, “This is material for the FBI.” When Eduardo relayed this experience to members of the May

Continued on page 12



May Day Brigade at the corner of 24th and Mission St. in the heart of the Mission District

Tito’s Doctors Lose Heart (Tito’s)

The impending death of Josef Broz Tito, president of Yugoslavia, has been the cause of misty eyes and sorrowful handwringing among the powerful of Washington. In fact, if a contest were held for “favorite dictator,” Tito might well be the choice for Most Valuable Player on the U.S. team. Why? Not because there haven’t been more openly loyal lackeys on the U.S. team—there are plenty. But Tito was more of a “Specialty Team Star”—a “socialist” who played a special kind of role for the U.S. where others could not. No one could call Tito a second string lackey for U.S. imperialism. Not only did he mortgage his country to U.S. and Western capital, he trotted all over the

globe displaying his “communist” credentials and tried to convince other third world countries that this is the road to socialism.

Today, as he dies, Tito’s rotting flesh and failing heart are a fitting monument to revisionism—the betrayal of revolution and communism. His death has the U.S. worried, as the death of this time-worn U.S. warhorse may give the Soviet imperialists some new openings.

Tito will be mourned by the U.S. bourgeoisie, who will always remember him fondly for being the first ruler to blaze the trail into the pit of revisionism, stabbing the working class in the back under the signboard of “social-

Continued on page 14



RCP Chairman Bob Avakian

Communists Are Rebels

page 3



Women at May Day march.
Tehran, Iran 1979.

“HONOR”

—Marzieh Oskoyi
Iranian revolutionary poet
killed in Shah's torture chambers

I'm a mother
A sister
A wife
I'm a woman
A woman from the dead villages of the South
A woman who from the start has crossed the dunes of the desert
with her bare-feet
I'm from the small hamlets of the North
A woman who from the start has worked tea fields to the last of
her strength
I'm from the far ruins of the East
A woman who from the start searching for a drop of water has felt
the hot thirst of the earth on her bare feet
A woman who together with her lean cow from dawn to dusk has felt
the heavy burden of suffering
I'm a woman from the wandering tribes of the fields and mountains
A woman who gives birth to her child in the mountains and who
mourns the loss of her sheep in the fields
I'm a woman, a worker whose hands move the tremendous machines
of factories and whose strength is smashed every day in
front of her eyes by the cogwheel
A woman from whose essence cruel corpses are fattened and from whose
destruction profits are expanded
A woman who can't be found anywhere in your disgraceful culture
A woman without white hands, delicate figure, soft skin and
perfumed hair
I'm a woman with hands which have been scratched
the sharp edge of pains
A woman whose body has been harshly broken under
the heavy burden of work
A woman whose skin is the mirror of the desert sun and
whose hair
smells like smoke
I'm a woman
A woman who from the start has crossed the fields step by step with
her comrade and brother
A woman who has reared the powerful muscle of the worker, and the
strong hands of the peasant
I'm a woman
I'm a peasant
My stature is the image of pain and my body is the expression of spite
How shameful it is that I'm told that the pain of my hunger is my
imagination and the nakedness of my body just an illusion
I'm a woman
A woman who can't be found anywhere in your disgraceful culture
A woman whose heart is full of infected wounds
A woman whose eyes reflect the red bullets of freedom and whose hands
are molded for holding a gun.

International Women's Day Programs

Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution

"An ounce of hatred? I've got 132 pounds of hatred for this system. . . I know what they were saying and I know what I'm saying—things have got to change and we've got to do it."

—a Washington D.C. woman after police gunned down "alleged suspect" Bruce Griffith

"Six months ago we'd be talking about childhood illness, Avon. . . but Iran? And politics?"

—a woman electronics worker in California after a lunchtime debate on Iran in the plant cafeteria.

1980—What does the next decade hold? For the working class? For the liberation of women?

1980. World war looms and crisis and decay deepens.

All of a sudden the President and armed forces became big advocates of the "liberation of women". So in these deathbed days of this sickening society, we'll see women in green fatigues plus women in porno films. It'll be, "Line up the female cannonfodder and step up the rate of rape." Phyllis Schlafly screeches, "Yes, we want war, but don't let the women fight it." The so-called answer from the bourgeois feminists is, "No, we don't want war, but dammit women will fight in it." What is the way forward? It's going to take more than the old thinking, or even the old movement to answer these questions.

1980. The prospect of revolution begins to come into focus.

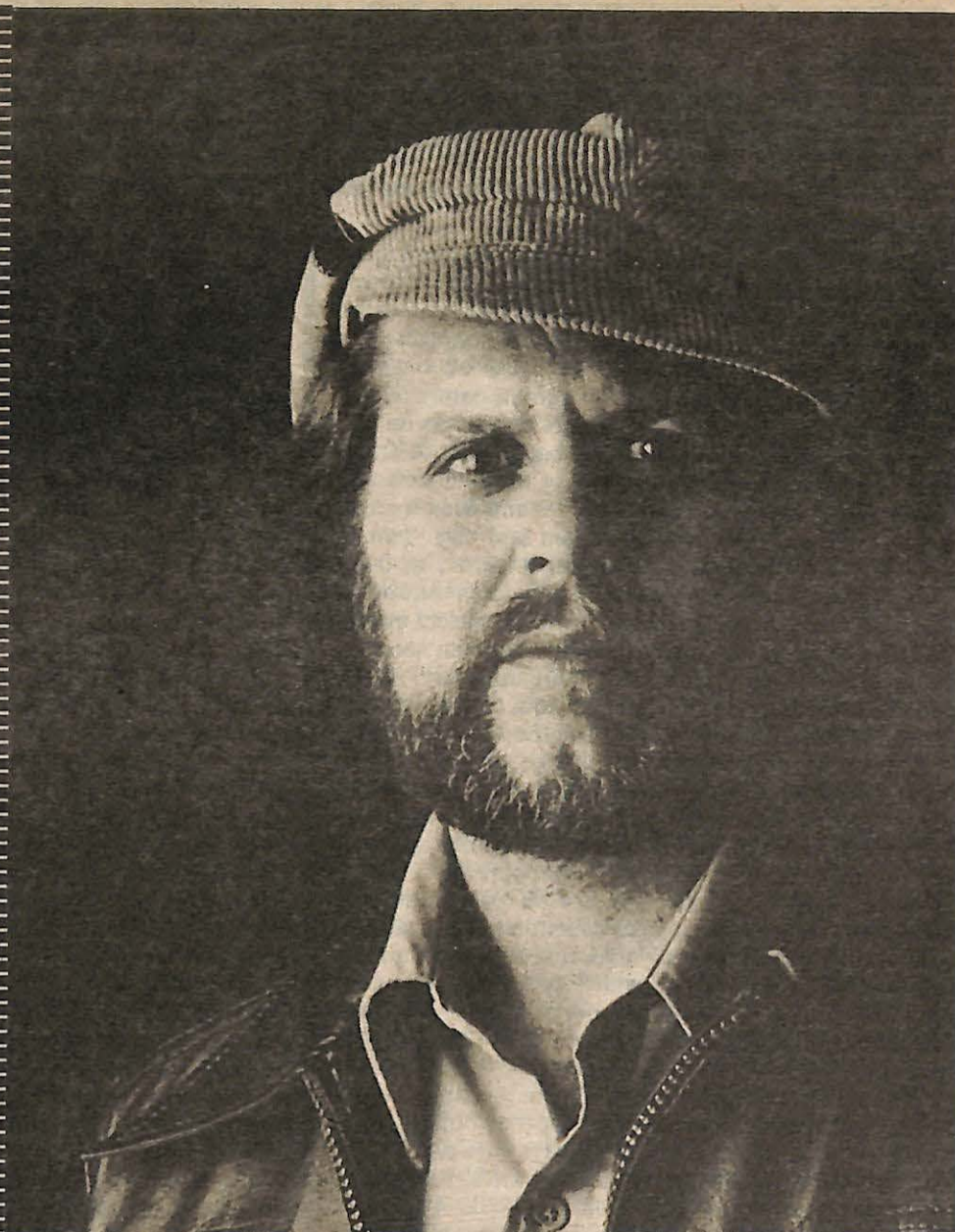
Impossible without the full participation of women. And unless that potential begins to be unleashed now—beginning especially when thousands of class conscious workers step up on the stage of history on May 1st 1980—then we will be crippled and far behind where we can afford to be.

This coming weekend of March 8, 1980, International Women's Day, meetings and programs will be held across the country to get down on these questions, begin to mobilize our ranks and prepare for the battles ahead. Contact the *Revolutionary Worker* in your local area for the exact time and place. (see listing on page 8)

Sponsored nationally by: Revolutionary Communist Party
Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade
National May Day 1980 Committee

Communists are Rebels

A Letter from RCP Chairman Bob Avakian to His Parents On Philosophy, Religion, Morals, and Continuous Revolution



Dear Folks,

I am fine and things are going well—in fact, things are very exciting, full of turmoil and struggle.

I am not writing about any immediate question, but thought I would take the time to address, at least in a beginning (and no doubt somewhat fragmentary) way, a question that dad in particular has raised with me on a number of occasions over the past several years, including the last time I saw you (by the way, the headline you saw in one of our papers, referring to some comments by me on the question of “human nature,” was part of an interview with me republished in the *Revolutionary Communist Youth*, the December 1979 issue). The question to which I refer and which I will try to deal with here can be summarized, I believe, in the following general terms: what about “human nature,” and in particular the tendency, which seems to exist in all societies, even socialist society, for people to be self-seeking—and most especially for people in positions of some power, authority, influence, etc. to turn these positions into the basis for personal aggrandizement—what is sometimes referred to (and has been by you, dad) as “elitism”?

First of all, is this a real problem, including within communist parties and socialist societies? Yes, it most definitely is. And it has proved to be a very serious one. The bourgeoisie and its worldview insist that this tendency is and always will be unavoidable and unconquerable, in every form of society—and therefore that communism is a hopeless ideal, at best. Often this is expressed, with respect to leaders of a society in particular, in the catchy (and facile) little aphorism: “Power corrupts, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.”

Before directly answering that, I want to back up to some of the more basic, underlying questions involved in all this. In order to deal with these, as well as specifically address the problem of “elitism” and answer the conventional—bourgeois—wisdom (or lack of it) on this matter, I have to put forward and stress views which are in direct opposition to some of your more deeply-held views and beliefs—especially around religion, the existence of god (some kind of universal force somehow guiding events in the world and the universe as a whole and serving as some kind of basis for morals, etc.), I do not hesitate to do this, however, for two basic reasons: first, and most important, because I could neither contribute anything to an understanding of the problem being discussed here, nor (by the same token, I believe) be true to my own principles—and more fundamentally to the truth on which they are based, a truth I am convinced is scientifically founded—unless I did so; and second, I know that you have raised this question seriously, with an earnest desire to both know my own views on this and to arrive at a correct understanding concerning it (which, of course, I believe are one and the same, though my understanding is certainly less than the “whole truth”—that is, than a thorough understanding—of this matter).

To the question, then. First, as for “human nature,” there is in fact no such thing—in the sense in which the concept is conventionally used. Different ages in human history have each had their own view of both what such “human nature” is and what it ought to be—and more

specifically, different classes within each epoch have had their own, conflicting views on this. In general, it is the rule that the dominant ideas on this (as on all important questions) are, as Marx and Engels explained, the ideas of the dominant, or ruling, class—having political control of society, and the control of the most important means of production, upon which this political domination is based in the final analysis, the ruling classes throughout history have therefore also had ideological domination; and their principles, ethics, morals, beliefs, values, etc. have reflected and served their political domination and the economic system it enforces. Thus, in ancient Greek society, for example (the “cradle of our democracy,” as I was taught in school—and how fitting it actually is!), it was not only the case that the dominant class, the slaveowners (for whom, in reality, this democracy existed) considered slavery—for others, the “inferior,” the conquered peoples, etc.—to be fully in accord with human nature—and with divine providence as well—but this was also the dominant view in such societies as a whole, exercising a strong influence even upon the slaves themselves—who, if they generally did not accept the idea that slavery was just, nevertheless were strongly influenced, and intimidated, by the view that it was *inevitable*, because of the will and power of their “superiors” on earth and/or in heaven—generally, both.

This is not to deny, of course, that the slaves nonetheless repeatedly rebelled against their oppression and that, in the course of and as an indispensable part

tween them, which in the final analysis (in all societies divided into classes) comes down to the struggle between classes for political power over society. And people—being by definition and in their distinction from other, lower forms of life (at least those known to us are lower forms) *conscious* animals—develop various ideas, and more than that wage fierce struggle in the realm of ideas, which also comes down to the struggle between conflicting class-outlooks in the final analysis. These ideas and this ideological struggle play a tremendous role in the overall struggle in society, between classes (so long as society remains divided into classes). But, once again, for all that, the ideas of different people—and ultimately different classes—within society, despite the fact that they assume a more or less “independent existence” as ideas in their own right, nevertheless always find their ultimate origin in the material conditions of society—its level of productive forces and corresponding economic, or production, relations (the relations people enter into in carrying out production in society as a whole)—and its interaction with the rest of nature.

Dreams, illusions, etc.—and even the most far-sighted visions which may actually conceive of at least the rough outlines of things which do not yet exist in this world (witness Jules Verne, for example)—are also ultimately based on actual experience, direct or indirect (that is, your own or somebody else’s, the latter being made known to you through oral or written means). Hallucinations, too, have the same origin in the material world—though they are, by definition, distortions of it (as are dreams) in one form and to one degree

If you're afraid of losing what you got—and this goes for state power too—then how can you be a revolutionary!

of doing so, they took up as a powerful weapon ideas which not only condemned slavery as unjust but challenged the notion that it—or at least the enslavement of those rebelling—was inevitable. But, for all that, the institution of slavery—and with it the idea that it was in accordance with “human nature” (and divine will)—was not eliminated (as it has been today, in most parts of the world) until the material conditions for this developed. And, in general, any old society, no matter how much it causes the suffering of the masses of people, will not be swept away until changes in society, and in particular in the productive forces it has developed and uses—the tools, instruments, machinery, etc. and the knowledge and skills required to utilize them (which, of course, are developed by and reside in people), together with the laboring population itself—make necessary certain changes in the economic relations people enter into in society. (Mao once graphically, poetically and startlingly expressed the basic principle involved here in something like the following terms: when tools become frustrated, when they are unable to be fully utilized, they will speak through people, they will compel people to change society in order to make possible the full use of these tools.)

It is, of course, not actually the case that tools themselves change society; precisely, that is and can only be done by people—and through fierce struggle be-

or another. (Recently, as one part of its stepped-up efforts to spread mysticism and thereby intimidate the masses and make them feel powerless before “superior” beings and forces—“natural” and “supernatural,” but all enforcing “the way things are”—the bourgeoisie has churned out a few movies loudly advertising the theme of “life after death,” and centering around the experiences, real or alleged, of people who have “died” and then “come back to life”—that is, people whose “vital signs,” generally their heart and breathing mechanism, have stopped but have then been revived. The hallucinations of these people during their “dead” period [leaving aside outright lies] are presented as a key to the “mystery of life after death.” Really, there is nothing so mysterious about it at all: their heart, etc. has stopped, but their brain has not yet died; it continues to function, to form images and thoughts—reflections, and generally distortions, of experiences and ideas these people have acquired in society—basically the same as dreams, which of course also occur when people are unconscious [leaving aside “day dreams,” which are not really dreams but more or less conscious fantasies—and which also have their ultimate origins in the material world in any case]. The advancement of science has both made it possible that such people can “come back”—be revived—to tell of

Continued on page 4

Communists are Rebels

Continued from page 3

this and made it possible for us to understand what is really going on during the time when they are unconscious but not yet dead—as we now determine death—that is, when their vital brain cells have not yet been destroyed due to lack of oxygen.)

To return to the question of “human nature”—and specifically to some of my previous comments on it: I said that different ages have had their different views—characterized by the views of the ruling class of the age—on what “human nature” is and what it ought to be. By this I mean that it is often said that “human nature” is not in fact what it ought to be; in other words, it is not always argued that “human nature” is “good” and that the particular form of society upheld is in conformity with such a “good” “human nature.” Rather, it is often argued that “human nature” is, on the contrary, bad, “evil.” But this, too, serves merely as a justification (rationalization) for the form of society advocated by whomever makes this argument. In short, such justification (rationalization) is not always—and quite often is not—based on the notion that the society advocated conforms to some positive “human nature,” but merely that it conforms to some *unchanging* “human nature”—good, bad—or in part both. The capitalist (and his ideological solicitors), for example, when cornered ideologically and unable to maintain the lie that his system is one which brings the best conceivable life to the greatest number of people, will resort quickly to the argument that it brings the best *possible* one (also a lie—a more profound lie!). Why? Because of “human nature,” he insists. To put it simply, he will argue, someone always has to lord it over others; that’s the way it is, that’s the way it’s always been and always will be; and if he wasn’t doing it to others, they would be doing it to him—so why shouldn’t he do it first and best (the real “golden rule” of capitalism, even more than other forms of society based on exploitation, because capitalism constantly demands ever more vicious, cutthroat competition as well as ever intensifying exploitation).

The very notion of “bad”—or “good”—“human nature” assumes not only that there is some unchanging “human nature” but further that there is some unchanging standard of what “human nature” ought to be. “People are not perfect,” pundits often remind us. (“If men were angels, . . .”) But, once again, there is no such unchanging standard—it, too, will correspond to, and *change* with, the conditions and consequent views of different historical periods and classes.

For example, a peasant in feudal society (and still more a slave in slave society) is not supposed to have even a basic education, according to the lord (feudal or slave); for him (or *her* even *more*) to have such an education is wrong, a sin, even a crime. This, the lord and his detachment of intellectuals insist, is in accord with the “nature” of the peasant (or slave)—just as it is in accord with the “nature” of the lord (and with “human nature” in general, as well as divine will) for the lord to dominate education as well as political power, land, wealth, etc. On the other hand, for a worker in capitalist society not to have basic education enough to be able to operate a machine or some similar function—this is wrong, according to every capitalist who is the least bit enlightened as to his own interests and those of his class. In fact, the illiteracy of the peasant (and slave) and the literacy (at least minimal) of the worker are *both*, in their respective turns, in accordance not with some unchanging nature of the peasant, slave or worker (as an individual)—or of society as a whole—but with the respective forms of society in which the peasant or slave on the one hand and the worker on the other finds himself (herself).

Or, examine the “nature” of the members of the ruling classes themselves. For a lord in feudal society, for example, to indulge himself in all manner of luxurious, wasteful personal consumption is considered in that society—by the ruling class of lords and as the ruling idea—as “natural” and right. But for a capitalist to do the same thing—beyond a certain point at least—is not merely “unnatural” but downright foolhardy: the more he spends on his own personal consumption, the less he can reinvest to expand and beat out the competition. If he continues in this way, he will be devoured by more “frugal” capitalists—who may enjoy and welcome such “unnatural” behavior on the part of their competitors, but nonetheless recognize that for themselves it would be disastrous and recognize even more fundamentally that it is contrary to the “nature” of a capitalist (this is modified somewhat by monopoly capitalism, imperialism, but that does not change the principle I am stressing here—that there is no unchanging “nature” of either the exploiting or exploited classes* and that instead such a “nature”—as well as the notion of what it ought to be—corresponds to and *changes* with different forms of society in different historical stages).

So, getting back to the question of “perfection”—or lack of it—there is no such thing, either. (The only way in which this concept might have any valid meaning is if we were to use it as a measure of people’s ability to

grasp the essence of the material world of which they are a part and to change it in accordance with its actual laws of development: by doing so we will find that, indeed, people are not perfect, that in fact their knowledge of the objective world always falls short of and lags behind this objective world and its constant process of change. But this is not what is generally meant by “perfection”—which, in its conventional usage, implies some kind of moral standard. And, anyway, “perfection,” or lack of it, is not after all a correct concept to use in speaking of people’s ability to understand and change the world: precisely because people can never grasp all of objective truth—can never know all there is to know about the entire universe, fundamentally because it is infinite and infinitely changing—the concept of “perfection” in that sense loses all meaning. “Perfection” can have meaning only if the standard for it is something that is attainable, at least by somebody—or something—here the concept of god, all-knowing, enters in again. But, first, back to the notion of “perfection” as it is conventionally used—in a moral sense.) There is no such thing as “perfection” because there is and can be no unchanging standard of it, abstracted from a particular level of development and corresponding form of society. Again, what is “moral” and “immoral” varies—changes—with different epochs and different classes.

Does this mean, then, that communists have “no morals”? This is a charge often hurled at us by the very Christian people (or devout disciples of other religions) who rule capitalist or other exploitative societies and who have invariably committed the most heinous, unspeakable crimes—very often in the name of or under the cover of religious righteousness. Such people are, without exception, capable of justifying (rationalizing) the worst of these crimes on the basis of religious “morals.” (This is not, in every case, nor perhaps most cases, because they are hypocrites, as opposed to true believers and practitioners of their religion. On the contrary, the fact is that, indeed, in their religious doctrine can be found the justification for these crimes, precisely because religious doctrine, like everything else in class society, has a class nature; or, to put it another way, it is because all such notions as “brotherly love,” “love thy neighbor before [or even *as*] thyself,” “peace on earth, good will toward men,” etc. are *impossible* to practice in a society divided into classes, regardless of the wishes or intentions of anyone, and this impossibility will be reflected both in religious doctrine, especially as it assumes any real force in society, and in the practical actions of the most devout religious adherents, along with everyone else. As a matter of fact, these notions, as conceived of and propagated conventionally at least, will even be impossible of enactment under communism—and undesirable as well, for they imply some kind of stagnant harmony and the reconciliation of opposing views, rather than conflict and struggle, which is the way in which things actually develop and progress. Communism will eliminate social antagonism with the elimination of classes and the basis for them, but it certainly will not, and cannot, eliminate conflict and struggle—as Mao emphatically pointed out, without contradiction and struggle life itself would come to a standstill and could not exist. But more on that later.)

Communist morals indeed exist. And they are just as much the product of society—of a particular historical stage of its development—and just as much the expression of the outlook and interests of a particular class as are all other ideas. But there the identity ends. Communist morals—and communist ideas generally—express and serve the outlook and interests of the particular class, the proletariat, but the proletariat, unlike all other classes in history, is a class which has no interest in exploitation or the division of society into classes. This is not because, in some abstract sense, the proletariat is “better” (more “nearly perfect”) than other classes. Rather, it is because the proletariat is itself a propertyless class—that is, a class which (in capitalist society) is without ownership of the means of production*—and further a class that engages in its productive activity not in isolated, individualized conditions, but in highly (and increasingly) socialized ones. And the proletariat carries out this productive labor with means of production that are highly developed—a high level of technology—and which, moreover, *can only be utilized* in a socialized way (for example, an auto plant). For all these reasons, the ideas—including morals—that correspond to the position of the proletariat in society and to its role in carrying forward the development of society—to a whole new and unprecedented stage—are those which promote the destruction of the fetter of private ownership of the means of production, which is in antagonism with the character of the productive forces and the fact that overwhelmingly they can only be utilized socially (including the great bulk of the laboring population, the proletariat itself); those morals and ideas generally which at the same time and on the same basis promote the elimination of all forms of exploitation and all class

*In socialist society, the proletariat becomes the owner of the means of production, but this is social, not private—ownership as a class, through its state, not as individuals; and further, this itself is transitional to ownership by all of society, without classes or the state, under communism.

distinctions and the overthrow, suppression and eventual elimination (as a social class or stratum) of every reactionary force which would defend and enforce (and reinstitute where it has been abolished) exploitation and would seek to resist by antagonistic means the advance to the abolition of classes. It is with this outlook—and, again, not because of some abstract “moral superiority”—that the morals of communists stress and insist upon placing the interests of society as a whole—and specifically its advance to classless society, communism, a whole new and higher stage in human history—above narrow, individual or small-group interests, which always promote exploitation and the perpetuation of class distinctions.

In sum, the proletariat is both the “special product” (in Marx’ words) of capitalist society and its gravedigger—and the gravedigger of exploitative society altogether. It is the product of a society, capitalism, which, in a way far more than previous societies, necessitates and brings about unprecedented development of the productive forces and, for the first time, establishes the potential to abolish scarcity as a social phenomenon, but which, especially with its further development—and in a qualitatively greater way with its transformation into imperialism—suffocates these same productive forces, is itself incapable of utilizing them in anything like a full way. Therefore, even while it provides the *potential* to abolish scarcity, capitalism repeatedly—and on an ever more destructive scale—brings about the criminal absurdity that there is great scarcity precisely because there is too much abundance—not, as Marx and Engels pointed out, too much for what people need, but too much for what the capitalists can profitably employ. (Imperialism does not abolish or reduce this; on the contrary, on a world scale, and periodically within the imperialist countries themselves, it intensifies it and makes it all the more devastating, and this assumes concentrated form in the wars, especially world wars, that the imperialists launch in order to preserve their system and fight for the top-dog position within it.) The proletariat is the gravedigger of all this, and the agent of the advance of humanity to a whole new and unprecedented form of society—and a whole new and unprecedented “nature”—because it alone can, in conformity with the socialized character of its productive labor, utilize these productive forces fully and unleash them—by taking control of and employing them collectively and rationally. Communist morals—and communist ideology generally—represent, as Engels once put it, the theoretical expression of this historical role and mission of the proletariat.

But here a contradiction—emerges which gets back to the heart of the main question we are dealing with: while the proletariat, as a class, has this historic role and mission and while, as a class, it has no interest in exploitation and the division of society into classes, the entire proletariat does not become conscious of this all at once—and in fact, in capitalist society in particular, under the domination of the bourgeoisie economically, politically and ideologically, only a relatively small minority of the proletariat is able to take up this class-conscious position and fight on that basis. Further, it is generally among the intellectuals that this “theoretical expression” of the proletariat’s role and mission in society is first taken up; these intellectuals in turn take this understanding to the proletariat, and those workers who, for various reasons (having to do with their particular situation and experiences), gravitate toward this ideology and take it up as their own, become (together with this small detachment of intellectuals*) galvanized in and around the proletarian party as the advanced section and leadership of the rest of the proletariat—and beyond it the broader masses of people oppressed in various ways under capitalism. Here we see the contradiction between the advanced and the rest of the class (and masses), or between the leadership and the led.

This objective contradiction can, even under capitalism, become the basis for what you refer to as “elitism.” But, in the main, this is more than offset by the fact that to be a party member, or more broadly a part of the advanced forces stepping forward to lead the struggle for the overthrow of capitalism, means to be hunted, hounded, persecuted—harassed, jailed, etc., even murdered—and moreover to take a stance that is not “socially accepted” and does not generally mean greater prestige, etc. This, though it involves contradiction, is the main aspect under capitalism.

But what about in socialist society—where the party is now the leading force of the proletarian state, where its members, and especially its leading members, have influence, authority, even to some degree power, over others? How can this be prevented from turning into personal capital and a lever for oppressing the masses? You have read much of our material (including in my book *Mao Tsetung’s Immortal Contributions* and elsewhere) on the nature of socialism as a long transition period between capitalism and the attainment of

Continued on page 5

*There are also some people from other strata, particularly the more oppressed in society, who take up this outlook and become part of the vanguard, but that does not change the fact that this vanguard is a small minority, especially under capitalism.

*Each specific class, of course, has its nature as a class, but the nature of the exploiters and exploited is in neither case something fixed arbitrarily and eternally but something historically and socially conditioned.

Communists are Rebels

Continued from page 4

communism in its full form—classless society—and of the need to continue to revolutionize society through the class struggle against the bourgeoisie, especially a new bourgeoisie emerging at the top ranks of the party itself, in order to reach the goal of communism. Further, you are familiar with our analysis of how the class struggle within a socialist country interacts with the class struggle internationally and the fact that the fight against capitalist restoration in a socialist country and to achieve the advance to communism can only be successfully carried out in unity with the whole international revolutionary struggle and on a world-wide basis. So I won't repeat or go directly into all that here. But what I do want to recall right here is a statement I made earlier in this letter—actually a reference to Marx and Engels' statement that the ruling ideas of every age are

struggle to overthrow, die-hard traitors within the party—especially at its top levels—who adopt this bourgeois ideology and are determined to use their leadership positions to drag society back to capitalism—with themselves on top as a new bourgeoisie. Here, however, I want to deal with another aspect of this problem: how to continue revolutionizing the party as a whole as well as and as part of the ongoing revolutionization of the entire society. Or, to put it another way, how to combat "elitism" within the party, and also slavishness among the masses, how to prevent the ossification of the party into a bureaucratic hierarchy and the society as a whole into a rigid and rusting structure?

Of course, education of the broad ranks of the proletariat and the masses in communist principles is very important, especially since at the time power is seized most of them will still be uneducated in these principles

Communists are in their essence innovators and most of all rebels . . .

ever the ideas of the ruling class of that age. As I said, this is a general truth—but, with regard to socialist society, where the proletariat rules, with the leadership of its party, this question is a great deal more complicated.

Why? Because, to harken back to another very important statement by Marx and Engels, the proletarian revolution and the ultimate achievement of communism means not only the most radical rupture with all traditional property relations but also with all traditional ideas. Here, again, the question of "human nature" raises its head—but now in a new light. There has been, until the advent of Marxism and socialism, a common thread that ran through every concept of society (and "human nature"), beginning with the first form of class-divided society. And this is the notion that, in one form or another, a minority of exploiters should rule over and exploit the majority of people and that, in turn, the masses of people should be politically ignorant, passive and slavish. (The fundamental difference between genuine communists, as true representatives of the proletariat, and all other political groups and parties, which ultimately represent exploiting classes in one form or another, is that the communists do not fear but promote both the political awareness and mass political struggle of the people: anyone who fears the consciousness and conscious initiative of the masses, or cringes at or shrinks from mass upheaval; who seeks to contain or suppress the uprisings of the masses, to restrict or obstruct them in taking the political stage, to prevent rather than lead them in becoming politically conscious and active, is no communist, regardless of what label he or she wears—but more on that shortly.) These ideas that there must inevitably be exploiters and exploited, rulers and ruled, correspond to the economic structures of all these previous forms of society based on exploitation and the oppression of the masses of people. And these structures, in turn, have been based on different levels of development of the productive forces which, however, all shared one thing in common (up until capitalism developed, at least)—that they could not provide abundance for society as a whole. Have people up until now always been selfish?—yes, in a sense, this is true, but it is not because of abstract "human nature"; rather, it is because of the material conditions—the level of development of the productive forces, which have made both scarcity and the division of society into exploiters and exploited unavoidable, until the present time. And the idea that this division will forever be unavoidable has acquired the "force of habit"—which, as Lenin once remarked (in a slightly different but fundamentally the same context), is a most terrible force. All this forms the basis for the widely-propagated notion of "human nature."

And for all these reasons, on top of the fact that the transformation of the material conditions in society that establish the basis for classes can only be a protracted process, the triumph of communist ideas, representing the proletariat, over those of the bourgeoisie and exploiting classes in general, is not something that comes about quickly or easily with the seizure of power by the proletariat and the socialization of the (major) means of production. On the contrary, it is something which will be the focus of fierce, protracted and even intensifying struggle, just as, and in inter-relationship with, the struggle to completely transform the economic conditions of society (to make the radical rupture with all traditional property relations) and the political institutions of society. This struggle will go on until communism is finally achieved.

And, so long as there remain the "birthmarks of capitalism"—so long, for example, as there remains the division between mental and manual labor left over from capitalism and all previous forms of society (at least since the emergence of classes in ancient society)—these bourgeois, reactionary ideas will have an influence—and not a small one—within socialist society, including within the communist party itself.

Again, you have read much of our material dealing with the need to expose, and build mass revolutionary

and will still be acting largely out of immediate concern for their own survival, subsistence and other similar sentiments. But education alone, especially if it is carried out in a routine way, will not suffice and in fact will become just rote memorization of dry dogma—which will be rejected outright and/or cynically mouthed while actually hated and opposed (as indeed, in this form, it should be!). Involvement of the masses in criticism and political struggle, the sharpening of the critical spirit and the unleashing of the initiative to challenge and innovate, to go up against convention—even "conventional wisdom" within the communist movement and the socialist society—the daring to challenge authority....all this must be developed. But how?

For one thing, the educational system in socialist society must not only combine productive labor and scientific experiment with theoretical study and promote the involvement of the students in political struggles together with the broad masses; it must also teach the students, the young people of society, in theory and in practice, to promote and plunge into upheaval, and thoroughly imbue them with this spirit. Old people tend to become conservative, settled in their ways, comfortable with, or at least resigned to, "the way things are." This, too, must be challenged, of course. But who can be unleashed as a powerful force to challenge it, as well as convention and the "force of habit" in general? Mao understood, very profoundly, that the youth are a major, dynamic force for this. Let them rebel, let them challenge the old fogeys, even—especially—in the leadership of the party. Let them spark the rest of society to do the same.

As for party members, give them no opportunity to "settle down and feather their nests." A communist should always be in the thick of struggle—and marching to its forefront, not dragging at its tail. Communists are, in their essence, innovators and most of all rebels—not "able administrators," or people whose

the notion that there is, there must be, "order to it all"—a "master plan"—god.

Here we are, one small, infinitesimal part of the universe, which is infinite—in time as well as space. But we tend—and are instructed and encouraged by the reactionaries and reactionary philosophy—to look at things as if what we see around us is, first of all, centered around us, when in fact it is not centered around anything. (The Christian bible, in its account of "the creation," has it that the stars, etc.—the heavens—were put there by god to provide light for the earth and its creatures, especially man. In fact, in opposition to what the bible says, the earth is actually much younger than most of these stars, etc., and they were not "put there" for the earth—nor, for that matter, was the earth "put there" for them.) Second, we are encouraged and conditioned to view things as they are now as the way they always have been and will be ("As it was in the beginning, is now and always shall be—world without end"—this is metaphysics, it is wrong). In this way, it is made to seem as if everything has a place in some pre-determined order, and the way things happen at any given point in time and space (and specifically the point where we are at) is made out to be the only way they could have happened or ever will happen—and often this is even elevated to the level of a "miracle" (for example, the birth of a child). And with this outlook it appears that things *must*, according to some all-encompassing plan and/or will (god), happen the way they do, rather than recognizing that they merely *do* happen the way they do—in an endless procession of events.

Am I denying all notion (or validity to the notion) of cause and effect? No—but these are not unchanging absolutes, either. Every cause is also an effect, and vice versa. Everything has a cause—and yet nothing has a CAUSE. Find the cause of any given thing and each of the things making up that cause in turn has its cause...and so on, infinitely. Hence, in another aspect, everything is accident and there is no "cause for everything"—no "master plan"...and no god.

But what about "free will"? Are people merely the passive objects of accident, do they exercise no choice in what they do? No, that is wrong. People, and their ideas, do indeed play a great role in reacting upon and changing the world around them (and themselves as well). But the basis and limits for this—and the source of their very ideas—lie in the objective world outside of them, and in particular the society in which they find themselves, which they are not free to choose at will but only in accordance with the level of development of the productive forces that are at hand at any given time. And further, human society and the people and their ideas that make it up, also are only one small part of, and occupy a place in, the endless concatenation of events, of cause and effect—they do not stand outside or above it.

"But where did it all come from?" We are told everything must have a beginning and an end; and in fact, for particular things—in a relative sense, and only in that sense—this is true. People, for example, are born, live and then die. But the matter of which they are

Who said that order is the order of things?

orientation is to "get down to business." If they want a soft job and a comfortable position, don't let them have it—let them go to hell, but better yet (and more realistically) let them go out among the masses and be the target of their criticism and struggle, either to change or be ousted or overthrown. If you're afraid of losing what you got—and this goes for state power, too—then how can you be a revolutionary!

"What kind of way is that to run a society?"—the communist way. "But that's anarchy!"—no it's not, it's communist revolution. While order is needed, and things do have to get done, turmoil is needed all the more and things need even more to get undone—so that they can advance to (get done on) a higher level...and on and on. Let people know now—especially party members, but also the masses—that this is what they can look forward to, that the new society will be one of continuing challenge against and eventual elimination of everything old and rotten, of every link in "tradition's chain" and all "force of habit," everything that has ceased to promote progress and change and instead stands in the way of them; that this new society will give no comfort to self-seekers and narrow-minded conservatives who just want to carve out a niche for themselves, or "see my kids get what I never had a chance for"—in other words, become capital for their family, and their parents most of all. Lead the masses and the party members to fight for liberation from these capitalist shackles, mental as well as material, and to fight for a new and far higher form of society.

Who said that order is the order of things? The bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes, and their ideological apologists and advertising men, insist on this. But where is it ever really true? Not in nature. We are told to think so, and on the surface it may appear so—because we are on a small part of an infinite universe and because this universe is not only infinite but infinitely changing. Ironically, this leaves us open to

composed is neither created nor destroyed. And just because, for 70 or so years—out of infinity!—particular elements were combined in that particular form (a person), what about that makes a "miracle" or justifies the argument that "it all had to come from somewhere"?

"Then where did matter come from?" It did not "come from" anywhere—it has always existed, in one form or another, whether energy or mass. Again, because particular forms of matter have a (relative) beginning and end, why should it follow—and in fact it does not follow, nor is it true—that matter itself, in one form or another, must likewise have a beginning and an end? And, as I said, even the beginning and end of particular forms of matter can only be relatively established.

Take the life of a person (including birth and death), for example. The boundary lines here are conditional and relative. When is a person actually alive? The anti-abortion nuts and others go around and around on this, trying to fix an absolute point, but they cannot—because there is no such thing. There are qualitative leaps from one form of matter to another, but no absolute boundary lines. Things are and are not at the same time: they exist and are going out of existence at one and the same time. When does a person actually die? The example I cited earlier speaks to that—and proves that this, too, is conditional and relative (now it is when the brain, not the heart, effectively dies; but years from now that, too, will change—the whole brain does not die all at once, and that's only one aspect of it, because undoubtedly in the future "dead" brain cells, like hearts today, will be able to be revived; and what will it mean when brain transplants become possible, what will that do to the conventional notions of life and death?).

The sun (and the earth with—or before—it) will become extinct, but not the matter, including energy, which today constitutes the sun. What is the sun? It is

Continued on page 6

Communists are Rebels

Continued from page 5

not a little yellow ball you can hold in your hand, it is heat, light and other forms of matter. Energy is matter, just as mass is—and the one is constantly being transformed into the other in nature, on a macro- as well as micro-scale. Go in "either direction"—macro or micro—and you will find that things exist—and are divisible—infinity ("Zeno's paradox," which you are no doubt familiar with, is one expression of these laws).*

Order, stability, rest, equilibrium, the dividing lines between things—these are conditional and relative. Motion, instability, change and the transformation of one thing into another because of the development of the contradiction within the thing to a certain point and then a qualitative leap: this is the real order—and disorder—of all things, in nature and society (and within people, including in their thinking). Motion is the mode of existence of matter; there is no matter without motion, and vice versa. And motion itself is contradiction—in motion, by definition, something is both in one place and not in that place at any given point in time. Since motion is the mode of existence of matter and since the motion of all things and their development is determined by the contradiction within them, there need not have been and there was no "initial impulse" to start everything—no god.

For all these reasons, all ideas of stagnation, permanence—and permanent order—of unchanging absolutes, are contrary to nature and its laws and to humanity's struggle with the rest of nature, through society, and to the laws of social development (and of thought). In political expression, these ideas are reactionary and serve reactionary social forces.

This is the philosophical basis for communist politics, and specifically for the views I have summarized on the question of carrying forward the revolution under socialism, revolutionizing the party as part of revolutionizing society as a whole and advancing to communism. When communism is reached, will everything then, finally, "settle down"? As Mao put it—"I just don't believe it!" Such a notion is contrary to dialectics, to the laws of nature and society (and thought) and their development. Even then, new knowledge of the truth, as it first emerges, will be upheld only by a minority (though not the same minority in each case). They will no doubt be ridiculed—but not politically suppressed, imprisoned, tortured, even killed. Why not? Because the material conditions will be such—the elimination of scarcity and of the basis for the monopolization of wealth as well as knowledge and skills, etc. by a few—that people will no longer have a need to carry out such suppression, and along with this people will have learned better and moreover undergone an all-around, fundamental change ideologically. In fact, until that happens there will not yet be communism—it will be reached only when these material and ideological conditions are realized, won through struggle. And, under communism, new truths, changes, advances, will still win out and come to be embraced by society as a whole (or overwhelmingly) only through struggle—though not through antagonistic struggle and political suppression. And then, in turn, these ideas, institutions, etc. will grow old and be superseded by new, arising ones—until they, in their turn, grow old and are superseded...and on and on.

But returning to socialist society, and applying the principles I've been touching on so far, we can restate an aspect of the problem we are addressing in the following way: while the proletariat, as a class, has no interest in preserving class divisions and in fact is the first class in history that seeks its own abolition with the abolition of all class distinctions—and this, by the way, is why the outlook characteristic of the proletariat is thoroughly revolutionary and thoroughly scientific, for it has nothing to fortify against discovery and change, no reason to attempt to suppress the new and preserve the old—the same cannot, however, be said for every individual member of the proletariat (and society as a whole) at any given time. And more than that, with regard to the advanced detachment of the proletariat—its party—or, more specifically, some members of it, especially among its leadership, experience has searingly demonstrated that they do resist further change after a certain point. What point? Generally the point at which they have acquired a position of relative authority and/or privilege and begun to settle into it (here, again, we are speaking especially of socialist society). A pull in this direction exerts itself on all people in such positions, and the means for combating this depend not only or even mainly on the struggle, or lack of it, they themselves wage against this—though that is very important—but most of all on how this problem is addressed in the society as a whole and whether or not it is made a mass question and mass criticism and struggle is unleashed around it. Many such people—in these positions of relative authority and/or privilege—can be revolutionized (or further revolutionized) through all this, and the actual material differences between them and the broad masses can be narrowed step by step by being attacked "from both sides": involving the masses in the administration of society, in the affairs of state, etc. as well as in shaping and running education,

*And this law, of infinite divisibility, applies to time as well as space.

culture, and all other spheres of society, and in mastering technical, scientific and other fields, on the one hand; and on the other hand, involving intellectuals, technicians, administrative personnel, political leaders, etc. in productive labor and scientific experiment as well as political struggle together with the broad masses. All this under the guidance of Marxism and in close connection with the propagation and study of the principles of Marxism broadly throughout society—and widely-promoted ideological struggle between Marxism and bourgeois (and other exploiting class) philosophy in its various forms. Does this sound a little too simple, a little too cut and dried? It is. Because, while the above things are all extremely important, the carrying out of them is not and cannot be a smooth, straight-line process and, moreover, they do not, in and of themselves, solve—or even address—the entire problem.

For all that these measures are carried out, and even though great advances are made along this road, it will still remain the case that on various levels of society—and especially, though not exclusively, among the more privileged and "influential" strata—there will be people who will resist further change and repeatedly "jump out" to attack it and those championing it. Until communism is reached, throughout the long period of socialist transition, this contradiction will remain: the proletariat, as a class, has no interest in stopping the struggle half-way and turning it around, its interests lie only in continuing the advance to communism, for this is the only way it can completely emancipate itself (and all humanity); but, on the other hand, individuals and narrow cliques within socialist society, including within the proletariat and especially within its party—and most of all at its top levels—do acquire (or retain) an interest in stopping, and reversing, this revolution. (Once communism is achieved, through the long and tortuous process of struggle I have several times referred to—and which the analysis here [as elsewhere] reveals to be a necessity and inevitability—then the material and ideological conditions will have been attained in society that make it impossible for any individual or small group to monopolize strategic positions, knowledge, etc. and effectuate the domination of bourgeois ideology. I say it will then be impossible: I do not say that the thought will never occur to absolutely anyone or that no one may ever try to do this—under communism, too, men and women will not be "angels," but overwhelmingly they will be communists, in theory and practice, and they will have the material and ideological basis to prevent the re-emergence of class distinctions, having finally eradicated them and uprooted, for society in general, their material and ideological bases. Exactly how this will work out, precisely what communist society will look like, and what stages it itself will pass through, neither I nor anyone else can predict, of course, but we can foresee the basic features and principles I have touched on—along with a tremendous and protracted struggle to actually reach the dawn of this new era.)

Further, it must also be stated that the tendency to want to "settle down" and "settle in" also exists in socialist society, and at times is fairly widespread, not only among officials, leaders, more privileged strata, etc., but also among sections of the masses themselves. This is especially true of the older people, beginning with those who lived most or much of their lives under the old society: they are heavily influenced by the bourgeois ideology that had powerful sway there, was consistently and widely disseminated there and inculcated into them for years and years from every corner of social life; and, in fact, they do acquire a more "comfortable position" when, finally, the old society with all its misery and madness is overthrown and the new one established. And beyond this, there is the general phenomenon I referred to earlier—that older people do tend to be more conservative (I say *tend to*; this is certainly not an absolute law by any means—as the example of Mao himself graphically and powerfully illustrates!—and, further, there is also the phenomenon that in many cases, when older people get to a certain point, they feel in a new way that they have nothing to lose; but, with all that, there is still the undeniable tendency for people to grow more conservative as they grow older, become accustomed to "the way things are," etc., and this remains a significant phenomenon in socialist society as well).

Here, again, what I touched on earlier assumes great importance—unleashing the youth as a powerful force for challenging the *status quo*. Youth generally do not weigh the way things are as much against how they used to be, but much more so against how they feel they ought to be—and can see more or less that they could be. And they are not as set in their ways—they are more critical, daring, innovative, irreverent, less in thrall to and in awe of tradition and the "force of habit." These are qualities that communists—genuine communists—cherish and seek to both unleash and give a conscious expression to: this is a basic dividing line between communists and non- and especially anti-communists (including those revisionists who claim the mantle of communism and pervert it for their own private, selfish ends).

Is it the case, then, that only the youth can and should rebel? Of course not! But they can and should be unleashed as a spark for the masses broadly to do so.

Do I, do genuine communists in general, really want such rebellion once we are "in power"? Yes, we emphatically do—Mao was a great model and teacher in this respect. For, as stressed several times here, we do not want, as our long-range objective, to stay "in power"—we want to advance society beyond the point where there is any necessity or basis for classes, states (as the organ for the suppression of one class by another) and parties (as the political leadership of one class or another). And more, we recognize that it is only through continual struggle and repeated upheaval, and specifically through the challenging of convention, the "force of habit" and the *status quo*—including the *status quo* under socialism at any given point—that this great goal of communism will be achieved.

Is any kind of rebellion good, then? No, what I am talking about is rebellion against everything reactionary, outdated, conservative, everything that holds back the advance toward communism. To rebel against what is arising, progressive, revolutionary, what represents the advance toward communism—this is not revolutionary, it is reactionary; it is not challenging the dead hand of the past but invoking it in one form or another, it is not seeking to uphold the new and arising but to restore the old and decadent.

"Ah, but there's the 'catch,' the 'fly in the ointment'—you will only allow rebellion if you like it, if it suits your purposes, if it's against what you're against and for what you're for." Is this the way it is, then—will people under socialism have to have permission to rebel from the very same authorities against whom, in many cases at least, they seek to rebel? Rebelling is not a question of permission or not—who ever heard of a genuine rebel who asked for such permission! Reactionaries will rebel against what is progressive and revolutionary; revolutionaries will rebel against what is old and reactionary, the masses will rebel in various ways against what oppresses them—all this is a law independent of anyone's will. Genuine communists, including genuine communist leaders within socialist society, will, must encourage and support revolution, rebellion against what is old and reactionary—including rebellion that exposes and attacks old ways and ideas into which we "veteran" communists are becoming set!—and will guide the uprisings of the masses into these channels; and they will oppose and suppress reaction, rebellion that is against what is new and revolutionary and that seeks to restore the old. We will use, and develop in the process, the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to distinguish the former from the latter, to support and advance the first and oppose and suppress the second. But more, we will arm and rely on the masses themselves in doing this.

Does this mean that people have to be Marxists—to the satisfaction of the "genuine communist leaders"—before they can rebel? Of course not—that is impossible. As Mao himself expressed it, first the oppressed fight back against their oppression and then they seek philosophy to guide that struggle. This, too, is a general law. Even people who are already familiar with Marxism and have mastered it, in theory and application, on a certain level, must go on doing so, because there is always more to know and do and life and all of nature is constantly changing—and what is new and arising today becomes old and dying tomorrow. The masses will rebel, and reactionaries, too, will rebel—but with different and ultimately antagonistic objectives and outlooks. This, as I have stressed, is a law independent of anyone's will; and nobody, including communists—genuine or otherwise—can prevent this. The difference is that genuine communists do not want or seek to prevent it: with regard to the masses, they support and both learn from and lead such rebellion, guiding it toward the goal of abolishing all bases for exploitation, class divisions and the oppression of one part of society by another; with regard to the reactionaries and reactionary rebellion, they oppose them and mobilize the masses to fight against and defeat them. And they not only arm themselves with and apply Marxism, but they lead the masses to take up and wield this scientific weapon, including especially in the storms of mass upheaval, in order to be able to distinguish what is in their broad and fundamental interests and what is opposed to them, what is revolutionary and what is reactionary, what should be upheld and developed and what should be opposed and crushed.

What if people rebel against Marxism? Naturally, some will do so. And such rebellion will be of two kinds. Reactionaries will rebel against Marxism fundamentally and antagonistically; they will distort it, hurl abuse at it, and so on. But Marxism and Marxists certainly can vanquish and in no way fear this; they will deal with and defeat this as all reactionary rebellion. To rebel against Marxism is to rebel against science—and more than that, against the most progressive, revolutionary science in history, the weapon for the emancipation of the proletariat, and all humanity. But, exactly because it is a science, and not religious dogma, Marxism must go on developing and advancing. And this means struggle. It means even rebellion,* not against

Continued on page 15

*Religion is the doctrine of submission—blind obedience; Marxism of rebellion—ever more conscious rebellion.

May Day Brigader Fights Off Kidnappers

Atlanta, Ga., Saturday, February 23. Only a few hours after the May Day Brigade had arrived in Atlanta, Hope Brustein, one of the brigade members went out to make a phone call. It was a warm afternoon, T-shirt weather, windows rolled down, and as she drove along the four lane road leading from a business area to a more residential district, a car started honking at her from behind. Two guys in a blue Mustang pulled up on her right forcing her into the middle of the road as the road narrowed to two lanes. What a hassle. To avoid hitting the car, she pulled off to the left, but they were right on her, wedging her car between a wall and their car. Trouble. One of the men came around to her side of the car, pointed a gun at her head and forced her to let him in the car. For over two hours she was held at gunpoint and made to drive around the Atlanta area, followed by the other man in the blue Mustang, her abductor not saying anything except to order her to turn this way and that. Hope repeatedly asked what was going on, but there was no answer. Finally he told her, "This is to teach you a lesson."

They pulled into Kennesaw State Park, a monument to the South's defense of slavery and scene of past activity by the KKK. As the minutes ticked away, Brustein's kidnapper sat silently in the car, the other one parked behind. They had gotten to where they were going and it was only a matter of time before they injured her in some way or worse. Screaming at her captor, she picked up a soda bottle in her car, smashed it on the gear shift and swung for her life, cutting him seriously. Her kidnapper, still with his gun, slashed back at her with a hidden knife or razor, slicing her arms. Caught by surprise, her captor fled injured from the car, yelling "Get the hell out of the South," and ran bleeding back to the Mustang. They split. In a press conference following this kidnapping by these "brave" reactionaries, Hope Brustein said:

"Why do Black churches filled with kids get bombed? Why do these cops bust down doors at the projects and murder people in the streets? Why do Klansmen massacre people and get away with it? Why do revolutionaries get harassed, busted, followed, murdered, abducted? There's only one damn reason—to shove the message down people's throats that they dare

not rebel! ...I'm taking part in this press conference to help make sure that these dogs, and that's what they are, and the people who unleashed them, know that neither I nor the May Day Brigade, nor I'm sure, the working class and masses of people in Atlanta or anywhere else will be intimidated and silenced to give up the battle for Revolutionary May Day because of this cowardly act."

This latest reactionary attack on the May Day Brigade came on the heels of events which set the stage for the kidnapping of this brigader and reports in the capitalist press, before and after the kidnapping, further reveal the forces of reaction which have attempted to create a climate in this town to stop the Brigade.

Real "International Terrorism"

Only a short time before this brigader was kidnapped, the May Day Brigade had exposed and disrupted an Emory University conference on "international terrorism" sponsored in part by the notorious Rand Corporation, "think-tank" for the biggest international terrorists—the U.S. imperialists. The slick, academic cover for the forum of hot-shot professionals was torn off as the Brigade pointed out that Rand which does war, weapons and "social" research for the U.S. ruling class is itself a testament to who are the real terrorists. Present at this conference was Captain McDonald Valentine, one of a two man squad clad in fatigues representing the mercenary training school COBRAY in nearby Cobb County, run by former international gun-runner/CIA agent Mitch Werbell. Valentine was described by the press at the conference as having "opened a valise to display a large-caliber pistol to a reporter with the explanation, 'it never hurts to be too well-armed.'"

An article in the *Atlanta Journal* which appeared the week before the Emory University conference gave further insight into the nature of COBRAY and their participation at this conference. Titled "An American Dream: Survival," this article reports on plans by the reactionaries to deal with the prospect of civil war in the future. "Have's Better Be Ready for Have-not's," the heading reads, accompanied by a large graphic depicting one of these mercenaries surrounded by an arsenal of automatic weapons. The article gushed all over Werbell's expensive COBRAY "Anti-terrorist training

Continued on page 15

A Relevant Experiment

To the Revolutionary Worker:

Some of the different experience in taking Revolutionary May Day 1980 out to the masses brings to mind an experiment conducted in the late 1960s.

During that period one of the main fronts of the Black liberation struggle was waged against the inferior education received by minority children, including the racist attitudes of the teachers. In response, government agencies like Health, Education and Welfare ran all kinds of tests and experiments on Black children to figure out "why they couldn't keep up and learn at the same rate as whites." The impact of the tests themselves of course was to blame the victim for his or her own oppression, since the problem did not lie *within* Black children.

But how to bring this out sharply enough to expose what was up the government's sleeve? Two clever radical psychologists hit upon a different experiment. They went to teachers at the beginning of the school term and asked to be allowed to give an achievement test to their classes. Immediately afterwards the "results" were given to the teachers, with the kids in the class divided into thirds according to how well they did, and, by implication, how well they could be expected to do in the school year ahead. There was one small joker in the deck, however—the results that were given the teachers were randomly drawn out of the hat, with the actual test results kept somewhere else.

Comes the end of the term. Our subversive psychologists return to the scene of the crime, talk to the teachers to find out how the various children did, and lo! almost invariably the children had been graded and evaluated in a way that corresponded not to the actual test results, which our mischievous friends still had, but to the random fabrications they had given the teachers. (To the point, in fact, that children who had been expected to do well on the basis of the phony results but not the real ones actually *improved* their test scores when the same test was repeated at year's end; and the children who had in fact done quite well on the earlier test but who had fallen into the slow-learning category in the made-up results, not only saw their actual scores decline but were often classed as "disruptive elements" by the teachers.)

The whole incident, naturally, scandalized entire battalions of social workers, teachers, bureaucrats, reputable psychologists and the like. It's obvious why—the results of *this* particular experiment tended to prove what Karl Marx once said: "the educator himself must also be educated."

Plainly, no one is suggesting that anyone here is walking around with the attitude skewered by the above experiment. But since all of us live in class society and are influenced by the outlooks and views of various classes, maybe there's a moral to the story that can help the struggle to build Revolutionary May Day along too.

Signed,
A Faithful Reader

The following is a statement from a Puerto Rican brother, who joined up with the National May Day Brigade:

Knowing the importance and recognizing the need to educate the working masses and to create consciousness and teach the need for a radical change, I was sent to a dinner with the compañeros of the RCP. That day I found out about the May Day Brigades. And after hearing the compañeros talk, I saw the necessity and the importance of these Brigades, and I volunteered. But only after working with them, I came to realize the great work there was to do and that these compañeros had to do, and furthermore, the need to rouse the masses so that they'll take the first real step towards a much needed radical change and change the course of history. I decided to work with the Brigades. Not many of my friends understood. I left my home and many of the things for which I had worked so that I could go out across the country calling for the unity of all oppressed classes, as a person who has also suffered the direct oppression of the American empire, since I am, just as my people are, a victim of Yankee colonialism, which is the case with Puerto Rico. As a Puerto Rican, I feel that all Latinos should work against the oppressors of all the workers and of many nations all over the world. I feel this work is important and significant, but even more important, that we as Latinos and slaves of the rich oppressor must unite our efforts and struggle against the oppressors in order to stop being oppressed, and march on May Day under the banner of Revolution, all united, of all nationalities, for freedom and justice all over the world.

Juancho



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6,000 WILDCAT IN COALFIELDS

"Judge Robert E. Maxwell has issued an injunction ordering all striking employees of Consolidation Coal Company back to work at 4:00. The company has announced that all of its mines will be working." All day long, two or three times every hour, this statement was dutifully read over the radio throughout northern West Virginia, Thursday, February 28. But the mines were not working, the coal was not moving, and 6,000 wildcatting coal-miners were not listening, as coal miners in District 31 took action in solidarity with miners at Consolidation's Four States Mine in the biggest illegal strike in the state since the 1978 contract two years ago.

On Monday, February 18, miners at Four States walked out in protest of contract violations concerning job bidding. On Thursday, February 21, they walked out again in violation of a court injunction. Consolidation retaliated by firing the local union president and two safety committeemen at Four States for "acting irresponsibly, instigating a work stoppage, and insubordination." This local president is known for standing with the rank and file in not taking shit from the company, and the firings were widely recognized as the company upping the ante. As one striker put it,

"Consol is going for the throat this time." On Sunday, the local met and decided to spread the strike to other mines.

Monday morning, February 25, roving pickets hit the mines throughout northern West Virginia, effectively shutting down production of steam coal (used for fuel) in the northern part of the state. Sixteen mines were shut down as over 6,000 miners joined the wildcat. Several mines which were not picketed walked out in support anyway. The strike spread rapidly to nine Consolidation mines and seven others, including Eastern Coal, Bethlehem Steel, Southern Ohio, Badger and others.

While the steam-coal mines in District 31 have not been so hard hit with the massive layoffs and shutdowns that have swept the southern part of the state, where coal used in steel production is mined, the miners at Four States face a shutdown in the near future because that mine is running out of coal. Down the road from the Four States mine stands a stark reminder of just how the capitalists deal with those who are no longer useful to them—the burnt-out corpse of the Farmington No. 9 Mine, sight of the 1968 mine explosion which buried 78 miners. Some of the bodies still lie under the rubble,

COALFIELDS

since the mine owners were not willing to pay for the excavation.

As we go to press, the strikers are still out defying a second court injunction. Meanwhile, union officials are scurrying around to get the miners back to work. The district president announced, "We cannot condone this strike," and district reps showed up at hastily called local meetings where they were overwhelmingly defied. At one local meeting (the largest local in District 31), one miner made a motion that their local strike to support the Four States strikers whether they were picketed or not. The district rep wouldn't allow the motion to be voted on. The miner then made a new motion—to expel the district rep from the meeting!

This strike is the first major stirring in the coal fields since the massive strikes which swept the mines in the winter and spring of 1978, where miners defied the threat of government troops,

locked in pitched battles with scabs and company men, defied the top officials of the union, and inspired workers throughout the country by breaking the sickening tradition of capitulation and labor peace of the bloated toads in union office. Since that time, there has been a sharp ebb in the wildcat movement in the coalfields; walkouts have been fewer and more short lived. The 1978 contract battle left the miners demoralized by the treachery of the officials, economically drained, and objectively faced with the limitations of the movement which was confined to economic demands. And these limitations have been sharply posed by massive layoffs in the coal industry in the last two years which have left people confused about how to fight. The current strike at Four States and the widespread support among the miners is another sign that the anger in the coalfields is still burning and looking for new ways to erupt.

POLICE-NAZI SET UP vs RCP

"You don't know what the Nazis are planning next for you people. They're planning some heavy stuff," the voice on the phone warned. "I'll put it to you this way. If there were assassination attempts on one of your people, day after day, a few days in a row, you'd lose a lot of members—you know it and I know it." Claiming to be a member of an international anti-Nazi paramilitary group, this recent caller to the Revolutionary Worker Center in Los Angeles urged the Party to go gunning after the Nazis before they fired first. This call followed close on the heels of an earlier call from a "Jewish infiltrator of the Nazis" who offered the same basic advice—get the Nazis before they get you.

For the past three months the Center in L.A. has been barraged with phone calls such as these, alternating with outright threats from self-proclaimed Nazis who make a point of leaving their supposed names and addresses. The "friendly" advisors always manage to stress their concern for the Party and how much they hate the Nazis, but somehow certain remarks about how "all Jews look alike" or "Blacks come from zoos in Africa" keep slipping out. In fact, what is emerging from these bizarre phone calls is a plot possibly involving the police as well as a rivalry between different Nazi factions in an attempt to set up the RCP.

On November 3, the day of the

Greensboro massacre, the Center in L.A. was hit by gunfire. (Subsequently, in New York, Nazis bragged, "We got you in California.") Eleven days later the threatening phone calls began, complete with names and addresses. The first "Jewish infiltrator" call followed, listing names of local Nazis he claimed are plotting against the Party. Surprise—the names are the same—including one who happens to be the head of the L.A. Nazi faction. At the same time, the callers have inadvertently made statements, such as their account of watching "your two Jews" (two RW sellers) get attacked by Nazis in Marquette Park, which could indicate that they are from Chicago, where a rival Nazi faction is headquartered.

Whether it is in fact a particular Nazi faction or a more official branch of ruling-class gangsters making these phone calls, they obviously hope to provoke the Party into attacking the L.A. Nazis, or at least lay the basis to frame the Party if, seemingly coincidentally, someone else should happen to do these scum in. The political police are undoubtedly waiting in the wings, dutifully recording every call on their wire taps for use as future "evidence."

Ever since the Nazis opened their first L.A. office under the name of Young Republicans for Goldwater, it has been clear they have supporters in high

places. Of course, defenders of their "rights" have ranged from the Young Democrats to the ACLU, but their financial and political supporters have usually preferred to remain anonymous. However, in 1973, west coast Nazi leader Joe Tomassi let the cat out of the bag with the announcement that their new headquarters in El Monte, with its huge red and black swastikas on the outside, had been made possible by a \$1,200 gift from Nixon's Committee to Re-Elect the President. Even though the stench of Watergate was in the air, and tricky Dick was being sacrificed as the fall guy for the ruling class's problems, this particular bit of news was hushed up. Apparently, this connection went a lot farther than Nixon.

Tomassi was made to pay for his blunder. He was demoted, kicked out of the Nazis and, two years later, murdered by one of them. When the killer came to trial, his only character witnesses were cops, who had many kind words to say about Nazis. The judge gave Tomassi's murderer 5 years probation for a job well done.

One thing had better be clear to the little FBI phone-tappers. While the RCP is prepared to defend itself should these reactionaries decide to show their ugly faces and attack us, we are not fools about to get sucked into their trap.

CONTACT THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE

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Revolutionary Worker
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Chicago, Ill. 60616
(312) 922-1140

Cincinnati:
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Cleveland:
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Cleveland, Ohio 44109
(216) 431-6910

Dayton:
Revolutionary Workers
Center
1939 North Main St.
Dayton, Ohio 45405
(513) 275-6900

Detroit:
Workers Center
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Detroit, Michigan 48212
(313) 893-0523 or
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Houston:
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Philadelphia:
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Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

Portland:
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Center
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Portland, Oregon 97211
(503) 282-5034

St. Louis:
Box 6013
St. Louis, MO 63139

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

San Francisco Bay Area:
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Center
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Oakland, California 94605
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U.S. Imperialists Shoot Hockey Pucks in H-Bomb Warm Up

"There was cheering in the press box and dancing in the streets. It was not a game they played, it was a passion play on ice. It was quite literally a cold war, this Olympic hockey contest between the United States and the Soviet Union, and the good guys finally won..."

"It was dramatic and unnerving and thrilling and exhilarating and uplifting and any superlative you might care to use. If you saw it you were moved by it..."

"This was literally symbolism come to life. A hockey team emblematic of its army, a hockey team that rolls out human tanks and waves of troops in graceful assaults on ice to conquer any land, destroy any contemptuous opponent, was beaten by an undermanned but stubborn foe..."

Thus began the sports page article in a Chicago newspaper, the day following the U.S. Olympic hockey team's upset victory over the Big Red Machine. This opportunity was too good to be missed by the American media hype machine. After a dismal and downright embarrassing XIII Winter Olympic games, there was finally something to cheer about (who the hell cares about speed skating around in a circle anyway), and they milked it for every ounce of jingoistic warmongering fervor they could and then some. Suddenly it was the greatest sports victory in the history of the world. What a stunning upset as these kids—red blooded American scrappers from towns like Warroad, Minn. and Davison, Michigan—put it too those nasty state supported and professionally trained Russkies.

The well-choreographed and stage managed "spontaneous" outpouring of patriotic fervor that "swept the country" as a result of the victory bore the distinct trademark of Walt Disney Productions. It was an orgy of shameless chauvinistic drumbeating by the bourgeoisie and its progaganda mill that ranks right up there with the classic flag-waving extravaganza put-on following the embassy takeover in Iran. The crassness of this barrage borders on the pathetic and it was especially interesting to see even the most "sophisticated" and "refined" of the ruling classes' media mouthpieces slobbering out the most neanderthal clap-trap at the snap of their masters' fingers. But it must be bluntly and frankly stated that many excellent opportunities were blown by the press in the heat of the battle. Allow us to provide an example of what could have been done in a TV interview with the U.S. hockey coach after the hockey gold medal award ceremony.

Interviewer: Well coach, what an example of true grit you and your team have displayed not only in the game itself but even right here in the award ceremony. Boy, those kids just have mom and apple pie written all over them. I must say I was quite moved by this gold medal ceremony especially the part after all the boys sang the "Star Spangled Banner" at center ice and the team captain walked over to the Russian and Finnish teams captains and instead of shaking their hands broke their kneecaps. Boy, these guys have real flare. Such cut-ups. How do you feel about all this coach?

Coach: Just great! Just great! Do you know that they stopped the showing of "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs" at Radio City Music Hall to announce our victory. And before we go any farther, I want to correct the press on one point. Nothing personal mind you, but I think some of you guys should go back and study your history a little better. One of my boys has been made fun of for his statement, "...the Americans won at Bunker Hill and the Americans won at Lake Placid". Now I am proud of this kid for sticking to his guns when you guys attacked him saying that, "the Americans lost at Bunker Hill". He was right in the first place and like he said, "If we didn't win

there, what would they build a monument there for?" And he ought to know he lives..."

Interviewer: Okay, coach, tell us about that win over the Big Red Machine—that professionally trained hockey team from Russia that was defeated by a bunch of red-blooded college kids from the U.S. of A. What was the secret to your success?

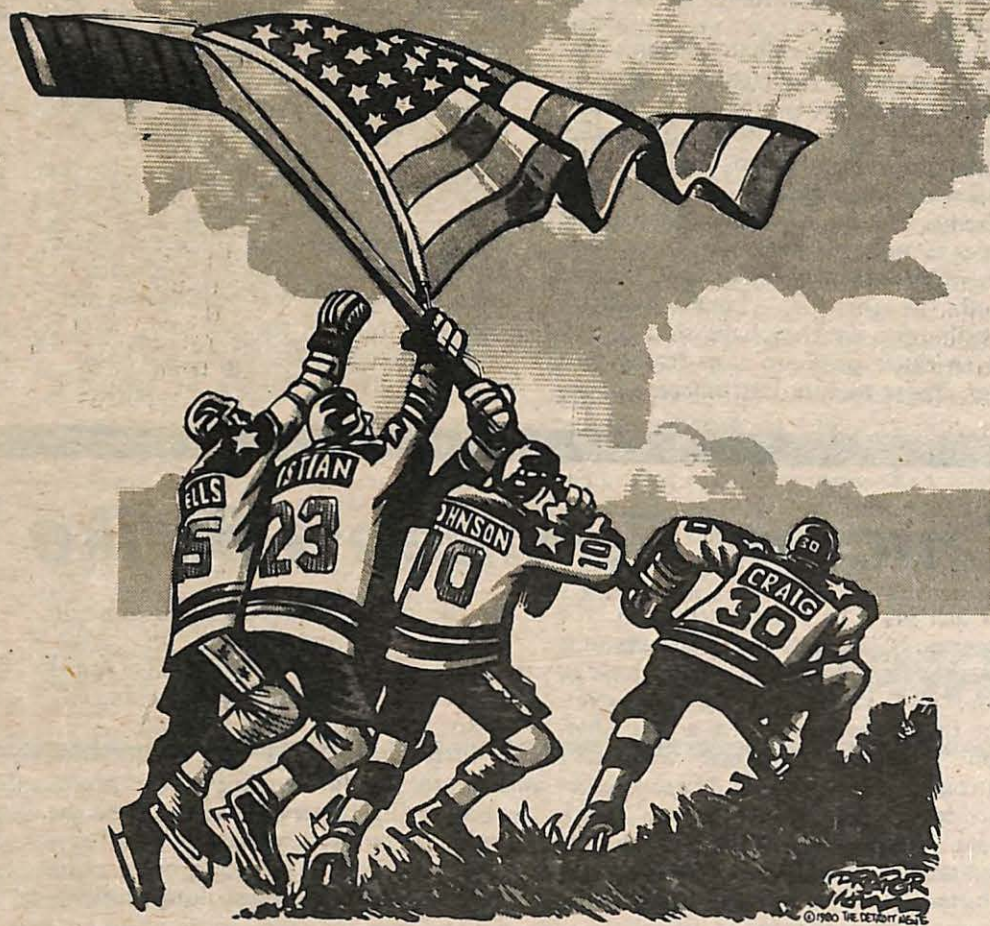
Coach: Well, we had a trump card up our sleeve and we used it. I think the real key to our victory was the correct and timely detonation of a neutron bomb that we had specially prepared for the occasion by the Defense Dept. We deployed it at that crucial moment in the final period. BOOM! You should have seen those Russkies disappear. Just like that and all that was left was their jerseys, kneepads, helmets and skates. Of course, our boys were wearing leadlined clothes and the audience was protected with lead shielding that snapped into position right at the moment of detonation. From then on out it was a breeze. We skated though them like they weren't even there, because they weren't even there. Ya' know what I mean. I mean how else were these apple-cheeked kids supposed to defeat this superbly trained professional Russian team? It was Yankee ingenuity at its best. I mean when we let fly with that one the place just exploded. It was pandemonium. There were American flags waving everywhere. People chanted "USA... USA... We're number one!" and "Nuke 'em, Nuke 'em—Nuke 'em till they glow—America, America—GO GO GO!" It's impossible to describe the thrill of it all. It was like Iwo Jima, the Bicentennial, the Fourth of July and Hiroshima day all rolled into one. I'll never forget it as long as I live.

Interviewer: And I hear that, the bomb blast also went a long way in solving a nagging problem for the U.S. and this Olympics which has caused us a good deal of embarrassment...I'm speaking of the thousands of people left stranded without bus transportation. They just had to go. The whole scene was giving America a bad name.

Coach: Yes, that was a very pleasant side-effect of the blast. And I must compliment the Air Force for quickly airlifting a cheering throng of American Legionnaires and their wives by C5 cargo plane to the Arena for the victory celebration in the streets after the game. They arrived just in time and right on cue for the fireworks display. But you know, it all comes down to those heroic kids—our boys in those red, white, and blue jerseys. It has truly been inspirational to work with these gutsy youngsters. What a thrill to see them charging down the ice, blades flashing, teeth clenched, and sticks ready for action. Every game they played, no matter what country, they went out to win—to skate all over them, to cut them to ribbons, crush them and leave the ice stained with blood. Their sticks became machine guns ripping our enemies in half and their skates—tank tracks rolling over and stomping down our adversaries. Their shots on goal were like rocket attacks aimed straight at the heart of all those who would dare challenge America's might. It was a glorious glimpse of the future when these twenty boys will become columns of thousands, tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands ready for anything to defend this country's honor. And that bomb blast just capped it all off. It was America screaming to the world, "Look out you aliens and foreigners! We're number 1. Get it! We're still number 1 and we're going to stay number 1."

Interviewer: There has been some complaints about the use of nerve gas in the final game with Finland. Do you have any comments on this? As you know the Geneva accords specifically condemn...

Coach: Look. We are through being



A cartoon which recently appeared in Detroit News (put in proper perspective by the RW)

pushed around by these little two-bit countries! Who the hell gives a damn about Finland? What has Finland got besides a little Vodka, anyway? Aren't they half-Russian? Most of them don't even speak English. If I'm correct there are no McDonald's or even a Burger King in Finland. So let them eat Borscht for all I care. And as to the nerve gas, we had the nerve and they got the gas, okay?

Interviewer: You said it better than I could, coach. Just one more question. What did President Carter say to you when he called to congratulate you on the victory?

Coach: The president said, "that the team was true heroes and acted like good Americans in protecting our vital interests by any means necessary." He said, "Herb, we're proud of you and that neutron bomb hat trick was a real mind blower especially for the Russians." He also said that as a former nuclear submarine commander he had always wanted to see a nuclear warhead

hit its target and that ours was the first direct hit he had witnessed. He really didn't have much time to talk to me though he was in the middle of writing a speech about world peace and stability and how other countries should keep their hands off what rightfully belongs to us.

Interviewer: Well, thank you very much coach. I must say I admire you and your boys. You are all real Americans and this is a real American story brought to you by Mrs. Smith's apple pie. Look out world here we come. America is still NUMBER ONE!

Coach: Just one small point here, Jack. There is always a little bitter with the sweet, as you know. As a result of our little neutron knock-out punch there has been a small amount of fallout in Lake Placid. This has caused noticeable balding among the declining Bald Eagle population in the area. (The eagles are not quite as bald as the jingoistic propaganda being spewed out by the media these days, however, Coach—RW.) ■

This System Is Doomed Let's Finish It Off!

Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party at May Day rally, May 5, 1979 in Washington D.C. Includes historic call for revolutionary May Day demonstrations on May 1st 1980.

Workers' Responses

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CATTLE PROD KILLERS

—One prisoner is beaten unconscious with a blackjack and then shocked with an electric cattle prod. The prisoner dies and police say they only used the cattle prod to try and "revive him".

—Another prisoner is thrown on the floor and while one cop puts his foot on his neck to keep him down his partner applies an electric cattle prod to the prisoner's chest and arms.

—An 18-year-old youth, arrested on a traffic charge, is shocked on the neck with an electric cattle prod, and police threaten to kill him as he knocks the prod away.

Is this one of the Shah of Iran's torture chambers? A detention center in fascist Chile? No, it's the jail in the 2nd Precinct of Detroit, USA. After seeing Edgar Smith beaten to death by the police in his jail cell on Feb. 3 and then jolted with a 50,000 volt cattle prod in order to "revive" him, a prisoner blew the whistle on the regular use of cattle prods in the jail. Local livestock distributors say they have sold over 2 dozen cattle prods to cops in the past year. These torture instruments are used

on a regular basis in Detroit for similar brutal punishment as used by dictators around the world for years. The use of this device also has been quite common in rural areas of the South for some time.

One of the victims of this torture, Jerry Stiff, a Ford worker, described one of the purposes of the use of these torture weapons. After he continued to curse the cop who was beating him mercilessly in his cell, the cop said, "O.K., you're still a bad ass nigger, ain't you," and recruited a buddy to help him

assault Stiff with a cattle prod. "He didn't like it because I didn't give in," Stiff said, "I didn't say 'yes sir and no sir.'"

The revelations about cattle prods have brought angry people out to demand that the use of these vile instruments be stopped immediately. Caught with their pants down, Mayor Coleman Young and his boys in the police department have been frantically trying to disassociate themselves from this cattle prod exposure and to disassociate cattle prods from "routine police pro-

cedure" (read beatings and shootings). "I'm literally shocked," said Young (no pun intended) as though he had no idea what was going on.

Then he revealed the bourgeoisie's real concern over the exposure of the torture in the jails whining that "Allegations about the use of cattle prods would ruin good relations between the police and the community."

But it was police commissioner Bannon, infamous former head of the Stress Police Terror Unit of the early '70s, who let it all hang out while obviously trying to deflect the anger of the people, "If the allegations are true it would reflect an attitude that the community is nothing more than animals."

Mr. Bannon has hit the nail right on the head. To him and his ilk around the world and the depraved ruling class they work for, the masses of people in this country (especially Black and other oppressed nationalities) like oppressed people all over the world, are no more than animals to be reined in, rode over and slaughtered if necessary. ■

Chicago Firemen's Strike

Chicago—The first strike in the history of Chicago's Fire Department is entering its third week, with the city more into strike-breaking than ever. The firefighters were once a loyal division in the Democratic machine's patronage army, where Mayor Daley presided over his much-vaunted "handshake" labor negotiations. They now find themselves on the receiving end of a bitter attack launched by the bour-

geoisie, aimed at turning public opinion against them and breaking the strike. The days of the handshake have faded in the face of the rapidly deepening city crisis. The city is out for blood.

It is less than a year since then-mayoral candidate Jane Byrne promised the firefighters a contract, and the union threw itself into the work of getting her elected. Byrne is now spearheading the assault on striking firefight-

ers, refusing even to participate in negotiations and threatening to fire the strikers. Less than a week after the strike began, the city called in and hired hundreds of people from the waiting list to scab on the strike. The union president has been thrown in jail for contempt for five months, and the union has been fined thousands of dollars a day. The city's "labor establishment" has—obediently as ever—blasted the strike. As we go to press, the firefighters' union has conceded everything except the demand for amnesty and a written contract with binding arbitration. Still the city refuses to negotiate. This was a rude awakening for the firefighters, who, like other city workers, have for decades relied on the Machine to guarantee them a secure, relatively well-paying job.

For years the Chicago Fire Department was 95-100% white, maintained that way by the patronage system. Whites who were either blood relations or had political connections were coming in through the back door while prospective Black and Latino firefighters were rarely hired. Many of the firefighters not only actively opposed an affirmative action suit that was brought against the Fire Department about 1-1/2 years ago, but bought wholesale the city's racist logic that the Fire Department should be an elite white enclave—that it was better to do no hiring at all even though there was a crying need for more firefighters, than hire Blacks or Latinos. As a result, today the Fire Department is only about 6% minority in a city composed of 50% minorities.

Like cattle being fed and fattened for the slaughter, most firemen have thought that their stake lay in going along with the program of job discrimination against Blacks and Latinos. But now the rude awakening that this bourgeois ideology is in fact the weapon of the bourgeoisie.

The firefighters have been staging demonstrations and other militant ac-

tions, but their efforts to gain support from the masses of people in Chicago have, to say the least, been seriously weakened by their shameful history. A number of Black forces, including newspapers and ministers, have come out against the strike.

And to fuel these fires, the city authorities have all of a sudden cynically opened the hiring doors to many Blacks and other minority applicants. The first woman hired by the Chicago Fire Department was hired to scab.

In their effort to turn the people against the firefighters, the papers have had banner headlines accusing the strikers of everything short of murder. Their "concern" for human life is quite hypocritical when you look at the fact that in 1975 Chicago had the highest fire death rate of any big city in the U.S., mostly in the Black and Latino ghettos. Fire death stories are routinely buried on the back pages of the papers. Then-Fire Commissioner Quinn's response to this outrage was "I don't know of any ghettos in Chicago. I wouldn't say there's any slums either." During this strike, when a fire struck a West Side house one-half block from a fire station, the bourgeoisie's mouthpieces wailed about the death of two young girls—both Black—supposedly because of the strike. What these humanitarians neglected to mention was that picketers had tried to fight the fire but were kept from the equipment by cops who had been guarding the firehouse 24 hours a day.

All this must have raised some questions in the minds of striking firefighters who had bought many of the illusions propagated by the bourgeoisie during the relatively stable years of the patronage system. "You gotta understand where these guys are coming from," said one striking fireman. "When they were little kids they got a badge and a toy firetruck and they knew where they were going all their lives. And even with that...we can't take it any more." ■

The Call



Letters

(An inside source from the Call leaked this letter out to us. We reprint it here in full.)

Dear Editors,

The Feb. 18th edition of the Call was dynamite. Once again your excellent reporting of the American hostage crisis deserves kudos.

While our views differ on some issues, I find you, although rather an odd and minor phenomenon, a bit encouraging. When Mr. Bani-Sadr, making a terrific comeback since being dumped in November, wants to let our hostages go without the Shah's return, there are some ill informed who yell "Sell out." After all, the Shah is the main sticky issue. Well, I'm glad cooler heads will prevail. As you said, "Such a settlement will enable Iran to concentrate on further unifying the country, building up its economy, and strengthening the country overall to better deal with the greater threat of Soviet aggression." Well put! Exactly what my boss said the other week (in front of two hundred million Americans), "We firmly believe that a democratically stable and economically progressive Iran is the best defense against Soviet expansion." As you know, we've been insisting to the Iranians that they really got the wrong embassy. They've just been overreacting to those coup rumors. (Besides, can anyone blame America for pursuing its national interest?)

I recall the courageous stand you took praising the Shah for being a "stabilizing force" in the Middle East against the Soviets. I see you haven't backed off from taking unique positions like your stand on those students. As you said, "It's becoming clearer that there are differing views on whether the militants' actions are the best tactics to use in waging that struggle at this time." (I take it, you don't approve of them either.) As I have said, "Enough is enough!" They are nothing but childish assholes. The Call describes it nicely: "This undermining of one central authority, he (Bani-Sadr) pointed out, goes against Iran's national interests." So true! "Unity and stability" is what every level-headed ruler like Mr. Bani-Sadr has got to have. Believe me, we know from experience. We sincerely hope the Call and Time magazine are right—as Time said, "Bani-Sadr clearly has the support of millions of Iranians who are just plain tired of revolutionary chaos." We're tired of chaos too. Especially since it gets in the way of dealing with the bear.

I have every confidence, as you do, that with a strong figure like Mr. Bani-Sadr in command, Iran will be independent—from that other superpower. How does anyone know? As you pointed out, because Bani-Sadr said so.

In these crazy times, when terrible things are once again being done to our flag and there's so much national disunity, your refreshing, I might add courageous, stand is more than encouraging.

Signed,
Death to the Soviets,
For Unity and Stability,

Hodding C. III

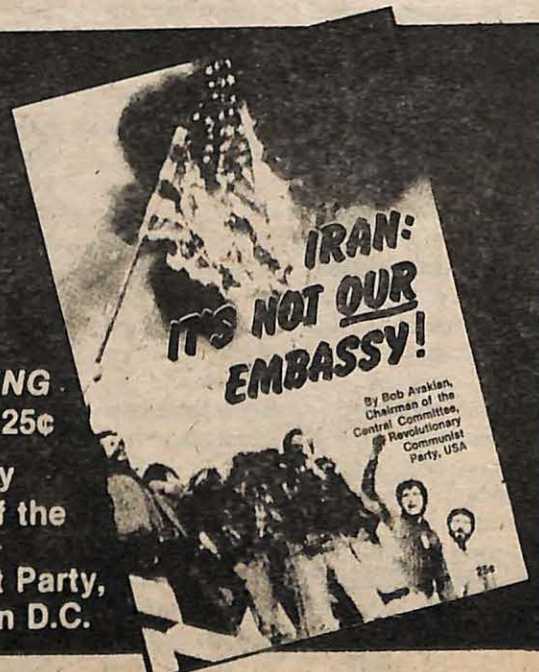
P.S.

Your support of our President's Olympic boycott (Call, Vol. 9, No. 7) was heart-warming. Let us know how your big letter campaign turns out. Feel free to call if we can be of any assistance.

Pamphlet from the Revolutionary Worker

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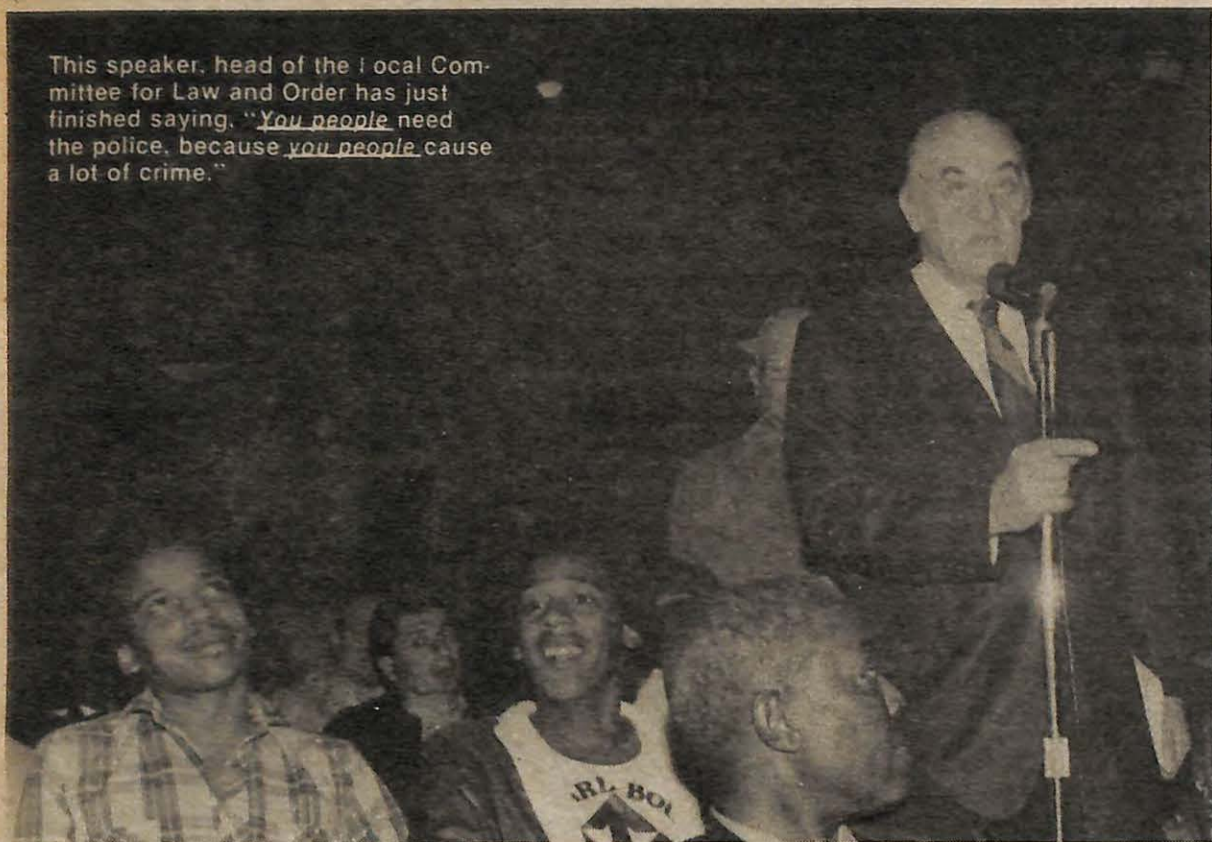
Excerpts from a speech by
Bob Avakian, Chairman of the
Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Communist Party,
November 18, Washington D.C.



Different Faces, Different Classes

The *Revolutionary Worker* recently received this photo essay from a photographer in the Bay Area. These pictures were taken at an Oakland City Council meeting this past January. Nine Blacks have been gunned down by Oakland cops in the past year, and the local authorities were trying to paint over the recently spilled blood with a hypocritical plan to establish a civilian review board. This meeting was called to discuss it. While they had obviously hoped to let people "vent a little steam" (the meeting was held only a few days after the latest police murder), they clearly hadn't expected 2,000 people to show up and really give them a taste of the people's wrath. (Even now this must give the City Council members some sleepless nights.) Within a few minutes jeers and catcalls had forced the meeting to be recessed and the floor turned over to the audience, the discussion raged. These photos paint a picture not just of the event itself, but more broadly of some of the class forces in conflict and feelings that are simmering in communities from coast to coast.

This speaker, head of the local Committee for Law and Order has just finished saying, "You people need the police, because you people cause a lot of crime."

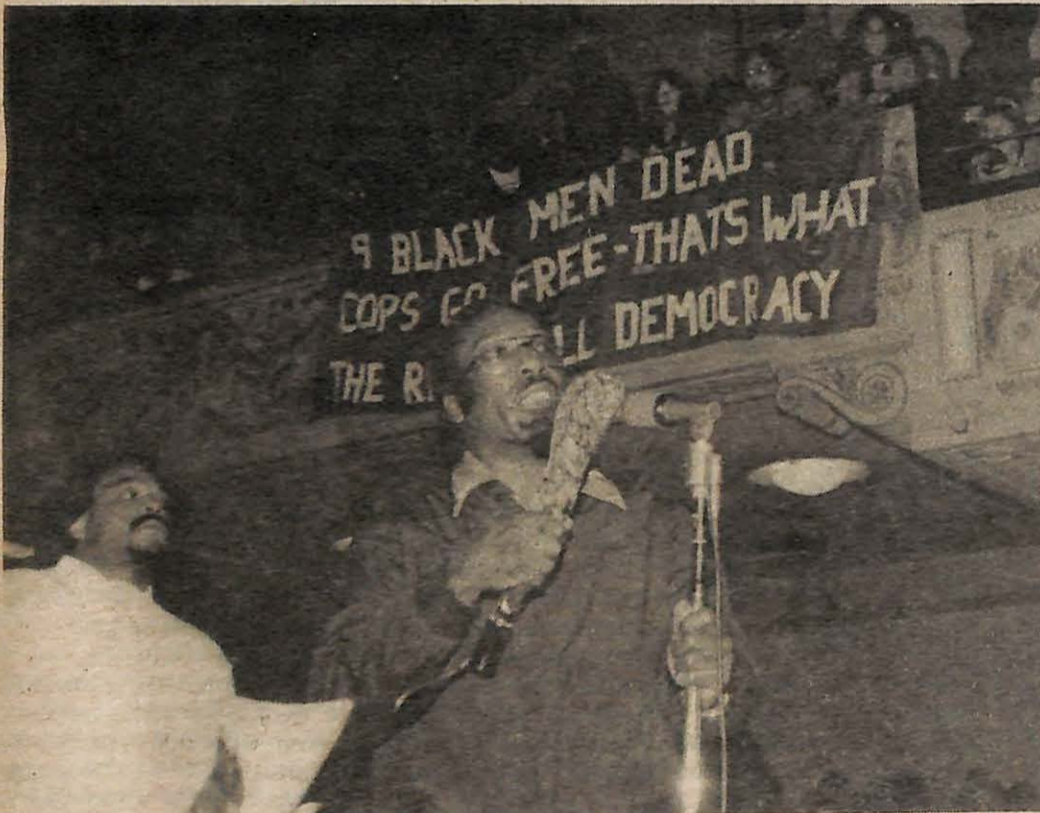


Dick Gronix, local labor hack from the Alameda Central Labor Council, speaks in favor of a police review board.



Above left—Linda Drummer, Oakland Cop. The only Black to speak for increasing police freedom to kill, she was heckled throughout, with calls of "traitorous bitch." Earlier this year she had her nightstick taken away and was beaten unconscious by a prisoner. She later said there had been so much anti-police hysteria that she was afraid to use her gun, but from now on she would shoot to kill.

The man on the right would hold up the vaseline jar right behind any one who would speak to the issue of the police review board. "To symbolize what we're going to get." The man in the center took a pig's head that had been brought by an RCP supporter and paraded around the hall with it, and shouted "I'm an Iranian student."



This man was asked by Mayor Wilson, "Are you against the police review board?" He answered, "Hell, I'm against the police! And don't send them after me because I'm not turning the other cheek."

One of the other men who paraded around the hall with the pig's head.



Graffiti on wall in Oakland housing project.

U.S. Moves to Keep Grip on El Salvador

Four months ago, U.S. imperialism sponsored a coup d'etat in El Salvador to diffuse growing revolutionary sentiments and prolong imperialist rule. Today, the U.S. appears to be opposing a rumored coup attempt by the 14 ruling families of El Salvador for the same reasons. *El Diario de Hoy*, a major San Salvador daily, reports the U.S. government representative held a whirlwind series of meetings with "army officers... and large landholders" to tell them that a promise of \$55 million in aid will be cut off if they stage a right-wing coup. The U.S. bourgeois press made a great fanfare about how the U.S. was supporting the "democratic" achievements of the butchering junta—a government that has murdered close to 500 people since coming to power. The real reason for U.S. opposition to this brewing coup was well exposed by one U.S. spokesman: "We are afraid that a right-wing coup would lead to a revolution."

This statement gets to the heart of the matter. Since when is the foremost instigator of fascist coups in the world the organizer of coups in Chile, Iran, etc., concerned about the possibility of another such bloodbath taking place? Well, since the possibility of it being unsuccessful and actually bringing about the downfall of the U.S. domination of the country has risen to the fore.

Obviously, whatever differences exist between U.S. imperialism and its puppet compradores are purely tactical. The Salvadoran oligarchy feels that the time to launch an all-out assault on the masses is now, before they get too strong. The U.S. government, apparently, believes the mass movement is too strong and the ruling elite too weak at this time to be able to pull it off. However, they obviously are not ruling out the possibility—after all, they have not dropped their plan for delivering \$7 million in military aid and numerous military advisors to the army.

Much is being made in the U.S. press about "reforms" that the Salvadoran junta has pledged to carry out—land distribution, nationalization of banks and external commerce, etc. In particular, the "land reform" program has been widely touted by the media. This plan would nationalize a certain portion of the land now owned by latifundistas (large landowners), who would of course be well compensated. (A good part of U.S. aid is earmarked for such compensation.) Then the land would be sold to those few peasants who have the money to buy it, while the vast majority of the peasants would remain landless.

These new "reforms" are the same type of thing as all the other so-called "reforms" that have been promised since the October 15 coup, and that have already been exposed by the masses as a cheap trick to try to diffuse the struggle to overthrow imperialist rule in El Salvador and the junta really doesn't have much hope of getting over with them now.

But by promoting such promises, the U.S. can try to clean up its image, present itself as the "true savior of the downtrodden Salvadoran masses" with its overpowering concern for "human rights" all the while it is undoubtedly wheeling and dealing to get itself and its friends in the best position to smash the revolutionary movement. In particular, the U.S. is hoping that the mass struggle will become sufficiently cooled down to allow it to buy enough time to strengthen its hand for a successful all-out assault on the masses. Should such a situation develop, the U.S. may even try to claim to be opposed to the bloodbath, while at the same time unleashing and supporting those forces that would be pulling it off.

One U.S. government official recently stated, "We think this government (the present civilian-military junta—RW) has a good chance of implementing its reforms, developing popular support and restoring order." It is the "restoring order"—keeping their grip on the country that is key here—and that is at the heart of U.S. imperialism's recent maneuvering in El Salvador. The masses of people in El Salvador clearly have other plans, to destroy this order at the soonest possible time.



WORLD IN STRUGGLE

Gray Wolf Fascists Attack Anti-Fascist Turkish Workers in West Germany

Albstadt/Balingen, southeastern West Germany. Over 1000 anti-fascists from Turkey, as well as some West Germans, marched and rallied in the West German town of Balingen, south of Stuttgart, on February 2, denouncing a gang-style attack on workers from Turkey on January 19 by members of the Turkish fascist party, the MHP, more commonly known as the "Grey Wolves."

In addition to terrorizing progressive farmers and peasants in Turkey, the fascist Grey Wolves are known for trying to track down and murder progressive people from Turkey living in West Germany. These armed reactionaries pass themselves off as "non-political" to escape German laws against "extremist" groups, and operate out of "Koran-schools."

West Germany, along with the U.S., has been the main imperialist country to dominate Turkey economically and politically during the 20th century. Because of the crisis and unemployment resulting from this domination, large numbers of workers from Turkey have been driven to seek jobs in Europe. The largest concentration—over a million immigrant workers and students—is in West Germany. Recently a wave of attacks has occurred against workers from Turkey who have unsuspectingly entered a Grey Wolf hang-out called the Linde Inn in Albstadt-Tailfingen and been brutally beaten up in the back rooms because of their progressive views.

In response, the Turkish Workers Federation in West Germany (ATIF) in nearby Schömberg leafleted in the town of Albstadt to protest these attacks. Hearing of this, the Grey Wolves organized to prevent them from leafleting in Balingen. Crying "We're going to bury you all here!", they charged the people with knives, chains and clubs in full view of the West German police who watched the whole thing, and then intervened, only to arrest four of the workers. Shortly afterward, police raided ATIF's center in Schömberg, arresting everyone there, including people who hadn't even been in Balingen. A total of nearly 40 anti-fascists arrested were then paraded before the Grey Wolves so that 11 activists they sought in particular could be singled out. While the others were released, these 11 were brought before a West German court of inquiry on a Sunday morning. Since then they have been dragged through five different jails in Baden-Württemberg, now officially "imprisoned awaiting trial," supposedly charged with disturbing the peace and "causing bodily injury."

'I Take Great Pleasure in Fighting Imperialism

Continued from page 1

Day Brigade, his stand was clear, "They took eight, so this week I'll sell eighty." It reminded him of a confrontation he had had with a lieutenant in Somoza's national guard when he was spreading anti-Somoza agitation throughout his school. "You son of a bitch teacher. You have the pen but we have the gun," the lieutenant threatened, patting his holster.

"You can't be afraid. That's one of their biggest tactics," added Juan. "I remember when they would arrest 50 Sandinistas and a 100 more would demonstrate the next morning in front of the police station. The more they jailed, the more would step forward to take their place." Juan grew up in Rivas, Nicaragua. Grain and agriculture were the mainstay of Rivas; and the imperialists plundered and raped the land. Juan remembered with particular bitterness that the U.S. Ambassador moved to Rivas and bought some plantations so that he too could more directly suck on the sweat and blood of the Nicaraguan peasants. Juan's whole family was anti-Somoza and his uncle played a big role, fighting with the Sandinistas.

"Little by little my eyes began to open and I began to write poetry against Somoza," Eduardo spoke again. "I became a teacher for the 5th and 6th grades. In 1975, I was put in a jail for a week by Somoza's secret police, accused of plotting to hijack a

plane to Cuba. I was kept with a sack over my head so I could not see. They were trying to intimidate me. But I take great pleasure in fighting U.S. imperialism because I am witness to how they gave guns and tanks to Somoza to repress my people."

And that is the message and the spirit that cries boldly out of San Francisco's Mission District. There are 40,000 Nicaraguans, the highest concentration in the world outside Nicaragua, and 30,000 El Salvadorans, living in the Mission. Both countries have struggled side by side against U.S. imperialism. Both countries right now are in the midst of revolution.

Many of these workers from Central America live without entry permits—so-called "illegals." The women find work mainly in the garment industry, in the bigger shops, and the sweat shops of the cockroach capitalists hidden behind simple store fronts. The vast majority of the men are restaurant and hotel workers—busboys, waiters, cooks, dishwashers. Eduardo and Juan now both work as janitors. Many are forced to take below minimum wage jobs and live in crowded apartments where the rent goes from \$300 to \$500 a month.

Getting sick in the Mission qualifies you as prey for the butcher shop clinics who profit off the sick and injured while embezzling funds in back room deals.

These workers live with the constant threat of La Migra (immigration) sniff-

ing around, holding deportation over their heads. Recently immigration harassment has been directed against politically outspoken El Salvadorans. The most class-conscious of these people who are locked in daily battle with the system, many who have been driven from their country for political reasons, by the forces of U.S. imperialism there, have cast their lot with May Day 1980.

For blocks, on every wall, anti-imperialist posters guard the Mission streets like clenched fists. Spray-paint guerrillas have cut bold trails through the district with slogans supporting the revolutions in Latin America, with the initials of various groups and parties, and messages to the pigs in the Mission. The graffiti in the bathrooms of the bars and restaurants do the same. Every week there is a demonstration in solidarity with revolution in Latin America that goes up against U.S. imperialism. On Saturdays, by 11:00 a.m., banners of the revolutionary groups adorn the corner of 24th & Mission Streets and newspapers and literature are sold by the hundreds. The people in the Mission have named this intersection, where the BART subway stops, "Plaza de Farabundo Marti" after the leader of the Salvadoran revolutionary struggles during the 1930s and a comrade-in-arms with Sandino of Nicaragua.

The Mission District is a very potent area against U.S. imperialism. And the ruling class knows it. The San Francisco pigs harass and brutalize the youth

every Friday and Saturday night, especially the "low riders" who cruise Mission Street in their endless procession of souped-up automobiles. The pigs cord off whole blocks and then make a club-swinging sweep through the area. All in an attempt to intimidate.

On February 2nd, things came to a head in the Mission. A demonstration, endorsed by many groups in San Francisco, called to support the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador, and to stand opposed to the right-wing sniper ambush at a march in El Salvador a few days earlier, was brutally attacked by the cops. Unprovoked, they waded into the crowd, snatching up well-known leaders of the struggle and clubbing anyone who got in their way. Women with babies in their arms were thrown to the pavement. The police chased marchers into stores only to be met by a hail of fruits and vegetables. Shopkeepers hid marchers and newspaper sellers. Within minutes, these wild boars found themselves not among frightened sheep, but surrounded by angry people. People who had only minutes ago been shoppers, now became defenders of the march. The pig rampage came to an abrupt halt when they were forced to back away by the masses.

"When Somoza was overthrown, we marched in the Mission. Nicaraguans, Chileans, El Salvadorans, North Americans—all together," Eduardo spoke, smiling as he remembered the celebration. "I came to this country in 1976. I

Continued on page 13

Iran Masses Not Impressed by

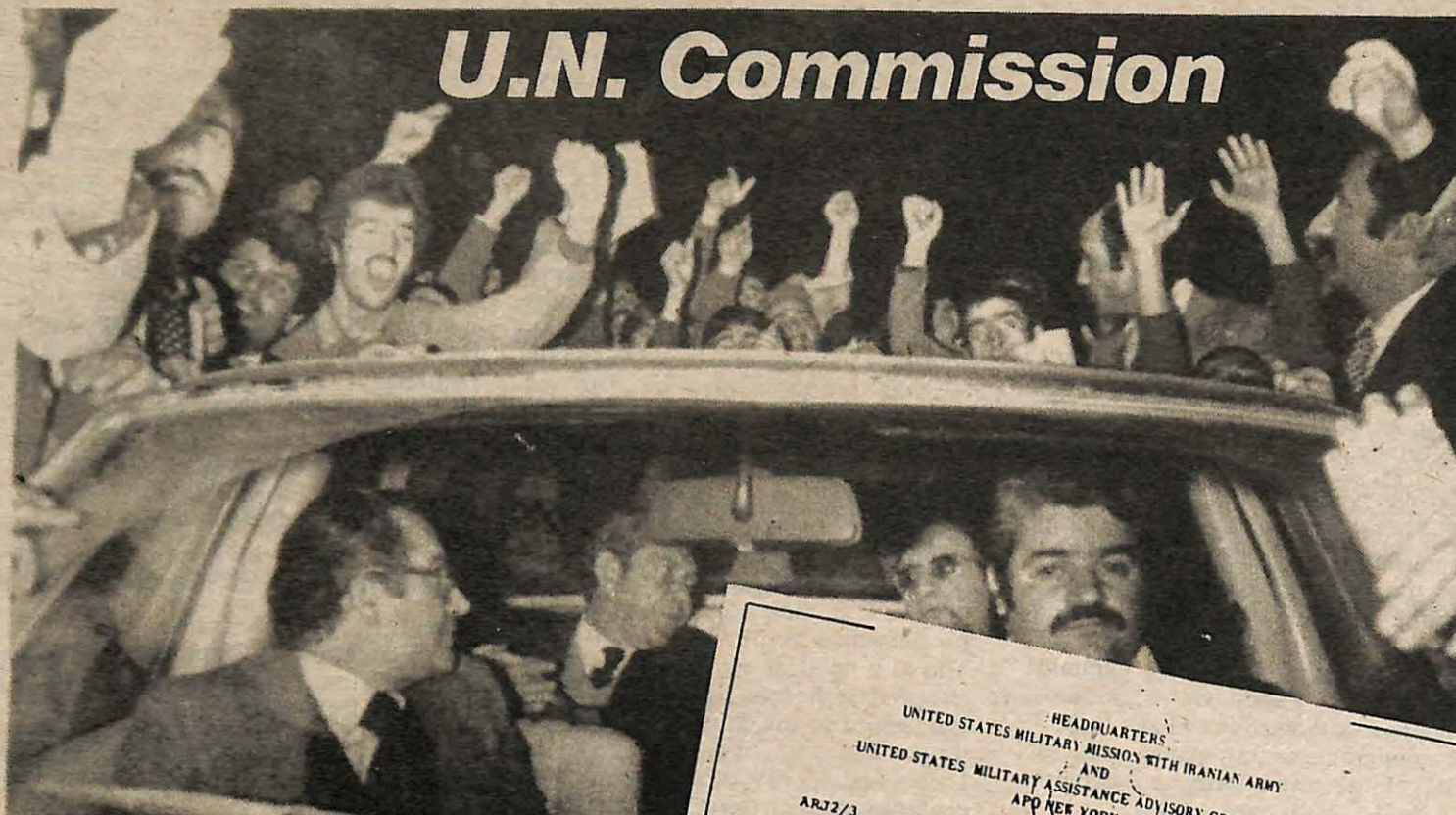
U.S. spokesmen sounded like angry schoolboys. "No fair," they wailed. "You changed the rules."

The "rule" in question was the supposed "gentlemen's agreement" between Iran's President Abolhassan Bani-Sadr and the U.S. government that the hostages would be freed during or immediately after the United Nations Commission of Inquiry into the crimes of the ex-Shah concluded its investigations.

Unfortunately for the U.S. imperialists, and fortunately for the Iranian people, the rules for the Iranian revolution are not being set in Washington or by Iran's newly elected government. The demands and the course of the Iranian revolution are still being determined overwhelmingly by the Iranian people, amidst tremendous turmoil and struggle. The students holding the embassy made it clear, and it was obvious that they had the support of the Iranian people, that the UN commission had scant relationship to the release of the hostages. The condition for their release remained the return of the ex-Shah.

As the UN commission completed its first week in Tehran, confronted with overwhelming evidence of the ex-Shah's barbaric and brutal rule and the U.S. role in keeping him in power for twenty-five years while together they bled the country dry, the following facts emerged about the latest developments.

* The UN commission was seen by both the U.S. government and the national bourgeois forces in Iran represented by Bani-Sadr as a device, really a ploy, for obtaining the release of the hostages and smoothing the way for normalized U.S.-Iranian relations—without meeting the demand of the Iranian people and the militants occupying the embassy for the return of the ex-Shah and the billions of dollars he ripped off from the country. The idea for a UN commission of inquiry had been floated early on after the seizure of the embassy and the hostages. It had been flatly rejected by the Carter administration and the U.S. bourgeoisie. Stung in their efforts to use the expected upheaval they knew would be generated by bringing the Shah to the U.S. to engineer a pro-U.S. coup, they saw new possibilities to use the hostage seizure to whip up jingoism and "national unity" in the U.S., and Carter himself found a great deal of political capital to be gained by keeping the hostages in Iran. But with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, new imperatives came to the fore for the U.S. imperialists, particularly the need to rally support for their war bloc from Moslem and other countries in the region. The necessity for some resolution of the immediate crisis over the hostages took on a certain urgency. The U.S. began to soft-pedal some of the barrage of antagonism towards Iran they had been stirring up, and emphasize their "reasonableness." "We don't want to resume our role as chief villain," one U.S. official commented.



Tehran crowd shouting "Death to the Shah" surrounds car carrying 2 members of the commission of inquiry.

Documents recently released by revolutionaries in Iran

"Let the Russians have it for a while." The U.S. media described the UN commission as a "face saving device" for both the U.S. and the Bani-Sadr government.

* The hope was that the UN commission would cool out the anger and determination of the Iranian people and revolutionaries, a sort of sop to their just demands and hatred for U.S. imperialism and the ex-Shah. From the beginning of the formation of the UN commission, the expectation has been that it would find "gross human rights violations" by the Shah and focus only on the fact that he was a thief, that he had in fact stolen billions from the Iranian people, and at the same time let the U.S. off the hook. In the view of Bani-Sadr and his government, this would "give legitimacy" to Iran's charges against the ex-Shah, and hopefully lay the groundwork for convincing the militants in the embassy to release the hostages without forcing the U.S. to send the Shah back.

* So far this little ploy hasn't worked. The Iranian people have demonstrated their willingness to document the crimes of the ex-Shah and his U.S. backers, but they've made it quite clear that they don't need this or any commission to "legitimize" their claims and demands. It is the height of absurdity to think that the members of the UN, who were aware for years of the plunder and pillage of that country by the U.S. and the Shah, and the atrocities committed against its people,

U.N. Commission

HEADQUARTERS
UNITED STATES MILITARY MISSION WITH IRANIAN ARMY
AND
UNITED STATES MILITARY ASSISTANCE ADVISORY GROUP TO IRAN
APO NEW YORK 09205

ARJ2/3

MEMORANDUM FOR: BRIGADIER GENERAL HOOSHANG GHAJAR
DEPUTY COMMANDER
J2 (SCS) IIA
CI COMMAND

SUBJECT: Investigation and Debriefing (75-ARJ2/3-62)

1. You have asked me to explain how an interrogation should be conducted to be certain that the subject is truthful.
2. There is no proven method which will work each time. The techniques of interrogation are many and depend for the most part on time, the situation and the ingenuity of the interrogators.
3. It is quite possible that despite sophisticated interrogation techniques, a subject could succeed in making you believe a false story.
4. In September 1973, I taught a course on interrogation techniques to several CI Command personnel. The techniques discussed in this course would apply to the interrogation/interview of sources and defectors as well as POWs, refugees, displaced persons, line crossers, etc.

DANIEL M. TOMPKINS
Major, MI
CI Advisor

would suddenly be moved to really do something about it. In fact, to put it bluntly, many Iranians are aware that the only reason the UN commission is there at all is because of the power of the Iranian revolution and the inability of the U.S. imperialists to directly subvert and destroy it as they have wanted.

* It has been evident from Nov. 4, the day the embassy was taken, that those in Iran, like Bani-Sadr, who have repeatedly expressed their hopes to "moderate" and cool out the revolution have been unsuccessful. The very day after he was elected President, from a field sharply restricted by the Revolutionary Council, Bani-Sadr launched an attack on the militant students holding the embassy, accusing them of trying to create a parallel government and center of power in the country. But he was unable to do anything about it, just as the Revolutionary Council and the government was unable to do anything about the seizure of the embassy when

it happened. For as Gotzbedeh, the Foreign Minister, admitted, the seizure galvanized and mobilized a tremendous outpouring of support from the masses of people. There is little doubt that Bani-Sadr expressed his hope to U.S. officials that the establishment of the UN commission would pave the way for the release of the hostages without the return of the ex-Shah, despite Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's rather sad-sack admission after the hue and cry in the U.S. press over "what about our deal" that there had been no real agreement. Whether the U.S. recognized it or not, Bani-Sadr certainly knew, from hard experience, that he could not insure any deal. In fact, every time he and others in the government have started to bend over to the U.S. imperialists, they have been whipped around by the revolutionary stand of the Iranian people and the militants in the embassy. So while

Continued on page 14

Continued from page 12

was surprised to see my fellow workers thrown out of work and living in the streets. In Nicaragua we are told that America is a paradise—but it is only a paradise for the capitalists and not for the working class. After they exploit us, they throw us in the streets like used trash. But I think we are doing good work. After we make revolution in the U.S., we will throw the capitalists in the street like trash."

As we continued talking, one thing became very clear. These two workers stood in unshakeable unity with the people of the world and had a spirit that sang with the revolutionary optimism of the working class standing on the threshold of unimagined opportunities in the 1980s. I asked them bluntly if they ever got demoralized by the relatively small size of the revolutionary movement.

"Without leadership, then we become demoralized," Juan responded. "There was Lenin and Mao, and in the U.S. we have Bob Avakian. We must follow the road they have illuminated. I am very optimistic. Before

the revolution in Russia in 1917, some were afraid, some people thought it was not possible. I am optimistic that revolution will be successful—the times change but not the enemy."

May Day, International Workers Day, used to be celebrated widely in Nicaragua. But the Somoza government came down very hard. Somoza formed a government union, the General Confederation of Workers, and designated it the only organization allowed to march on May Day. The workers responded by naming their union General Confederation of Workers, Independent and holding May Day in the union halls. Both Eduardo and Juan recalled how Somoza's national guard would attack, shooting up the gatherings. Even indoors, May Day was declared illegal by the frightened Somoza regime.

"It is important that we fight for May Day, not for Labor Day. This is an imperialist tactic to take away May Day. The system has blinded us, has hidden May Day. That is why many workers in the U.S. are surprised to hear about May Day because there is

strong propaganda against it," Juan said seriously.

Seldom do you meet rabid flag-wavers for the U.S. in the Mission. But the view of doing better here than in the old country is still common and holds people back, especially newer immigrants who don't see the need for revolution here. Talking with workers in their 50s and 60s, who have worked here for some 10 to 20 years, filled with shattered illusions, there is often a clearer sense that their life here is nothing but wage slavery. For others, the prospect of May Day 1980 has caught their imagination, and the first response is sometimes, "Yes, it would be incredible, but can we really do it? What will the white workers do?"

The struggle for May Day has grown increasingly sharp in the Mission District. Among their fellow workers and among the different groups in solidarity with revolution in El Salvador and Nicaragua, Eduardo and Juan are both struggling for all to join Revolutionary May Day 1980. When the May Day Brigade marched last week through the Mission, extending

the clenched fist of the U.S. working class, a number of people joined in and some members of the Bloque Popular Revolucionario (BPR) also marched. Wherever the May Day brigades go, they go as ambassadors for the international working class in the U.S. There is a great strength, the strength of foreign born workers who have fought to rip U.S. imperialism's boot from their necks, a strength that must be brought to bear on the struggle to give birth to Revolutionary May Day—like the six Latinos who came as a group to join the local May Day Brigade here in Oakland to go beyond the Mission and among the American workers—that is a potential force that is unbeatable.

"I am fully aware that it is an international struggle," Eduardo spoke slowly, measuring each word. "As workers who come from other countries, we have an obligation to tell our North American brothers that we must struggle together to celebrate the first of May—it's the day of the working class." ■

Tito

Continued from page 1

ism." After he was expelled from the international communist movement by Stalin in 1948, Tito was often praised for his "fiercely independent" policies. This "independence" was bought and paid for by the U.S. which poured \$1.2 billion worth of military and economic aid into the country from 1949-55, binding Yugoslavia to American capital with a thousand strings attached.

Tito is pictured as a tough cookie who practices an "unorthodox brand of communism." We would have to agree. It is totally unorthodox to find upwards of 700,000 workers out of a job, and at least 800,000 more shipped out of the country because they can't find work, in a genuine socialist country. It is also unorthodox to find the gap between different nationalities widening, and inequality on the rise. These are the tell-tale, cancerous sores of the capitalist system. "In Yugoslavia, thousands, millions ask 'Socialism, what's that?'" an immigrant worker angrily told the *RW*. "Tito's communism and socialism is a lie."

Tito Never a Communist

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, with Tito at the helm, came to power at the conclusion of World War 2 off the heroic struggle of the Yugoslav masses who waged armed guerrilla warfare against the Nazi occupation for 3-1/2 years. Conditions were ripe for socialist revolution at the war's end as the obsolescent monarchy, along with some bourgeois elements, had fled in terror immediately after the Nazi invasion. The owners of industry and commerce, who collaborated with the Nazis, went down to defeat with them, and there were very few capitalists whose holdings had to be expropriated. But Tito was there to save capitalism's ass under a socialist cloak. Through their sacrifice and bloodshed, the masses had cleared the ground of the old exploiters, only to have a new crop spring up in their place that was generated right from within the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) leadership.

Tito was a militant bourgeois nationalist. In no way could or would he lead the masses in building socialism—which entails much more than nationalizing the ownership of industry, banking, commerce and so on. After this first step is carried out, socialist relations must come from conscious struggle, class struggle led by the communist party, to increase the mastery of the workers over every aspect of society. This, Tito dreaded like the plague. At a speech he gave before the Second Congress of Anti-Fascist National People's Front, the mass movement whose purpose was to defeat the Nazis, Tito said, "Does the Communist Party of Yugoslavia have any other program but that of the People's Front? No, the CPY has no other program. The program of the People's Front is its program." "No communists here," Tito was saying in a rare moment of truth. It is also revealing that in Tito's book, *The Struggle and Development of the CPY Between the Two Wars*, the words "socialist revolution" are mentioned a grand total of twice. This is unorthodox communism indeed!

Further evidence of Tito's bourgeois nationalism were his efforts during the war to expand the territory of Yugoslavia by grabbing control of other Balkan republics. Tito dreamed of establishing a Balkan Federation which was to include present-day Bulgaria and Albania. He also laid claim to the Italian area of Trieste, and Thrace and Macedonia in northern Greece. The revolutionary struggle being waged by the Greeks after World War 2 was undermined by Tito's support for a Macedonian separatist movement which he hoped to incorporate into Yugoslavia.

Tito was sorely disappointed when Stalin made little attempt to back up his territorial claims at the Yalta Conference, held by the Allied Powers to redraw the boundaries of Europe at the war's end. But the split between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, which culminated in 1948 with Tito's expulsion

from the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), went deeper than this.

Tito has been widely lauded for "standing up to Stalin" at a time when the Soviet Union was still a socialist country. But what exactly was he standing up to? The following were given as the Cominform's major reasons for the expulsion: 1) for slandering the Soviet Union, 2) for allowing the unrestricted growth of capitalism in the countryside, with rich peasants enslaving the poor, 3) for liquidating the leading role of the communist party, and 4) practicing a line of petty-bourgeois nationalism. In "standing up to Stalin" on these questions, Tito was standing for revisionism.

When the final split came, Tito quickly sold himself to the highest bidder, the U.S., to finance Yugoslavia's "independence." Of the \$1.2 billion in U.S. aid granted up to 1955, only \$55 million was in repayable loans, emphasizing the fact that the U.S. didn't dispense the money for immediate profit, but correctly saw Tito as a political goldmine to bring in returns over the long run. Politically, the U.S. hoped to use Tito as a wedge into the socialist camp, to discredit the Soviet Union and to pry other Eastern bloc countries away from it. Militarily, Yugoslavia's alliance with the West took Soviet pressure off the unstable U.S. allies, Greece and Turkey, and denied the Soviets access to the Mediterranean.

The war had thrown the masses into turmoil and revolutionary struggle throughout Europe, and the imperialists, who faced the necessity of crushing this in order to preserve their system, recognized that Tito could be of invaluable assistance. War was raging in Greece where the masses, led by the Communist Party, were struggling to drive out the British. In one of his first actions to prove his loyalty to his new masters, in 1949, Tito sealed off the border between Greece and Yugoslavia, denying sanctuary to the guerrilla fighters. Thanks to this action, as well as the stepped up repression of the Greek army, the rebellion was quickly drowned in blood. Tito was to repeat this kind of treachery many times over in his long career as a henchman for imperialism.

The "Separate Road" to Capitalism

Nevertheless, Tito always dressed himself in a "socialist" garb, and maintained that Yugoslavia had its own "separate road" to building a socialist economy. As one author for the Council on Foreign Relations, a policy-making body for the U.S. government, put it bluntly, "It was of some importance to Tito's playing the role of heretic that he keep his position as a communist or socialist, thwarting Stalin's attempt to pin on him the label of 'fascist' or 'lackey of imperialism.'" The ideological prop justifying Yugoslavia's separate road is "workers self-management," which was dreamed up after the split with the Soviet Union.

When asked what he thought about "self-management," an immigrant Yugoslav worker told the *RW*, "The Workers Council is supposed to run the factory, and they are elected. But you almost have to be in the communist party to run. The fellows who are greedy, opportunistic, join the communist party. Look at the benefits—these guys are the ones who will be promoted to manager or superintendent. Their monthly salaries are astronomical—they are real capitalists."

In a nutshell, "workers self-management" is a codeword for turning a handful of workers into little bureaucrats who run things for one thing alone—profitability. This is the determining factor in everything from workers' wage levels to investment decisions to which enterprises will get credit. One of the bitter fruits of this capitalist economy is how it has actually widened the gap between Yugoslavia's six major nationalities over the 30 years that socialism has supposedly been built. One of the major promises Tito made back during the days of the Anti-Fascist National People's Front, was a planned investment policy that would eliminate the inequalities between different regions of the country through upgrading the poorer republics. But with profit in command, these policies were scrapped in 1957 on the grounds

that the poor regions are so underdeveloped that they couldn't "economically" utilize the funds. Typical capitalist economics.

In 1965, as deepening crisis hit the economy, laws were passed to facilitate capitalist mergers (which had been going on for a long time anyway). "To use funds more rationally, enterprises can hold shares in others," the law stated. In 1972, the Federal National Bank of Yugoslavia, one of the few remaining ways to institute a national investment policy, was decentralized to allow for more direct competition between competing sectors of capital based in the republics. This, too, fed national rivalries. In this "land of socialism" the masses of people are robbed blind by an upper crust of party manager/officials, the junior soul brothers of the Rockefellers and Kennedys.

Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?

With Khrushchev's rise to power and the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party, under Mao Tsetung's leadership, led the struggle internationally to expose the modern-day revisionism that was running wild in the international communist movement. In this world-historic struggle between Marxism and revisionism, spearheaded by the Chinese, the question of how to sum up Yugoslavia's social system became a dividing line issue. In the CCP's pamphlet, *Is Yugoslavia a Socialist Country?*, the Soviet Union is fired on by proxy as the two parties had not yet split openly (for tactical reasons the Soviet Union is treated as a socialist country).

As the article pointed out, determining whether or not Yugoslavia is a socialist country,

"is not only a question of ascertaining the nature of the Yugoslav state, but it also involves the question of which road the socialist countries should follow: whether they should follow the road of the (Russian) October Revolution and carry the socialist revolution through to the end or follow the road of Yugoslavia and restore capitalism... All Marxist-Leninists hold that Yugoslavia is not a socialist country."

By 1962, the Yugoslav economy was in a deep crisis, providing plenty of raw material to bear out the analysis of the Chinese. For a long time the weaknesses in the economy—the backward state of agriculture, unprofitable industries, inflation and a persistent balance of trade deficit—had been papered over through massive injections of foreign aid. By 1968 this amounted to \$2 billion in loans and \$700 million in military grants from the U.S. alone. Yugoslavia's method of digging itself out of this mess—more loans, more imported goods and more investment of foreign capital—was only landing it deeper in the hole. As the Chinese pamphlet pointed out,

"...capitalism in Yugoslavia is interwoven with the process in which the Tito clique has become subservient towards U.S. imperialism and Yugoslavia has degenerated into a U.S. imperialist dependency."

Now, of course, having overthrown Mao's line, the Chinese revisionists are

Iran

Continued from page 13

he hurled charges against the militants behind the walls of the U.S. embassy right after he was elected President, the day the UN commission arrived in Iran, he was to be found standing on top of that wall reviewing an angry demonstration of tens of thousands of armed Iranians marching in front of the U.S. embassy chanting slogans against U.S. imperialism and continuing to raise the demand for the return of the Shah.

* The Iranian people do not seem to have been taken in by this UN commission. Khomeini, his ear to the wind, and his eyes on future maneuvers felt it necessary to state right after the UN commission arrived that there was no "linkage" between the commission's work and the release of the hostages. At

openly taking that country along Yugoslavia's path. Nowhere was all-out capitulation more evident than in Tito's foreign policy. Far from shying away from his role as an errand boy for U.S. imperialism, Tito seemed to glory in it. He crisscrossed the globe frequently, conferring with heads of state and moving in to douse the flames of revolutionary struggle wherever needed. In 1961 he, along with Nasser and Nehru, headed up a "non-aligned" conference of Asian, African and Latin American countries. He was pretending he was pioneering a "3rd road" between imperialism and socialism, but in fact he was in the same old U.S. rut. With his "socialist" guise and his bloody, backstabbing history, Tito had excellent credentials to pretty up the ugly face of U.S. imperialism to these countries. He had proven this, first during the Greek Rebellion, and then by refusing to condemn naked U.S. aggression against North Korea and the People's Republic of China back in 1951. Tito's role in the non-aligned movement is illustrated by his 1963 visit to Brazil, Chile, Bolivia, Peru and Mexico. In all these countries, where millions are enslaved by the chains of U.S. neo-colonialism, Tito preached the revisionist thesis that the general movement for peace, and not the elimination of colonialism, transcended all other issues.

One of the most despicable acts carried out by Tito in his long and loyal career as a U.S. lackey was his attempted sabotage of the Vietnamese people's struggle at a time when it was a revolutionary struggle hitting blows at imperialism. Sounding like a two-bit preacher, Tito moaned that he was "alarmed about the danger to world peace" (read U.S. imperialism) the Vietnamese struggle posed. In 1965, Yugoslavia took the lead in organizing an appeal from 17 non-aligned nations for peace through negotiations "as soon as possible and without any preconditions." This brought angry denunciations from Hanoi, at a time when the Vietnamese were righteously demanding the withdrawal of American troops as a pre-requisite to any talks. Actions like these earned the Tito clique the title of "a counter-revolutionary special detachment of U.S. imperialism" from the Chinese.

In the early 1970's, Tito's useful political role tapered off considerably as he became exposed. But during the 1979 Non-Aligned Conference in Havana, old warhorse Tito was at it again, leading the charge against Fidel Castro, the chairman, to prevent him from drawing these countries into the Soviet bloc.

The stepped up contention between the U.S. and USSR has made Yugoslavia itself the object of intense competition between the two superpowers, and in the last decade the Soviet Union has made significant economic and political inroads into this country which was once unquestionably U.S. turf. As the demise of Tito approaches, the U.S. fears the impact his death will have on the stability of the country and the entire region.

More than this, they will mourn the loss of Tito as a living symbol of treachery to revolution and slavishness to imperialism. For this legacy, future generations of workers will spit on his grave. ■

the same time, he, as well as Bani-Sadr and other mullahs and government officials, wanted to keep the door open for some future compromise with the U.S. Hence, his declaration that the final resolution of the hostages would be handled by the national parliament, to be elected beginning in March. Needless to say, Bani-Sadr and the forces he represents hope to use these elections to further consolidate their power and their ability to control the revolution.

So far all the deals and "gentlemen's agreements" that have been blown apart along with the international gangster laws and rules of diplomacy so cherished by imperialists the world over. The Iranian people have not "changed the rules of the game." They are not playing a game. They are trying to make revolution and drive the imperialists from their country. ■

Rebels

Continued from page 6

the spirit and basic method and outlook of Marxism, but against particular concepts which new experience proves to be incorrect, or which were correct in one place and time but have ceased to be correct in another place and time. Marxism and Marxists encompass and welcome precisely such struggle and rebellion—as Mao put it, Marxism is a wrangling “ism.” Genuine communists must have this critical, rebellious spirit with regard to Marxism itself, as with all things, and must foster and promote it among the masses. The dominance of Marxism must be established and it must be taken up and wielded by the broadest masses—and ultimately by society in general—but this can only happen through the kind of criticism and struggle that is characteristic of Marxism itself.

All this does not make the process of revolution, and in particular the socialist transition period, a smooth, even, broad highway to communism. Of necessity it is

quite the opposite. Nor will all this prevent the emergence—throughout the proletarian revolution, and the socialist transition period especially—of “elitism.” But it will provide the basic means, through protracted and tortuous struggle, and notwithstanding reversals and setbacks along the way, to ultimately defeat the “elitists” and finally uproot the basis for an “elite” and its ideology to arise that can dominate society.

As you have no doubt observed, I myself and our party in general put a lot of emphasis on explaining and popularizing these points and principles even now, before we have even achieved the first great step of overthrowing capitalism. This is both because these principles are of real importance now, in the present stage of the struggle, even to realize that first great step; and because we must make the greatest preparation possible even now for the future, when the proletariat has seized power and the party is in the leading position in society. Unless we did so, we would be in a much weaker position in the struggle to prepare for and then carry out the seizure of power, and an even weaker position in the struggle to retain it and continue the advance toward communism. What we want to and have to popularize, from now forward, is the spirit so powerful-

ly concentrated in the statement issued by Mao during the Cultural Revolution: Marxism consists of thousands of truths, but these truths can be summarized in the statement: It is right to rebel against reactionaries.

Well, these are (as warned) some rather scattered and incomplete thoughts on the question. I am well aware that I have not, and cannot, provide a complete answer to this question, both because of my own shortcomings—limitations in my own grasp of what it is possible to understand about this question at this time—and, more fundamentally, because the answer will have to be further discovered and deepened through the actual course of carrying the revolution forward, world-wide, to the goal of communism. But I do believe that the experience of this struggle so far, summarized on its highest level by Mao, especially through the course of the unprecedented Cultural Revolution, does indicate the basic features of the road ahead and the basic principles and methods for dealing with this contradiction. And I hope that what I have written here on this question not only provides a basic summary of these principles but stimulates further thought, study and exchange of ideas. ■

23 Mid-East Students Released From Texas Jail

For months the debate over Iran, the embassy takeover, and U.S. war preparations had been raging back and forth at the University of Texas (UT) at Austin. And by the end of January, many students were beginning to see through the lies about Iran being pushed by the State Department. The atmosphere of fear that many Middle Eastern students had had to cope with was being broken down, in large part because of several pro-Iranian teach-ins and programs on campus. On January 31, the UT administration counterattacked and invited Fereydoun Hoveyda, a former member of the ex-Shah's regime, to speak on campus.

From 1970 to 1978, Fereydoun Hoveyda was the ex-Shah's ambassador to the United Nations. A close relative of the ex-Shah's prime minister, his job was to prettify the shah's regime for world public opinion and to support the interests of U.S. imperialism at the UN. Hoveyda was invited to speak at UT as the keynote speaker for a week-long “Middle East symposium,” after Moshe Dayan turned down the invitation. When Hoveyda began to put out

the tired old apology for the Shah's regime we've heard a million times—“Well, the Shah may have been butcher, but at least he modernized Iran (sic)”—he was quickly cut short by someone in the audience, “The only place this butcher has the right to speak is when's he's put on trial along with the Shah to face the just wrath of the Iranian people!”

Nervously, Hoveyda tried to continue with his tall tales as hundreds of students applauded the man who had spoken out. Another student, followed by another, stood up to expose Hoveyda, the Shah, and U.S. imperialism. Soon the elegant ballroom was ringing with chants supporting the Iranian revolution and condemning U.S. imperialism.

The squad of undercover and uniformed police scattered throughout the hall grabbed 27 Iranian and Arab students when they stood up to speak or join in the chanting. The cops were careful to single out only students from the Middle East. After photographing and fingerprinting the foreign students, the cops released them, thinking they

had won this round.

Two weeks later, when things had died down temporarily after several demonstrations opposing the administration's repressive measures, the county D.A. issued arrest warrants for 23 of the students who had originally been detained. On cue, the UT Dean of Students called the 23 to his office for a “conference.” On their way to meet with the Dean on that Wednesday morning, they were surrounded by the campus cops. 19 were arrested again and delivered to the city jail.

The imprisoned students and many supporters immediately declared a hunger strike, demanding that all charges be dropped. At the first of many rallies on campus and at the county jail which have brought together a wide range of students, campus and community organizations, and others, the cops busted four more “suspects” in full view of hundreds of protesters. The anger burning in the hearts of many who were disgusted with the ongoing harassment of Iranians in this country exploded as people surrounded the pig cars, rocking them back and forth, chanting “Charge the Fascists, not the students!”

As the hunger strike continued and developments such as the reinstatement of the draft began to shake more and more students awake, many who had remained on the sidelines got involved in the battle. The State Dept. started snooping around, worried that the situation in Austin might have repercus-

sions in Tehran. UT president Peter Flawn laid it all out when he said, in response to the growing protest, “We will not let the tail wag the dog. We are the dog, and we will wag the tail.”

Unfortunately for the dogs, on Friday, February 22, over 200 people of many different nationalities took up the challenge and marched on the county jail. Judge John Wisser, a notorious reactionary, argued with the eight lawyers who had volunteered to defend the students while angry chants reverberated from the streets to inside the hallowed halls of the courthouse. In the face of mass outrage over this attack, the Judge and the County Attorney withdrew the arrest warrants and declared that the “suspects” could not legally remain in jail, “even if they wanted to.” As cheering crowds greeted the students as they walked out of the jail, each of them held a bright red flower in one hand, and with the other raised a clenched fist.

Though the University and the local police have lost the latest round in Austin with the release of the students, having failed to break the hunger strike or isolate the arrested students, they are determined to press charges against the 23. If convicted or expelled from school, the 23 will face deportation to Iran and other countries in the Middle East. Students at UT are preparing to meet this attack head-on and throw it right back in the face of the imperialists and their flunkys. ■

Fights Off Kidnappers

Continued from page 7

center” and how brokers are “buying survival gear for about two dozen wealthy Atlantans.” “I don't like to sound paranoid about it,” says Captain Mel Cunningham, head of the “academic department” of COBRAY, “but as I look at it, I do see a problem... We're going to have internal disturbances in the United States at a certain point... the people who have are the ones principally concerned. These are the people who would suffer the most losses.”

It appears that in one way or another some of the *haves* unleashed their dogs on the May Day Brigader Hope Brustein, providing an excellent example of international terrorism.

Articles in the press following the conference and the kidnapping attempt further revealed the propaganda offensive against the Brigade by turning reality on its head and trying to paint the Brigade as “terrorists.” It must be said to their credit that they interviewed real experts on the subject—several participants in the conference sponsored by Rand Corporation, proud creator of the “technological battlefield” in Vietnam with its “smart bombs” and other sophisticated devices to kill and maim. They quoted such dignitaries as Professor David Apter of Yale University, member of the Council on Foreign Relations, saying that “leftist radicals pose the greatest challenge to the foundations of Western democratic society,” which is the professorial name for the criminal system which has pro-

duced such “democratic” giants as Mitch Werbell and the cowardly kidnappers of Brustein. They quote another speaker at the conference, Stephen Sloan, who makes his living simulating terrorist actions for airlines, police and the military and who had the hypocritical gall to call the Brigade's agitation an example of “terrorist discussion.” No, these pillars of “freedom and democracy” prefer their “discussion” with the masses of people worldwide at the other end of a gun, or a pineapple bomb, or a jelly-gasoline attack or one of their filthy nukes.

The response of the masses of people in Atlanta to the Brigade's presence in that city is turning this onslaught of media slander back onto the ruling class. In Atlanta, workers and people from many walks of life, including one city councilman, wrote personal statements of protest against the vicious abduction of Brustein and the attack on the May Day Brigade. And while the reactionaries and their mouthpieces in the press have bared their vicious fangs, attacking an unarmed woman who turned the tables on them, and trying to paint the Brigade in their own filthy image, they have proven once again that in the final analysis, all their terror and technology will only succeed in sowing the seeds of their own destruction, when the working class and the masses of people get hip to the nature of this ruling class, whose capacity for generating human misery has surpassed even Hitler's wildest dreams. ■

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