Revolutionary Worker
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May Day Brigade Held Hostage in Youngstown

On Feb. 11, over one million Iranian people poured into Azadi Square (Victory Square) in Tehran to celebrate the anniversary of the insurrection and the overthrow of the Shah. At the same time, in defiance of President Bani-Sadr’s ban on demonstrations in front of the U.S. Embassy, two hundred fifty thousand people demonstrated against U.S. imperialism. Back as the official rally, presided over by Bani-Sadr, Khomeini’s son and Yasir Arafat, leader of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, a message from Ayatollah Khomeini said, “Iran continues its decisive struggle against the ruthless expansionist U.S. until the breaking of all economic, military, political and sabotaging the struggle of the Iranian masses, when he announced that he was dropping the demand for the return of the Shah to Iran in exchange for the hostages. The demand for the return of the hostages indicates that there is very dirty business afoot between Iran’s bourgeoisie and the U.S. government.”

In an interview on Feb. 12, with the French bourgeois newspaper Le Monde, Bani-Sadr dropped a bomb, sabotaging the struggle of the Iranian masses, when he announced that he was dropping the demand for the return of the Shah to Iran in exchange for the hostages. The demand for the return of the Shah has been at the heart of the revolutionary and progressive people all over the world. Bani-Sadr made a blatant leap over the line into the camp of U.S. imperialism in the following exchange from Le Monde:

Q: What exactly are you asking of the United States?
Bani-Sadr: A thorough and proper self-criticism concerning the crimes that they have committed in Iran in the past quarter century and the recognition of our right to obtain the extradition of the Shah and the restitution of his fortune. We are so certain that we will win our case that we are willing to accept in advance the conclusions of an international investigative commission.

Q: Will you wait for the end of the investigation?
Bani-Sadr: No, we will not wait for the end of the investigation. We urge the Shah to be handed over to his people immediately. There can be no more delay.

Bani-Sadr Bending Over to U.S.

The response to this open challenge has been dead serious. There are right now literally thousands of workers around the country who have no intention of seeing the fight for May Day called off, dragged back any round. In leaflets and street and factory agitation this outrage and the reasons behind it are being exposed. The National May Day Committee issued the call for bail money to be sent immediately. Funds are still urgently needed. The National May Day Committee also issued the call for additional Revolutionary May Day Brigade Volunteers to step forward and replenish the ranks of those who have been (or will be) ripped away from the front ranks.

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May Day Brigade marches through Ford River Rouge plant. See article, page 5.

Battle for May Day Underway

Thursday, February 14. As we go to press, 10 volunteers from the Revolutionary May Day Brigade have been held hostage for a week and a half. They are sitting in jail in Youngstown, Ohio after being arrested for sounding the May Day call in this dying steel town. While sitting at the local unemployment office on Wednesday, Feb. 6, Brigaders were grabbed by office guards, then arrested by the cops. Bail was set at $625, but then raised to an outrageous $4,500 each the next morning—and this for three misdemeanors, in most cases. The high bail set for relatively minor legal charges were not, however, the result of the whims of one reactionary judge. Far from it. It has since been learned that no less than the Attorney General of the State of Ohio ordered the bail increase—a fact which drives home the point that the authorities from top to bottom are out to stop Revolutionary May Day 1980 in its tracks.

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NEWSPAPER NEWS
Awright! We don't dip our flag for an American tradition not to. NO! The U.S. flag is not being dipped. He has 50 pounds! Let's see now if he is going to dip his flag. If he doesn't, the flag must weigh about 50 pounds and that flag looks frail. He must weigh less than 150 pounds. In these Olympics but to have the honor of carrying the flag in the opening ceremonies will not be a wide assortment of pinball machines. The U.S. has spared no effort in giving the visiting athletes a taste of good old American hospitality. Foreign athletes are housed in an Olympic village that was built to be a prison after the games. They sleep two to a cell. American athletes, however, sleep in four bedroom, two bathroom trailers each with his own bedroom. But the U.S. is quick to point out all the splendid diversions the foreign athletes enjoy in the Olympic village. They have a disco and a wide assortment of pinball machines to put their quarters in. How quaint it is to see a Polish or Venezuelan athlete hunched over a Superman or Star Trek pinball machine. Just think how much fun they are having here in America. They are even allowed visitors if they have the proper identification and credentials to get past the checkpoints that ring the ten mile security perimeters around the village. And they are being allowed for training and recreation as well as for actual competition. They will probably even be allowed to return home—even the Russian athletes.

**Resurrection at Lake Placid: Duke’s Rotting Corpse Heads U.S. Team**

With the U.S. imperialists’ recent admission that the Olympic Games have been dominated by imperialist policies including a masquerade of unbridled American chauvinism at the Winter Olympics in Lake Placid. Well, so far we have not been disappointed one bit. From its inception, the XIII Winter Olympic Games have been chock full of swaggering antics each a worthy tribute to the rotting corpse of John Wayne.

The opening ceremonies were a true classic display. Being the host country the U.S. marched in last in the opening parade a position they took full advantage of. Following the team from the USSR (dressed in bear-like fur coat) that was greeted with boot and scattered cries of “Round Up Go Home!” and then the Yugoslavians (fittingly sandwiched between the two super-powers), the U.S. team marched in wearing cowboy outfits complete with white cowboy hats and were greeted by roaring cheers from the home crowd. Yee Hah! All that was missing were the horses a big hulking animal to charge.

This was a spectacle that would make The Duke proud. The newscasters loved it and paid special attention to point out that the U.S. has refused since 1908 with one exception to dip its flag as they pass the reviewing stand (a sign of respect for other countries’ flag). The question grew—will they dip the flag? Jim McIntrye picked up the action. "Is the U.S. flag bearer for the U.S. and his is another remarkable story. He has overcome cystic fibrosis to not only compete in these Olympics but to have the honor of carrying the U.S. flag. He certainly looks frail. He must weigh less than 150 pounds and that flag must weigh about 50 pounds! Let's see now if he is going to dip the flag. Remember this has been an American tradition not to. NO! The U.S. flag will not be dipped. He has not dipped the flag." Yee Hah! Awright! We don't dip our flag for nobody!

Also during the opening ceremonies, which were highlighted by the release of 2000 "doves of peace" (actually they were pigeons), a sky diver gave the crowd a real thrill, parachuting into the stadium carrying an American flag. This little vilification of a U.S. paratroop invasion, no doubt armed the heart of many a foreign athlete and gave them an inspiring glimpse of much larger U.S. airborne peace missions to come in the near future.

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Carter Draft Registration: Lining Up the Targets

Last week Carter announced his proposal for cranking up the draft, a plan that would bring in registering women as well as men. But the words were hardly out of his mouth before anti-draft-demonstrations exploded once again around the country, as thousands hit the streets in opposition to this latest war proposal by the government. In Washington, D.C., 650 people converged on the White House shouting “No War! No More Draft!” In Chicago and Philadelphia, demonstrations of over a thousand poured out with familiar chants of “Hell No, We Won’t Go!” And the national campaigns also ran into a wall of apathy, as people were rocked with one protest after another. In Berkeley, 4000 demonstrators showed the number that had protested there a couple of weeks ago. At Kent State University, scene of the government murder of students in 1970 for protesting the Vietnam War, hundreds of young people gathered around to ignite mock draft cards. One protestor burned a handkerchief resembling the stars and stripes. That night a student was arrested in his home by police who held him on $2200 bail for “desecrating the flag.”

The widespread protests involved many who were participating in political life for the first time. The actions were sponsored by coalitions of a wide range of political groups and tendencies. In Chicago, for example, some of the organizers of the July 4th rally included all non-official” U.S. citizens to leave the country immediately. West Germany has closed down its embassy in San Salvador, complaining that the Salvadoran government is “incapable of providing protection.”

On Jan. 30, Colonel Jaime Abdul Gutierrez, a member of the junta, followed in the footsteps of a more famous U.S. puppet when he flew to Texas for “medical treatment,” accompanied by his doctor Ramon Avaros, who just happens to be another member of the junta. Just what “treatment” Gutierrez received was not revealed, but the puppet government got a shot in the arm when Secretary of State Vance announced a $4 million aid package for the Salvadoran government two days later—a last ditch effort to prop up the cottering regime. In addition, the U.S. government is reportedly considering sending 7500 troops to shut down and shipping out their heavy military. West Germany, on the other hand, sent its arm when Secretary of State Vance announced a “dialogue with the popular forces.”

But the U.S. is well aware of the strength of the mass movement in El Salvador and does not really hold out much hope for preserving the puppet regime no matter how much money they pour into it, as indicated in the above quote from Time, though they have by no means given up hope for finding some way to maintain their hold on the country. So, in the context of broad sections of the population joining the popular forces and taking to the streets against U.S. imperialism, some pro-U.S. elements are also trying to join in an attempt to worm their way into and gain influence within the movement itself. For example, former junta member Guillermo Ungo’s National Revolutionary Movement (MNR), which so willingly served imperialism’s interests between October and January as part of the junta’s plan to install a government, published a statement in mid-January saying the MNR intends “necessity to strengthen its links and collaborate with the popular based movement, with which the MNR feels itself totally identified.”

The U.S. government has learned from its experience in Nicaragua, where a number of pro-imperialist forces were able to get themselves into the anti-Somoza movement and the new government. Now, prominent imperialist academics are advising the State Dept. that, in the situation where the masses refuse to be kept down, the U.S. should adopt such maneuvers in El Salvador. Professor Thomas P. Anderson, just back from visiting El Salvador with a group of congressmen, is likely to be heard out in a signed editorial in the L.A. Times: “The U.S. must maintain a dialogue with the popular continued on page 14
**Youngstown**

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Workers around the country were focused on Youngstown, the city itself became a hotbed of political activity. Youngstown steel workers were mobilized to Youngstown from different mid-western cities. The walls of this Ohio town were painted in an exchange between a Brigader and a steel worker, "Workers are making their choices, and some look at you very thoughtfully when they do..."

A hearing for the Brigaders was set for Monday, February 11, in the courtroom. The Brigaders were well known, however, that Youngstown's encirners would hear nothing that would stir the court's blood the street for the time being. The judge looked carefully at the May Day supporters who had traveled to Youngstown from different mid-western cities. The Brigader who had been released under recognizance. The prosecutor chimed in, "Just because the lives in Youngstown don't want you to leave the state."

The judge replied sloppily, "There's no reason to believe they couldn't be in Washington, D.C. or Detroit and the week after!" Obviously the judge was not in control of his language, but the point was being made. The May Day supporters were being treated as enemies of the state, and the May Day 10 were standing before him.

He wrapped up the day by dismissing the motion for bail reduction because it involved "counterfeiting of court orders."

The Briggs were put on trial on May Day 1980. The May Day 10—stood before him. The critical importance of this day was that the May Day 10 offer bundles of shit like the army, where you will have food, shelter and money. Some of our friends and followers new what this miserable system is. We carry with us a hatred and disgust more profound than anything. With their fixed eyes and their bows you can guess what they are thinking.

Youngstown, Ohio has become the site of the first major battle in the struggle for a new society. In Youngstown, the working class and the people are making their choices, and some look at you very thoughtfully when they do...They hope to generate thousands of new ideas. With their fixed eyes and their bows you can guess what they are thinking.

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The following is a translation of a letter we received from Spanish from Houston. All throughout my life I've had so many friends and we all think and see things alike—what this miserable system is. We carry with us a hatred and disgust more profound than anything. With their fixed eyes and their bows you can guess what they are thinking.

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Yugoslav Worker Writes About May Day

This letter was written by a worker who immigrated to this country from Yugoslavia and read it at a May Day dinner.

In Yugoslavia I was in the Communist Party. Some of the people in the party were chauvinist and like bandits. I criticized them in the party and they threw me out of the party. I told them, “How can this be a socialist country if the Communist Party lies, exploits and throws sand in peoples’ eyes? You say I am not a communist, but I will always be for the working class.”

In the factory the other workers and I had conflicts with the managers. Some of the leaders, “communists,” there were very rich. I tried to fight all this.

Some of my friends came to the U.S. They told me it is very good here. But when I came here I saw the way it really is. The working class here are slaves, they are told everything to do, called to war to fight their enemies. Our real enemies are those who are against the working class. They tell us a Big Lie—they say there Is freedom, liberty, democracy here for workers but there is none. There are many reactionaries and liars here from my country. They were enemies of the workers there and they are the same thing here. Washington (D.C.) let them come here to make people in the U.S. stay asleep, like now, capitalists will destroy them, they will be made like animals. Therefore it is very important to tell the working class the truth. Many are afraid to speak, but they see what is happening. What we have to do is turn everything upside down, if the U.S. capitalists are knocked down this will be like a surprise for people here and all over the world. One day we will hunt them and kill them like poison spiders.

Today Yugoslavia is in crisis. Tito today is lying about Marx and Engels. He said they didn’t write about crisis in socialism. But Tito Is a dictator. How can he lead people to solve problems when they are slaves? He is a red bourgeois. He is for only one country—his—not for the working class. We are international. But I tell you one day workers there will rise up too!

For me, before I had nobody to speak with. I felt very happy to see the call for May Day. Today May Day is the day of the international working class. If people in the U.S. stay asleep, like now, capitalists will destroy them, they will be made like animals. Therefore it is very important to tell the working class the truth. Many are afraid to speak, but they see what is happening. What we have to do is turn everything upside down, if the U.S. capitalists are knocked down this will be like a surprise for people here and all over the world. One day we will hunt them and kill them like poison spiders.

On to Revolutionary May Day 1980

**We Are International**

In the week the revolutionary May Day Brigade was in Detroit, some brigade members decided to take a tour of the giant Ford Motor Company complex at River Rouge. We got the following report from a member of the Brigade.

As the bus rolled through the enormous Ford Company grounds, the motor mouth heading up the tour spoke up, “This is the world center for Ford.” He told us how Ford owns everything from the iron ore, coke and lime stone raw materials, the feet of ships anchored in the Great Lakes here in Dearborn, Michigan. He bragged about the 36,900 workers here, averaging the payroll to little less than $400 per person each week and how, in two 8-hour shifts, they produced 1,080 cars. It’s a city within a city and I laughed to myself when he raised the notorious “Ford has a better idea” logo. Before the afternoon was over, we’d see about that.

It was only moments until the revolutionary May Day brigades set out to conduct its own tour of the Rouge complex, complete with Revolutionary Worker, May Daymanifestos, banner and bullhorn. The workers left their assembly lines. The literature was dispersed quickly as the agitators’ words rang out, “Are we only makers of profit or will we be builders for May Day?”

Some of the brigaders had been a little nervous about attempting such a bold action but all agreed that as soon as they hit the line it felt like we were home. We felt like we belonged there! The brigade itself had been outside the plant all week, struggling with hundreds to break out, to cast aside the “star spangled chains on our brains.”

And today, more were prepared to stand with the action taking place right there on the shop floor. As the foreman and plant security headed our way, some of the workers started on the spot decision. To the front of us, about one block ahead, a tow motor pulled across the aisle; it was the same a half-block to the rear of the march.

The march moved on and the front line tow motor driver moved aside, beaming and clapping his hands in unison with the chant! The foreman had been forced in through the assembly lines and the line of leafleeters, approaching us at the center instead of being able to block our ranks front and rear. One worker spoke up, “Here comes more security. There’s the stairway. Run!”

We hit the stairwell and ran. By the time we hit the exit, only a few outside Dearborn cops had arrived. We ducked and we dodged, most of us leaving the cops in our dust.

Our reporter talked to a worker at Ford who was on the line and witnessed the whole tour. “Some of his remarks follow:

I was on break, so I saw most of what came down. I couldn’t hear too much of what the people on the bullhorn were saying. All I really got was, “We won’t work that day, will you—May Day 1980,” and I could hear a lot of the workers on the lines saying, “Yea, yea, right on” and “No, we won’t work.”

I was really surprised to see so many people actually stop working and take newspapers and leaflets and read them right there. I only heard one person say, “You ought to kill all them bastards” to a foreman.

I followed the march all the way out. I was worried about what would happen to these people when they left. I saw security catch up to a couple of them and put one guy on the ground. Two or three of the security guards had him, but he put up one hell of a fight.

When I went back in, I asked a woman for some papers. She said the super came up and took everyone he could find laying around. But the cops really freaked when they saw this car rolling down the assembly line with bright orange bumper stickers all over it that said, “We won’t work that day, will you?” They tried to pull them off, but that glue is pretty strong.

**Get Your Revolutionary May Day 1980 Button and Bumper Sticker**

Available from the RW. See local addresses p. 2.
Isla Vista Reunion to Celebrate Historic Bank Burning

Ten years ago this month, the youth of Isla Vista, California, rose up in a massive rebellion and barricaded the local branch of the Bank of America, turning the hated symbol of U.S. imperialism into a pile of ashes. Thousands of students from the University of California at Santa Barbara and other youths, filled with a burning hatred for the Vietnam War, the U.S. lies and hypocrisy, and the venality the masses of people face here in the belly of the beast, barricaded the streets and fought the pigs for two days and nights, until the National Guard was called in. They continued the fight, changing the names of street signs to confound the guardsmen who were unfamiliar with the layer type and humility. Sheriffs from three counties converged on the area, indiscriminately breaking down doors, beating handcuffed youth, and dropping tear gas from helicopters. One sheriff's captain had his picture taken brandishing various medieval weapons and joking about how they were being used on the rebellious youth. But even though this whole thing was circulated in every newspaper in the country, and the gruesome tales of pig bestiality were spread all over to instigate others from getting similar ideas, the vision of that Bank of America engulfed in flames remained an inspiration to millions in this country and around the world.

The ruling class moved quickly to try and turn things around in Isla Vista. In addition to increased police terror, they rapidly rebuilt the bank, this time in the form of a fortress which proved to be flame resistant despite numerous attempts at a repeat performance. They also flooded the area with various reform programs, recruiting local poverty pimps and others to promote Isla Vista as a place to retreat from the struggle against imperialism.

But the 1980 Isla Vista homecoming on Feb. 22, 23, and 24, promises to be something far different. Sponsored by the Isla Vista Reentry and Rebuilding Districts, (yes, this is for real) the purpose of the homecoming is "celebrating ten years of community evolution and commemorating the 10th anniversary of the burning of the Bank of America." While there are still people who would prefer to keep things politically quiet, a number of the organizers are calling for a weekend of political debate, to sum up the lessons of the '60s and the rebellion, and to struggle over the road forward in the '80s.


events include a guerrilla theatre, showings of the film about the bank burning called "Don't Bank on America," panel discussions, and an "artifacts" gallery. The leaflet being distributed to qualify the celebration consists of a book of matches, and a commemorative poster will be printed.

Meetings of the local apartment owners association have been organized by local politicians in opposition to the celebration. As one recent meeting, one of the members of this group got up and said that she now could appreciate the Khoi Khan. She received a standing ovation. In addition, some organizers and supporters of the homecoming have suddenly started receiving obscene and threatening phone calls and letters. It appears that a list with their names, addresses, and phone numbers was circulated to pornographers and others who told them these were people soliciting sexual contacts.

Naturally, the sheriff's department has refused to investigate.

All in all the Isla Vista homecoming seems to be a politically charged event with many important and burning questions being put out on front street for heated debate and struggle. The Santa Barbara reactionary has good reason to fear such an event. Not only because it brings back aching memories for them and proud and inspiration to millions in this country and around the world, but because of its potential to help turn up the heat and spark struggle in the period ahead.

Revolutionary Lawyer
Barred from the Bar

On Feb. 7, the Cincinnati Bar Association's Committee on Admissions and Legal Education denied Martha Kociolek the right to take the bar exam and to be admitted to the practice of law in the state of Ohio. Bar committee members are normally a routine formality for graduates of the University of Cincinnati College of Law like Kociolek. But her Feb. 7 interview by the Association was anything but routine as the committee asked her questions like: "Did you allow yourself to be associated with the Revolutionary Communist Party? Do you subscribe to the doctrine of violent overthrow of the government? Do you subscribe to some of the theories of the RCP? Are these the leaflets you passed out? Did you ever participate in a demonstration where these leaflets were handed out? How can you associate with a group like this, how can you be married to a Communist and not believe in those goals?"

The attempt to blacklist Kociolek has been underway for several months. Last June the committee refused to recommend Kociolek to the July Bar examination. Immediately, Kociolek and other members of the National Lawyers Guild began circulating letters and soliciting letters protesting this action. So on February 7 came "Catch 22" from the committee members, take this petition and write this petition Isn't it true that you publicized the statement that the Cincinnati Bar Association was preventing you from taking the Bar exam and that led to a large number of petitions and letters being submitted to this committee?" In other words, the RCP's protest became grounds for turning down her protest. A long Guild activist testifying as a character witness in Kociolek's behalf was likewise grilled about a letter he wrote protesting the committee's action.

The court system under the mask of "justice and equality" has been stung by a number of attorneys stepping forward to take a stand against government repression and stand with the masses of people. Martha Kociolek is one of their ranks—working in recent months giving legal assistance to the defense in the railroad of Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants. The ruling class recognizes that progressive and revolutionary lawyers and other professionals can have a real influence on others involved and are attempting to isolate them and intimidate others from coming forward.

Letters and protests against this action coming from Martha Kociolek can be sent to Milton Thrumond, Jr., Chairman, Committee on Admissions and Legal Education, Cincinnati Bar Association, 26 E. 6th St., Cincinnati, Oh, 45202. Send copies to Kociolek, 189 W. Patterson, Apr. 6, Columbus, Oh. 43202.

Break The Chains!
Unleash the Fury of Women
As a Mighty Force For Revolution

by the Revolutionary Communist Party

And a solidarity message from the League of Fighting Women of Iran.

RCP Publications
Box 3486
Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654
32 p. $1.00
The Science of Revolution (Part IV)

This is the fourth and final article in the series on the science of revolution. These articles have introduced and summarized the basic points of an important new book which is now entering the final stages of composition and publication shortly. This new book will contain, in concentrated form, the foundations of the science of revolution—Marxist-Leninist and Maoist theory.
Line of the RCP

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struggle to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the concrete struggle to integrate Marxism-Leninism with the concrete

suffered the absolute necessity to win the working class to proletarian internationalism, to support the struggles of the working class and oppressed peoples everywhere, especially when it is the U.S. rulers and their empire that are targeted.

Any shirkers of their historic responsibility to carry it through, will not only strengthen the hand of reaction worldwide, it will also do a disservice to the revolutionary line indifferently. And it is this all the more underscored by the looming war, in which other imperialist powers will be drawn into it. In these instances in internationalism will be able to resist the bourgeoisie's calls—which are nothing but calls to slavish submission to the weight of a tradition that had, on analysis, been seriously flawed by the fact that the opportunist tendency took its toll. Either the Party would nurture and develop the revolutionary core and kernel of its line, or it would get swamped by the same kind of spontaneity as the Bundists, or that sludge would clot and block off the Party's revolutionary capability.

In a sharp and persistent struggle that began before the 1977 split with the Mensheviks and has continued down to today, the Party has fought a trend head on. In this form, the Party has fought all tendencies toward com- placency and forged forward with its revolutionary line. The call for "Revolutionary Workers' Unity, Revolution in the '80s," the unity of the international community movement in the '80s and '90s. While in the main the Party and RU had always carried out an over-emphasis on winning the masses and the weight of a tradition that had, on analysis, been seriously flawed by the fact that the opportunist tendency took its toll. Either the Party would nurture and develop the revolutionary core and kernel of its line, or it would get swamped by the same kind of spontaneity as the Bundists, or that sludge would clot and block off the Party's revolutionary capability.

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Los Angeles—The L.A. County sheriffs had boomed Cedric Steward incessantly for over a month. They continuously stopped his girlfriend's car to search him and the vehicle. One time, they had forced the 19-year-old Black youth to stand barefoot in a rainstorm while "searching his shoes for drugs." Like most of the people in his neighborhood, he felt that a pig's bullet had his name already marked on it.

On Feb. 1, with the rent due and his mother short of money, Steward stole a purse and brought it home. His mother refused the money and sent the youth out to return it. Two of the area's more notorious uniformed thugs spotted him and went into action. While they spread-eagled Steward across the hood of the car, his mother rushed out to tell the cops that he was taking the purse back. One of the pigs raised his baton and threatened to use it on Mrs. Steward. Cedric jumped up from the police car, and the pigs went to work. They beat him from one end of the alley to the other, finally pushing him face down on the ground. According to witnesses, Steward was unconscious when one of the pigs handcuffed him and the other coldly placed the barrel of his revolver against the back of the youth's neck, pulling the trigger. There was no need to call an ambulance.

19-year-old Cedric Steward was the fifth Black man to be murdered by L.A. police in the last six weeks. The latest reign of terror, following the death of at least 120 people since 1975, represents an intensification of the brutal oppression of Black people in Los Angeles. The pigs roam the streets of the Black community like an occupying army with orders to shoot on sight.

The particular neighborhood that Steward lived in, East Compton, is a case in point. People are afraid to go out after dark, because that's when the pigs really go on the rampage. One youth told a local reporter, "I go to work at 6 a.m. and it's hard to get off before 1 or 2. I don't have a car, so I have to walk only when I get my job. But every night they stop me, know enough not to say anything or to show any resistance. You can get killed for that around here.''

The most recent wave of officially sanctioned murder began on Dec. 29, when more than 20 L.A. police and sheriff department assassins confronted William Gavin on a busy street in broad daylight. They claimed he had a knife. For nearly an hour they surrounded and taunted him, while maintaining communications with headquarters on their radios. Finally, they must have gotten the word that it was time to end the recreation and move on to other locations. They opened fire, killing Gavin instantly.

L.A. County's hospitals are participating in the murder campaign. Martin Luther King Hospital in Watts has an emergency room staffed with as many security guards as medical workers. All questions of police shooting victims are referred to the head of hospital security. On Jan. 31, the hospital admitted 47-year-old Willie Belvin shortly after sheriff's deputies had shot him. He had been arrested on a warrant that permitted the pigs to "superficial." They had boxed him in and while one of his Black and white officers handcuffed him, Royal Williams, bled to death at the jail ward at Centinela Medical Center two days after being shot in the arm and leg by the L.A.P.D.

In the last 15 months, 197 police and sheriff shootings in L.A., 61 of them resulted in the deaths of Black victims. One community group estimated that 85% of those shot were Black and opposed to militarization. Not one of the ruling class's hired thugs has ever been brought to trial.

Appeals Court Upholds Terrence Johnson Conviction

Annapolis, Maryland—On February 15, a three-judge panel of the Maryland Court of Special Appeals upheld the railroadings of 15-year-old Terrence Johnson to 25 years in jail. His trial last spring had been an indication of the popularity among students from the range of bullhorns only aroused more interest. The particular neighborhood that Steward lived in, East Compton, is a case in point. People are afraid to go out after dark, because that's when the pigs really go on the rampage. One youth told a local reporter, "I go to work at 6 a.m. and it's hard to get off before 1 or 2. I don't have a car, so I have to walk only when I get my job. But every night they stop me, know enough not to say anything or to show any resistance. You can get killed for that around here.''

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"Typical Red treachery!" they of the U.S. bourgeoisie were deafening. of the globe and their horror at Soviet allies have long been meddling not only ed hypocrisy. an empire forged in the blood of the people of the world since the U.S. emerged from World War 2 as the top dog imperialist power, is now being seriously challenged, not by "comunist aggressors" as they would have the people of this country and others believe, but by a band of capitalist stenavomers in the U.S.S.R. just like those in the U.S.

Of course, the rulers of the U.S. have the task of convincing everybody that America is actually the good peace-loving country, the friendly superpower, which must send its troops all over the world to combat Soviet aggression. They also have the task of convincing people in this country in particular that their interests lie in fighting and dying to protect their world-wide empire. And while they must conceal the actual nature of the coming war—which is to be a war between two imperialist sets of slavemasters to re-divide the world—they also must conceal the actual nature of the enemies in the Soviet Union. That is because it is the headlong clash between the compiting economics and politics of the same system—imperialism—which is driving the world toward war between these superpowers.

During the first inter-imperialist war—World War 1—the U.S. rulers attempted to rally the people of this country behind their entry into the war against Germany on the basis of "making the world safe for democracy" by defeating "Attila the Hun." On the other hand, the German rulers told the German people that they must fight the "oriental despotism" of the Tsar in Russia (who had joined the bloc of imperialists headed by England against Germany). And in World War 2 there was just a fight against Germany—but not for the reasons the U.S. gave. It was right and necessary to fight Germany because it was the German set of capitalists, headed by Hitler, that were attacking the then-socialist Soviet Union and it was right to defend socialism. It was not to fight the "fascist menace" of Hitler, as if some difference existed between capitalist rule in Germany and that in the U.S.

Today, as inter-imperialist rivalry between blocs headed by the U.S. on the one hand and the Soviet Union on the other heads straight for a third worldwide showdown, the U.S. must again do some public opinion work to convince the world that the dragon which emerged first as "the Hun," then later as the "fascist menace" has returned to stage the world as "Comunist aggressors."

But what they will never say is that the motor which drives this beast to its final destruction by the same forces that has driven the U.S. to create the worldwide empire must now not only expand: the profit system, in other words—capitalism.

State Capitalist, not Communist

Despite the Soviet's claim to carry on the communist tradition of Marx and Lenin, and the echo of this claim by our own rulers, who have much to gain by tarring authentic Marxism with the foul Soviet brush, these so-called "communist" are not likely to succeed all. The fact is that the Soviet Union hasn't been a socialist country for some time. The fact is that the whole Soviet system is social-imperialism: in words, imperialism in deeds and in fact.

The Soviet rulers are powerful state capitalists who have reorganized the formerly socialist economy according to the dictates of the profit principle. The motto that "planned economy" is planned only in the sense that the big state monopolists scheme what to offer to try and guarantee the highest rates of profit for key sectors until they can get a grip on the entire production process, one economist noted that "...economic responsibility is an illusion supported in a comprehensive way. Therefore, each ministry seeks preferential positions, and in working out their "plan," different factions of Soviet state capitalists compete to see which one, if each other and the end result differs little, in essence, from the anarchy of social capitalism."

The West (which it is, itself, of course, also in common with a small financial crisis now facing the U.S. rulers.)

But having restored capitalism the Soviet rulers face the fact that once capitalism development reaches the highly centralized and concentrated state of imperialism it is no longer possible to profitably develop the profit system, or find profit, within the context of strictly domestic economy. Though there is distorted growth, imperialism is capitalism at its stage when its fundamental role is to hold back the continued development of production. The laws of capitalism dictate that under imperialism tendencies to stagnation and crisis are the rule and development can only take place through the ever-increasing and highly profitable expansion of capital and the consequent need to defend that capital and facilitate its further export through the establishment, defense and continued extension of spheres of influence, etc.

Crisis and Decay

This is the situation faced by Soviet social-imperialism today. The symptoms are clear enough: the growth rate of the Soviet economy has been steadily declining since about the mid-50's with some observers even predicting a zero growth rate by the mid-80's. It is widely acknowledged that the U.S.S.R.'s

"plan" is a sham. While the availability of consumer durables like TVs and washing machines has increased somewhat during the past decade, the last five years have also seen a near-collapsed existence of portions of the food supply system, some provincial cities, meat, fruits and vegetables are often unavailable except to members of the privileged ruling set, and not even inadequately in agriculture which is less profitable than other sectors.

The depth of the Soviet crisis and stagnation is most evidenced by the marked decline in productivity to levels so low that even this one-time Pravda contains new and ever more frantic calls for its increase. This decline is highly significant and basically indicates a more fundamental tendency for the rate of profit to decline. It can only be reversed in two ways. First would be a major revolution in the Soviet economy and, more important, to parasitically win control over rival capitals, using the technological retooling (at least temporarily) the heightening contradictions of the system. In fact, the U.S. rulers—call it the internal logic of capitalist imperialism itself—just as in the West.

Of course, this conclusion should not be taken as meaning that the Soviets have gone into Afghanistan (or Angola, Ethiopia, etc.) in the expectation of solving their economic problems by milking this relatively poor country dry. While the Soviet rulers are in fact concerned with gradually expanding their sphere of control and investment, they are also a result of growing and able to take full advantage of any new opportunity to expand their global empire, their hold on the West. This is something much more fundamental: The nature of imperialism in general and the particular crisis of Soviet social-imperialism are such that a whole provision of world capitalism can resolve the crisis for them, just as the same is true for the U.S. imperialism. This means that from U.S. hands the most profitable and lucrative monopolistic countries which present the best opportunities for the parasitic acquisition of technology and resources, especially of the two superpowers in Asia and West Africa, and the Middle East. This is the real reason why the U.S. rulers are whistling away at U.S. hegemony, moving gradually into relations with the Shah, grabbing up bits and pieces from the grasp of the U.S. and the growing intensity of their own crisis.

Continued on page 14
The Defeat of one's own Bourgeoisie in the Imperialist War

Why does rallying behind the slogan "defend the country," in an imperialist country like the U.S., amount to nothing short of complete betrayal of the workers and masses of people? Why should the actual defeats suffered by the rulers of this country in time of war be welcomed by the people here? Because they weaken our immediate main enemy and therefore strengthen the revolutionary cause of the working class here and around the world. The following excerpt from an article by the Russian revolutionary Lenin written during the first imperialist world war in 1915 speaks to these questions.

During a reactionary war a revolutionary class cannot but desire the defeat of its government.

The bourgeois war, and disputed only by conscious paritans or helpless satellites of the social-chauvinists, is an uncalled-for and absolutely unjustifiable concession to the political-military Wing of the social-chauvinist parties, which would replace the revolutionary struggle against the reactionary bourgeois government in wartime, with an orientation—highly arbitrary in the present conditions—towards the lesser evil.” (Neste Slavo No. 105)

This is an instance of high-flown phrases with which Trotsky always justifies opportunism. A "revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie" is the same as "defend the country." This is a meaningless exclamation, something at which the heroes of the "international exclamation," unless it means revolutionary action against one's own government even in war! One has only to come to thinking in order to understand this. Wanting to "defend" the country, one's own government indubitably means, not only desiring its defeat, but really facilitating such a defeat. ("Discerning reader": note that this does not mean "throwing up bridges," opening up this or that into war industries, and in general helping the government defeat the revolution.)

The phrase-bandying Trotsky has come to specialize in, is nothing but the abhorrence of the "class truce," of acceptance of the "class truce" slogans by the bourgeois statesmen. This is a threat to revolutionary action even in the war, even in wartime. The Organising Committee, to which Trotsky, writing in No. 1, refers, is nothing but a paraphrase of the “political methodology of social-patriotism," to use Trotsky's pretentious language.

A revolutionary war means civil war: the conversion of a war between governments into a civil war is, on the one hand, facilitated by military reverses ("defeats") of governments; on the other hand, one cannot actually strive for such a conversion without thereby facilitating defeat.

The reason why the chauvinists (including the Organising Committee and the Chkaldee group) repudiate the word "defeat" is that this word implies a consistent call for the defeat of one’s own government in wartime. Without such action, millions of ultra-revolutionary phrases such as a war against “the war and the conditions,” etc., are not worth a brass farthing. And anyone who would in all earnest refute the "slogan" of defeat for one’s own government in the imperialist war, should prove one of three things: (1) that the war of 1914-15 is not reactionary, is not a war of reaction, stemming from that war is impossible, or (2) that co-ordination and mutual aid are possible between revolutionary movements in all the belligerent countries. The third point is particularly important to Russia, a most backward country, where an immediate socialist revolution is quite possible. That is why the Russian Social-Democrats had to be the first to "defend the country," the "military might" and is likely to lead to its defeat. This is a fact to which it is foolish to close one’s eyes.

The opponents of the defeat slogan are simply afraid of themselves when they refuse to recognise the very obvious fact of the inseparable link between revolutionary agitation against the government and helping bring about its defeat.

Ask any Social-Political Democrat who calls himself an internationalist whether or not he approves of an understanding between the Social-Democrats of the various belligerent countries on joint revolutionary action against all belligerent governments. Many of them will reply that it is impossible, as Kautsky has done (Die Neue Zeit, October 2, 1914), thereby fully proving his social-chauvinism. This, on the one hand, is a deliberate and vicious lie, which clashes with the generally known facts and the Basic Manifesto. On the other hand, if it were true, the opportunists would be quite right in many respects.

Many will voice their approval of such an understanding. To this we shall say: this approval is not hypothetical, it is ridiculous to think that, in wartime and for the conduct of a war, some "formal" understanding is necessary, such as the election of representatives, the arrangement of a meeting, the signature of an agreement, and the choice of the day and hour! Only the Semkovskys are capable of thinking so. An understanding on revolutionary action even in a single country, to say nothing of a number of countries, can be achieved only by the force of the example of serious revolutionary action, by launching such action and developing it. However, such action cannot be launched without desiring the defeat of the government, and without contributing to such a defeat. The conversion of the imperialist war into a civil war cannot be "made", any more than a revolution can be "made", it arises out of a number of diverse phenomena, aspects, features, characteristics and consequences of the imperialist war. That development is impossible without a series of military reverses and defeats of governments that receive blows from parliamentary opposition but of genuine revolutionary governments, than to the nasty frank reiteration of bourgeois wisdom platitude, “defend the country,” nonsense, because either Germany or Russia can win” (Izvestia No. 2).

To the example of the Paris Commune. France was defeated by Germany but the workers were defeated by Bismarck and Thiers! (The chief German and French reactionaries of the time—ROW). Had Bukvoyed and Trotsky done a little thinking, they would have realised that they have adopted the new point on the war held by governments and the bourgeoisie, i.e. that the issue is high—only trying to re-invent the "political methodology of social-patriotism", to use Trotsky's pretentious language.

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What is the substitute proposed for the defeat slogan? It is that of "neither victory nor defeat" (Semkovsky in Izvestia No. 2; also the entire Organising Committee in No. 1). This, however, is nothing but a paraphrase of the "defence of the fatherland" slogan. It means shifting the issue to the level of a war between governments (who, according to the content of this slogan, are to keep to their old stand, "retain their positions"), and not to the level of the struggle of the oppressed classes against their governments! It means justifying the chauvinism of all the imperialist nations, whose bourgeoisie are always ready to say—and do say to the people—that they are "only" fighting "against defeat"! "The significance of our August 4 vote was that we are not for war but against defeat," David, a leader of the opportunists, writes in his book Organising Committee, together with Bukvoyed and Trotsky, stand on fully the same ground as David when they defended the "neither-victory-nor-defeat" slogan.

On closer examination, this slogan will be found to mean a "class truce," the renunciation of the class struggle by the oppressed classes in all belligerent countries, since the class struggle is impossible without dealing blows at one’s own "bourgeoisie," one's "own" government. Those who accept the "neither-victory-nor-defeat" slogan can only be hypocritically in favour of the class struggle, of "disrupting the class truce"; in practice, such people are renouncing an independent proletarian policy because they subordinate the proletariat of all belligerent countries to the absolutely bourgeois task of safeguarding the imperialist governments against defeat. The only policy of actual, not verbal disruption of the "class truce," of acceptance of the class struggle, is for the proletariat to take advantage of the difficulties experienced by the imperialist powers.

Continued on page 14
May 1, 1979, Tehran. Such a sight had never been seen by most of the revolutionaries. There were hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of the southern part of the city, on their way to the place where the march would begin. Yet the tension and the explosion of popular fury that had reduced the streets to a quagmire of mud, with thousands of people, and that had deeply wounded U.S. imperialism’s hold on every aspect of Iranian society had not dissipated. The mass manifestation that the future belonged to the international working-class—a transformation that had taken place over 26 years under the fascist regime.

The older workers could remember marching in the streets in 1953, nearly 100,000 strong, just months before the CIA-organized coup d’état that reinstated the Shah on his throne. Even afterwards, when open demonstrations were banned (a violation punishable by death), the workers of Iran still found the ways to keep May Day alive, often timing their protest to and against any celebration of the day.

The tradition of May Day stretches almost as far back as Iran’s working-class self, to 1929, when striking oil workers organized a four-day strike that was recognized as workers’ day throughout Iran. But the size and character of this workers’ movement that went beyond what anybody could remember from pre-1941 days was the sight of hundreds of thousands were in the streets of Tehran, red banners as far as the eye could see. The shouts revealed the advanced political understanding as did the chants that boomed out; “U.S. Imperialism End!” “Nationalize All Enterprises Tied to U.S. Capital!” “Imperialism Out!” “Right to Strike!” as well as calls to fight for “Socialism Today, Communism Tomorrow!”

May 1, 1979 saw more than two million men and women, workers, students and youth march in city streets throughout Iran, from the capital city of Tehran, where a million demonstrated, to the Azerbaijan minority capital of Tabriz, to the southern oil producing centers of Abadan and Ahwaz, and many others throughout the industrial areas. The massive display of the proletariat taking history into its own hands on that day had a far reaching impact, not only in Iran, but around the world through the expression of solidarity, the deepening aspirations of Iran’s laboring people, and most sharply its industrial working class. Such a mighty force could not be denied.

With all the growth of the workers’ political activity, which they stood in for in their own way. The newfound strength of the working class and its mass mobilization and mobilization of the masses. As expected, Khomeini and government officials came out and attacked May Day, calling it “foreign inspired.” But when it became apparent that the revolutionary Left’s call for May Day was striking chords of approval among the workers, the bourgeoisie had to react. With May Day, couldn’t be stopped by ignoring it, or by openly attacking the United States to develop opposition against the day. What was the potential for the world, and the potential for the workers’ class coming together, not only to the completion of the anti-imperialist, democratic stage of the revolution, but to its ultimate anti-imperialist, democratic stage of the revolution.

The genuine Marxist-Leninist forces among the masses? While the revolutionary Left had played a critical role in pulling off a revolutionary May Day, they had no desire to launch a war. But the size and character of the events had accelerated rapidly beyond what anybody could remember from pre-1941 days. Was the potential there among the masses? Even now, reports were coming from Abadan of reactionary minded supporters of the Islamic Republic attacking May Day. While the battle for public opinion was set.

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The U.S. embassy has seen rapid development in the direction of World War 3. Most notably the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Carter's State of the Union message made clear that the U.S. is preparing the use of troops and tactical nuclear weapons to secure the Persian Gulf. These developments have forced the U.S. rulers to drag the masses of people into political life and conjure up forces that they cannot control, like the thousands of students who responded to Carter's call for draft registration with draft card burnings and demonstrations across the U.S. The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA has welcomed these developments as an opportunity to arouse the millions of people being propelled into political activity to see their fight must be against their own government, not the people of Iran—so to win them to understand ultimately there is no question that a war will be fought and we will be forced to shed our blood, for the imperialists or to get rid of them. Contradily in Iran, we are in a race against time—we are determined not to lose a minute in the urgent task of preparing the masses to turn the tables on the imperialists of the two superpowers.
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And the deadly inroads the U.S. has crept in, however, cannot be achieved or striven for. When assessing the defeat of one’s own government, we cannot just growling at that defeat...Failing to win, the slogan of “neither victory nor defeat!” is con- scientiously or unconsciously a chauvinist; at any rate, it is a bourgeois policy. It is a part of the modern crisis of the present-day ruling classes.

We will now take the question of war and another angle. The war cannot but evoke among the masses the most turb- bulent sentiments, which upset the entire sluggish state of mass civilization. Revolutionary tactics are impossible if they are not adjusted to these new turb- bulent sentiments. What are the main currents of these turbulent sentiments? They are: (1) the classes and the masses—old custom, respect, religion, feeling. Again the churches are concerned about their troops. It has been declared, “Wherever there is suffering there is religion,” says the archbishop in Cambrai. (2) The class enemy, a sentiment that is carefully fostered by the capitalists. (3) The problem of the working class—“arms for the workers!” Yes, it is certainly true that the government needs the bodies and that they will not hesitate to draft women. The women are not made to play the same role necessary to defend the interests of the U.S. empire. But the imperialists and their own “progressive” pro-imperialist elements will watch their step, for they will be placing their forces necessary for their real liberation, and their conception of all those who suf- fer under the U.S. boot, the means to strike down these exploiters once and for all. It is not enough to equip the women, on giving them weapons and teaching them to fight, so much the better! The women, working class. In the region’s petroleum. Both superpowers are aware that control of Gulf oil is the single most powerful lever for con- straint over the Third World. They are aware that the U.S. has a history of joining these U.S.-pro-Russian efforts to suppress revolu- tion in El Salvador.

In a situation where the masses of Sal- vadoran people have learned a bitter les- son from those who ruthlessly slaughtered government for three months, the UDNP resigned, together with some pro- U.S. elements. They have been doing all in their power to give to the democratic elections things trying to get the support of the U.S. imperialists. The UDN, no doubt, hopes to win the masses over to supporting a new “people’s govern- ment.” Such a government, no matter how it is formed, is unable to change the current ruling junta. At the present time, certain interests of both superpowers are coinciding. By promising the participation of forces that are still able to influence and attempting to narrow the target of the opportunity to attack the only one that they believe will stop the Soviet imperialism—pro-imperialists, the surrogates of both of the superpowers are scramb- ling to contain the masses’ struggle within the bounds of the bloodsoaked rule of their masters. However, there is one tremendous obstacle in the way of the plans of the U.S. imperialists. It is El Salvador’s pro-imperialist government, and the armament of this army, it will be a formidable army indeed.

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War II and in Vietnam, women served in combats. In the next real emergency, who is in favour of the slogan of “Revolutionary Worker—February tS, 1980

As the imperialists first landed and then are quite unfea- tered Great Powers which, in fact even where the Soviets appear to have taken a position in gaining to be won are clear signals of support must be given to the democratic elements trying to assert themselves in the midst of governmental class.

Draft

Adopting this same strategy of trying to make peace and going to the going ham- merment and objectively aiding the U.S. imperialists while pursuing its own objectives. The U.S.-managed civil military junta in El Salvador is the National Democratic Union (UDN), the legal organization of the revisionist pro-Soviet Salvadoran Communist Party. After serving in the U.S.-managed civilian military junta, El Salvador

Continued from page 19

and the increasingly desperate necessity of the U.S. rulers to also expand render such a gradualist strategy inade- quate. What has been clear to both sides for some time is that in all the preliminary sparring which is going on the immediate gains to be won are clear- ly secondary to advantages gained with respect to the real showdown, world war.

This is where the Soviet move into Afghanistan can make a major step in the situation. What makes Afghanistan important is not what control of the country itself. The fact that the U.S. will add to Soviet strength—which is after all, not much at all—but its strategic position, especially behind in the light of the critical battle shaping up in the Horn of Africa and the Indian Ocean. The U.S. and Western Europe—the “on top,” imperialist war’s power surge!—are just on top!”—these they stole it fair and square. Now these nasty “theives” are moving in.

The strategic Straws of Hormuz are but the tip of the iceberg in the south Afghan. From there the Soviets hope to stir up movements under the伪装 from the Baluchis and Pathun peoples of southern Pakistan and Iran. Already an estimated 8,000 Baluchi are being trained in the Soviet Union and Afghan bishops and trained as military instructors near border areas.

For the Soviets the oil is important on two counts. First, the area has been largely self-sufficient in oil, but it has been estimated that by 1985 they will ship at least enough oil to cover three million bbl. a day. The difference is even greater if one takes into account the oil requirements of the eastern states, now entirely dependent on Soviet energy sources. To maintain the kind of tight control they will need over their allies in warring the Soviets will have to insure their capability of maintaining this sup- ply of oil. The outbreak of colonial and the economic dependence of western Europe on the region’s petroleum. Both superpowers are aware that control of Gulf oil is the single most powerful lever for con- straint over the Third World. They are aware that the U.S. has a history of joining these U.S.-pro-Russian efforts to suppress revolu- tion in El Salvador.

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Bani Sadr

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Bani-Sadr: The two are not related. It would suffice, and I’ll repeat it, that the U.S. admits its responsibilities and resolves never again to interfere in our affairs.

Q: The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, indicated that the Ayatollah Khomeini, and a nation therefore anxious to expose his rivals, would like to denounce this or that proposal, but in a statement on Tues., Feb. 12, right after the anniversary of the insurgent acquisition of the American Embassy to try to persuade us to change their minds.

I only blame them for interfering in what is none of their business. If they would like to denounce him or that politician, they would only be able to use the radio and television networks after having received the authorization of the Revolutionary Council.”

Bani-Sadr, while Bazarang and the students access to radio and T.V., he did permit former prime minister Bazargan a chance to be in all hang out recently. Bazargan condemned the students as “traitors,” and declared the act a conspiracy. The SAVAK seems to have been reasonable.” Then Mr. Bani-Sadr, play off Bazargan’s open at a decision of the Revolutionary Council, and the students’ revolutionary ac

Bani-Sadr, playing off Bazargan’s openly reactionary remarks turned around to disassociate himself from such a bazaar statement. “I consider men such as former prime minister Bazargan, Amir Entezam (the former Ambassador to Sweden arrested by the students for connections with the CPSU(N) and Nasser Manuchi (the Information Minister who was recently arrested also for collaboration with the CPSU(N) as reformers and pro-Americans.” How daring of the new President to take this stand when the Azardegan newspaper—a bourgeois paper, came out to declare Bazargan and associates “traitors and lackeys of imperialism.” This newspaper, which is reportedly under the thumb of foreign ministers. Bani-Sadr who has been saying creamed in the recent elections and therefore anxious to expose his rivals, then turned around and said: “Mr. Bani-Sadr, you are scared. You feel you are losing ground to activities which have been approved by the Ayatollah Khomeini, and a nation which is trying to use them by requesting them to unmask the lackeys of imperialism.”

Bani-Sadr: If all this boils down to is that the Iranian bourgeoisie led by Mr. Bani-Sadr and his kind are forced to turn to the U.S. imperialists to end the “hostage crisis.” And while the talking turtle from the State Department, Halden Carter, announced that the U.S. was interested in Bani-Sadr’s proposal but would not “profess guilt” for its record in Iran and Carter announced “positive program” in secret talks, Washington has been rather tight lipped. This was explained by one State Department official as a means to strengthen the position of Bani-Sadr in Iran: “He’s still building his power base,” the official said, “and anything we say at this point would probably hurt him.” But they obviously think they haven’t enough of a base for them to admit that.

The U.S. imperialists are quite really pleased with Bani-Sadr and don’t want to blow his scene. After all, delicate negotiations are underway. The problem for Iran’s shaky bourgeoisie is to get the students to let go of the hostages, to make them capitulate quietly on orders from the Ayatollah Khomeini. Of course they are not going to take the embassy by force if they have to, but they don’t want a militant confrontation either. If the students would anger, the masses of people in Iran. But if the students would go along with a decision of the Revolutionary Council, that there would take the wind out of the sails of the embassy struggle which has become a symbol for the masses of people in Iran and around the world in the fight against U.S. imperialism.

The Ayatollah has so far remained silent on the question of Bani-Sadr’s proposal, but in a statement on Tues., Feb. 12, right after the anniversary of the insurgent acquisition of the American Embassy, describing the situation in Iran as a “period of clarification.” For those now in power in Iran, it could better be described as a period of capitulation. With the invasion of neighboring Afghanistan by the Soviet imperialists the ruling circles of Iran have been anxious to come to terms with the U.S. But the U.S. imperialists have continually pointing the finger at the Soviets and telling the Iranian government, U.S. imperialists there—that’s your real enemy; anxious to bring Iran back into their war bloc. And if you don’t go along with us, well, we might just be forced to invite ourselves in like the Soviets did in Afghanistan.

When the Iranian workers, faced with one superpower on their border and another clawing its way into the government of Iran again, went into the streets a few weeks ago chanting “Down with U.S. and Soviet Imperialism,” the ironies were drawn very sharply. Events since the inscription have revealed over and over again the position of the various class forces in Iran vis à vis the imperialists, not only through their ideology but through concrete action. The national bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois elements are vacillating elements in the struggle of the Iranian proletariat and the oppressed masses. As we pointed out in the article “Patriotism and Imperialism” (P.W., December 7, 1979).

“While Khomeini most certainly cannot be relied on to continue the struggle, nevertheless his present stand (in support of the embassy takeover) is an opportunity for the Iranian people to step up their fight against imperialism. And the stand of the U.S. proletariat must be to support this and manifestations of genuine national and patriotic resistance in Iran and countries like it, that weaken our common enemy. When faced with the choice between Khomeini and the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian proletariat and the oppressed masses, we will definitely choose the latter. But when faced with a choice between Khomeini and the U.S. imperialists we will definitely choose Khomeini!” It appears that Khomeini has answered the question of his reliability once and for all, and that the deal for the return of the hostages is the latest exposure of the bourgeois elements in the student’s struggle against the Ayatollah and the U.S. imperialists. And it is more than a little astounding that Khomeini, Bani-Sadr and company, it appears, are not so confident about their base! Even if these guys succeed in derailing the struggle at the embassy for the return of the Shah, it will only be a stunning exasperation of the cream of the leadership—leading Iran right back into the clutches of the imperialists. And this will only add fuel to the fire of the revolutionary workers, peasants and anti-imperialist strata in Iran to finish the job they started a year ago.

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