



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 72 (Vol. 2, No. 20) ISSN 0193-3485

September 19, 1980

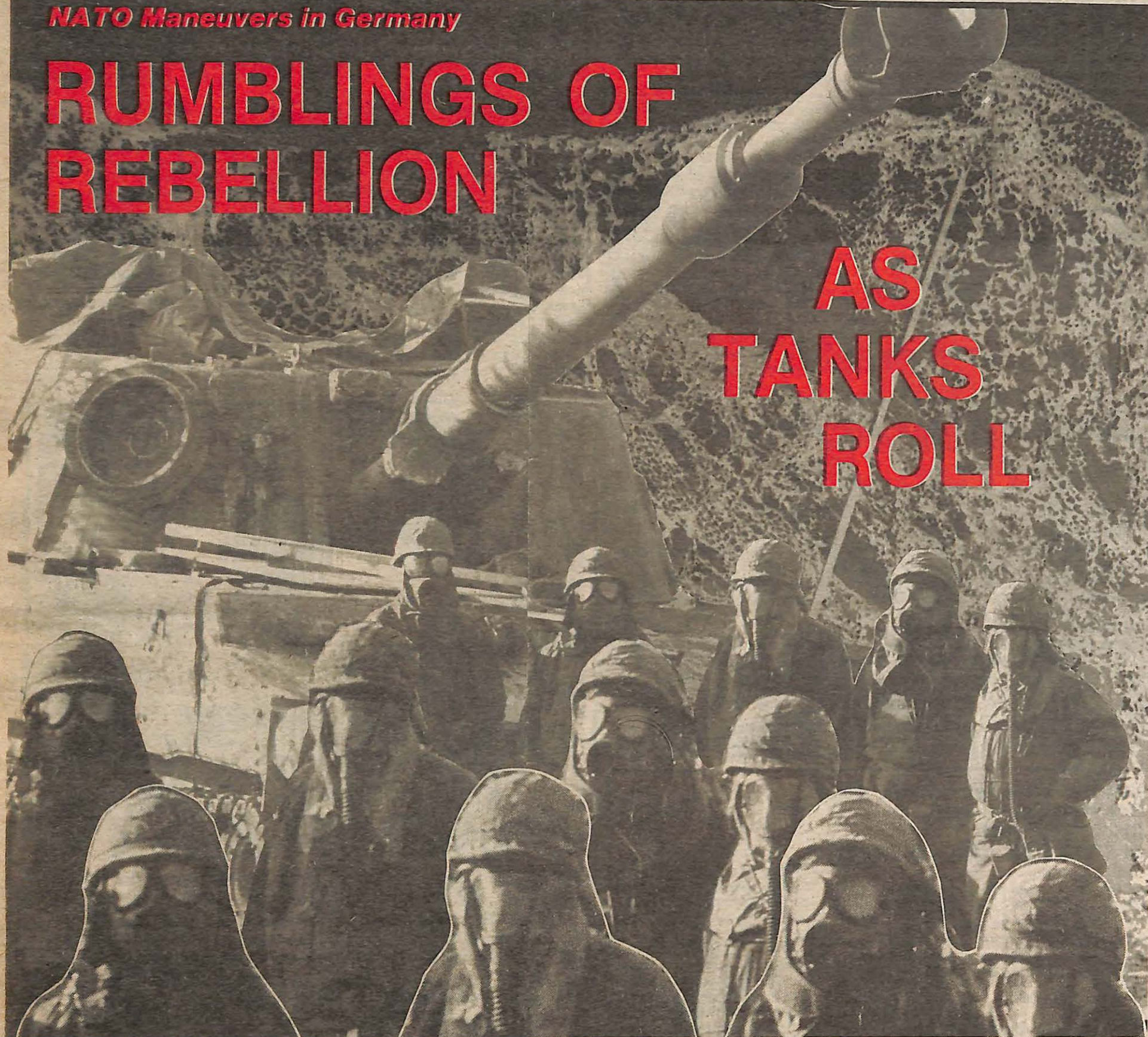
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NATO Maneuvers in Germany

RUMBLINGS OF REBELLION

AS TANKS ROLL



3:00 in the afternoon, a steady rain had started. From the edge of the village you can barely make out the few trucks parked where the forest begins just beyond the fields that surround the clustered buildings known as Cramme, West Germany. As the townspeople watch, just five miles from the border with East Germany, a sense of anticipation fills the air. All morning, helicopters flying but a few feet off the ground have crisscrossed the area. For two weeks, the preparations have been going on. In the thick green forest, hidden from the sight of the casual observer, men and tanks of the U.S. Army 2nd Armored Division, flown in from Fort Hood, Texas, have been made ready.

Now there is some movement at the treelines. Dozens of eyes strain at the mist as a line of shadowy figures emerges single file from the darkness beneath the trees. As they move through the fields, their blurred outlines come into sharp focus, M-16's in their hands. Now the attack has begun—Operation Spearpoint. With its 60,000 troops from the U.S., British and West German armies, Operation Spearpoint is the largest single exercise of Autumn Forge '80, NATO's fall war maneuvers involving perhaps as many

as half a million troops from Norway to Turkey. In Operation Spearpoint, the orange forces (made up of British and American troops) are "simulating an invasion from the East." A few miles to the west, near the city of Hildesheim, waiting in "defensive positions," are the blue forces, made up of British and West German troops. At first they will be pushed back by the orange forces

A key part of the Autumn Forge maneuvers is training for nuclear and chemical warfare. Above is some of the Army-issued chemical warfare clothing and a tank equipped with special air conditioning designed to filter nerve gases and fallout.

and retreat to the other side of Hildesheim, where they will regroup, be reinforced, and then counterattack, drive out the invaders, and "save democracy." Or at least this is the scenario that

has been laid out by the masters of war at SHAPE Belgium (Supreme Headquarters, Allied Personnel in Europe), control center of the Western imperialism.

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Pro-U.S. Fascists Topple Pro-U.S. Fascists in Turkey

In the years immediately before World War I, Turkey, the heart of the crumbling Ottoman Empire, was called "the sick man of Europe, a reference to its internal weakness and instability in a region of great strategic importance to both the competing imperialist alliances. Modern Turkey is today wracked with severe internal crisis and contradictions that have resulted in a tremendous upsurge in the struggles of the peoples of Turkey and sharp splits and almost paralyzing infighting within the country's ruling classes and politi-

cians. It is this political crisis that led to the U.S. backed military coup that toppled the pro-U.S. government of Suleyman Demirel on September 12.

The long expected military coup that ousted Demirel's government had the "made in America" brand stamped all over it. In fact, the military coup led by General Kenan Evren was announced by the State Department in Washington before it was even completed in Turkey. In a rather hapless attempt to disguise this fact, Evren said that "certain aid missions of the United States here must

have noticed tanks going past their building just before the takeover, which occurred about 4 a.m. and told Washington that something was going on." He didn't bother to comment on the fact that one member of the new military junta (which calls itself the National Security Council), General Tahsin Sahinkaya, the commander of the Air Force, had returned from consultations with top military officials in the United States just before the coup.

But whether the U.S. ordered the

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Activists Expose First Strike Plans

Authorities Sharpen Legal Blade in Berrigan Case

Philip Berrigan and six others who two weeks ago destroyed two General Electric Mark 12-A nosecones with hammers and poured blood on accompanying blueprints remain in jail on \$125,000 bail each. Daniel Berrigan is free for medical reasons on \$50,000 bail put up by the Jesuits. The Berrigans and the other members of the Atlantic Life Community are well-known pacifists active in the struggle against war.

In a preliminary hearing on Monday, September 15, five of the original 13 charges were dropped, while the same bail was continued. The charges dropped were "aggravated assault," "unlawful restraint," and "false imprisonment"—charges which had resulted from a security guard's allegations that he had been pinned against a wall by a protester, Father Kabat, and had had a phone grabbed from his hand by another demonstrator, Sister Anne Montgomery. Thus, among others, the charge of "terrorist threats" remains.

Daniel Berrigan remarked after the hearing, "If I were talking about justice, the whole thing would have been dismissed...the charges are fabricated as part of the war effort, to obscure the fact that GE is the criminal in this case."

Defense attorneys had requested to be given any statements witnesses of the protest had made to the authorities, but were flat out refused by the judge. But this particular illegality is not all that surprising and in fact foreshadows the way the trial itself will be conducted. In dropping some charges, fat has merely been trimmed from the government's case. The various legal dealings so far represent a blade being sharpened. What the government is concerned with is the sharp exposure to millions of their moves toward World War 3. "The issue wasn't who went in or what the guards said. The issue was the Mark 12-A production going on there," said Mike Wehle from the Brandywine Peace

Committee in Media, Pennsylvania.

The District Attorney stated in his arguments against the reduction in bail, "The problem with these people is they're not concerned with the consequences of their acts—they deliberately disregard the consequences of their acts. They could be on the road engaging in these activities." Obviously there is much more at stake here than the \$40,000 damage of the nosecones and that of the tools on GE's assembly floor. While the Berrigans and others certainly have no intention of "going on the road," smashing missiles while awaiting trial, what they do plan is plenty dangerous to the authorities—continued exposure of U.S. war moves, inside the court and out. The government is especially freaked by the Berrigans targeting and exposure of the Mark 12-A missile, which is part of the imperialists "first-strike" system.

Mike Wehle explains the protestors' outlook on their trial: "The people

aren't trying to put up any 'defense.' They will make statements and speak out truthfully and clearly in the court, rather as an explanation of what they did. If you believe that the government is corrupt and there is no justice in the criminal courts, you won't participate in them."

In addition to the existing charges, the case is under investigation by the grand jury. But the actions of the authorities even in the legal arena are a sharp exposure and the case is sure to bare the ugly features of the war machine to many thousands of people. Noted Wehle: "A lot of people will support it wholeheartedly who may be unable to do the same thing themselves. I really hope that people do pick up the cry and look at this first-strike policy of the United States and resist even further, as much as they can do." □

Statement of Support From UN 2

To Philip & Daniel Berrigan and the Atlantic Life Community
Brothers and Sisters,

Your actions have struck deep in the sterile dungeons where the imperialist instruments of mass destruction are assembled.

The smashing of the Minuteman missile nose cones, the splashing of blood over tools and blueprints brings into vivid focus the escalating war preparations of the United States, and the millions of lives the U.S. and Soviet Union are willing to sacrifice on the altar of profits.

We and many others have been inspired by your action and are sure millions around the world have taken notice. We salute this bold and heroic stand and call on others who see and are opposed to the superpowers' moves towards war to join in demanding that these imperialist war criminals drop all the charges and release the members of the Atlantic Life Community.

Steve Yip & Glenn Gan, the UN 2, and the Committee to Free the UN 2
September 17, 1980

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We have some work to do to transform the world: we have to prepare for revolution. And today, the most concrete, practical and immediate task in this preparation is to carry out the bold plan which the Revolutionary Communist Party is calling for—a campaign to make a leap in the distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker* to a sustained weekly distribution of 100,000 issues by the end of September.

WANTED: 100,000 CO-CONSPIRATORS

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WANTED: 100,000 CO-CONSPIRATORS

OPEN UP THE STRUGGLE!

LET 100 FLOWERS BLOSSOM:

LET 100 SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND

How do we open up the throttle to win our immediate goal of 100,000 co-conspirators—readers and distributors of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper? As we said at the beginning of this campaign in August, "We have some work to do." This was true then, true now, and will continue to be true at every point as we strive to make every leap along the way in "coming from behind to make revolution," as our Party's chairman put it. In particular, 2/3 of the way through the time period we originally set to achieve the 100,000 goal, the leap that is required still lies ahead.

The advances have already been significant: sales have increased, and very dramatically in some areas, showing the potential for all; plans are underway, and initial forces are being gathered to publish the *RW* in several more languages, thus bringing the potential strength and anti-imperialist understanding of foreign-born workers more fully and consciously into the revolutionary struggle in this country; correspondence to the paper has already increased dramatically, showing that it is becoming even more the lifeblood of a revolutionary movement. Sales of other revolutionary literature, such as Lenin's great revolutionary work *What Is To Be Done?*, have been sharply stimulated among workers who realize they need to firmly grasp revolutionary theory in order to consciously build a revolutionary movement that can win. But with all this, still we are not yet at the point where "going over the top" at 100,000 is right within our grasp in the next couple of weeks.

So what must we do? We must open up the pages of this paper, and in other ways draw many more people into open debate and discussion about the path to revolution in this country and our Party's line that today, this newspaper is our main weapon and presents the most pressing and concrete task in preparing for the revolutionary goal. This will take a bit of time, so, although time is pressing, we are going to extend the deadline for achieving the 100,000 level into November. But the key to victory is not "more time," but joining the political struggle on these questions.

At an important juncture of the Chinese revolution, when differing views needed to be aired, Mao Tsetung put forward the policy "Let A Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let A Hundred Schools of Thought Contend." While our situation is different, the principles are the same: we need and welcome this struggle, particularly among the advanced workers. Mao also said, "How can there be no wrangling in this world of ours? Marxism is a wrangling *ism*, dealing as it does with contradictions and struggles. Contradictions are always present, and where there are contradictions there are struggles." ("Talks At Conference of Party Committee Secretaries," *Selected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 364.)

The decisive question in this campaign is the political understanding and unity around a common revolutionary line among the growing numbers of advanced forces. And we know that, spontaneously at least, everyone does not agree. People have different ideas, experiences and opinions. We know that there are many revolutionary fighters who are impatient, who say

"come see me when the main weapon isn't a paper, but is something heavier." We say, let's get prepared for that time. But we want to hear from you, and join the political struggle among comrades to reach higher unity. Some believe that there is something more concrete that we must be centering our work on, saying of our central work around the paper, "To you that is struggle. To us, however, it is merely the flapping of paper."

There is also the opinion that our goals are idealistic, out too far ahead of things, and that we should aim for different, or more modest, goals today. Others would disagree with our Party's assessment in our 1979 Central Committee report that, taking a somewhat arbitrary number, "whether or not a thousand networks of the *Revolutionary Worker* are actually developed might be decisive in determining whether or not we can make revolution in this country in the next decade..." There is no way to push ahead on our revolutionary work without coming to grips with all this. Again, as Mao put it, "Contradiction must be exposed, then resolved." Where we can learn from criticism and improve our Party's work, we will; where we can answer opinions we believe to be wrong, we will do so too, not in the spirit of attacking the holders of these views, but in the spirit of political struggle for agreement around a correct revolutionary line.

Why is this a crucial method? Not because we are a debating society but, again, because "we have some work to do." When we said this back in August we did not just mean that our comrades had to simply buckle down and work harder. While there is plenty of hard—

and fruitful—revolutionary work to do, that was not our point. A handful of people increasing their own efforts won't do it. The key is a correct political line grasped by the masses. At that time we said, "The key question is the real urgency and possibility of mobilizing the advanced, including many of you who are now reading this paper, to take up this battle as your own, wage it with enthusiasm and understanding. This is both necessary and possible, as Marxist-Leninists understand—matter can indeed be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter—it is people who transform the world, on the basis of grasping the laws of objective reality." And further we pointed out, "... unless people understand what difference it makes to have 100,000 *RW*'s distributed every week on a sustained basis, why should they act? Why should they actively build the conspiracy? If they do not grasp the central task and the role that the class-conscious forces have to play in this period of preparation and see what difference it makes in terms of making revolution, then why should they do it? It is necessary for them to understand how things will be transformed in order to take up the work in a sustained and lively way."

We know that, even in our own thinking, there is much that is old and must be destroyed. To erect the revolutionary scaffolding that 100,000 *RW*'s a week will represent for building the revolutionary Party and the broader revolutionary movement will be no small struggle. Besides the battle with the enemy, the ideology of reformism and economism in particular needs to be further demolished so as to further

clear the ground for revolutionary construction. We are confident this can be done. Because we are confident of the truth and correctness of Marxism, and of our Party's basic line and plan for revolution, we know that through open struggle, it will win out and, more than that, will be the motor for rapid leaps. It will win far more fighters, co-conspirators, from among the revolutionary-minded people.

We have put forward our plan for revolutionary work leading toward the proletarian seizure of power in this country—a plan for getting from here to there, through twists and turns—a plan centered around a revolutionary newspaper. We have put forward that the times are urgent, that far from being "ahead of where things are at," we are behind—and not only behind the accelerating objective situation of crisis and looming war, but behind in meeting the revolutionary interests and requirements of the advanced section of workers who need to be further armed with an understanding of the world in order to make big contributions to changing it.

It is the duty of all revolutionary-minded people to respond to this plan; to voice disagreement where it exists or questions where they are felt. How else can we advance? Throughout this "100 Flowers" campaign, we will continue to elaborate and clarify our views in the pages of the paper. But for the struggle to be thoroughly joined, for the common cause to be advanced to the max, we must hear from you. Beginning next week, we will open the pages of this paper to the airing of all these views. □



"Welcome to America, land of the free and home of the brave," we can imagine the commanding officer at Fort Chaffee, Arkansas saying as he addresses the latest group of Cubans to arrive at his base, one of the major holding centers for those who have come over in the recent massive migration from the Soviet neo-colony. Imagine the comforting and relaxing feeling of freedom and ease of mind that these immigrants experience as they look up at the newly trained security force for the base (above). How great it must feel to be in the USA. Why we can almost hear

the welcoming speech now as the commander continues in typical U.S. imperialist fashion, "On behalf of the U.S. government I would like to officially welcome all of you to our country, the home of baseball, hot dogs, Disneyland, and the MX missile. You are about to experience a whole new world of true freedom where there is 'liberty and justice for all.' Sgt. Green here will now officially introduce you to America with a traditional formality that many, many Americans are treated to in the course of their lives. Sgt. Green will now read you your rights."

U.S. Threats Remain Khomeini Speech Leads to New Maneuvers Around Hostages

Recently there has been a flurry of news reports that Iran and the U.S. may be approaching an agreement on the release of the U.S. embassy personnel being held in Tehran. While some in the U.S. are hailing it as a breakthrough in the "stalemate," and others view it as the end of the struggle around the hostages, it is still too early to judge what the outcome of this latest round of maneuvering over the hostages will be.

The news reports were first triggered by Ayatollah Khomeini's September 12 speech in which he dropped the plans for putting the hostages on trial (particularly the already identified CIA agents and other top-ranking U.S. "diplomats") as well as the demand for an apology from the U.S. government for the crimes it has committed in Iran. Khomeini's terms for the hostages release included the return of the Shah's plundered wealth to Iran (estimated at more than \$30 billion); cancellation of U.S. claims against Iranian assets in the U.S. and the unfreezing of those assets; and a promise by the U.S. government not to intervene politically or militarily in Iran. The feeling that some kind of break in the impasse was near was also encouraged by revelations that secret negotiations between the U.S. and Iran had been going on for several months, and by some "conciliatory" gestures by both the U.S. State Department and by the families of the hostages.

Khomeini's new position reflects both the pressures on Iran's Islamic government and its vacillating bourgeois character. To a large degree, Khomeini is reacting to the stepped up pressure from the U.S., which has been swinging a double-edged sword over Iran—hoping to force the current Iranian government to cave in on the hostages and other questions, while continuing to work at destabilizing the government and preparing the conditions for a coup d'état and/or direct U.S. military action against Iran. All of this is being carried out towards the

same reactionary goal, that of installing a new regime totally subservient to the U.S. Last week's escalation in the border war between Iraq and Iran (in which Iraq has clearly been given the green light and material support by the U.S.) is the most recent example of this.

On the other hand, and part of what is still holding the government from giving in to the U.S. on the hostages, Khomeini and the Islamic government have had to reckon with the powerful anti-imperialist sentiments and continuing outbursts of struggle among workers, peasants and other sections of the Iranian people; and for more than a year they have been bogged down in Kurdistan, unsuccessfully trying to suppress the revolutionary struggle of the Kurdish people. With the country still wracked by political and economic crisis (inflation is sky-high and unemployment is well over 30%), and with disillusionment with the Islamic government growing, its position is far from solid.

The Iranian national bourgeoisie's outlook and class interest is to try and steer a path between these two titanic forces—the imperialists and the Iranian masses—and create a capitalist state of their own, independent of imperialism. Thus they oppose being completely under the thumb of imperialism, like the Shah was; and at the same time they resist continuing the revolution, for that would end their dreams of entrenching their position as a new exploitive ruling class. And while they continue to have contradictions—even very sharp ones at times—with the imperialists, the national bourgeoisie tends towards compromise and eventual capitulation to imperialism as it attempts to negotiate this narrow, and ultimately impossible, path between the forces of

open reaction and the masses of people.

Exactly because of these contradictory tendencies, Khomeini has often moved with the prevailing sentiments of the masses, particularly in confronting U.S. attacks on Iran. At the same time, he has taken a consistently anti-revolutionary position against the independent workers councils that have been formed throughout Iran, against the struggle of the Kurds and other oppressed nationalities for autonomy, and against the other just struggles of the Iranian masses. The glue that holds these actions together is Khomeini's overriding interest in consolidating the Islamic government and the position of the national bourgeoisie in it.

In the past, it is only when he has felt that the existence of the Islamic government was being threatened that he has forcefully intervened in the political arena, as when he ordered the warring factions led by President Bani-Sadr and the Islamic Republic Party to make peace several months ago. His latest moves on the hostages are of similar importance. But while this represents a definite shift towards conciliating with the U.S. bourgeoisie, it is not inconsistent with his overall stand.

Khomeini undoubtedly hopes that settling the hostage question will placate U.S. imperialism and relieve the pressure on Iran, thereby giving the government some breathing room to strengthen its "independence." But

hopes are one thing, reality is another. The U.S. government will give Iran a thousand "guarantees" of its "territorial integrity and national independence," but it has shown before in Iran (the 1953 CIA coup, the mission of Gen. Huyser in 1979 and the Tabas raid) and will show again, just how much it respects such promises.

However, it is still unclear what the outcome of this latest round of negotiations on the hostages will be. As was clear from his September 12 speech, Khomeini's stance doesn't mean that either he or other forces in the government will stop clashing with the U.S. to one degree or another. Even as he laid down his new conditions for the hostages' release, he mainly attacked the U.S. intriguing and plotting against Iran, raking the U.S. government for making "Moslems fight each other to enable it to continue with its plundering in Moslem countries," and maintaining that "we are at war with America. Today the hand of America has come out of the sleeve of Iraq. With the grace of God, this war will continue until final independence."

Shortly after Khomeini's speech, some of the members of Iran's parliament made it clear that the final decision rested with them, that they are free to "add" conditions, and that they would demand an apology from the

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More U.S. Gov't Infighting:

Who Lost Iran?

"Who lost Iran?" Not I, says ex-Ambassador to Iran, William Sullivan. If my advice had been heeded we could have protected U.S. interests in Iran, he claims.

I beg to differ, retorts National Security Council chief Zbigniew Brzezinski. Sullivan and the State Department fouled us up in Iran! My stratagems certainly would have worked if only they were consistently carried out.

Ever since it became clear, in the latter half of 1978, that the Iranian people's revolution was going to overthrow one of U.S. imperialism's prize puppets, the Shah, and deal a severe blow to U.S. interests in Iran and around the world, the debate over what went wrong, and whose fault it was has raged within the U.S. bourgeoisie. Its acerbity has only increased with the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, and the imperialists' continued inability to finally put the Iranian revolution to rest.

This debate has been concentrated in the bitter feud between Sullivan and Brzezinski, expressed mainly in articles in *The Washington Quarterly* (spring 1980), and *Foreign Policy*, two bourgeois political journals. However, the controversy has been so deep-going, and significant that many imperialist commentators, from the *New York Times*, to Henry Kissinger, to the ex-(and now dead) Shah himself, have been drawn into the controversy.

Both sides argue that if their tactics had been implemented, the Iranian revolution could have been thwarted and the country "saved" for U.S. imperialism. But in their eagerness to thrash out such how such a terrible thing could have happened to them, and to cut each others' throats in the process, they have revealed just how deeply the U.S. government was involved in trying to suppress the

revolution and exposed the imperialist gangster logic behind all their pious claims of "not interfering in the internal affairs of Iran."

The controversy also sheds light on just how powerful the revolutionary upheaval in Iran was, and the imperialists' frustration and inability to either understand or deal with it. For in fact, the plots and maneuvers of BOTH sides were tried in Iran. And both were smashed to hell by the volcanic upsurge of the Iranian masses!

According to Sullivan, he realized the military government that the Shah installed on November 5th, was "the last chance for the Shah to control the revolutionary process." "If this government failed," he argued, "We should anticipate the collapse of the Shah and look for alternate means to protect and preserve our interests." (*Foreign Policy* number 40 Fall 1980, p. 179) His suggestion was to "broker an arrangement" between the Khomeini forces, the Shah and the Iranian military that would put Mehdi Bazargan (who Sullivan described as a "benevolent social-democrat" and "someone we can work with") as the head of a new government; and would "permit the armed forces to remain intact." The Shah would be forced to step aside. (*Foreign Policy* p. 180)

A political solution of this type was the U.S. government's only viable option, he claimed. Increased violent repression was proving both ineffectual and inflammatory, and was putting tremendous strains on the Iranian armed forces.

Sullivan was very worried that civil war could erupt, and in his words, "As a result, their (the Iranian army—RW) arms would be dispersed throughout the whole tangled and conflicting fabric of the revolutionary forces, making it impossible for the Bazargan

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One of a group of Iranian students resisting and denouncing U.S. and British imperialism as they were dragged onto a plane and deported to Iran by British immigration officials last week. Seventy-five Iranian students were arrested on August 4 after police attacked a demonstration held in front of the American embassy in London (not coincidentally, only a week after the arrest of nearly 200 Iranian students in Washington D.C.), and 44 of those arrested have since been ordered deported by local magistrates. The British bourgeoisie was particularly enraged by the students' hunger strike and protests against the continuing reactionary intrigue in Iran of the U.S. and Britain—"little Satan." Many of the students also refused to give their names to the authorities, denying that British courts had any jurisdiction over them. On September 9, at exactly the same time that this first group of Iranian students was forcibly deported, the "brave" chiefs of the British Foreign Office withdrew their remaining diplomats from their embassy in Tehran, obviously more than a little uptight about what might happen to "little Satan" next in Iran.

SOMOZA GOES TO PIECES

Former Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, brutal henchman of the U.S. imperialists, toppled from power by the Nicaraguan revolution last year, was executed for his crimes last week—appropriately, right across the street from the U.S. embassy in Asunción, Paraguay, where he was about to pay a “friendly visit.”

Somoza's death in a fusillade of bazooka and machine gun fire ended once and for all the career of one of U.S. imperialism's most loyal servants, actively engaged in counterrevolutionary schemes right up to his last breath. The explosions and gunfire which sounded his doom, which were witnessed by horrified U.S. embassy employees, could also be clearly heard from the palace of Somoza's buddy, the fascist president Stroessner of Paraguay, another U.S. puppet in Latin America.

Somoza came to power in Nicaragua in 1956, following the assassination of his father, who had himself ruled Nicaragua ever since he was handpicked for the job by the U.S. Marines in 1925. Somoza, a graduate of the West Point Military Academy, maintained himself in power through U.S. military, economic and political support, while running the country on behalf of the U.S. and serving as a watch dog against revolution throughout Central America. “Politically, General Somoza served Washington well,” the *New York Times* obituary states, “acting virtually as an American ‘proconsul’ in Central America, interfering openly in the affairs of his neighbors to keep them firm against communism. The United States Ambassador to Nicaragua was invariably a close friend and advisor.”

Within Nicaragua itself, Somoza used his personal control of the National Guard as a weapon for unremitting terror against the general population and for amassing a gigantic personal fortune for the Somoza family—often by expropriating or elbowing out other sectors of the Nicaraguan capitalist class. Somoza used the occa-

sion of the 1972 Managua earthquake, for example, to seize personal control of all the aid funds flowing into the country and swallowed up the enterprises of dozens of ruined businessmen.

Thus, at the same time as broad mass resistance to his rule was crystallizing into armed guerrilla warfare under the leadership of the FSLN (Frente Sandinista Liberación Nacional), a large part of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie joined the anti-Somoza movement in search of a government capable of heading off a leftist revolution and more “responsive” to the needs of the Nicaraguan capitalist class as a whole. After an outbreak of all-out civil war in 1977, which featured a powerful nationwide Sandinista offensive, the United States itself began looking for a way to dump Somoza, fearing that the only alternative was a revolutionary mass uprising and a major defeat for U.S. imperialism in Central America. Ultimately, following a bitter and bloody civil war, the FSLN crushed Somoza's National Guard and emerged triumphant at the head of a broad opposition front which included nearly every sector of Nicaraguan society outside the Somoza family itself. Somoza himself fled his bunker stronghold in Managua, first going to Miami, Florida. But soon he was packed off to Paraguay after it was determined that he did not stand much of a chance of living a long life in this country and that his presence was creating political problems for the U.S. In Paraguay he ensconced himself in a fortress-like compound patrolled by bodyguards around the clock.

But the revolution of July, 1979 signalled neither a final victory for the masses of people of Nicaragua nor a final defeat for U.S. imperialism and its longtime agent Somoza. The U.S. imperialists have been seeking to subvert and snatch away the revolutionary victory through shoring up the still influential pro-U.S. elements in the government and strengthening the pro-U.S. sector of the bourgeoisie through offering “aid” and claiming to encourage



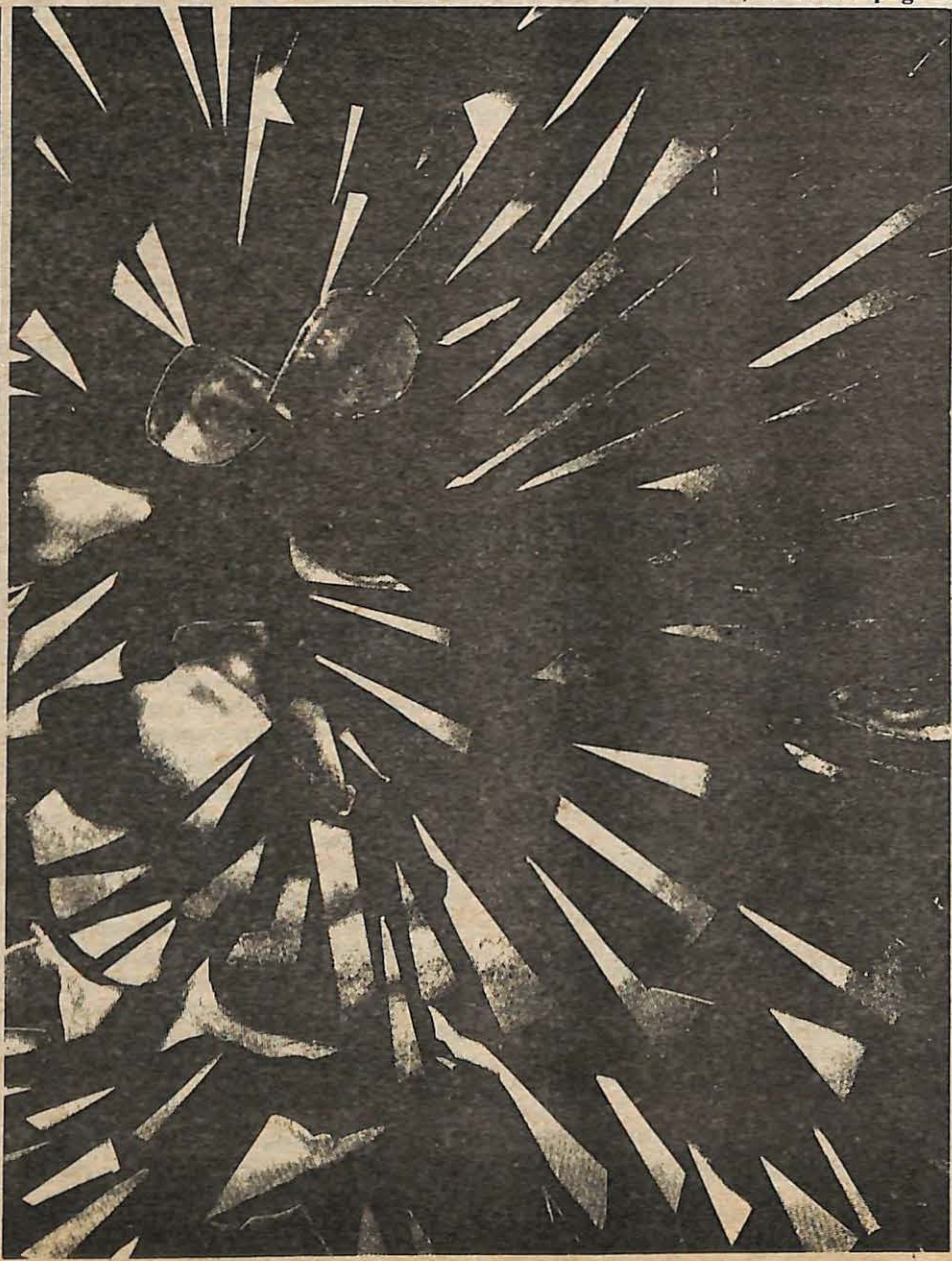
“When I die,” said Somoza, “scatter my ashes all over South America.” Obviously someone thought he had said “splatter my ass all over South America.”

“constructive, democratic change” by the forces of “moderation.” The U.S. is locked in a struggle for control and domination of Nicaragua with its imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union, which is operating largely through its stand-in and chief booster, Cuba. On the occasion of the first anniversary of the revolution, July 19, both Fidel Castro and U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations McHenry were in Managua for the celebrations. Cuba has sent thousands of advisers and “school teachers” to Nicaragua; the U.S. has begun

sending Peace Corps volunteers.

In the midst of its struggle to strengthen its influence with the new regime in Managua, the U.S. has adopted the tactic of appearing to keep at arm's length from Somoza, considering that any show of friendliness toward him would scuttle its chances to regain the upper hand in Nicaragua through its “wolves in sheep's clothing” strategy. However, behind the scenes, contact between the U.S. and Somoza remained active. The United States views the whole situation

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1-Year in Jail Each

Two Sentenced in Atlanta Flag-Burning

Atlanta, Ga., Sept. 17. As authorities have continued to hold a man and a woman on charges of advocating the overthrow of the government, in another attack, a local RCP supporter and an Iranian revolutionary were convicted and jailed for the misdemeanor charge of "misuse of the national flag." After only 15 minutes of deliberation, the jury returned guilty verdicts, the judge slapped the maximum sentence of one year each, and the two defendants were promptly thrown in jail on \$5000 bail each (five times higher than the original bond). When the defense lawyer objected to these highly unusual maneuvers by the court, including the denial of presentencing reports (where a probation officer presents a report on the defendant's record), the judge fired back the threat, "This man here could be deported for this, unless the court rules him exempt from deportation, and I'm not going to do that!" This judge then got out of the courtroom so fast that he failed to sign the papers the defendants need to be bailed out.

The trial stemmed from a Nov. 29, 1979 noon demonstration in front of the crowded downtown Atlanta Federal Building in support of the Iranian revolution and of the seizure of the U.S. embassy and its spy-hosages only three weeks earlier—a demonstration that upheld the Iranian revolution and struck a powerful internationalist blow at the calls for national unity spewing from mouths of America-firsters.

At the time of the arrests, 300 people signed a statement to drop the charges, and the two revolutionaries were given standing ovations by the congregation of the Free For All Baptist Church and an Atlanta University audience. Clearly, there were many people who were not clutching the tattered flag to their bosom.

In the trial, the state put on its share

of patriotic hysterics, best regurgitated by their star witness—a prominent Atlanta alcoholic and not-so-prominent lawyer—who just happened to walk by the demonstration last November. This fool got on the witness stand and raved, "I noticed a gang of rowdy-looking people. I could see they had a flag down on the ground. They were walking on it, desecrating it, and wiping their feet on it..." (Not a bad image—however, it was all fabricated!) And he went on, spewing out racist garbage aimed at the Iranian revolutionary, but with a more general target: "He was screaming—that's when I realized he was a foreigner, he had that whole gibberish accent... That did irritate me. Then I later learned he was an Iranian. I'm still mad about it!" This lunatic was so laughable that several people who had come to watch the trial could hardly conceal their snickering.

But the government was dead serious about this trash. While all three defense witnesses testified that neither of the defendants had burned the flag, and of course the state's three top witnesses said they did, in fact, the terms of this trial were never really "Did they burn the flag?". The prosecutor finally got down to the political essence of this whole affair, aiming a rhetorical question at the U.S. revolutionary—"Did you shed any tears when you saw it burning?!" In other words, "we don't give a damn if you burned it or not. You were at that demonstration, and that's all the evidence we need!"

The jury saw it that way too, which was hardly a coincidence since it included a member of the American Legion, an officer of the Trust Company Bank, a management type from Neiman-Marcus, an information officer from Fort McPherson, and a reporter from the Georgia State Press Corps—supposedly these jurors were "randomly selected" from voter registration lists.

But strangely in the jury questioning process, all but one of the 12 possible jury candidates revealed that they just happened to own large American flags and regularly fly them on national holidays. Two of them have the rag permanently decorating their front porches.

When the "prospective" jurors were asked if they thought a resident alien (i.e. the Iranian) had a right to express publicly political opposition to the U.S. government, seven said "NO." The other five said, "Only if they don't break the law." Of the seven true patriots, two said they should be deported if they did. And all of the five who said that foreigners should have the right to express their political views also said they thought that to exercise these rights would be "in poor taste." No mystery why this particular jury took only 15 minutes to convict!

The next morning's *Atlanta Constitution* carried a front-page article, headlined "Iranian-U.S. Red Get Year in Jail For Burning Flag." That evening the *Atlanta Journal* also reported the verdict as front page news—not coincidentally the lead article above it was headlined "Iran won't free hostages early." In the context of the news blackout on the even more political and more serious felony case of two other RCP supporters charged with "advocating the overthrow of the government," this kind of coverage was a sharp indication that the government feels they won a big victory with this conviction. It is also a none too subtle call to reactionaries to "defend the flag" and a reminder that "patriotic action" against revolutionaries will be protected by the government.

An RCP spokesman spoke to the political significance of the railroad following the trial: "...the heart of the matter was exposed when prosecutor English...warnfully admonished the

jury, 'I want you to take this flag (the burned flag from the demonstration—RW) to the jury room. Take it out. I hope you can see in it the faces of all the men and women who fought and died defending freedom.' You can be sure he wasn't talking about the millions who have died fighting the iron grip of U.S. imperialism and its flag, which is responsible, to name just one example, for the murder of tens of thousands and the rape of Iran for U.S. profits under the bloody regime of the Shah. This is the rag the D.A. and his bosses want millions not only to kiss, but to die for, to save their empire—and this was what this trial was all about."

FLASH: As we go to press, the *RW* has learned that the jailed Iranian revolutionary was beaten unconscious the next morning by a goon squad of some whipped up reactionary prisoners who jumped him right after he was conveniently transferred to their cell, yelling "Did you know how many people died fighting for this flag?" Clearly the judge's quick retreat and failure to sign the bond papers was part of a calculated set-up to make sure that he stayed in jail at least one night so this beating (which resulted in 7 stitches to his face) could be administered. After all the play given the verdict in the press, not a single reporter showed up at a press conference called to expose this attack which is part of a nationwide campaign by the government to terrorize Iranians in this country, especially those who have continued to support the Iranian revolution and to oppose the continued moves by the U.S. imperialists against Iran. It is exactly this type of mindless, patriotic frenzy that the rulers have to whip up now if they are to be able to prepare the troops they need in the future.

Still Held on "Overthrow" Charges

Atlanta, September 19. The two RCP supporters arrested here nearly three weeks ago and charged with "advocating the overthrow of the government," are still in jail. The arrests represent a direct attack on the RCP, and in particular on the Party's current campaign to boost distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker* to 100,000. The two were arrested while putting up the "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power" poster (which publicizes the *RW*). Having been held incommunicado until just days ago, the jailed revolutionaries were finally allowed one visitor each. It was learned that one of the jailed comrades had been demanding a copy of the *RW* left for her by her lawyer but withheld by the prison guards. A guard told her: "We can't let material like this in because you would read it, then you would give it to someone else, then they'd give it to someone else, and pretty soon, all hell would break loose!" Visitors also learned that the other jailed comrade had never even been informed of the judge's two-week-old bail increase.

That the authorities are dead serious about this "overthrow" charge was underscored this week with the convictions and sentencing to one year in jail of two others on charges of "misuse of the flag" (see article this page).

Who Lost Iran?

Continued from page 4

government to assume quick and effective control when it inevitably took power." (*Foreign Policy*, p. 185) By implementing his plan, the U.S.'s key weapon in Iran, the army would be preserved; the U.S. government would be on good terms with the new regime; the turmoil would stop; and U.S. interests would be preserved.

But this "liberal" enlightened plan—to save the guns for the imperialists—was not to be, complains Sullivan. His cables from Iran were ignored and Brzezinski bypassed him and dealt directly with the Shah. After the collapse of the military government in late December of 1978, Sullivan tried to organize a mission to seek Khomeini's acceptance of a political settlement. But this mission was blocked by the Brzezinski forces, who instead threw U.S. backing to the Bakhtiar government. Bakhtiar, Sullivan said, "had no constituency and

no popular support...and would be swept aside by the arrival of Khomeini and his supporters in Tehran." (It is interesting to note here, that while Sullivan implied that it was he who possessed "a mature understanding of the nature of the revolution that was sweeping Iran in 1978..." he was quoted as saying, "I make no pretense of understanding these people. I find the Iranians a lot more inscrutable than Asians." *Newsweek* 1/29/79)

The rest was history, the insurrection overwhelmed and dispersed the army; Khomeini was brought to power; and the relations between the new government and the U.S. have been strained ever since.

Brzezinski's Line

But according to the Brzezinski forces, Sullivan's explanation is "self-serving and factually inaccurate." (*New York Times* 9/7/80 p. 5) The State Department, they argue, was

overly concerned about human rights, reforms, and a political solution in Iran. These measures had all been tried and proved futile in stopping the momentum of the revolution. Dumping the Shah could only leave a power vacuum, creating dangerous instability in Iran, and hurting U.S. credibility and interests around the world.

What was needed, rather, was a clear statement from the U.S. government giving the Shah full support, and encouraging him to drown the revolution in blood. "A show of force would help bring order back into Iran," they said euphemistically. (*Washington Quarterly*, spring 1980 p. 23)

To this end, Brzezinski quashed a half-hearted statement of support to the Shah, drafted by the State Department in November of 1978, and instead called the Shah directly. "Brzezinski's message was explicit; he told the Shah to take whatever measures he deemed necessary with the full assurance that the American government would 'back him to the hilt.'" (*Washington Quarterly*, p. 22) Two days after this phone call, the Shah dissolved his civilian government and instituted full military rule.

When this military government collapsed, Brzezinski blocked Sullivan's mission to Khomeini, and instead sent General Rober Huyser to Iran with orders to line the military up behind the Shah's stand-in, Bakhtiar, and prepare for a military coup d'etat. (See *RW* No. 70)

The Brzezinski forces argue that their strategy would have worked if it had not been undermined by the State Department and Sullivan, who refused to give the Shah an unequivocal statement of U.S. support (read a blank check to massacre Iranians). This caused the Shah to be uncertain of U.S. intentions, vacillating, and inhibited him from cracking down. As this side also complains, the rest is history.

Both sides in this debate try to cover up the real extent of U.S. intervention in Iran by omitting discussion of many

of the events that took place during the revolution, and by pointing to their disagreements and claiming these differences prevented the U.S. from playing much of a role in Iran. The *Washington Quarterly* sums up that "the Carter Administration had not ever really formulated a policy, established objectives, or designed tactics to deal with the Iranian crisis.... If the American would not act in the Iranian crisis, under what circumstances could they be expected to move?"

And both sides also argue in effect, that the only reason the Iranian revolution succeeded was due to their own mistakes and disunity. Brzezinski himself believed in the theory that "revolution succeeded when the rulers had a 'failure of nerve,' but when the elite acted forcefully to smash their opponents, the revolution failed." (*Washington Quarterly*, p. 26)

The bourgeoisie's sermon about non-interference is patently transparent; for it is delivered in the middle of a debate summing up how they have so far interfered in Iranian affairs to crush the revolution, and how they can best interfere in the future. And the mud that they throw at each other consists of their various actions—both planned and implemented—to maintain their bloody grip on Iran!

Non-Interference Lie

We learn once again, that it was the U.S. imperialists—not the Shah—who were in command of events. When the head of the military government, General Azhari suffers a heart attack, it is Sullivan not the Shah that he calls to his bedside to confide in. (*Foreign Policy*, p. 180) The State Department found the Shah so in "need of reassurance from the United States Government that they often sent high level envoys to Tehran to calm his nerves, in missions they derisively termed, "Hand-holding exercises." (Apparently the Shah had carefully studied

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Trial of The Four Rumored to Begin

As we go to press, persistent news reports have been coming from China that the long-rumored trial of the so-called "Gang of Four" is about to begin. While the truth of these reports is not certain, and there have been periodic rumors of the "imminence" of these trials, linked closely to infighting in the ruling revisionists' ranks, this round of reports seems much more widely confirmed. If so it means that China's new rulers have achieved enough unity for now within their pack of thieves to put Mao's revolutionary line on trial and convict it, that is, of what Mao and the Four would have pled a thousand times guilty to—being thoroughgoing revolutionary enemies of capitalism and capitalist restoration, and leading the masses of people in the struggle against it.

Of course the new Chinese ruling class, which faithfully, if feebly, copies the imperialists, has learned from the Western court system the thin trick of masking a political trial behind a series of charges for "common criminal acts," but no one is fooled. The Four's arrest on October 6, 1976, just a month after Mao's death, was the decisive action of the capitalist coup d'état in China and marked the temporary end of the era of Mao and proletarian rule there. This was because they were the four leading successors to Mao's revolutionary line, successors who number in the millions of class conscious workers and other fighters in China and worldwide, and because at the time of the coup they were leading the fight against the forces of capitalist restoration. For this contribution they will be remembered by the international working class.

The study and struggle to correctly sum up the

reversals in China was crucial to our Party's advances and, as we said at the time of the Mao Tsetung Memorials in September 1978, we "had the greatest assistance in reaching our conclusions from the great teaching of Mao on continuing the class struggle under socialism and from the invaluable contributions of the Four, Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan, who were steadfast and firm in the struggle to defend the gains of the Chinese revolution, not only for the Chinese masses but for the workers and oppressed of the world."

While the Chinese revisionists today practice secret trials, like the Four's, and outlaw such methods as mass debates and big character posters, Mao and the revolutionaries who supported his line had one decisive weapon—revolutionary ideological political line—openly arming the masses of people with it and leading them in class struggle to carry it out. This line, then, is truly immortal and their greatest legacy.

For this reason on the occasion of these trials, we are reprinting here an important article published under the leadership of the revolutionaries which appeared in the *Peking Review* on September 3, 1976, only a few days before Mao's death. It is also reprinted in the book *And Mao Makes Five* published in 1978 by Banner Press. The revolutionary optimism and historical sweep that burns with every line of this article was an inspiration in the battle at the time and remains an inspiring orientation in revolutionary struggle internationally today.

As Mao once put it, "The future is bright; the road is tortuous." Written in the thick of battle

with Deng Xiao-ping and the other capitalist roaders, the revolutionaries of China knew full well that they had no guarantee of immediate success; but they also knew that whatever the outcome, the proletariat is the rising class and is bound to advance internationally through this spiral from a lower to a higher level. This revolutionary optimism does not at all lead to being "mellow" and "laid back," but more fearless and tenacious in the immediate struggle as well. This inevitable historic ascent of the proletariat is not a calm affair, nor one made without great conscious efforts by revolutionaries, it is a great and constant struggle. And as Lenin once put it "it is *only* work in this direction that deserves the name of socialist work." The work of the Chinese revolutionaries, though it met a serious temporary defeat, has already borne fruit internationally in the advance of the proletariat, and will contribute to even more victories in the future. Even the situation in China itself, for all the bellows of the revisionists, is not at all settled—especially since this is a time when a world-wide imperialist crisis and war, together with revolutionary upsurges, are looming close ahead. In writing to his wife, Comrade Chiang Ching, in 1966, Mao declared with the revolutionary optimism characteristic of a great leader of the proletariat, "If the Rightists stage an anti-Communist coup d'état in China, I am sure they will know no peace either and their rule will most probably be short-lived because it will not be tolerated by the revolutionaries, who represent the interests of the people making up more than 90% of the population."

PROLETARIANS ARE REVOLUTIONARY OPTIMISTS

Pi Sheng

The struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao to repulse the Right deviationist attempt at reversing correct verdicts has smashed the criminal plot of Teng Hsiao-ping, [Deng Xiaoping—new spelling] the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. This is another great victory we have won in combating the bourgeoisie in the Party after the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi [Liu Shaoqi] and Lin Biao [Lin Biao] were shattered in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In spite of the fact that our struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party will be protracted and tortuous and that there is the danger of capitalist restoration in the entire historical period of socialism, the bourgeoisie is doomed to fail and the proletariat is bound to win. There is no doubt

whatsoever about this general trend of historical development.

Revolution Will Triumph Over Reaction

The emergence of the bourgeoisie in the Party and the existence of contradictions and struggles inside the Party are objective realities. Everything develops through the struggles of its internal contradictions. The Party is no exception. As Engels pointed out long ago: "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles." "And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual

bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out." (Frederick Engels' Letter to August Bebel, October 28, 1882.) Speaking of the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party, Chairman Mao has stressed: "Without struggle, there is no progress." "Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!" The capitalist-roaders in the Party, such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Biao and Teng Hsiao-ping, represent in a concentrated way the interests of the new and old bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; they are the main force endangering the Party and subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. Our struggle against them is a concentrated expression of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads in the period of socialism, and will decide the destiny and future of our country. If the capitalist-roaders' plot to usurp Party leadership and seize state power is not exposed and smashed in good

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From: *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*

Lenin on Bourgeois and Proletarian Democracy

The bourgeoisie in this country never ceases its harangue about the splendid "freedom" the people of this country have in this the most "democratic country the world has ever known." Yet the more they screech, and the more desperate they become in trying to convince us that "our precious liberties" are worth giving our all, even our lives in a world war, to defend, the more hollow their appeals become. With their Election '80 spectacle now in full swing, the phoniness and trickery that is used to hide the very real dictatorship of the capitalist class that we live under stands out all the more starkly. The bourgeoisie attempts to keep people trapped with the illusions that somehow their setup can work for us by trying to hide the class nature of their rule with tons of talk about "democracy," divorced from the fact that they own and run the whole show and try to suppress and eliminate anything that challenges it. In the Soviet Union today the capitalist rulers there have their own versions of these

lies. They extol the great freedoms of their supposed "socialist system" and talk of their capitalist dictatorship being "a state of the whole people."

V.I. Lenin took on this bull about "pure democracy" that is separated from and above the question of which class is ruling society and other central and related questions in his book *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. This work was written in 1918 (a year after the Russian Revolution) against the "theories" of Karl Kautsky, the leading opportunist spokesman at the time who along with others led large sections of and even entire communist parties in Europe to abandon the revolutionary course and capitulate to their various bourgeoisies during World War I. Kautsky had been a leader of the communist movement for years and was even more well known and widely followed than Lenin. Lenin led the crucial and decisive battle against him and the whole trend he represented and kept a significant if relatively

small section of the communist movement on the path forward. The Russian Revolution was dramatic testimony to the correctness of Lenin's line.

Part and parcel of Kautsky's opportunism and capitulation (which he, of course, slickly tried to camouflage with Marxist phraseology) was to cover over and prettify the rule of the capitalist class with talk of "pure democracy" and oppose revolution by opposing the iron rule of the working class over the former exploiters after the capitalists are overthrown. The proletariat makes no bones about the nature of this class rule, it will be a dictatorship, yes, but a dictatorship over a handful of brutal oppressors who will have no rights and no "freedom and democracy" while the masses of people will for the first time be a million times freer to take history into their hands and move society forward. The passage below is a chapter from *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*.

Bourgeois and Proletarian Democracy

The question which Kautsky has so disgustingly muddled up really stands as follows.

If we are not to mock at common sense and history, it is obvious that we cannot speak of "pure democracy" so long as different classes exist; we can only speak of class democracy. (Be it said in parenthesis that "pure democracy" is not only an ignorant phrase, revealing a lack of understanding both of the class struggle and of the nature of the state, but also a thrice-empty phrase, since in communist society democracy will wither away in the process of changing and becoming a habit, but will never be "pure" democracy.)

"Pure democracy" is the mendacious phrase of a liberal who wants to fool the workers. History knows of bourgeois democracy which takes the place of feudalism, and of proletarian democracy which takes the place of bourgeois democracy.

When Kautsky devotes dozens of pages to "proving" the truth that bourgeois democracy is progressive compared with medievalism, and that the proletariat must unfailingly utilize it in its struggle against the bourgeoisie, that in fact is just liberal twaddle intended to fool the workers. This is a truism, not only for educated Germany, but also for uneducated Russia. Kautsky is simply throwing "learned" dust in the eyes of the workers when, with an important mien, he talks about Weitling and the Jesuits of Paraguay and many other things, in order to avoid telling about the bourgeois essence of modern i.e., capitalist, democracy.

Kautsky takes from Marxism what is acceptable to the liberals, to the bourgeoisie (the criticism of the Middle Ages, and the progressive historical role of capitalism in general and of capitalist democracy in particular), and discards, passes in silence, glosses over all that in Marxism which is unacceptable to the bourgeoisie (the revolutionary violence of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for the latter's destruction). That is why Kautsky, by virtue of his objective position and irrespective of what his subjective convictions may be, inevitably proves to be a lackey of the bourgeoisie.

Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, always remains, and under capitalism cannot but remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and a deception for the exploited, for the poor. It is this truth, which forms a most essential part of Marx's teachings, that Kautsky the "Marxist" has failed to understand. On this—the fundamental—issue Kautsky offers "delights" for the bourgeoisie, instead of a scientific criticism of those conditions which make every bourgeois democracy only a democracy for the rich.

Let us first recall to the mind of the most learned Mr. Kautsky the theoretical propositions of Marx and Engels which that textualist has so disgracefully "forgotten" (in order to please the bourgeoisie), and then explain the matter as popularly as possible.

Not only the ancient and feudal, but also "the modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labour by capital." (Engels, in his work on the state.) "As, therefore, the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, in order to hold down one's adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a free people's state: so long as the proletariat still uses the state, it

does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist." (Engels, in his letter to Bebel, March 28, 1875.) "In reality the state is nothing but a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy." (Engels, preface to *The Civil War in France* by Marx.) Universal suffrage is "the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It cannot and never will be anything more in the present-day state." (Engels, in his work on the state. Mr. Kautsky very tediously chews the cud over the first part of this proposition, which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. But as to the second part, which we have italicized and which is not acceptable to the bourgeoisie, the renegade Kautsky passes in silence!) "The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time. . . . Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to represent and repress (ver- und zertreten) the people in parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for the workers, foremen and bookkeepers for his business." (Marx in his work on the Paris Commune, *The Civil War in France*.)

Every one of these propositions, which are excellently known to the most learned Mr. Kautsky, is a slap in his face and lays bare his apostasy. Nowhere in his pamphlet does Kautsky reveal the slightest understanding of these truths. His whole pamphlet is a sheer mockery of Marxism!

Take the fundamental laws of modern states, take their administration, take the right of assembly, freedom of the press, or "equality of all citizens before the law," and you will see at every step evidence of the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy with which every honest and class-conscious worker is familiar. There is not a single state, however democratic, which has no loopholes or reservations in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case of a "violation of public order," and actually in case the exploited class "violates" its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner. Kautsky shamelessly embellishes bourgeois democracy and omits to mention, for instance, how the most democratic and republican bourgeoisies in America or Switzerland deal with workers on strike.

Oh, the wise and learned Kautsky keeps silent about these things! That learned politician does not realize that to remain silent on this matter is despicable. He prefers to tell the workers nursery tales of the kind that democracy means "protecting the minority." It is incredible, but it is a fact! In the summer of this year of our Lord 1918, in the fifth year of the world imperialist slaughter and the strangulation of internationalist minorities (i.e., those who have not despicably betrayed Socialism, like the Renaudels and Longuets, the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Hendersons and Webbs *et al*) in all "democracies" of the world, the learned Mr. Kautsky sweetly, very sweetly, sings the praises of "protection of the minority." Those who are interested may read this on page 15 of Kautsky's pamphlet. And on page 16 this learned . . . individual tells you about the Whigs and Tories in England in the eighteenth century!

Oh, wonderful erudition! Oh, refined servility to the bourgeoisie! Oh, civilized belly-crawling and boot-licking before the capitalists! If I were Krupp* or Scheidemann, or Clemenceau or Renaudel,** I would pay Mr. Kautsky millions, reward him with Judas kisses, praise him before the workers and urge "socialist unity" with "honourable" men like him. To write pamphlets against the dictatorship of the proletariat, to talk about the Whigs and Tories in England in the eighteenth century, to assert that democracy means "protecting the minority," and remain silent about pogroms against internationalists in the "democratic" republic of America—is this not rendering lackey service to the bourgeoisie?

The learned Mr. Kautsky has "forgotten"—accidentally forgotten, probably . . . a "trifle"; namely, that the ruling party in a bourgeois democracy extends the protection of the minority only to another bourgeois party, while on all serious, profound and fundamental issues the proletariat gets martial law or pogroms, instead of the "protection of the minority." The more highly developed a democracy is, the more imminent are pogroms or civil war in connection with any profound political divergence which is dangerous to the bourgeoisie. The learned Mr. Kautsky could have studied this "law" of bourgeois democracy in connection with the Dreyfus case in republican France, with the lynching of Negroes and internationalists in the democratic republic of America, with the case of Ireland and Ulster in democratic Britain, with the baiting of the Bolsheviks and the organization of pogroms against them in April 1917 in the democratic republic of Russia. I have purposely chosen examples not only from the time of the war but also from prewar time, the time of peace. But mealy-mouthed Mr. Kautsky is pleased to shut his eyes to these facts of the twentieth century, and instead to tell the workers wonderfully new, remarkably interesting, unusually edifying and incredibly important things about the Whigs and Tories of the eighteenth century!

Take the bourgeois parliament. Can it be that learned Kautsky has never heard that the more highly democracy is developed, the more the bourgeois parliaments are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers? This does not mean that we must not make use of bourgeois parliaments (the Bolsheviks made better use of them than any other party in the world, for in 1912-14 we captured the entire workers' curia in the Fourth Duma). But it does mean that only a liberal can forget the historical limitations and conditional character of bourgeois parliamentarism as Kautsky does. Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed masses at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the formal equality proclaimed by the "democracy" of the capitalists and the thousands of real limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into wage slaves. It is precisely this contradiction that is opening the eyes of the masses to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism. It is this contradiction that the agitators and propagandists of Socialism are constantly exposing to the masses, in order to prepare them for revolu-

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*Krupp—a leading German capitalist.

**Scheidemann, Clemenceau and Renaudel were more open social-chauvinists than Kautsky, who was a centrist and tried to cover his treachery with a thicker veneer than these three.

Statement from UGNAYAN (Alliance for Philippine National Democracy)

8 Years of Martial Law in the Philippines

The U.S. puppet Ferdinand Marcos, who likes to brag about the "stability" he has brought to the Philippines, was forced to mark the week of the eighth anniversary of the day he imposed martial law by setting up roadblocks and military checkpoints throughout the capital city of Manila and elsewhere to prevent fresh mass outbursts of protest. The following statement on the eighth year of martial law in the Philippines was sent to the RW by Ugnayan (Alliance for Philippine National Democracy), an organization in the U.S. in support of the Philippine national liberation movement.

This September 21st, the 8th year of martial law descends on the backs of 47 million Filipinos like a mammoth plague: 25% inflation (the highest in Asia), 80% of the people malnourished, 47% unemployed, and untold misery for all.

In 1971, 56% of all families were below the poverty line; now it's 68%. Workers' wages have declined by over 30% between 1972 and 1978, with \$1-a-day average wage compared to

\$4-5 profit for every dollar of foreign investment. What has martial law meant indeed but poverty for many, luxury for the Marcos clique and the elite one percent, and superprofits for about 400 transnational corporations?

These are hard facts that the paid apologists of the "New Society" can ignore, but they remain painful realities for the majority.

Not only malnutrition and hunger afflict the masses, but also repression. Of at least 70,000 political prisoners since 1972, there are still about 2,000 detained. At least 200 suspects have been "salvaged"—kidnapped and killed by the military. According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, 54,000 cases of military abuses are recorded every year. To continue this denial of civil liberties and the systematic violation of human rights, the Marcos dictatorship has amassed 250,000 troops and 95,000 para-military forces, thanks to U.S. military aid: \$76 million this year, up by 138% since last year.

But where there is oppression, there

is resistance.

Last May 1, 45,000 workers rallied in Manila to protest martial law and U.S. imperialism—the biggest militant gathering since 1972. In the last few months, thousands of students have risked arrest, torture and death, mounting fierce demonstrations in Manila and elsewhere. Throughout the islands, the New People's Army has expanded tremendously, with at least 3-5 million peasants and farm workers organized to support the resistance led today by the National Democratic Front.

In Samar alone, where Marcos deployed five battalions to inflict massacres and hound 50,000 refugees, the New People's Army receives the active support of at least 200,000 peasants. Meanwhile, in the South, 30,000 Bangsa Moro Army combatants challenge the beleaguered Marcos mercenaries, asserting their inalienable right to self-determination against the fascist and genocidal Marcos dictatorship.

Plunged in the midst of these historic

contradictions but firmly committed to the goal of national liberation, we greet the advent of the 8th year of martial law. Pained as we are by the intense suffering of our people, we are the more enraged by the injustices we see and the more outraged by the corrupt and moribund system that fosters such injustices.

We call on all peoples everywhere to support our just struggle for national democracy.

We are pained and enraged, but inspired by the heroic sacrifices of millions of our brothers and sisters whose vision of a free, genuinely independent, democratic Philippines is being born in the womb of day-to-day struggles, in the fires of people's war.

DOWN WITH THE U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP! VICTORY TO THE FILIPINO PEOPLE!

—Coordinating Committee, UGNAYAN (ALLIANCE FOR PHILIPPINE NATIONAL DEMOCRACY)
Box 101, Mansfield D., CT 06251



Guerrillas of the New People's Army in the Philippines celebrating victory over mercenary troops of the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.

Statement by a Former Peace Corp Member on the UN 2

U.S. Imperialism: The Mask and the Essence

The following statement was made at the UN 2 tour by a former Peace Corps Volunteer in the Marshall Islands:

The action taken by the UN 2 on April 30th at the United Nations was a tremendous exposure of U.S. and Soviet imperialism. Having once, myself, been used as a pawn of U.S. imperialism, I know how insidious the surface appearance of imperialism can sometimes be. But, as I learned, whether the imperialists' sugar-coated words come out of the mouths of superpower politicians or Peace Corps volunteers (the type of pawn I was) they all amount to the same thing—further exploitation, death, and destruction for the people of the world! The Peace Corps is a particularly insidious form of this imperialist trickery because it goes around the world operating under the guise of "humanitarianism". Let me explain further.

The Peace Corps is one of the many masks of U.S. imperialism as I found out. It shows energetic young people busy working in various "humanitarian" projects in the "underdeveloped countries." Let's get together, they say (to the people of these countries). This system can work if we just get organized and put our noses to the grindstone. Don't bother looking up and noticing what's going on around you. Your backwardness isn't the result of the historic laws of our system that force us in spite of ourselves and our humanitarian ideals to exploit you. So come on, let's work together. Together we can accomplish miracles. A pretty,

very convincing mask. Now let's look at the essence of U.S. imperialism in the Marshalls.

March 1946:

The Marshallese that inhabit Bikini Atoll are evacuated from their home islands that they have lived on for centuries—8 years later the first of several hydrogen bombs is exploded there. Bikini Atoll is made permanently uninhabitable. Marshallese are also similarly evacuated from Eniwetok Atoll, which is similarly incinerated, and from Kwajalein Island, where a top secret military and missile testing base is installed.

As I understood it, the purpose of the Kwajalein Missile Range (or simply "Kwaj") as it is called by the Americans there) is to test the accuracy of ICBM's that are shot off from somewhere in California and finally end up landing hopefully somewhere in the Kwajalein lagoon! One can often see these missiles at night from as far as a hundred miles away as they streak through the sky, lighting it ablaze and putting the fear of "God" in the hearts of the Marshallese spectators.

I once had the pleasure or as I probably should say, the disgusting experience of visiting Kwaj.

Kwajalein Island is the largest single island in the Marshalls. In 1951, the

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Turkey

Continued from page 1

coup or merely collaborated with the Turkish military in making sure that everything went smoothly, it welcomed the coup with virtually unrestrained glee. Turkey is of tremendous strategic importance to the U.S. imperialist bloc. For centuries known as the land bridge to Asia, several of the country's provinces, along with the ancient imperial capital of Istanbul, are connected to the European continent, bordering Greece and the Warsaw Pact nation of Bulgaria. But the majority of the country and its population are part of the Asian continent, bordering on Iran, Iraq and Syria as well as the Soviet Union. The Sea of Marmara and the narrow straits that separate European and Asian Turkey, the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, for the Soviets form only exit from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean.

A member of NATO since 1952, Turkey has the second largest standing army of any member of the alliance, almost half a million men. Its border with the Soviet Union has made it a crucial focal point for the stationing of U.S. intelligence gathering and military installations, all the more so since the Iranian revolution deprived the U.S. of similar facilities in that neighboring country.

So while the election year media in the U.S. is filled with recriminations between various bourgeois politicians over "who lost Iran," the recent military coup in Turkey underscores the fact that the U.S. imperialists have no intention of losing this "Southern anchor of NATO."

The American media immediately set out to do a thorough public relations job for the new junta. "All else failing, Turkey's Military Takes Over Again," headlined the *New York Times*. "Turkish people welcome military takeover," was the feature story on every network news show, as cameras filmed happy couples strolling arm in arm, some with baby carriages, past tanks and soldiers. Unfortunately all the film footage came from the well-to-do shopping and residential areas of Ankara and Istanbul. Either the cameramen didn't have time to film the

reaction to the coup in the working class districts, or that footage was left on the editing room floor.

The main theme of this PR campaign for the coup is that Turkey's people welcome the relief from the terrorism "of the right and the left" that has become rampant throughout the country in recent years. But while this terrorism, mainly the activities of fascist and rightist para-military groups closely connected with the army, is a fact, it is much more part and parcel of the same process as the coup itself, rather than the cause of it. That process has been the efforts of the Turkish ruling class, under increasingly heavy pressure from the western imperialists, to break the back of the mass resistance movement which is increasingly led by revolutionary forces, and to salvage the country's skidding economy through measures which increase the burden on Turkey's working class and peasantry.

Turkey, in the pre-war days of 1980, would have substantial competition for the title of "the sick man of Europe." Portugal, Italy, Poland, any number of countries of both superpower blocs could produce rather dismal looking medical charts. But in contrast to the other industrialized countries of NATO Turkey remains a semi-feudal imperialist dominated country, and this is reflected in the character of its economic chaos—almost total economic stagnation. With a population of 45 million and a workforce of about 4 1/2 million, Turkey has an unemployment rate that is officially reported to be over 20%, and most likely twice that. The inflation rate is currently over 100% a year. With declining production and a tremendous shortage of hard currency, Turkey has the largest foreign debt in the world: \$25 billion. Servicing the interest and principle on this debt alone requires the earnings of 60% of the country's exports. As Turkish financial officials wander the world trying to reschedule their already rescheduled debts, Western bankers have been forced to grant them a three year grace period on the repayment of the capital on currently due debts, and creditors advise that Turkey should try to come up with some longer term loans, while Turkish officials look for more short term loans to meet current expenses.

With all this it is amusing to see how the U.S. ruling class has tried to play down Turkey's economic crisis—and virtually ignore the massive popular resistance—only a few short weeks after it was crowing from the rooftops about the economic and political crisis in Poland and how this demonstrated how much better it is to live under U.S. rather than Soviet domination. In an ABC news special on Turkey last week Ivy League commentator Ted Koppel asked former State Department Middle East expert Joseph Sisco why Turkey was such an "economic basket case." Sisco began by "taking exception to the description 'basket case'" and went on to explain how it was that Turkey is really a very democratic country and that things are looking up.

The U.S. bourgeoisie has gone to great pains to emphasize the junta's claim that they are "not really a junta." In this view the military very reluctantly intervened to break the paralysis of the civilian bourgeois government, put a stop to the terrorism and streamline some laws and the constitution, and then turn the country back over to civilian rule, just like they did after the military coups of 1960 and 1971. General Evren says that this will probably be in a matter of months not years.

Of course the point is not whether the country is run by Demirel's Justice Party, the Republican People's Party of his rival Bulent Ecevit, or the military junta. The three of them have been trading off running the country for the last 20 years. In fact Demirel was Prime Minister the last time the army took over in 1971. All three forces represent the interests of the Turkish ruling classes and their imperialist overlords.

And no matter how much the U.S. imperialists try to whitewash the character of Turkey's "democracy," the fact is that both the alternating governments of Ecevit and Demirel as well as the military regimes which have punctuated them have ruled through the unleashing of fascist terror on the masses. Ecevit first imposed martial law on large sections of the country in 1978. When the Demirel government came in again in 1979 it maintained and expanded this martial law. Under both parties and the previous military juntas there have been well documented mass arrests and the torture of political prisoners, strict censorship has been imposed (15 journals and newspapers have been banned in the last two months alone), teachers, civil servants and state employees who are deemed "dissidents" are sent into internal exile in remote sections of the country.

A recent issue of the newsletter of the Turkish Students Association in the U.S. reports on scores of examples of the kind of terror that was unleashed on the masses before the coup by the Ecevit and Demirel governments. Because of widespread government activity on the campuses, Turkey's rulers have regularly carried out terrorist attacks against not only leftist students, but students in general. On June 12, 1980, for example, military forces attacked a student dormitory in Inciralti, Izmir on Turkey's Mediterranean West Coast. The students, mostly high school graduates, had come to Izmir from different parts of the country to take the University Entrance Examinations. The night before the exam they were holding a cultural evening when the military police surrounded the building and opened fire. Five students

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Letter on "You Can't Beat Your Enemy While Raising His Flag"

Editor, *Revolutionary Worker*:

I have been reading a book about the Spanish Civil War lately. The more I read, the more I realize how crucial to revolution in all countries are the ideas brought out in the August 1 *RW* article, "You Can't Beat Your Enemy While Raising His Flag" and the analysis within it by Bob Avakian of the so-called error of "national nihilism".

The book, "Between the Bullet and the Lie" is written by a reactionary anti-communist, Cecil Eby, who spent the sixties teaching in Franco's universities on a U.S. government grant. In one part, Eby describes, through the eyes of the U.S. consular-general, the arrival of the American volunteers of the International Brigades. The Brigades, as many people know, were class conscious people recruited by communist and other progressive groups of many lands, including German communists who had been fighting Hitler, Italians engaged in fighting Mussolini, French, British, a contingent from the IRA, Chinese, Polish miners, Bulgarians, Mexicans, Moroccans, and many others. Their existence speaks to the great reservoir of internationalism especially in the working-class worldwide... but where did many Comintern parties lead these internationalists, how were these sentiments channeled? We get a good strong hint of the answer in the following passage:

"After six months of war, parades and demonstrations barely ruffled the surface of downtown Barcelona. Whenever bands and cheering crowds occupied the Plaza de Catalunya and lightly shook the surrounding building with anthems and vivas, only a few clerks at the United States consulate abandoned their desks for the windows. The reason for these disturbances was ever the same: International volunteers were arriving from France or Catalan troops were leaving for the front. But on January 6, 1937 Mahlon F. Perkins, the consular-general, who idly watched the teeming crowd below, spotted an object that had never appeared before in the marches and rallies. Coming up the street was the flag of the United States. Behind it ambled sixty men in 1918 doughboy uniforms. They were lined up in four-front squads, with their leader out front, a .45 automatic strapped to his hip. The United States Army in Barcelona? Impossible!"

Eby then describes how the group halts under the consulate general's window. A clerk is sent to investigate, reporting back that "the men say they have come to fight for their principles" and won't say whether they have legitimate passports. And then—the group unfurls a red flag, you say? Sings "The Internationale"? Or at least, having joined tens of thousands of people of all countries, willing to give their lives for the cause of revolution anywhere in the world, perhaps are directed by "their leader" in a chant of "Workers of the World Unite"? Well not exactly. Eby goes on:

"Throwing open the window for a better look, Perkins watched in puzzlement as the group began singing the 'Star Spangled Banner.' They sang nearly as badly as they marched, but what must have astonished him as much as anything else was that they knew the words to the second and even the third stanzas. (And a footnote here adds: 'A common notion during the thirties among government agencies was that if a man could recite the Declaration of Independence by heart or sing any stanza of 'The Star Spangled Banner,' beyond the first one, he must be a member of the Communist Party'.) It flashed on him that the spectre which had haunted the Department of State for the past three months had materialized in front of his very window... the first group of American volunteers had arrived in Spain."

Surely this passage speaks disgustingly for itself! This 'spectre' proved far less than haunting to the U.S. imperialist enemy because it was singing his anthem—and all his anthem at that! Permit me to add only that, with the line of the RCP in the hands of the masses, we won't squander the deeply-felt internationalism of the proletariat this time around.

A Reader



An American radar tower in Turkey where the U.S. has more than 25 military and intelligence bases not too far from the Soviet border. the U.S. imperialists consider Turkey a dagger to point at the underbelly of the Soviet imperialist rivals, but as popular revolt gathers momentum in Turkey this knife shows it can cut both ways.

Thousands March Against Assassination Revolutionary from Turkey Slain in W. Germany

On the evening of August 21, Kaltip Saltan, a 26-year-old construction worker from Turkey was found brutally slain in his apartment in the western city of Aachen. Saltan, an active member of the Federation of Workers from Turkey in West Germany and West Berlin (ATIF), had been dead for two days according to a police autopsy. That this cowardly act was the work of Turkish fascists known as the Grey Wolves, there can be no doubt.

On the night of August 19, a group of these scum entered Kaltip's apartment, bound him hand and feet to a chair and tortured him to death. With 22 stab wounds, they signed their reactionary work. These type of death-squad terror tactics against revolutionaries are widely used in Turkey by agents of the government, organized into the National Movement Party (the MHP) and known popularly as the Grey Wolves. But this is the first time that they have dared to carry out such murders in West Germany, where many of the "guest workers" from Turkey are active in the anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle.

The West German police, whose cooperation with the reactionaries is only thinly veiled, have used the murder to raid the homes of ATIF members looking for "evidence," and have recently arrested two ATIF members "in connection" with the murder.

Kaltip Saltan was one of the one million workers from Turkey who had sought refuge in West Germany because of the miserable economic and political conditions that imperialist domination have enforced upon the people in Turkey. Upon arriving in Germany, he came into contact with the revolutionary political ideas put forward by ATIF and became an active fighter in the struggle to free his homeland from the claws of all imperialists and reactionaries. He was known in Aachen for his militant stand both in the streets and on the job.

The murder of Comrade Saltan marks a new escalation in the stepped-up attempts by the West German ruling class, working in direct conjunction with the Turkish government (old and new), to crush the anti-imperialist and revolutionary Turkish organizations in Germany, in particular ATIF and its student organization ATÖF. In the last few years, over 500 ATIF members have been arrested and interrogated by West German police. Since February of this year, Y. Duran, another member of ATIF has been in jail in an industrial suburb of Frankfurt and home of the giant Opel (General Motors) motor works. Here thousands of workers from Turkey and other countries drawn together by imperialism's worldwide tentacles labor for one of the world's biggest exploiters, and here the struggle between revolutionaries and the reactionary Grey Wolves has broken into the open and has been especially sharp. Y Duran sits in jail because some of these reactionaries have supposedly accused him of an as yet unspecified "crime."

In June of this year, 74 members and supporters of ATIF/ATÖF were arrested in Augsburg in southern Germany while leafletting against an NMP conference. They were attacked by the Grey Wolves and after the assault was repulsed, the police moved in and made the arrests. (Needless to say, none of the Grey Wolves were busted.) Since then, 34 of those arrested have been held in "investigative detention" without yet being charged with any crime.

Also a "Verfügung" (banning order) has been issued against the National Chairman of the ATIF, ordering him to cease all ATIF activities under authority of a law which basically forbids any foreigner from engaging in revolutionary politics. This attack on the ATIF Chairman is clearly just the first step in officially outlawing ATIF itself. Lying behind this iron-fisted repres-



5000 march in Aachen, W. Germany, in commemoration of comrade Kaltip Saltan, murdered by the "Grey Wolves" Turkish fascists.

sion are some very panicky imperialist rulers in the U.S. war bloc. First off, is the growing revolutionary struggle in Turkey itself, which is striking increasingly powerful blows at the crisis-racked ruling classes. The anti-imperialist movement among workers and students from Turkey in West Germany is a strong source of support for the revolutionary struggle. For Western imperialism and the West German ruling class in particular, Turkey is an important area of investment and source of superprofits. Even more, it is of crucial importance from a strategic point of view since Turkey, as a member of NATO, "anchors" NATO's southern flank, and maintains a number of large NATO military and spy bases. It also controls the Bosphorus Straits, through which the Russian fleet must pass to reach the Mediterranean Sea.

But of concern to West Germany's rulers is the fact that ATIF, which takes a strong stand against both Western and Soviet imperialism, has very broad influence among the workers from Turkey in Germany. But more, the potential influence in a revolutionary direction that the class conscious workers from Turkey could exert on the German working class in this most "stable" U.S. ally should not be underestimated. The ruling class, taking this into account, is moving accordingly. But in doing so they are not only

spurring even more of the Turkish masses into action, but also more fully exposing the true nature of their rule to the people broadly.

In commemoration of the murdered comrade, against the attacks by the West German rulers on ATIF/ATÖF, a large demonstration was called in Aachen on Saturday, August 30, a week and a half after the murder. Originally, a coffin containing the comrade draped with a red flag was going to be carried in the demonstration and either buried in Aachen or sent from the demonstration to Turkey to be buried. The West German police confiscated the coffin and threatened that if it was carried in the demonstration, "there will be a bloodbath." Saltan's brother was intimidated into signing a release for the body to be put on the first possible plane to Turkey.

The pigs thought that the demonstration would be an easy prey for this typical provocative operation. Expecting only about 500 marchers, they were shaken when 5000 people came to Aachen from all over Germany to participate in the demonstration. 3300 supporters of ATIF alone were there, with about 100 West Germans and the rest supporters of other Turkish organizations. These other Turkish organizations, although they have political disagreements—even big ones—with ATIF, were drawn by the outrage of the masses to participate. About 100 cops

waiting at the highway exit to Aachen, stopped all busses and cars going into the city for the demonstration and literally frisked every participant. The demonstration itself, filled with revolutionary spirit, went straight to the center of Aachen. Extremely significant was the sympathetic support and attention from the West German population. Thousands of leaflets were distributed in both German and Turkish. At a short rally held in the center of the city, all organizations participating gave a 5-minute speech commemorating Comrade Saltan and called on the people to fight the fascist terror. The ATIF speaker made it clear that the struggle was not just against the fascists but against the imperialist system itself and all forms of repression that the imperialists of both East and West use to oppress the masses.

At the end of the rally a minute of silence was called in memory of Kaltip Saltan, after which thousands in the demonstration held fists high and ended with the following pledge: "We, we revolutionaries, will fight against imperialism, social-imperialism and every type of reaction until the victory of the democratic revolution and on to socialism—for a society that will contain no classes and oppression. We swear to wage this struggle with the last drop of our blood." □

News Item:

A reader sent us the following news short clipped from the San Francisco Chronicle. The story itself needs little comment, however, readers are encouraged to take a look at an article titled "The Bloody Work of the AFL-CIO" in RW No. 62 for a thorough treatment of the question.

Carter Slips,
Calls CIO
The CIA

Washington

President Carter didn't really mean to suggest that striking Polish workers received support from the Central Intelligence Agency. It was just a slip of the tongue.

Speaking before the AFL-CIO yesterday, the president inadvertently referred to the labor federation as the "AFL-CIA" during a passage about the Polish workers.

"I cannot help but believe that the resolve of the Polish workers was strengthened by the solidarity of free trade unions around the world—including of course, the AFL-CIA...CIO," Carter said, quickly correcting himself to scattered laughs from the audience.

The AFL-CIO has been accused over the years as serving as a conduit for funneling CIA funds into Latin America, a charge the labor federation denies.

Associated Press



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Letters

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

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

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

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

Dear Friends,

Just a note on the nuclear weapons letter from a reader. Their position is dead wrong, incorrect.

The major question is not *whether* we have nuclear weapons now or not as is emphasized but 1) in whose hands they are, 2) for what purposes they will be used. Imperialists use weapons one way, we another. China under Mao "used" the bomb very effectively without using it! We must do the same.

A reader

Dear Editor,

The RCP's Draft Programme and Constitution states in the chapter around the united front that the industrial proletariat is highly socialized and therefore must be "the most decisive force in the proletarian revolution." But the Draft Programme doesn't explain why being highly socialized is an important aspect in making proletarian revolution. Most people don't see the industrial proletariat as the decisive force right now because the industrial proletariat is better paid than other workers and right now are backwards. It's going to be crucial to explain that when the industrial proletariat becomes class conscious it is better able to see much more clearly the main contradiction in capitalist society. And the contradiction is that they understand the tremendous productive forces, they realize they have the ability to feed and clothe everybody and instead see these basic necessities of life go to waste and rot because the capitalists can't make a profit out of it.

A reader

Dear RW,

In the introduction to the New Draft Programme, it says of this new programme, that "Much of the crusty reformism which has infected the revolutionary and communist movement—including the 'Communist Party, USA'—has been cast aside, removing heavy layers of political fat which has weighed down the revolutionary movement in this country for many decades and has prevented serious preparation for revolution." This is reflected throughout the drafts and is very vivid in the sections both on the United Front and Create Public Opinion, Seize Power, which are showing themselves to be very controversial for just this reason.

The United Front section reflects a radical break with the reformist notions of the united front as a tactic in which the working class uses the immediate self-interest of different groups and strata to sucker them into uniting with communists for their own narrow aims. It clearly puts forward a strategy for proletarian revolution, which seeks to not only "isolate the enemy to the greatest degree and strike the most powerful blows against it," but to do this in the context of conscious revolution whose aim is to radically transform all society.

On this basis, I think there is some weakness around the question of how the proletariat becomes class-conscious, which is so crucial to carrying this out. The United Front section puts a good deal of emphasis on the role of the class conscious workers, "The more that this revolutionary section of the working class mounts the political stage and takes decisive political action, the greater will be its influence, both among broader ranks of the working class and other strata and social forces, the more powerfully will the revolutionary potential of the working class stand out and the more forces will be attracted to its banner—the revolutionary banner of the international proletariat." (p. 36) What is not spoken to is how this reflects back on the consciousness of the workers and their understanding of their historic mission.

In *What Is To Be Done?*, Lenin says "The consciousness of the working masses cannot be genuine class consciousness, unless the workers learn, from concrete, and above all from topical, political facts and events to observe every other social class in all the manifestations of its intellectual, ethical, and political life: unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of all aspects of the life and activity of all classes, strata and groups of the population." And further, "Those who concentrate the attention, observation, and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly, upon itself alone are not Social-Democrats (Communists); for the self-knowledge of the working class is indissolubly bound up, not solely with a fully clear theoretical understanding—or rather, not so much with the theoretical, as with the practical, understanding—of the relationships between all the various classes of modern society, acquired through the experience of political life."

Of course, one of the main ways this takes place, and what Lenin is speaking to, is through timely propaganda and agitation, and this is spoken to somewhat in the section "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power!"

But isn't the social practice of going out as a material force among all different strata also an important aspect of gaining this consciousness? And as this united front begins to come into being, through the role of the advanced workers, doesn't this in turn, deepen the proletariat's understanding of the need to lead?

A reader

Draft Programme Criticism

I would like to stand back from the first part of the Draft Programme (pp. 1-38) and ask how well does it do in addressing and answering the vital questions and contradictions we face in making revolution in this country in the next few years. I think we need to look especially at two questions: in the face of world war is it possible to make revolution, and how do we come from behind to make revolution in this situation. There is a great deal of controversy among many of the advanced over both these questions. But the Draft Programme is inadequate in its answers and needs substantial strengthening.

Let's start with the question of whether revolution is possible in the face of world war. The Draft makes an extremely important statement on pp. 7-8: "If the all-around preparation has been carried out among the working class and the

The Mask

Continued from page 9

Marshallese still living there were relocated to a very small island 3 miles away called Ebeye. Ebeye's land area is 1/10 square mile. Its current population is about 5,000—and there are no high rises there! Ebeye has been described as "an urban shanty town"; I would describe it as one of the most overcrowded and unsanitary ghettos imaginable.

By contrast Kwajalein Island today is inhabited by sophisticated American missile technicians and military personnel.

The living conditions at this strategic outpost of U.S. imperialism are what you might imagine: the island has been transformed into a southern California suburb replete with single-family housing units, tree-lined streets, outdoor swimming pools and even a golf course and tennis courts. Fresh fruits and vegetables are flown in every day from Guam or Hawaii, and Marshallese people are shuttled back and forth from Ebeye daily to clean the houses and staff the restaurants for these imperialist parasites.

Meanwhile American politicians turn their noses up and hide the South African government for their racist policy of apartheid! Needless to say such imperialist exploitation of the Marshallese people has not been popular. But the Marshall Islands are too strategic to risk "native unrest," not to mention that most unmentionable of words to the imperialist, Revolution.

We need a mask, the imperialists reason. We'll never win the hearts and minds of the people if we keep exposing ourselves like this. We need better public relations. Send in the P.R. team. Let's call them the "Peace Corps."

The mask... and the essence, April 30, 1980:

Two young men enter the halls of that hallowed peace-keeping body known as the United Nations—which is actually just a forum for carrying out some of the slickest of imperialist propaganda. Their intent was to confront the mouthpieces of U.S. and Soviet imperialism and rip off their masks. And that they did. For one brief moment the naked essence of U.S. and Soviet imperialism with all their carefully hidden war preparations, was fully exposed to the world! These international terrorists stood covered in red paint groping wildly for their missing masks.

Little do they realize, however, that it's only a matter of time before the halloween party ends, and these decadent actors and their criminal masters will be confronted by the rest of the working class and thrown into the dustbin of history forever.

FREE THE UN 2!
DOWN WITH U.S.-SOVIET WAR MOVES!

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and

need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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on the Draft Programme & Constitution of the RCP, USA

masses, and especially among the increasing numbers of class-conscious workers, with the Party at the head, the situation may well arise within the next few years in which a mass uprising can be launched to overthrow the imperialists and resolve the crisis in the interests of the proletariat and the great majority of humanity." In a great many ways this is the lynchpin on which the whole Draft Programme rests. If our analysis on this is wrong then the overall thrust of the entire Draft Programme is wrong because it is profoundly oriented towards not only fighting but winning revolution in this country this decade. The possibility of revolution in the next few years has also proven to be one of the most controversial and most debated points, either directly or indirectly. People have a hard time seeing the revolutionary potential in the given situation because it is not what appears on the surface.

We need to strengthen the arguments why this is true in the Programme. As it stands now it is unconvincing. Two suggestions: (1) a more powerful argument why the strengths of U.S. imperialism, in particular its top-dog position in the world, are being decisively turned into their opposite. As America in Decline states: "The possibility of revolution in the United States cannot be ascertained from the existing level of struggle in this country—or the existing objective situation. It is based on what is developing throughout the world." The fact that it now has a far-flung empire to defend, that the burden of defending this falls mainly on the shoulders of the U.S. imperialists who already have had to absorb the preliminary blows of being the target of revolutionary struggles throughout the world and within this country, that this country will be on the front lines of the war from the very beginning, that this puts the U.S. not only economically, but also *politically and militarily* in a very fragile position. All this with tremendous repercussions back on the contradictions within the U.S. The very things which made the U.S. imperialists strong in the past could now be decisively turned into their opposite. At this point the Draft Programme, especially pp. 5-7, is weak in putting the revolutionary possibilities in this country in this kind of worldwide context.

(2) We need to stress in these pages the fact that the revolutionary movement in this country is not starting from nowhere. There were the powerful struggles of the '60s and early '70s which taught people a lot of things about this system which they haven't forgotten—something which is absent from pp. 5-7, or anywhere else in the beginning part of the Draft Programme. And in particular the existence of hundreds of thousands of revolutionary-minded workers needs more emphasis. The Draft Programme has one sentence on this: "It (the working class) has been influenced by and directly infused with the militancy of millions of Black people and other oppressed peoples, angry veterans of the Vietnam war, women no longer accepting their 'place' and rebellious youth." Besides the fact that this analysis leaves out people who went through the '60s in one way or another and immigrants, especially from countries where there is significant struggle against imperialism, there is an overall downplaying of the importance of these advanced in explaining why revolution is possible. The fact that there was intense political turmoil in the '60s and early '70s and that some of this understanding of the system has been infused into the working class, concentrated especially in its advanced section, has a lot to do with why the revolutionary movement of today can make such rapid and qualitative leaps forward to come from behind to lead revolution in the next few years. More emphasis is needed on this important point.

This ties in with the other question which needs to be addressed in the Programme: how do we come from behind to make revolution. As it stands right now the Draft does not even pose this crucial question, nor speak powerfully enough to its urgency. The Programme should clearly pose this as a very important question in making revolution and why. We should bring out nearer the beginning (on pp. 8-9) how the question is not whether there will be upsurges and rebellions, but whether there will be one road or two roads, in a fundamental sense, one solution with many different variations or two solutions. The problem isn't that this isn't in the DP at all, the problem is that why this is such a crucial question is dealt with at the very end, on pages 90-91, and not at the beginning. Here we find the following statement: "There is and there will be more crisis in this country. There will be outbreaks of struggle—even massive outbreaks. But this, in itself, will never produce revolution. Through all this the bourgeoisie and its many agents, both open and in disguise, will be promoting one false solution after another, all ultimately coming down to one answer—'Keep America Number 1.' It is a vision that is as impossible as it is reactionary, but it will have forces grouped around it and can fool many for a time. The real question is, will there be *another* banner raised in this situation—the banner of revolution. And it is ultimately only a revolutionary party, guided by the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, that can raise and carry that leading banner all the way through to victory." This is the understanding that is lacking from pages 8-9 (although the above statement should be rewritten to say "...the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, *forging and leading a class conscious section of the proletariat*...") Isn't this a clear statement of the contradiction we are faced with? If so why not state it clearly and elaborate on it at the beginning.

Second, a very important part of coming from behind to make revolution, especially in the face of world war, involves internationalism. As Bob Avakian said, "The workers in this country can never make revolution by 'claiming the American flag as their own'—it is *not*—but only by learning to *hate* the American flag and all it stands for, and to take up the red flag." And this is not only a political question, but also an organizational one. Whether we really build the revolutionary movement in this country as a detachment of the international proletarian revolution, and as part of this build actual organizational unity on an international level as far as possible, is a dividing line question on whether we are actually able to make revolution in this country in the first place or simply throw away the opportunity, and whether we are able to move forward from there towards the historic goal of worldwide communism. And even if we are unable to successfully make revolution in this country this decade, very probably a revolutionary situation will ripen in some other country or countries and our work here will greatly assist it.

On this question, as well as others, we have some work to do in coming from behind. But where in the first 38 pages of the DP is this question addressed? There are some passing references to it, but essentially this question is not addressed directly or with nearly as much importance as it deserves. The reader has to wait until the Draft Constitution (pp. 102-104) to get a fuller explanation of the importance of proletarian internationalism. But shouldn't this be an important part of our Programme for making revolution and building socialism? Doesn't including it only in the Draft Constitution but not the Draft Programme downgrade

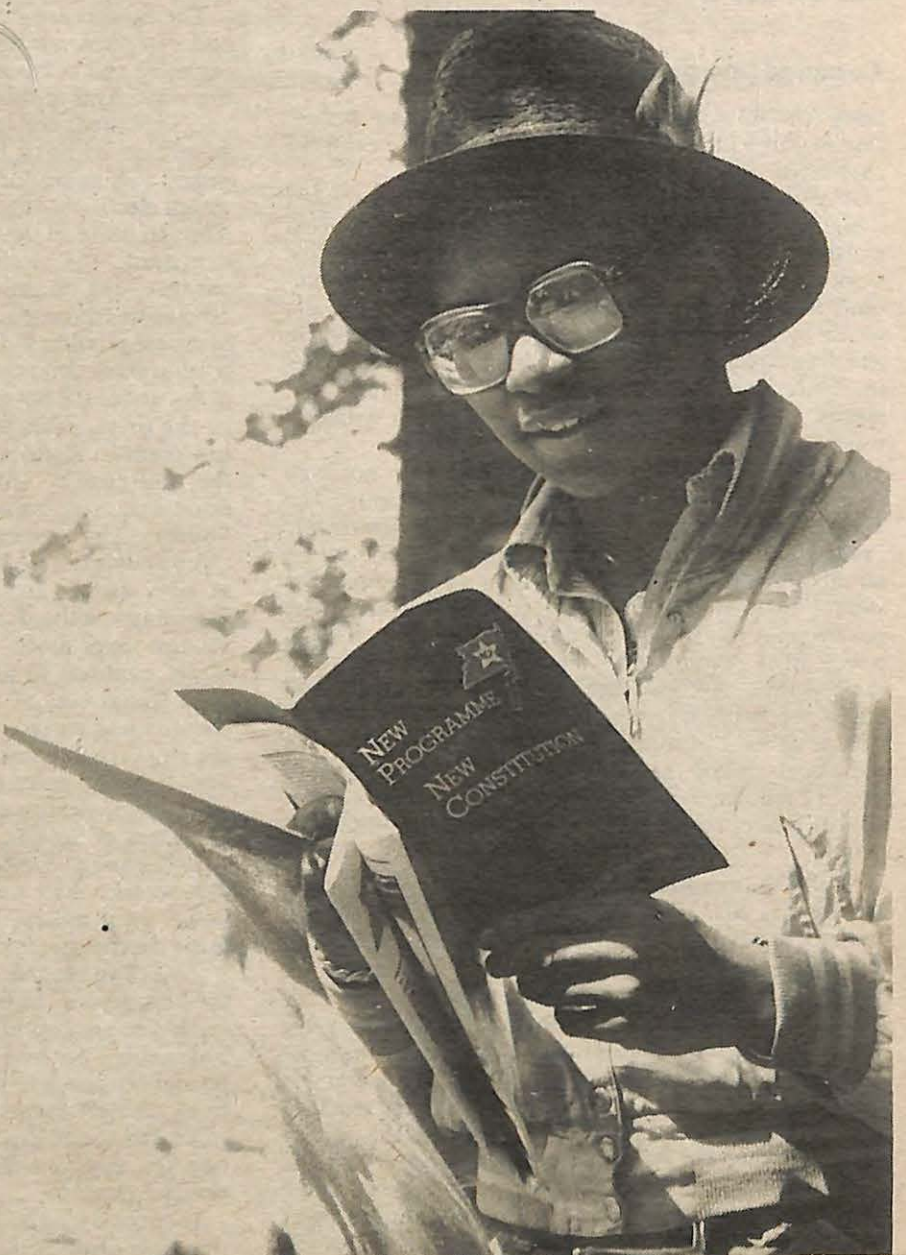
its importance and seriously handicap the struggle the Party and class conscious workers have to wage to infuse the revolutionary movement with this kind of outlook? I think it does and I would like to see more on the importance of proletarian internationalism as a key part of how we come from behind to make revolution.

Finally, while there is certainly stress throughout the first 38 pages on the importance of a class conscious section of the proletariat, especially in the United Front section, there is almost no analysis on the crucial question of *how* we are going to train, unleash and give sustained and growing expression to the political actions of this class conscious section. It should again be stressed that there is a material basis for bringing this class conscious section onto the political stage right now. And the United Front section should include something about how not only does the advanced section of the proletariat infuse its strength and revolutionary understanding into other social forces through political actions but also how by doing so they also further deepen their understanding of other social forces and why the proletariat must lead the revolution.

A serious problem exists in the Create Public Opinion, Seize Power chapter, the section that should address this question. This chapter is cut off from, not related directly to, the previous chapters. It is almost like the Draft Programme was written by different individuals and then this chapter pasted onto the others. We should write about how revolutionary agitation and propaganda relates to the crucial question of coming from behind to make revolution, training and unleashing into political action a class conscious section of workers. We should speak in this chapter about the deep and profound questions of the advanced and the relationship between meeting their interests and requirements and unleashing them into political action. And we should also talk about how the actions taken by these class conscious workers also play a very important role in creating public opinion to seize power.

A reader

DARE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE BATTLE PLAN FOR REVOLUTION



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Greensboro Klan/Nazi Trial:

Klan Rests Easy as Prosecution Rests

On September 17, after 30 days of testimony and almost 100 witnesses, the prosecution rested its case against six Klansmen and Nazis accused of murdering 5 anti-Klan demonstrators (members of the Communist Workers Party) in Greensboro, North Carolina last November 3. A few days earlier, District Attorney Mark Schlosser declared to a local news reporter, "Not a stone has been left unturned in the preparation of this trial." In fact, most of the truth behind the vicious Klan/Nazi attack is still buried beneath the rocks. The presentation of the state's "case" prompted one reporter to remark, "If someone had knocked over a 7-11 store, there would be a more vigorous prosecution than this."

For the most part, eyewitness and scientific testimony, including over 2000 ballistic analyses, didn't positively link specific shooters to specific victims, because most of the weapons used were shotguns, which are, conveniently, difficult to trace. The only positive link was Klan defendant Jerry Paul Smith's .357 magnum to the shot that killed Cesar Cauce. Bill Sampson, Jim Waller and Sandy Smith were killed by shotgun pellets fired by Klan defendant David Matthews. A deputy sheriff testified that Matthews told him in jail, "They can't hang me for all the murders 'cause I only got three of them." No link was established for the shot that killed the fifth victim, Mike Nathans.

The testimony of news reporters at the scene, residents of the housing project where the massacre took place, and cops identified the other defendants as

participants in the attack on the anti-Klan rally, with sticks and a whole arsenal of firepower. Much of the testimony was vividly illustrated in videotapes of the massacre taken by four TV cameramen.

Of course, in the next phase of the trial, all this will be explained as mere efforts of the Klan and Nazis to "defend themselves." That the prosecutor's legal "arguments" dovetailed with this defense "strategy" is illustrated by the fact that not one scrap of evidence was presented concerning the planning of this well executed massacre. The prosecution did not call to testify a federal Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agent, Bernard Butkovich, who was present at a key planning meeting just two days before the massacre. Not one mention was made of the formation in North Carolina, less than two months before the November 3 murders, of the United Racist Front, which brought together four KKK factions and the Nazis for the first time. Butkovich is known to have participated in that, too. Even the Greensboro Police Department's own informant, KKK'er Edwin Dawson, who has admitted to his role in leading the Klan caravan on November 3, was not called upon to testify!

Even more striking than the absence of these "missing persons" has been facts which have come to light regarding individuals who face no charges whatsoever for their role in the massacre. For instance, the prosecution's own evidence in the trial has proved that the gun that Smith used to kill one demonstrator, another semi-automatic fired

by another defendant, and the car carrying the Klan arsenal all belonged to Raeford Milano Caudle, a leader of the Nazis in North Carolina, who participated in the Klan caravan November 3, but who was freed of all charges by the prosecutor months ago "for lack of evidence."

In its opening statements last month, the prosecution put itself squarely in the camp of patriotism and red-blooded Americanism, thus setting out the real terms of this trial (despite the fact that there is nothing communist about the Communist Workers Party). "Regardless of how abhorrent the message of that group (the anti-Klan demonstrators—RW), they had a lawful permit. They were entitled to hold the rally, regardless of how you or I or the defendants may disagree with it." Their case has proved just how much they do agree with the defendants. The victims were reduced to a bunch of metal fragments dug out of brains and guts, neatly bagged and marked for exhibition. Victims? Just dead communists. The Ku Klux Klan and Nazis? Just good ol' boys defending the flag, with no history of violent, reactionary repression before November 3. As one defense lawyer blithely summed up the atmosphere in the courtroom, "It just hasn't felt like a murder trial."

The prosecution has whined that the CWP members' and supporters' refusal to testify has tied their hands and made their work more difficult. The D.A. even called on them to "put up or shut up." But, in fact, it has served their show very well. The prosecution hauled

one demonstrator into court to slap a 30-day jail sentence on him for refusing to testify, illustrating that there is only one "side" in this case. All this further lays the groundwork for blaming the victims when the murderers are let off the hook.

The highly technical evidence that has been presented was nearly incomprehensible to many observers. And the jury—based on defense requests—was not even allowed to take notes!

Only one witness gave testimony directly refuting one key element in the defense. The defense has maintained that the KKK and Nazis were trapped in their cars by the demonstration, unable to flee from the physical assaults of the anti-Klan demonstrators. One woman testified—in direct contradiction to Klan claims that they were "trapped"—that she and a friend joined the Klan caravan (believing it to be a "peaceful protest"), but when they heard the first shot, were subsequently able to get out so fast they never saw the main barrage that was fired.

But beyond this one point in the month-long whitewash, the field remains wide open for the expected defense of "misdirected patriotism." KKK'ers and Nazis, outraged over the demonstrators' anti-Americanism, provoked into murder by vicious attacks with picket signs. The next several weeks promise to be a not-too-subtle call to defend America "by any means necessary" and an intended warning to all who long to bring this bloody empire down. □

Lenin

Continued from page 8

tion! And now that the era of revolutions *has begun*, Kautsky turns his back upon it and begins to extol the charms of *moribund* bourgeois democracy.

Proletarian democracy, of which Soviet government is one of the forms, has brought a development and expansion of democracy hitherto unprecedented in the world, precisely for the vast majority of the population, for the exploited and toiling people. To write a whole pamphlet about democracy, as Kautsky did, in which two pages are devoted to dictatorship and scores to "pure democracy," and *fail to notice* this fact, means completely distorting the subject in a liberal way.

Take foreign policy. In no bourgeois state, not even in the most democratic, is it conducted openly. The masses are deceived everywhere, and in democratic France, Switzerland, America, England this is done on an incomparably wider scale and in an incomparably subtler manner than in other countries. The Soviet government has torn the veil of mystery from foreign policy in a revolutionary manner. Kautsky has not noticed this, he keeps silent about it, although in the era of predatory wars and secret treaties for the "division of spheres of influence" (i.e., for the partition of the world among the capitalist bandits) the subject is one of *cardinal* importance for on it depends the question of peace, the life and death of tens of millions of people.

Take the organization of the state. Kautsky picks at all manner of "trifles," down to the argument that under the Soviet constitution elections are "indirect," but he misses the essence of the matter. He fails to see the *class* nature of the state apparatus, of the machinery of state. Under bourgeois democracy the capitalists, by thousands of tricks—which are the more artful and effective the more "pure" democracy is developed—*push* the masses away from the work of administration, from freedom of the press, the right of assembly, etc. The Soviet government is the *first* in the world (or strictly speaking the second, because the Paris Commune began to do the same thing) to *enlist* the masses, specifically the *exploited* masses, in the work of administration. The toiling masses are *barred* from participation in bourgeois parliaments (which *never decide* important questions under bourgeois democracy; they are decided by the stock exchange and the banks) by thousands of obstacles, and the workers know and feel, see and realize perfectly well that the bourgeois parliaments are institutions *alien* to

them, *instruments for the oppression* of the proletarians by the bourgeoisie, institutions of a hostile class, of the exploiting minority.

The Soviets are the direct organization of the toiling and exploited masses themselves which *helps* them to organize and administer their own state in every possible way. And in this it is the vanguard of the toilers and exploited, the urban proletariat, that enjoys the advantage of being best organized by the large enterprises; it is easier for it than for all others to elect and watch elections. The Soviet organization automatically *helps* to unite all the toilers and exploited around their vanguard, the proletariat. The old bourgeois apparatus—the bureaucracy, the privileges of wealth, of bourgeois education, of social connections, etc. (these practical privileges are the more varied, the more highly bourgeois democracy is developed)—all this disappears under the Soviet form of organization. Freedom of the press ceases to be hypocrisy, because the printing plants and stocks of paper are taken away from the bourgeoisie. The same thing applies to the best buildings, the palaces, the mansions and manor houses. The Soviet power took thousands upon thousands of these best buildings from the exploiters at one stroke, and in this way made the right of assembly—without which democracy is a fraud—a *million times* more "democratic" for the masses. Indirect elections to nonlocal Soviets make it easier to hold Congresses of Soviets, they make the *entire* apparatus less costly, more flexible, more accessible to the workers and peasants at a time when life is seething and it is necessary to be able very quickly to recall one's local deputy or to delegate him to the general Congress of Soviets.

Proletarian democracy is a *million times* more democratic than any bourgeois democracy; Soviet power is a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic.

To fail to see this one must either deliberately serve the bourgeoisie, or be politically as dead as a doornail, unable to see real life from behind the dusty pages of bourgeois books, be thoroughly imbued with bourgeois-democratic prejudices, and thereby objectively convert himself into a lackey of the bourgeoisie.

To fail to see this one must be incapable of *presenting the question* from the point of view of the *oppressed* classes.

Is there a single country in the world, even among the most democratic bourgeois countries, in which the *average rank-and-file* worker, the *average rank-and-file village labourer*, or village semi-proletarian generally (i.e., the representative of the oppressed masses, the overwhelming majority of the population), enjoys anything approaching such *liberty* of holding meetings in the best buildings, such *liberty* of using the largest printing plants and biggest stocks of paper to

express his ideas and to defend his interests, such *liberty* of promoting men and women of his own class to administer and to "put into shape" the state, as in Soviet Russia?

It is ridiculous to think that Mr. Kautsky could find in any country even one out of a thousand of well-informed workers or agricultural labourers who would have any doubts as to the reply to this question. Instinctively, from hearing fragments of admissions of the truth in the bourgeois press, the workers of the whole world sympathize with the Soviet Republic precisely because they regard it as a *proletarian* democracy, a *democracy for the poor*, and not a democracy for the rich that every bourgeois democracy, even the best, actually is.

We are governed (and our state is "put into shape") by bourgeois bureaucrats, by bourgeois members of parliament, by bourgeois judges—such is the simple, obvious and indisputable truth, which tens and hundreds of millions of people belonging to the exploited classes in all bourgeois countries, including the most democratic, know from their living experience, feel and realize every day.

But in Russia the bureaucratic machine has been completely smashed, razed to the ground; the old judges have all been sent packing, the bourgeois parliament has been dispersed—and *far more accessible* representation has been given to the workers and peasants; *their* Soviets have replaced the bureaucrats, or their Soviets have been placed in control of the bureaucrats, and *their* Soviets have been authorized to elect the judges. This fact alone is enough to cause all the oppressed classes to recognize that the Soviet power, i.e., the present form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, is a million times more democratic than the most democratic bourgeois republic.

Kautsky does not understand this truth, which is so clear and obvious to every worker, because he has "forgotten," "unlearned" to put the question: *democracy for what class?* He argues from the point of view of "pure" (i.e., nonclass? or above-class?) democracy. He argues like Shylock: my "pound of flesh" and nothing else. Equality for all citizens—otherwise there is no democracy.

We must ask the learned Kautsky, the "Marxist" and "Socialist" Kautsky:

Can there be equality between the exploited and the exploiters?

It is monstrous, it is incredible that one should have to put such a question in discussing a book written by the ideological leader of the Second International. But "having put your hand to the plough, don't look back," and having undertaken to write about Kautsky, I must explain to the learned man why there can be no equality between the exploiters and the exploited. □

Hidden Terrors, by A.J. Langguth. Pantheon Books, New York. Paperback edition, 1979. \$3.95

August 12, 1970. The body of Dan Mitrione is brought back to his hometown, the small industrial city of Richmond, Indiana. He has been kidnapped and murdered in the faroff land of Uruguay. His brother Ray, a high school basketball referee and sports equipment salesman, has rushed back from his vacation to comfort Dan's widow and take charge of the funeral arrangements.

This is the opening scene of *Hidden Terrors*, a recent book by A.J. Langguth. Written like a novel, it unfolds the story behind Mitrione's death. But it isn't a novel, for the story is quite true.

Upon arrival, Mitrione's body lay in state in Richmond's Municipal Building, with an honor guard of police and 33 Boy Scouts. President and Mrs. Nixon sent a huge red, white and blue wreath, as well as their son-in-law David Eisenhower, to the funeral; Secretary of State Rogers and wife, along with the Uruguayan ambassador, were there. Two weeks later Frank Sinatra, accompanied by Jerry Lewis, gave a benefit performance in Richmond with the proceeds going to Mitrione's wife and nine children—because, Sinatra said of the dead man, "we owe a debt of gratitude for men like these who work for our country."

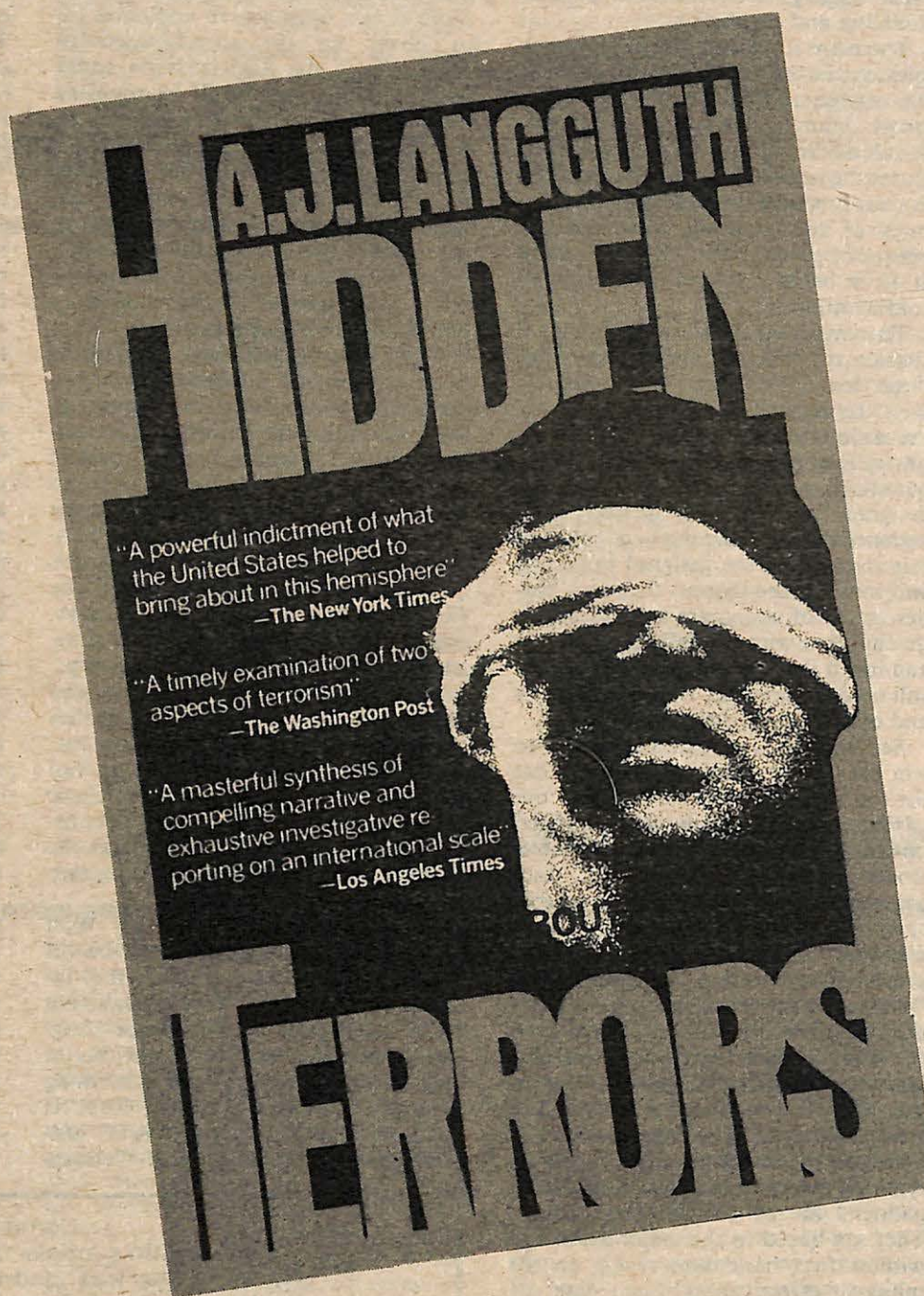
Obviously not an ordinary death. "A despicable act that will be condemned by men of decency and honor everywhere," the White House called his killing. He was killed by the Tupamaros, a group of urban guerrillas that existed in Uruguay in the late 1960s and early 1970s. "Tupamaros, Financed by Russia, Are Trigger Men for Castro," is how the headline in the local Richmond paper summed it up. Either that, or another outbreak of irrational anti-Americanism, were the explanations of the news media and the government. The *New York Times* editorialized that the killing was "absurd," and accused the Tupamaros of using the techniques of Hitler.

Langguth used to be a reporter for the *New York Times*. Now, in the mid-70s, for whatever reasons of his own, he decides to look into the case of Dan Mitrione. What he found was hidden terrors—that Mitrione, former police chief in Richmond, spending the 1960s in Brazil and Uruguay as a "public safety advisor," had as his job the training of the police of these countries in the techniques of torture.

In the 1960s, in connection with the increased movement of U.S. capital into Latin America, the U.S. began to make moves to more directly control the infrastructure of these societies. As part of this, the Office of Public Safety (OPS) was set up to train the national police of countries under the domination of U.S. imperialism, especially in Latin America. Officially the OPS was part of the U.S. agency set up to promote "economic development"; in fact, it was run by the CIA. In 1960 Mitrione went to Brazil with the OPS. Training the Brazilian police was linked with increasing control by the U.S., resulting in the 1964 coup which threw out President Goulart and his illusions of independence and democracy in favor of an open military dictatorship subservient to the U.S. Brazil became notorious for the wide use of torture by its police and military, and for the "death squads" composed of police and government officials which unofficially killed and tortured at will under the guise of getting rid of criminals.

After helping to train this police force, Mitrione returned to the U.S. in 1967 to train foreign police officers at the Public Safety International Police Academy in Washington, D.C. Some of the highlights of the courses there involved an exercise in which the police of the mythical country of "San Martin" had to preserve "law and order" against infiltrators from the neighboring country of "Maoland," and a film showing the police of the same "San Martin" failing to preserve order in the

NEW BOOK EXPOSES U.S. TERROR IN LATIN AMERICA



face of subversion and having to call in the army.

In 1969 Mitrione returned to South America, heading a four-man team to train the police of Uruguay, where unrest was growing and the Tupamaros had become active—precisely the sort of subversive activity against U.S. imperialism and its local comprador lackeys that the International Police Academy and the OPS in general were training police how to combat. A year later Mitrione was dead, captured and executed by the Tupamaros,* accused of being a CIA agent whose job it was to train the Uruguayan police in techniques of capturing and getting information from political prisoners through torture.

In writing this book, Langguth seems to be at the same time trying to come to grips with U.S. imperialism himself, and to introduce his readers dramatically and forcefully to some of the horrors produced by this imperialism. He succeeds in his second aim. He introduces Mitrione as the small-town cop, the son of Italian immigrants who rises to police chief and applies for an overseas

position in pursuit of better pay and career prospects, who goes to Brazil to create professional and supposedly non-political policemen. Then gradually he reveals the political context of Mitrione's job, the U.S. engineering of the coup in Brazil, the growth of the repressive apparatus and use of torture. He skillfully interweaves into the book the stories of some Brazilian political activists whom he's interviewed in exile—a young journalist who becomes an "urban guerrilla" is captured, tortured, finally released through a political kidnapping; a geology student who questions the hold of U.S. companies on Brazil's mineral wealth, ends up working in a factory, becomes a

*The Tupamaros' strategy of terrorism, representing as it did the spontaneous reaction of the outraged intellectual to imperialism's oppression, as opposed to the scientific strategy of Marxism, proved unable for this reason, in Uruguay as elsewhere, to guide the way forward to revolution or even to sustain the group itself, which had ceased to exist by the mid-1970s.

labor organizer until he's imprisoned; an engineering student who joins a revolutionary organization is caught, tortured, eventually released, and in Paris comes to marry Philip Agee, ex-CIA agent writing *Inside the Company*, an exposure of the CIA. He gradually brings out the systematic use of torture, building up a crescendo of horrors. He reveals the U.S. complicity:

"In the torture room, the guards administered electric shocks with a small gray generator about a foot and a half long. On the side facing Flavio was a familiar symbol: the red, white, and blue shield of U.S. AID (Agency for International Development)." (p. 193)

Or, what's nearer the mark, U.S. direction:

"Jean Marc also heard a man speaking to the commander in English with a United States accent. At the time, Jean Marc was hanging upside down, trussed like a roasting chicken, his wrists and ankles tied to a pole called the parrot's perch. The guards were giving him electric shocks on the inside of his ears." (p. 165)

Yes, he does expose these atrocities of U.S. imperialism, and very incisively too, in a way that will strike you in the face with the barbarity and horror of the repression unleashed by imperialism as it seeks to hold back the forward progress of humanity. But on the other hand, Langguth does not actually come to grips with imperialism, nor understand its structure and necessities.

This comes out vividly in the main theme of the book, in its very structure. Langguth makes his basic contradiction the normality of Mitrione's life, on the one hand, and his crimes abroad, on the other. He cannot explain the contradiction; he simply counterposes the two aspects. What he cannot see is their unity. And this is because he cannot see the roots of imperialist domination abroad in the normal, unremarkable system that rules at home. He finds it incredible that a policeman from a small American city could become a director of a torture operation. But in fact there's nothing incredible about it.

There is real contradiction here that Langguth is pointing to—contradiction between imperialism's much more complete exploitation and degradation abroad, in the nations under its domination, and the comparative material well-being and "democratic" facade it allows at home, in the imperialist country. It's imperialist oppression and plunder abroad which makes it possible for the imperialists to grant concessions, and in fact offer bribes, at home. Not that this can continue forever. Rampant imperialism brings its own contradictions—from anti-imperialist struggles for liberation, to another imperialist power horning in, to increasing problems for capital accumulation within the empire—which lead to a declining imperialism whose watchword must become, "We've got to tighten our belts and prepare for war." Imperialism may provide a temporary respite for capitalism, but only at the cost of laying the basis for more earth-shaking storms and upheavals. Such is the period into which we're entering now—one in which books like *Hidden Terrors* are valuable which disclose some of the realities of this glorious empire we're being called upon to defend.

On the other hand, even in more normal times the contradiction between home and abroad isn't so complete, either. There isn't such a big gulf between shooting down people—particularly minorities—and beating them to death, committing the sorts of atrocities that go on in U.S. precinct stations and prisons, maintaining "red squads" for political surveillance, employing agent-provocateurs within revolutionary groups, or brutally attacking political demonstrations like this year on May First, all of which are normal police activities. There isn't such a great gulf between these domestic police functions and the sorts of things Dan Mitrione, as a good all-American cop, did overseas. It's quite fitting, after all, that the proceeds from a memorial fund for Mitrione were donated to help establish a "law enforcement center" at Eastern Indiana Community College, near the town where he pursued his domestic police career.

Rumblings

Continued from page 1

ist war machine.

As the scouts reach the village, a sharp clash of moods becomes apparent. For the children there is a carnival atmosphere. Laughing and talking excitedly, they ride their bicycles among the soldiers and reach out for a chance to touch or maybe even hold the "real gun."

The soldiers' faces tell a different story. Their expressions are filled with tension as they move rapidly from doorway to doorway. With quick steps they cross the open spaces between the fences and bushes that line the street. Noticeably nervous, weapons at the ready, they cautiously round the corners of the houses, searching for the "enemy." Sergeants bark orders to the background sound of wet gear and weapons jangling in rhythm with combat boots on the cobblestones.

Among the older people looking on there are mixed emotions. Some nod approvingly, saying that a show of strength is what is needed to deter the Russians. Others, some of whom have already seen two imperialist world wars ravage Europe, shake their heads in disgust. They can see it starting again. Most are aware that not far off on the other side of the border, the other imperialist war machine is making its preparations as well. 60,000 or more Warsaw Pact troops engage in "Brothers in Arms '80." How long will it be before these two giant merchants of murder and destruction stop shadow boxing with themselves and square off for real against each other? Few want to ponder. But not wanting to think about the "unthinkable" cannot blot out what is unfolding before their eyes.

The soldiers work their way quickly through the village, stopping only to check their positions on a map and radio back reports to their superiors. There is none of the usual fooling around going on among the troops. Not only are they under the constant eye of their NCO's and officers, but also looking on, stationed every 200 meters, are official observers, officers who are grading and evaluating their "performance" and judging just who has killed whom. Overhead, well above the dirt and noise, hovers a helicopter with "their" general watching "his boys" do their job. How many are thinking about their fellow slaves from the East, with whom, in the not too distant future, they will very likely be called upon to carry out a mutual slaughter, and how many are thinking about how to knock that helicopter down, is hard to say. But the only time the general gives "his boys" live ammunition is at the firing range—where senior NCO's with loaded .45s make sure that all weapons are kept pointed downrange, and where every live round and spent shell is carefully accounted for.

The scouts move on. For a while there are few sounds of war, except for an occasional helicopter out over the fields. Then a low-pitched rumble is heard in the distance. It grows louder, and as it swells to a roar, it is mixed with the clanking and banging of metal on metal and metal on pavement. A battalion of the 2nd Armored Division—nicknamed the "Hell on Wheels" division—storms into the village. The M-60 tanks, like huge green monsters with their 15 tons of armored steel and high explosives, shake the ground as they pass, making all conversation impossible. As the last of the 40 tanks and APC's in the columns round the corner out of sight, there are no smiling faces to be seen. There is no more playful chatter or excited gesturing; only a spreading consciousness that what we are seeing is no game, it is deadly serious business. The most massive maneuvers since World War 2 mean but one thing—the international gangster class, driven by economic crisis, is preparing another shoot-out, ten times as deadly as the last, to see who will control the biggest piece of "turf," to see which one will be in a position to suck the most blood of the people around the world—that is, what they haven't already spilled or simply vaporized.

Throughout the night, the whole area for miles around is one vast battlefield. The orange forces are advancing, the blue forces pulling back. Armored columns zoom up and then fade back into the night as positions shift. Everywhere there are foxholes and sentries. At key intersections and bridges, there are machine gun nests and camouflaged vehicles. The rain continues on and off. An infantry squad crosses under the railroad tracks and stops at a British observer's Land Rover. The lieutenant leading the squad declares that he has captured the British colonel, who later turns out to be the senior British judge. The men sit down by the road for a rest. One GI unstraps his machine gun, saying, "We've walked 50 kilometers today alone. Can you believe another week of this shit?"

"Can you believe two years of it—with real bullets and real dead people?" comes the reply. A quiet conversation in the dark ensues. The lieutenant yells as the squads prepare to come out. As he asks around to see if anyone has seen his gloves, some papers pass hands just a few feet away. Under a field jacket goes some genuine "live ammunition"—the message of proletarian internationalism and revolution.

There are forces representing two armies out in the field. But they are not the orange and blue forces the brass crows about to the assembled international media. Here in northern Germany, the imperialists and their increasing war preparations are facing the stirrings of the working class and the masses of people, who have no interest at all in being statistics in the coming conflagration.

The barons of Western international finance and industry are hoping to use these maneuvers for two purposes. First, to actually practice and prepare the actions needed to launch a world war in Europe. The movement of huge quantities of men and materials is designed to test and perfect their logistics systems. The weeks of cold and rain in the field are designed to harden and toughen the troops; the mock battles, many of which are at night, to acquaint them with battlefield conditions and instill them with the discipline they will need to carry out a war for an army and officer corps they hate.

Secondly, it is part of a campaign to win the public to support the war that for the imperialists is the only way out of their crisis. On the day of the official opening of the maneuvers, General Rogers, the NATO commander, once again runs the "they're the aggressors" song and dance, declaring to the assembled press that Autumn Forge '80 is not a symbol of Western aggression but a "necessary show of strength to deter the threat from the East." He points to the Warsaw Pact maneuvers (which are less than one-fifth the size) as a sign of the Russian imperialists' aggressive nature. Beyond this, there are literally hundreds of representatives from every type of media on every continent gathered at the official press center. They are bused to the major actions to witness first hand and report on the military effectiveness and state of readiness of the NATO forces. Their message is a clear one: "Don't worry about war because we are sure to win." When shortcomings and weaknesses are pointed out, it is only to gain public opinion for even greater war spending and weapons build-up.

But all this is not going down without a hitch. The carrying out of Autumn Forge '80 has alerted a broad section of people to the growing danger of war and evoked widespread opposition. On Monday, Sept. 15, as the convoy of 500 British vehicles crossed Holland on their way to Germany and the British exercise Crusader '80, they were held up on the Autobahn for three hours. Several thousand demonstrators with bonfires of tires and hay bales had totally disrupted the generals' neatly laid plans. After the action, they released a statement to the press condemning both NATO and Warsaw Pact maneuvers.

On Wednesday the 17th, a demonstration of 500 in opposition to the maneuvers was held in Göttingen, a university town 80 kilometers south of Hildesheim. This demonstration was called by a broad coalition of local anti-war and anti-nuclear groups as well as a

Trotskyite organization which specializes in low-profile support for the Soviet Union. Because of the character of some of the forces building it, the demonstration itself failed to target clearly both imperialist blocs and to clearly link the maneuvers with preparations for a third world war. Nevertheless, the turnout and spirit of the crowd is a clear indication of the growing uneasiness around the question of world war among the masses generally and students and other petty-bourgeois forces in particular.

Along with the demonstration in Göttingen, a number of other regional and local activities have been held in opposition to the maneuvers. This has included teach-ins around war in several cities that have drawn hundreds of participants and have been the scene of lively debate. In particular, the question of whether or not these maneuvers are preparations for world war—or exclusively more U.S.-led imperialist interventions against national liberation struggles—has been at the heart of most of the contention. Closely linked to this has been the question of the role and character of the Soviet Union and its bloc. Those forces that attempt in a more or less open way to apologize for or cover up the social-imperialist character of the Soviet Union today tend to be the most vocal in opposing the view that a world war is looming on the horizon, because conceding this means that the question of the character of that war and consequently of the Soviet Union immediately comes to the fore. While they often take a bottom-line stand of critical support for the new tsars, they hate like hell to have to publicly defend their position.

These two positions have been at the heart of the line struggles that have gone on in the coalition that is building the most important act of open opposition to the maneuvers—the central demonstration called for Hildesheim for Saturday, Sept. 20, under the slogan "To Hell With Autumn Forge '80—Oppose Imperialist War Preparations!"

This loose coalition, initiated by *Fight Back*, a revolutionary GI newspaper in Europe, has involved anti-nuclear and anti-militarist groups, organizations of foreign workers and students, and other forces from 15 cities in Germany. While pro-Moscow elements have prevented a higher level of unity from being developed and have even done their best to limit its size, nevertheless, this demonstration has the bourgeoisie very worried, as thousands are expected to participate.

Just how seriously both the West German and U.S. bourgeoisies take this action—and just how seriously they intend to deal with it—was brought out by a front-page article in the Aug. 30/31 weekend edition of the major daily *Die Welt* with the screaming headline, "Secret Police Report: Radicals Plan To Disrupt NATO Maneuvers and Armed Forces Celebra-

tion." This sensationalist blast raises the spectre of last May's violent anti-NATO demonstrations in Bremen and "334 anti-military actions in June and July alone" in West Germany, and goes on to focus its attack on *Fight Back* by name, saying that "revolutionary GI's of the U.S. Army stationed in West Germany" were collaborating with German radicals to stage "politically motivated disruptions that could result in major clashes with military security." Later a version of this article was carried in *Stars and Stripes*, the Pentagon paper distributed to GI's abroad, both making clear that it is U.S. military security that would like to stage major clashes and also serving as not-too-subtle warnings to any GI's who intend to participate.

While the U.S. and German imperialists are trying to set up for attack those who dare target both imperialist war blocs, pro-Moscow imperialist elements are trying to cut the ground out from under them. The youth group of the DKP (the official pro-Soviet Communist Party of Germany) has gone out on campuses to distribute leaflets calling on people not to attend the Sept. 20 Hildesheim demonstration, claiming that it is being organized by provocateurs. They have also taken to repeating the slander first raised by ultra-"left" pro-Soviet forces at the meeting to plan the Hildesheim demonstration that *Fight Back* is a CIA front. The evidence? That it advocates carrying out opposition to war preparations within the East as well as Western bloc! This charge, raised as a last-ditch effort by a tiny handful of people to sabotage the conference, was shouted down by the overwhelming majority of people there. Unable to prevent people from uniting around the need to carry out the Hildesheim action, the pro-Soviet types are now concentrating on trying to convince people to attend another, exclusively anti-U.S. rally instead, long after the NATO maneuvers are over. All this points out how even as they prepare to blow each other's armies off the map, both superpowers still have a common interest in counterrevolution.

In spite of all this, exposure of and opposition to the imperialists' war moves continue to spread and mount. Along with the central Hildesheim action in West Germany, there will be a support demonstration by the "U.S. division" of the coalition on Sunday, Sept. 21 in Washington, D.C., starting across from the White House and ending with a march to the Pentagon. As our rulers march millions into the bloodbath they hope to use to breathe new life into their dying system, they will put into motion forces they may not be able to control. Such a war may not end in a victory for one or the other bloc of imperialists—but in a victory for those who today talk in whispers in the shadows and who for now put "live ammunition" under a coat. □

Correction

In V.I. Lenin's article "Where to Begin?" (RW No. 71) a line was inadvertently left out of the final paragraph on page 12. The third and fourth sentences of that paragraph should read:

"Such a view would be absurd and doctrinaire. On the contrary, it is quite possible, and historically much more probable, that the autocracy will collapse under the impact of one of the spontaneous outbursts or unforeseen political complications which constantly threaten it from all sides."

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and

need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

Interview with GIs at War Games

INSIDE AUTUMN FORGE

In the past week thousands of GIs have been arriving from Europe and the U.S. as part of the NATO Autumn Forge war maneuvers. The biggest single unit involved in these war preparations is the 2nd Armored Division from Ft. Lewis, Texas. A couple of days after they arrived in Europe *Fight Back* (the voice of revolutionary GI's in Europe) interviewed two Black GI's from the 2nd Armored Division. The following are excerpts from that interview and for obvious reasons we will refer to the brothers as X and Y.

FB: I thought I'd start off by asking you guys why you joined the army in the first place?

X: I wanted to check it out and see how it was. Mainly because I had a brother who was in the Marines, he wasn't in there no longer than two months before he had a nervous breakdown. So I wanted to see how it was, to affect people's minds like that—just for him to snap—cause he was a cool brother before he went in. So I went into the army to check it out and see how it was.

FB: Did you find out the reason?

X: Yeah, it's all a bunch of bullshit.

Y: I was in some trouble and I either had the choice of coming in or going to jail so I came on in.

FB: That's why they call it the volunteer army?

Y: Yeah.

FB: Would you guys recommend that other people join the army to check it out?

Y: Fuck no.

X: In AIT (Advanced Infantry Training) they wanted me to become a recruiter. I told them I don't want to be a recruiter, because I couldn't see myself standing there and telling someone to come on in here. I would tell them the truth about the whole situation. I'd

have nobody on my list because I would tell them just how it is. Recruiters are just a bunch of crooks, they want that green money that's all.

FB: We can see that our rulers are preparing to engage in World War 3 against their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union and they're trying to whip up a patriotic fever to get people behind this. What are the brass doing at Fort Hood along these lines to get guys ready for war?

X: Mainly a lot of field problems. All this past July we were out in the field and when we leave here we go back out into the field again in January.

FB: How do people feel about coming over here for REFORGER?

Y: They look at it like just another training exercise. They told us we were over here to get used to the cold weather. They told us that if we were scheduled to go to REFORGER and you were AWOL you would do 10 years automatically. No questions or nothing. They don't want to hear shit.

FB: Does that mean they expect you are to be back over here soon?

Y: They act as though we are. I think that it's a real possibility that they might be coming back. I don't know, I'm not coming back—not to go to war.

FB: How do other people feel about this?

Y: A lot of brothers can't see goin' to war. Not for the reasons we're goin' to war for because it's not worth it.

FB: What do you see those reasons as being?

Y: To get somethin' that belongs to someone else that they have no business trying to take.

FB: In other words you're saying you wouldn't fight for the red, white and blue?

Y: No, that's their flag not ours.

X: A lot of people are hyped up

about it. If a war was to break out they'll fight for their country. But I can't see fighting for something I don't know what I'm fighting for. Now I can see if they go to the U.S. and start bombing there of course I'm gonna help them out, because they're messing with my family then. But when they go around and get in other people's business which they don't have to do, just stay out of it and there wouldn't be no problems just like in the Vietnam war.

FB: I don't agree that we should defend this system whether the bombs are falling in the U.S. or Europe or anywhere. Is it a question of going out here and defending the country or dealing with the system that brought about the war in the first place?

X: That's a heavy question, very heavy question.

FB: What's the general feeling about going to war among the troops?

X: It's half and half. I don't know everybody at Fort Hood but a lot of people say they'll go to war and a lot of people say they won't.

FB: Over here they have the saying FTA—Fuck the Army. Is that the way the people feel at Fort Hood?

X: You hear that quite a bit in Texas too. A lot of people feel that way. I tried to get out myself. The officers are fucked up. Some of them just go to college and then they get out of college and go straight to the army and don't know what the fuck is happening in the organization. They come in and try to change things and fuck up the whole thing.

FB: Would you trust them to lead you into war?

X: Trust them? If I was to go to war with them I'd kill them.

FB: Why is that?

X: 'Cause I know a few who would

kill me.

FB: What about the conditions at Fort Hood? What about the Ku Klux Klan?

X: There's quite a few of them around there. They had their Klans riding a little bit on Fort Hood.

FB: And the officers and NCO's promote this?

X: I know some who are in it.

Y: They have membership cards and when they get into trouble all they do is repeat their social security number just like a prisoner of war.

FB: Do they go around with robes and burn crosses?

X: They burned a cross one time. That's when they had that little riot. The Blacks went down there against them.

FB: Did the Klan get their asses kicked?

X: Yeah.

FB: Is there racial tension between the Black and white GIs at Fort Hood?

Y: It's mostly the older people who keep that shit going. It seems to hurt them to see two or three different races together. It hurts them and gets them really upset. You might see them off duty and you come on duty and they try to dog you by using their rank which is fucked up.

FB: We covered a lot of ground, what message would you like to see go out to your fellow GIs?

X: I'd like to see everybody get together and march one way against our real enemy instead of all diagonally. I would like to see that.

Y: I agree with what he said that would be sharp for that to happen. I'd like to say also that we do need a newspaper like *Fight Back* not just at Fort Hood but everywhere we can print it. □

15,000 Line Up for 70 Jobs



No ads appeared in the papers, no announcements on the radio, but word travels fast among the tens of thousands desperately searching for a job—any job. 15,000 people stood in lines, some camping overnight—all for a chance to apply for a mere 70 clerical and manual labor jobs at Baltimore's Social Security Administration.

As the doors opened in the morning, there was a surge towards the front. All the TV crews were there. The media, no doubt, hoped to gather pictures of people fighting each other for the lousy applications. But as thousands rushed the doors, it was security guards who began swinging.

One brother who was beaten by clubs and taken by the guards was later offered "a first shot" at one of the jobs if he agreed not to press charges against the guards.

As it turned out, these 70 "new jobs" are an attempt to cut wages. Existing positions in Social Security are slated for elimination, while the "new" jobs are classified as "worker-trainee." These "trainees" will be in the lowest pay scale in the federal government and will not be "permanent" for three years. □

Turkey

Continued from page 10

were killed instantly. Scores more were severely wounded as they tried to flee. 500 students were arrested and the newspapers and government initially reported the attack as a gun battle between security forces and terrorists.

But the favorite weapon of suppression and terror used by the government against the masses in recent years have been the professional terror groups and fascist gangs organized by the National Movement Party (MHP) led by Alparslan Turkes, a former army colonel who played an important role in the military coup in 1960. These groups (often called the "grey wolves") have been extensively employed to foment terror, to break up strikes and demonstrations and to provoke and incite conflict between various religious sects. In 1978, for example, these fascist gangs were brought into the city of Kahramanmaraş to attack and plunder Shiite Moslem neighborhoods to create the impression of a war between the Sunni and Shiite Moslem sects. Over 200 people were massacred in a three day bloodbath by these civilian fascist gangs with the help of the army and police (described by the western press as "sectarian fighting"). In the wake of this, Ecevit declared martial law. (See *Revolution*, January 1979.)

In these attacks the fascist gangs have worked hand in glove with the military that has now supposedly taken power to put an end to terrorism. The MHP tried to repeat the Kahramanmaraş operation on May 28, 1980 in the town of Corum. Busloads of commandos were brought to the central square. With the active support of the police they began to ransack small shops and businesses, and by that evening a full scale assault was launched on neighborhoods known for anti-fascist sympathies. Coffee houses and public buses were sprayed with machine gun fire and the state hospital was taken over to prevent the treatment of the wounded. Faced with this terrorist-police onslaught, the people set up barricades in the streets, armed with shotguns and pistols. Despite the declaration of curfew and the dispatch of military troops to Corum, the people of Corum maintained the barricades until June 1st, repulsing repeated police-fascist attacks. Police reinforcements were sent in, but they failed to capture the barricades. Although 26 were killed in this Five Day War, the people of Corum, Shiite and Sunni Moslem brothers and sisters standing shoulder to shoulder behind the barricades prevented a massacre. On June 3 military bulldozers were brought in to remove the barricades which were draped in slogans of "Corum will be the graveyard of fascists," "Resisting Peoples cannot be defeated," "End Tortures," "End Martial Law." Subsequently over 200 Corum residents were arrested and the city was placed under military occupation.

The result of these efforts by the Ecevit and Demirel governments to crush the mass movements by use of the police, military and the fascist gangs has been the slaughter of thousands of people, and the jailing of tens of thousands more. But it has not put an end to the resistance. Just the opposite. The efforts of the Turkish ruling classes to turn the country into a graveyard of quiet submission have inflamed the resistance of the masses. Revolutionary forces, including the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist), have strengthened and expanded their influence and leadership of this mass struggle. And the TKP (M-L) has waged a sharp ideological and political struggle among the revolutionaries and the masses to clarify the course of the revolutionary struggle in Turkey. The May Day demonstrations in Turkey this year, reported in the *RW* No. 53, were a dramatic indication of the militance and growing revolutionary consciousness that characterizes the mass movement. On the eve of the military coup tens of thousands of workers were on strike in Turkey, in open rebellion against government attempts to tighten the screws of exploitation in response to

the demands of Turkey's creditors for greater economic austerity and productivity.

It is also true that this revolutionary upsurge among the masses of Turkey has given rise to some leftist terrorist groups whose program is to respond to the bourgeoisie's acts of terror against the masses with anti-government and anti-fascist terrorist action. But the claim that the new military government is attempting to put an end to both "the terrorism of the left and the right," is a monstrous joke. In fact the recent intensification of right wing terrorist activity is seen by many in Turkey as consciously preparing the conditions and justification for a military takeover. In reality the military has long worked closely with these rightist terrorists who it is now supposedly so even-handedly going to suppress. One of their aims in claiming to put an end to terrorism is to win over the middle classes with the promise of protection of their personal safety and property. Terrorism is a tactic the bourgeoisie has used. If it is to their advantage they can ease off one form of it now, the fascist gangs, while they use other forms of terror and oppression to try to smash the revolutionary forces. In fact arresting some of the rightist terrorists and their leaders, as the junta has done, not only gives them the mask of "fairness," it reminds the fascist groups who is in charge and who they are working for.

So it was not to replace a "liberal" or "social democratic" government that

the military coup was launched. The coup's purpose was to unite a badly split Turkish ruling class. These splits and the virtual paralysis of the government have intensified in the face of the country's deepening crisis. For while they have a great deal of unity on their response to the masses—repression and terror—they have turned to infighting and debilitating backstabbing because of competing imperialist loyalties and internal contradictions over how to deal with the crisis. For over six months and after 100 votes in the Parliament they were not able to select a president of the

country. While the Demirel government seemed willing to accede to U.S. demands for an agreement with Greece that would bring Turkey's old rival back into NATO, Ecevit's party joined with a Moslem fundamentalist party to vote dismissal of the Foreign Minister doing the negotiations. These are just two examples of the disarray and cross purpose action of the Turkish politicians that has increasingly irritated the U.S.

There is little question of either of the major parties in Turkey opting for a withdrawal from NATO or for a fundamental change in the relationship with the Western bloc. But there are undoubtedly those in the Turkish ruling classes looking nervously at the Soviet fleets that steam through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and hoping that maybe a more independent stance towards the U.S. might give them more maneuvering room to save their hides when all hell breaks loose. At the same time there are those who are convinced that the only future for the Turkish ruling class lies with a snug and tight relation with the U.S. These larger questions are no doubt connected with numerous internal conflicts of interest, as is always the case in a den of thieves.

It was precisely because of these paralyzing contradictions within the Turkish ruling class that have been reflected in the government that the Turkish military moved in to "straighten things out." It is not a question of initiating fascist repression against the masses. The previous governments were doing that all along. It was the hope that by unifying the disparate factions of the bourgeoisie through this military intervention that this repression would be carried out more efficiently and effectively. Of course the military itself represents the dominant interests of certain sections of the Turkish ruling class and it seems fair to say, on the basis of the U.S. response, that it represents those who are firmly committed to maintain Turkey's subservience to U.S. imperialism and her role in NATO. □



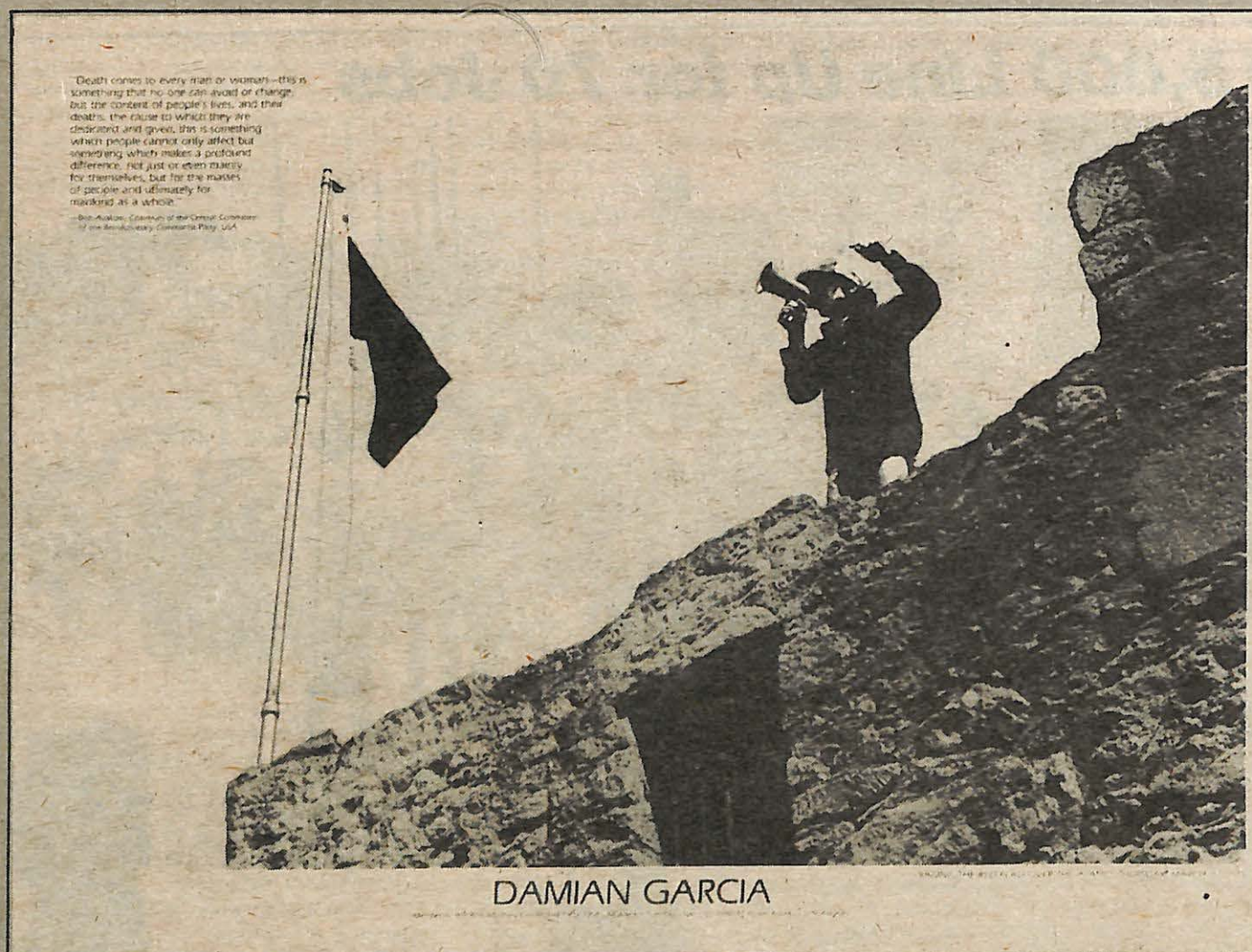
This book, more than anything else now available, provides the theoretical basis for understanding how, 20 years after the revolution was betrayed in the Soviet Union, revisionists were able to seize power in China. The book was born in the throes of bitter struggle in the RCP against those who sought to drag the Party down the road to hell in the footsteps of the traitors Teng and Hua in China.

The revolutionaries in the RCP ruthlessly exposed exactly how the revisionists in China were reversing the socialist revolution, restoring capitalism and moving inevitably towards capitulation to imperialism. On the basis of its Marxist-Leninist line, the Party analyzed exactly what the developments in China would be—an analysis confirmed a thousand times over in the last year and more. But more, this book provides a continuing basis for going yet more deeply into the course of capitalist restoration in China and its international implications.

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HOW THE FBI USED THE MEDIA AGAINST THE PANTHERS

During the 1960s many political activists were accused of paranoia when they stressed that there was a government conspiracy against the Black Panther Party. The Justice Dept. would routinely deny that such a plot existed and would merely comment in a paternal manner, "We're just keeping an eye on them." But these lies were cut down by the hail of gunfire that murdered Panther after Panther in police raids across the country, ultimately leaving at least 29 members dead. The documented proof of this plot came through FBI Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) documents released under the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) several years ago and through facts which came to light as a result of Senate investigations of the FBI in 1976 (investigations which themselves are another story). The documents, chopped and censored as they are, attest to the foul and ugly plans laid to disrupt and discredit the Panthers and "neutralize" (read: murder and jail) Panther leaders. Of special import was the fact that a good percentage of COINTELPRO's deadly tactics against the Panthers involved widespread use of the media, indicating the tremendous significance to the authorities of the task of creating public—and reactionary—opinion.

The methods of the political police of this period are important to study today. For despite the continual clamoring by them that COINTELPRO-type operations were discontinued long ago—lies which have been given a certain degree of credibility by the release of the FOIA documents—the political police have not only not abandoned such practices, seen here in the '60s and '70s, but have summed them up and honed them for use now and particularly in the period ahead. A brief look at the behavior of the authorities in the past is therefore quite revealing and should serve to arm revolutionaries and the revolutionary-minded with an understanding of the tactics and methods of our enemy.

In 1967 the FBI started its first nationwide COINTELPRO against what it called "Black Nationalist Hate Groups." This action was spurred by the massive ghetto rebellions that made the summer of '67 one of the hottest in U.S. history. The rage of Black people could no longer be confined to the peaceful, non-violent channels within the capitalist system advocated by Martin Luther King, Jr. and others, but instead was spilling over into uprisings in the streets. The Black Panther Party, formed in 1966 in Oakland, California, quickly gained widespread support among the Black masses and large numbers of whites for its militant and revolutionary stand against U.S. imperialism. While the FBI had been carrying out local operations against Black organizations, an internal FBI 1967 document, issued to 23 cities, formalized what had been going on. It states:

"The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of Black nationalist hate-type groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder. . . . Efforts of the various groups to consolidate their forces or to recruit new or youthful adherents must be frustrated. . . ."

The document goes on to specify the role of the media in this:

"When an opportunity is apparent to disrupt or neutralize black nationalist hate-type organizations through the cooperation of established local media contacts or through such contact with sources available to the Seat of Government (Washington, D.C.), in every instance careful attention must be given to the proposal to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited through the publicity and not

merely publicized. . . ."

There are two points here. The first is that the FBI operated through activating a network of media hacks throughout the country. An exposure in *Public Eye* based on the study of the documents estimates that the FBI had this cozy relationship with at least 300 journalists around the country. Thirty-three newspapers, TV or radio stations are named in the documents as showing cooperation with the FBI, and this is only the tip of the iceberg. A list of 28 cooperative media compiled by one FBI bureau alone, in New Haven, Connecticut, gives an idea of the scope of the media work carried out by the FBI. The success of this program rested on the fact that the FBI cemented its ties with these news sources at the top levels of their organizations.

The FBI was well aware of the crucial importance of the media as a weapon to try to batter down and discredit its enemies, so it took great care to shield its sources and to maintain the image of an "objective" media. The documents show that every media operation had to be cleared in Washington headquarters, and most required the personal permission of J. Edgar Hoover. The dissemination of the FBI's "tips" takes place in many ways. The most common is the FBI giving information to its trustworthy contacts who will then run a story. Some of the reporters have gone further to actually seek out the bureau and volunteer their services. And in a few cases, the FBI fed information covertly to unwitting reporters or later had access to their reports, photos or videotape through an agreement with the editor or publisher.

The second point in the above document is that the press coverage must not merely publicize the target group, but must be obviously derogatory. In at least one earlier case one bureau's efforts to discredit the Nation of Islam backfired. A 1959 TV documentary called "The Hate That Hate Produced" hosted by Mike Wallace helped to catapult the Muslims to nationwide attention. This may give an indication as to why Hoover was so concerned over personally approving media operations. In regard to the Panthers, the FBI tried to twist their militant and revolutionary stand against the system that spawned the oppression of Black people into a picture of crazed, violence-prone criminals always in trouble with the police. And this picture also helped to lay the groundwork necessary for justifying the vicious police assaults carried out against the Panthers.

A document released in May, 1969 shows the conscious image being painted of the Panthers. At this point the FBI had already expanded COINTELPRO work to 41 cities. The document also shows that the FBI often wrote up its own articles and feature stories which were then passed on to "friendly" sources. It reads:

"Attached is an article concerning the criminal activities of the Black Panther Party for the Crime Records Division to furnish a cooperative news media source on a confidential basis.

"The extremist and highly violent BPP has been involved in criminal activities since its inception. The BPP has been involved in robberies, attacks on police officers and other serious crimes. Many individuals have long criminal records. Details of this activity have been compiled in the attached article.

Exposure of these activities by nationwide news media would show the true nature of this extremist group."

Besides this, FBI documents also show the hand of the bureau in the radio and TV coverage. A 1970 document showed how this works:

"To counteract any favorable support in publicity to the BPP, recipient offices are requested to submit their observations and recommendations regarding contacts with established and reliable sources in the television and/or

radio field who might be interested in drawing up a program for local consumption depicting the true facts concerning the BPP. . . ."

The FBI furnished the information to a Los Angeles TV news commentator who agreed to air a series of shows against the BPP "especially in the area of white liberals contributing to the BPP."

One of the specific aims of the media coverage was to isolate the Panthers from their supporters. A 1969 document to a field office from D.C. notes the FBI's alarm over the large number of whites active around the Panthers and speaks to how to drive a wedge between them:

"You must recognize that one of our primary aims in counterintelligence as it concerns the BPP is to keep this group isolated from the moderate black and white communities which may support it. This is most emphatically pointed out in their Breakfast for Children Program, where they are actively soliciting and receiving support from uninformed whites and moderate blacks. . . ."

Just in case these supporters needed a little nudge to convince them, the FBI wrote and circulated its own "Black Panther Coloring Book." It featured cartoons like a Panther shooting down a cop with the caption "Black Brothers Protect Black Children." Even after Bobby Seale denied that the book had anything to do with the Panthers, news stories about it kept appearing for months in the media nationwide. *Time* magazine, among others, printed a page out of the bogus coloring book months after it appeared and did not bother even to acknowledge Bobby Seale's statement.

By January, 1969 the government had summed up the Panthers as the foremost threat against the government and had begun to move accordingly. The FBI's campaign to paint the Panthers as violence-prone, common criminals was one part of the attack launched by the ruling class. Another, equally vicious, was to prevent the Panthers from publicizing their politics. This took two forms: one was to try to deny

access to the media to Panther leaders themselves; the other was a concerted effort to muzzle Black Panther publications and disrupt speaking engagements. Central to this scheme were the plans laid to cripple the *Black Panther* newspaper. As the documents show, the FBI took its influence among the masses very seriously:

"The Black Panther Party newspaper is one of the most effective propaganda operations of the BPP.

"Distribution of this newspaper is increasing at a regular rate, thereby influencing a greater number of individuals in the United States along black extremist lines. . . ."

"The *Black Panther* has a circulation in excess of 100,000 and has reached the height of 139,000. It is the voice of the BPP and if it could be effectively hindered it would result in helping to cripple the BPP."

The FBI left no stone unturned in cooking up numerous foul plots on how to do this. The San Francisco Field Office recommended a "vigorous inquiry" by the Internal Revenue Service on the income from the sale of the newspapers as an effective method of dealing a financial blow. Another proposal was digging into all kinds of obscure state laws to tax everything from printing equipment to the cost of transportation. An imaginative idea came from the San Diego office, which suggested spraying the newspaper production facilities with a foul-smelling chemical to render them unusable. Another tactic considered by the FBI was mailing threatening letters on the stationery of the Minutemen, a reactionary organization, warning the Panthers to cease publication or face "drastic consequences." On another occasion, the FBI contacted United Air Lines, nationwide shipper of the newspaper, to inquire about the possibility of jacking up the shipping rates. The New York FBI office estimated that in that city alone, back fees on the new rate would amount to \$10,000. This proposal was scrapped for fear that the bad publicity might be too damaging for United.

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SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by Bob Avakian

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

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

44 pages, combined English/Spanish edition
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Optimists

Continued from page 7

time, there will be a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie over the proletariat; and if their revisionist line is not criticized, the gains of the revolution achieved by the proletariat both in the superstructure and in the economic base will be lost. It is quite clear that it won't do without struggle. Only when we fully realize the danger of capitalist restoration by the bourgeoisie in the Party and consciously wage a tit-for-tat struggle against it, can we effectively consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat, prevent capitalist restoration and enable the cause of socialism to advance steadily. Denying or evading the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, to be weary or afraid of waging struggles against the bourgeoisie in the Party—this is not the attitude Marxists should take.

The proletarians are revolutionary optimists; they are fully confident of victory in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party. **"The supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe."** (Mao Tsetung: *On Contradiction*.) Newborn things are bound to triumph over the decadent and revolution is bound to triumph over reaction. The bourgeoisie in the Party, just as the bourgeoisie as a whole, represents the decadent relations of production and is a declining reactionary force. The fact that the bourgeoisie has moved its headquarters into the Communist Party is not an indication of its strength. It only shows that the bourgeoisie outside the Party, after our repeated struggles against it, has become so notorious that it is difficult for it to hoist its own banner and concentrate its forces for an open, all-round trial of strength with the proletariat. Though the bourgeoisie inside the Party still possesses a certain amount of reactionary potentiality and counter-revolutionary destructive force, its perverse acts only reflect the death-bed struggles of the overthrown reactionary classes. Like all reactionaries in history, the bourgeoisie in the Party is also a paper tiger and is nothing to be afraid of. It goes against the trend of history and **"clings to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system."** This determines that it will be crushed to pieces by the wheel of history. The socialist system will eventually replace the capitalist system; this is an objective law independent of man's will. No matter how the chieftains of the revisionist line Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping wailed in desperation and frantically attacked and smeared the excellent revolutionary situation, the Chinese people will not waver in their iron will or lose their confidence of victory in taking the socialist road and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Source of Strength

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"We must have faith in the masses and we must have faith in the Party. These are two cardinal principles. If we doubt these principles, we shall accomplish nothing."** (*On the Question of Agricultural Co-operation*.) To have faith in the Party and the masses is our inexhaustible source of strength in defeating the bourgeoisie in the Party.

Our Party is a political party of the proletariat founded and fostered by our great leader Chairman Mao. The emergence of the bourgeoisie in the Party will in no way change the nature of our Party as the vanguard of the proletariat, nor will it in the slightest obscure our Party's radiance. On the contrary, the fact that our Party dares to openly acknowledge the existence of the bourgeoisie in the Party and expose it shows precisely that our Party is strong and powerful. **"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything."** Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line holds the dominant position in our Party and is striking a deeper root in the hearts of the people with each passing day. This is the basic guarantee for our Party to vanquish the bourgeoisie in the Party. Our Party has become purer, stronger and more vigorous in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which exposed and criticized the representatives of the bourgeoisie, such as Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping; and the renegades and secret agents under their protection. Our Party has summed up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat both at home and abroad and has in particular drawn historical lessons from the fact that the Soviet Union has turned revisionist; our Party has also accumulated rich experience in its protracted struggles against opportunism and revisionism. This is an important condition for our Party to defeat the bourgeoisie in the Party. In the past 55 years our Party has been advancing in the great storms of the struggles between the two classes and the two lines. The chieftains of the opportunist and revisionist lines have come forward one after another to split our Party from within, but they have all failed. On the contrary, through the elimination of these "worms" inside the revolutionary ranks, our Party has become more solidly

united round the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao in its triumphant advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Historical experience has convinced us: **"This Party of ours has a bright future."**

The masses of workers and poor and lower-middle peasants are the main force in vanquishing the bourgeoisie in the Party. Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution."** **"Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don't like big-shots oppressing them. That's why they want revolution."** The "big-wigs" of the bourgeoisie in the Party like Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping made use of the power in their hands to work for restoration and retrogression and to oppose revolution. Since they offended the majority, they were inevitably opposed and spurned by the masses of the people. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has fully demonstrated the great might of the masses in combating the bourgeoisie in the Party. Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-ping were haughty for some time, but they were overthrown one by one when the masses rose against them. By reading and studying conscientiously and having a good grasp of Marxism and by taking part in the great struggle of combating and preventing revisionism, hundreds of millions of people have enhanced their consciousness of class struggle and the two-line struggle and raised their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism. No matter how the bourgeoisie in the Party changes its tactics and no matter what conspiracies and intrigues it resorts to, we are fully confident that it will be exposed, opposed and criticized by the revolutionary people who have a high level of political consciousness. In the current great struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, large numbers of ordinary workers, peasants, P.L.A. fighters, students and cadres at the grass-roots level were the first to step forward to resist and repudiate the revisionist programme of "taking the three directives as the key link" concocted by Teng Hsiao-ping,* and they have become courageous fighters in the struggle against Teng Hsiao-ping's revisionist line. This is indeed inspiring. History has proved and will continue to prove that in the great struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, there is bound to emerge from among the masses large numbers of outstanding people who uphold Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, and tens of millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause will be trained; they will carry through to the end the great cause initiated by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries.

Thoroughgoing Materialists Are Fearless

"The future is bright; the road is tortuous." (Mao Tsetung: *On the Chungking Negotiations*.) The revolutionary optimism of the proletariat differs from blind optimism in that we understand the dialectics of historical development. Blind optimists fail to see or cannot see clearly the law governing class struggle in socialist society. They are susceptible to a slackening of vigilance and are easily beguiled by the theory of the dying out of class struggle, or they become pessimistic and despondent when the revolution comes up against difficulties. We should not only see the bright future of the revolution and have full confidence in victory, but also see the twists and turns on the road of revolution so that we will enhance our revolutionary fighting will and be prepared to strive for the bright future consciously and with indomitable fortitude. The declining classes are like a giant tree which has lost its life and is rotten to its foundation. However, they will not retreat from the stage of history of their own accord but will carry on a death-bed struggle to protect their lives with every possible means. An old system will be buried only after many reverses for a fairly long historical period. In the past, the replacement of an old system by a new and the triumph of a rising class over a decadent and declining class invariably took place after a long and tortuous struggle. In China, the revolution in which the slave system was replaced by the feudal system—from 594 B.C. when the state of Lu started to levy taxes on private land in accordance with the acreage under cultivation* to 221 B.C. when Chin Shi Huang unified China—took more than 370 years which were replete with struggles between progress and retrogression and between revolution and restoration. After the rising landlord class

* "Taking the three directives as the key link" was a slogan advanced by Teng and the other revisionists in 1975-76 as a general program for capitalist restoration to oppose the revolutionary program. They grouped together three statements by Mao referring to different circumstances—the economy, unity and stability and the class struggle—and

*This is a great change when slave society was replaced by feudal society. The land of a state under the slave system was previously owned entirely by the royal

seized the political power of the country, these struggles continued for many more years. The bourgeois revolutions in Britain, France and the United States lasted 48, 86 and nearly 100 years respectively, and the struggles were full of twists and turns. This is the case with the revolutions in the past in which one exploiting system replaced another. The proletarian revolution which aims at completely eliminating the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and all exploiting systems will of course take much longer time and will go through many more twists and turns and reverses.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: **"Great disorder across the land leads to great order. And so once again every seven or eight years. Monsters and demons will jump out themselves. Determined by their own class nature, they are bound to jump out."** So long as there are still classes and class struggle and bourgeois right at home and imperialism and social-imperialism abroad, it is inevitable that **"the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road."** The collapse of one or two chieftains of the revisionist line does not mean the complete destruction of the bourgeoisie in the Party or of the bourgeoisie as a whole. They will never take their defeat lying down, but are bound to rally their counter-revolutionary forces, change their counter-revolutionary tactics and continue to have a trial of strength with the proletariat. Class struggle and the struggle between the two lines are independent of man's will. How can we cherish the illusion that the class enemies will change their reactionary class nature, that the monsters and demons will not jump out themselves, and that the old and new bourgeoisie will stop plotting and sabotaging? How can we harbour the illusion that after several struggles the entire bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party will be thoroughly vanquished, and that all the trash left over from the old society will be swept into the dust-bin? The fact that class struggles and struggles between the two lines are carried out repeatedly is something completely conforming to the law governing it; we should not feel surprised, still less should we feel annoyed. Chairman Mao has said: **"Swimming in rivers with counter-currents builds up will-power and courage."** To the masses of cadres and people who persist in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, reverses and zigzags in revolutionary struggles will build up their will-power, stimulate their enthusiasm, enhance their talents and raise their ability to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism.

In the last analysis, it is a question of world outlook whether or not one takes a revolutionary optimistic attitude towards actual struggles and the future of the revolution. Dialectical materialism and historical materialism are the ideological foundation of revolutionary optimism, while idealism and metaphysics are the root cause of pessimistic views as far as the theory of knowledge is concerned. Some good-hearted comrades among us always have the illusion that the revolutionary ranks should be absolutely pure and the revolutionary road should be absolutely straight. So when they meet with twists and turns, they become depressed and fail to see the bright future. When analysing the situation of the revolutionary struggle, more often than not they overestimate the strength of the enemy and underestimate the strength of the people and arrive at an unrealistic estimate of class forces. The reason for this is that in looking at a question their way of thinking is to a great extent subjective, superficial and one-sided; they cannot distinguish the essence from the appearance and the main aspect from the secondary aspect of things. So, when they analyse the class struggle and the future of social development, they are easily influenced by pessimistic ideas spread by the bourgeoisie. We must also take a revolutionary optimistic attitude towards natural disasters and display the spirit of revolutionary heroism, fearing neither natural disasters nor earthquakes. "Men will conquer nature," this is a great truth. **"Thoroughgoing materialists are fearless."** (Mao Tsetung: *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*.) To be proletarian revolutionary optimists, we must be thoroughgoing materialists. Therefore, we must diligently study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, take an active part in the fiery mass struggles, draw rich political, nourishment from them, earnestly remould our world outlook and frequently rid ourselves of the influence of idealistic and metaphysical ideas. Only thus can we heighten our revolutionary spirit, strengthen our confidence in victory in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party and become vanguard fighters in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. □

eclectically lumped them together to oppose the main task, the class struggle. When Mao heard of this poor forgery he released the statement "What! Take the three directives as the key link! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it."—RW.

families. Since 594 B.C., taxes were levied on the private land owned by the rising feudal landlords, thereby recognizing the private ownership of land.

Bilingual Programs Attacked Nationwide

CODIFYING NATIONAL OPPRESSION

A few weeks ago we reported in the *RW* that the U.S. Dept. of Education had issued guidelines to "clarify" the purpose of bilingual educational programs—guidelines designed to make it clear that the 3.6 million school children in the U.S. whose primary language is other than English will be systematically robbed of their languages and cultures, and bludgeoned into speaking English. Now the government is moving ahead to put these guidelines into effect by codifying them into federal law under the hypocritical mantle of "establishing federal authority for bilingual programs." In preparation for this, a series of federal hearings were held by the Dept. of Education in the last two weeks in six major cities where there are large non-English-speaking populations to whip up public opinion for this move and go through the motions of hearing public testimony. But in a number of these hearings it has not been smooth sailing for the government panels as bilingual teachers, professional educators and representatives of various organizations of minority nationalities have angrily spoken up to expose the proposed regulations as an outright attack on bilingual education.

The first real bilingual educational programs on a national scale came into being in the late '60s and early '70s as a direct result of the powerful struggles in this country against discrimination and national oppression. Up until then, school children, particularly Spanish-speaking ones who make up 70% of those who are cynically labeled "limited-English-proficient," could expect a sharp rap on the knuckles for speaking a foreign language in school—if not an outright beating. Whole generations of Spanish-speaking youth were forced to either learn two languages as fast as other kids learned one, or, as was most often the case, drop out of school. Chicano kids were shunted by the thousands into "special classes" and forced to endure the humiliation of being labeled "mentally retarded" because they couldn't keep up with their studies in English. In Texas, signs were chauvinistically displayed in school corridors reading "Speak English—This Is America." In one incident, kids were forced to kneel outside on the playground and beg forgiveness for speaking Spanish. Non-English-speaking students were taught exclusively by the "immersion technique"—that is, by being thrown into English-speaking classes to either sink or swim.

It was in response to this kind of degrading treatment that the demand for bilingual education was raised in the battles that marked the Chicano Moratorium in 1970, the "third world" campus strikes and other struggles against national oppression, like the widespread student and teacher strikes in the late '60s that broke out in East L.A. schools.

Many of the activists and students among the oppressed nationalities who stepped into the programs the government was forced to implement worked vigorously to turn them into real education in the culture and heritage of the various nationalities that had long been twisted, and suppressed by the capitalists' "educational" system. Chicano, Black and Asian studies programs sprung up in colleges across the country. Even in the high schools, many students of Mexican descent, for example, could take courses in which they learned something of the revolutionary history of Zapata and Pancho Villa, or how the U.S. stole the Southwest from Mexico—and learn it in their own language.

But in recent years, these programs, where they still exist at all, have had the guts torn out of them. As a graduate student from Colorado the *RW* talked to pointed out: "When I used to take Chicano studies, they got really political. Now they've gotten away from that. . . . The colleges are firing the instructors that get into that."

On a recent Public Broadcasting System interview which featured several long-time bourgeois hack newsmen, Eric Sevareid was asked to elucidate his views of the big news stories to look for in the coming decade. In a somewhat bewildered manner, Sevareid commented that the most significant question newsmen will confront in the coming period will be the worrisome prospect of the tearing apart of the very social fabric of this country. In particular, he singled out the Southwest—nearly predicting a separation movement among people of Mexican descent.

To a significant degree, the view (and apprehensions) of the bourgeoisie regarding the potentially explosive contradictions brewing beneath the surface among the nationalities—in particular in the Southwest—is indeed concentrated in Sevareid's perceptions. Of course, the dwindling reserves of the imperialist system alone prevent the kind of concessions which marked the late '60s and early '70s. But there's more at work here than simply economic cuts in education. It is not surprising that this country's rulers are zeroing in on bilingual education, since they realize full well that, as far as the non-English-speaking nationalities are concerned, the denial of language is a key aspect of enforcing the dominant culture of U.S. imperialism and undermining the basis of the struggles against national oppression.

Recently they have taken to generating a "controversy" over the question of bilingual education, quoting various reactionary "experts" in the press who are crying that bilingual education is "an attempt to use federal tax dollars to perpetrate foreign languages and cultures" and is liable to "undermine American unity." But this is not the main thrust of the attacks, since clearly the government cannot get away with just axing bilingual education completely. The purpose of the proposed federal regulations is to begin to rope in what bilingual education now exists, more narrowly restrict its definition, and set the stage for further attacks.

This is not in the least to imply that bilingual education is any great shakes right now—in fact, it stinks. Los Angeles is an illustration. 100,000 students (or 20% of the school district's total enrollment) are classified as "limited-English-speakers." In this district, the drop-out rate among Spanish-speaking students is over 50%! One-fifth of kindergarten kids can't even understand their teacher at all, and 50% of the kids of Mexican descent are in the lowest 25% of all school children educationally by the first grade. 60% of the school districts in California have been officially (if hypocritically) reprimanded for keeping teenagers in elementary school classes because they didn't speak English well enough to keep up. One reason for all this is, of course, the severe shortage of bilingual teachers actually capable of combining two languages in the classroom, itself a product of the lack of bilingual education in particular and national oppression in general. 55% of the teachers in bilingual programs in L.A. don't even speak Spanish; they simply plug in a Spanish-language TV program a few times a week to fulfill the "bilingual" instruction requirement—this is the capitalists' "equality of languages"!

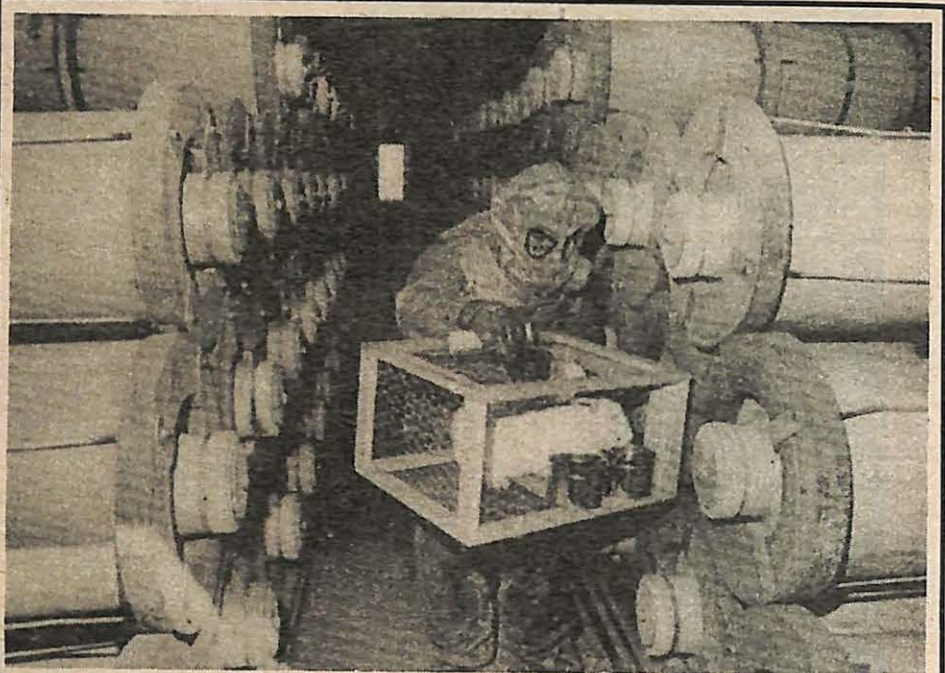
What is particularly insidious about the proposed regulations is that they are being presented as an effort to "protect" bilingual education by applying formal federal rules where previously there were none—and many, even those who adamantly oppose particular sections of the regulations, have been taken in by this. Until now the government has been using an informal set of guidelines known as the *Lau Remedies*, derived from a 1974 U.S. Supreme Court case that involved 3000 Chinese students enrolled in San Francisco schools who were required to attend classes taught exclusively in English. The particular background of this case

aside, the court ruled that these students had been denied the right to equal educational opportunity and laid down a set of guidelines which became the basis for negotiations between the government and school districts on the question of providing bilingual instruction in order to receive federal funds for education. But what is clear from the new regulations being proposed is that they not only represent a substantial weakening of the *Lau Remedies* themselves, but moreover, they are riddled

with loopholes that leave wide open the possibility of wiping out anything resembling real bilingual education altogether—all nice and legal-like.

Exactly what kind of "protection" the federal rules will provide is immediately apparent from a look at the proposals. First off, the definition of a "small student population," where a school would not be required to provide any real bilingual instruction (only tutors or tapes), has been changed.

Continued on page 25



An underground nerve gas storage center in Denver: if the rabbit dies, it means the cannisters are leaking. The U.S. has enough of this type of weapon stockpiled that the armed forces could wage war for 100 days using only chemicals.

Nerve Gas Plant Ok'd

On Tuesday, September 16, the U.S. imperialists unveiled another step in their preparation for World War 3. On that day, the U.S. Senate passed a military funding bill that included a \$3.5 million appropriation for the construction of a binary nerve gas production plant in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. This action matched a similar section of a military reconstruction act passed by the House of Representatives on September 10. While the Senate was busy approving the money for the construction of the plant, the House passed a \$19 million fund for equipping the facility, so that it would be ready to roll when needed. Moving full steam ahead, construction of the plant is set to begin in 1981.

This latest move is supposed to be a break with the 10-year-old "moratorium" on the production of chemical weapons, and is being hailed as the only effective deterrent to the Soviet buildup of chemical weaponry. While the decision to prepare for large-scale production of chemical weapons is a definite step up in their war preparations, by no means has the U.S. been caught with its pants down in the field of chemical warfare. In fact, according to a number of senators, the U.S. has built up and maintained quite an extensive stockpile of these weapons over the years, enough for 30 divisions to fire nothing but chemical weapons for 100 days. And over the last 10 years, hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent to improve and maintain this stockpile, including a \$200 million appropriation this year alone. Despite their talk of moratoriums and negotiations on limiting chemical weapons, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union have been preparing their troops for the full-scale use of these weapons, both in training and in issuing "protective" suits as standard gear for their troops stationed in Europe.

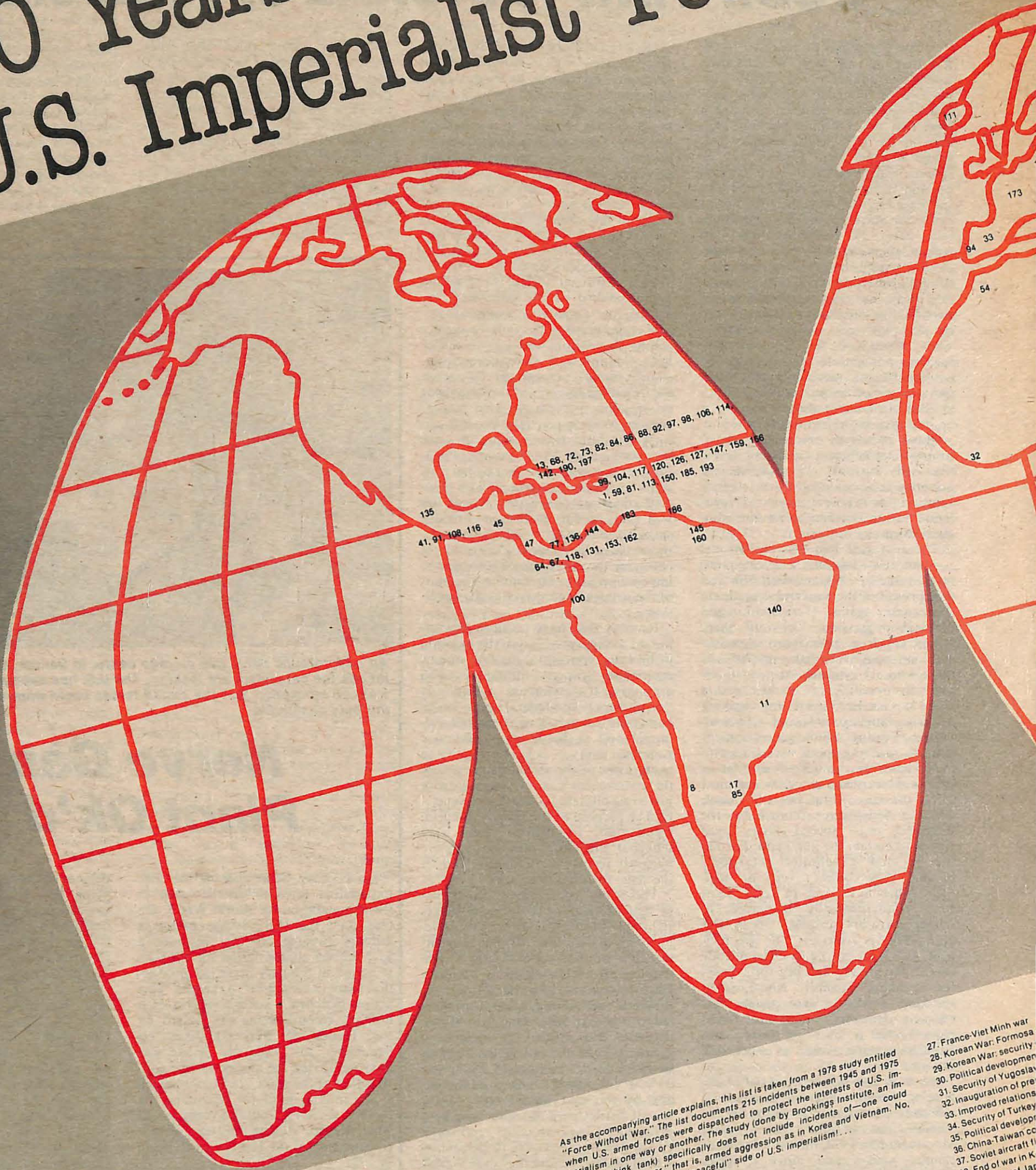
The character of the senatorial

debates left no question about what was going on. While there were a few cynical comments about the horrors of death by nerve gas and the dangers to civilian populations, for the most part the debate centered on questions of timing, public opinion, and whether or not this is the best weapon to sink money into. Was there any opposition to all this? Oh, sure. For instance: Senator Hart from Colorado asked for a brief presidential study to determine all the ins and outs of the deal, including whether a bomb would be a better carrier than the 155-mm. artillery shell; Senator Levin of Nevada declared that the U.S. didn't really have to worry about Soviet chemical weapons since China would soak up most of them anyway; and Senator Hatfield (notorious "opponent" of the draft) stated that "Only bullets and artillery shells can render protective clothing useless, not a chemical counterattack."

And of course, the debate was also punctuated with self-righteous declarations that "We could never use them first." No, of course they wouldn't, not these humanitarians who were the first to drop the atomic bomb at the end of World War 2, who unleashed biological warfare on the world during the Korean War, who unhesitatingly used the defoliant Agent Orange and napalm against the Vietnamese people, and whose arsenal includes the most barbaric weapons ever produced in history.

The U.S. imperialists, as well as their Soviet counterparts, have used and will use any and all means they can to maintain and expand their empires. The recent allocation of funds for the building and equipping of this nerve gas factory, and preparations to step up the production of nerve gas, is one more declaration by the U.S. imperialists that they intend to do just that in their upcoming no-holds-barred bout with the Soviet Union. □

30 Years of U.S. Imperialist Peace



In an article published earlier this year (*A Talk With Bob Avakian on the Current World Scene*), Chairman Avakian noted the following:

"We can see how important it is to emphasize what Lenin has emphasized: Opposition to and exposure of the bourgeois logical view that when a war starts, everything that happened before it and led up to it somehow should be set aside and considered to be irrelevant, and the war changes everything. What we have to emphasize in opposition to that is the famous axiom that war is the continuation of politics by other means. As Lenin pointed out in his book, *Imperialism*, imperialist war is precisely the outgrowth of imperialist economics and imperialist politics."

Today, as the U.S. and USSR are driven with ever greater necessity toward war with each other—in-terimperialist war involving the blocs

led by these two super-powers—the masses of people in both blocs are subjected to ever more compelling propaganda about the purely "defensive" and "peace-like" character of their own rulers and the "highly aggressive" nature of their own rulers' rivals. In particular, the people in the U.S. are continually reminded of Soviet social-imperialist intrigue, Afghanistan, Ethiopia and other areas while at the same time exhorted to "put Vietnam behind us," a euphemism for the hoped for final burial of the real lessons of that war which, to one degree or another, showed to millions of people that if one was looking for aggressors, one didn't have to look too far.

Imperialist politics for the rulers of the U.S.A.—notably since their ascendancy to the position of uncontested imperialist overlord after World War 2 and in the two and a half decades or so following this—has surely meant the use of open armed force, as in Korea and Vietnam, as is well known. Perhaps not so well known

Continued on page 24

As the accompanying article explains, this list is taken from a 1978 study entitled "Force Without War." The list documents 215 incidents between 1945 and 1975 when U.S. armed forces were dispatched to protect the interests of U.S. imperialism in one way or another. The study (done by Brookings Institute, an imperialist think tank) specifically does not include incidents of—one could say—"force with war," that is, armed aggression as in Korea and Vietnam. No, this study documents the "peaceful" side of U.S. imperialism!

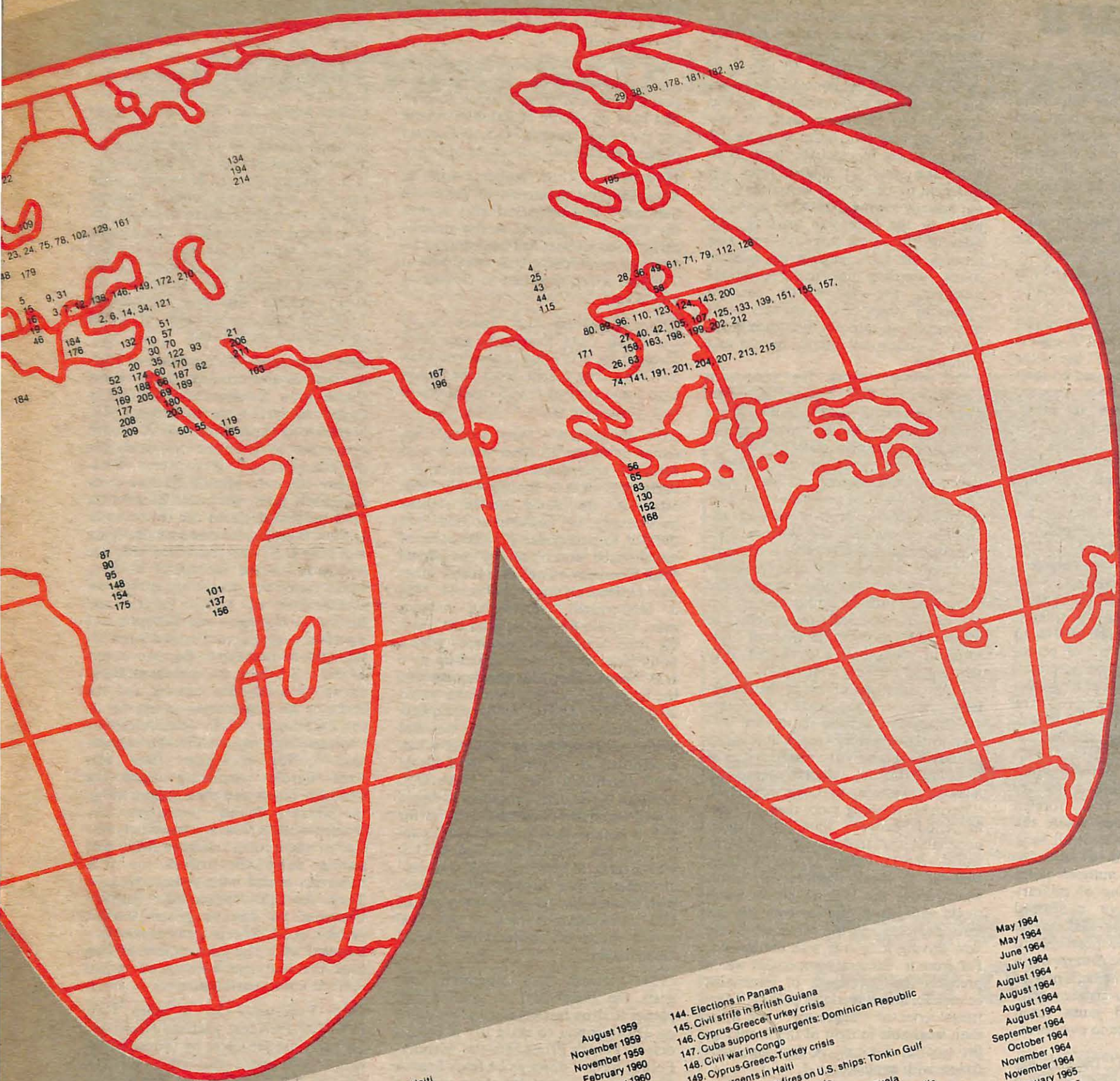
The Incidents

List of Incidents*

* More recent research (done after this study was completed) turned up three additional U.S. naval actions that occurred in early 1975. In January 1975 a carrier task group was deployed near Cyprus in response to demonstrations there. In early February another carrier group visited Mombasa as a demonstration of friendship toward Kenya and the Kenyatta government. Also that month, two U.S. naval vessels took up a position in the Red Sea, apparently because of fighting between Ethiopian government forces and Eritrean rebels.

1. Coup and civil strife in Haiti
2. Security of Turkey
3. Political conflict in Greece
4. Civil war in China
5. Security of Trieste
6. Security of Turkey
7. Insurgents in Greece
8. Inauguration of president in Chile
9. U.S. aircraft shot down by Yugoslavia
10. Political change in Lebanon
11. Inauguration of president in Uruguay
12. Civil war in Greece
13. Cuba supports anti-Trujillists
14. Security of Turkey
15. Security of Trieste
16. Elections in Italy
17. Improved relations with Argentina
18. Security of Berlin
19. Security of Trieste
20. Arab-Israeli war
21. Interests in Persian Gulf
22. Security of Norway
23. Security of Berlin
24. Security of Berlin
25. Change of government in China
26. Political developments in Indochina

27. France-Viet Minh war
28. Korean War: Formosa
29. Korean War: security
30. Political development
31. Security of Yugoslavia
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33. Improved relations
34. Security of Turkey
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6. Political-military crisis in Cuba
7. Security of Vice President Nixon in Venezuela
8. Americans seized by insurgents in Cuba
9. Political crisis in Lebanon
0. Political crisis in Jordan
1. China-Taiwan crisis: Quemoy and Matsu
2. Insurgents in Cuba
3. Castro seizes power in Cuba
4. Cambodia-Thailand crisis
5. Security of Berlin
6. Atlantic cables cut
7. Cuba supports insurgents: Panama
8. Security of Berlin
9. China-Taiwan conflict
0. Civil war in Laos

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81. Cuba supports insurgents: Haiti
82. Political developments in Cuba
83. Improved relations with Indonesia
84. Anti-Castro insurgents overtly Cuba
85. Unidentified submarine off Argentina
86. Insurgents in Cuba
87. Political-military crisis in Congo
88. Political developments in Cuba
89. Coup and civil war in Laos
90. Civil war in the Congo
91. Cuba supports insurgents: Guatemala/Nicaragua
92. Security of Guantanamo base in Cuba
93. Improved relations with Iraq
94. Insurgents seize Portuguese ship Santa Maria
95. Civil war in Congo
96. Civil war in Laos
97. U.S. ship Western Union seized by Cuba
98. Bay of Pigs
99. Trujillo assassinated in Dominican Republic
100. Unidentified submarine off Ecuador
101. Elections and civil strife in Zanzibar
102. Security of Berlin
103. Security of Kuwait
104. Trujillo's refusal to leave Dominican Republic
105. Civil war in South Vietnam
106. Security of Guantanamo base in Cuba
107. Civil war in South Vietnam
108. Civil strife in Guatemala
109. Hostile Soviet naval activity in the Baltic Sea
110. Civil war in Laos
111. Improved relations with Iceland
112. China-Taiwan conflict
113. Political developments in Haiti
114. Soviet emplacement of missiles in Cuba
115. China-India war
116. Political instability in Guatemala
117. Inauguration of president in Dominican Republic
118. Insurgents seize Venezuelan merchantman Anzoategui
119. Civil war in Yemen
120. Dominican Republic-Haiti conflict
121. Withdrawal of missiles from Turkey
122. Political crisis in Jordan
123. Civil war in Laos
124. Civil war in Laos
125. Buddhist crisis in South Vietnam
126. Dominican Republic-Haiti conflict
127. Coup in Dominican Republic
128. China-Taiwan crisis
129. Security of Berlin
130. Indonesia-Malaysia conflict
131. Cuba supports insurgents: Venezuela
132. Improved relations with Israel
133. Assassination of Diem in South Vietnam
134. Improved relations with Soviet Union
135. Cuba supports insurgents: Mexico
136. Security of Panama Canal Zone
137. Coup and civil strife in Zanzibar
138. Cyprus-Greece-Turkey crisis
139. Coup in South Vietnam
140. Coup in Brazil
141. Political developments in Cambodia
142. Security of Guantanamo base in Cuba
143. Civil war in Laos

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144. Elections in Panama
145. Civil strife in British Guiana
146. Cyprus-Greece-Turkey crisis
147. Cuba supports insurgents: Dominican Republic
148. Civil war in Congo
149. Cyprus-Greece-Turkey crisis
150. Insurgents in Haiti
151. North Vietnam fires on U.S. ships: Tonkin Gulf
152. Indonesia-Malaysia crisis
153. Cuba supports insurgents: hostiles in Stanleyville
154. Civil war in the Congo: Hoa barracks in South Vietnam
155. Viet Cong attack Bien Hoa barracks in South Vietnam
156. Worsened relations with Tanzania
157. Viet Cong attack Pleiku air base in South Vietnam
158. Viet Cong attack Qui Nhon barracks in South Vietnam
159. Civil war in Dominican Republic
160. Cuba supports insurgents: British Guiana
161. West German parliament meets in Berlin
162. Cuba supports insurgents: Venezuela
163. War in Vietnam: withdrawal of troops from Europe
164. Political developments in Cyprus
165. Civil war in Yemen
166. Civil war in Dominican Republic
167. India-Pakistan war
168. Attempted coup in Indonesia
169. Improved relations with Egypt
170. Israel attacks Jordan: Samu
171. Insurgents in Thailand
172. Coup in Greece
173. Improved relations with France
174. Arab-Israeli war
175. Insurgents in the Congo
176. Political developments in Cyprus
177. Egypt sinks Israeli destroyer Eilat
178. Pueblo seized by North Korea
179. Invasion of Czechoslovakia
180. Israel attacks Lebanon: Beirut airport
181. North Korea attacks South Korean fishing boats
182. EC-121 shot down by North Korea
183. Civil strife in Curaçao
184. Political developments in Libya
185. Insurgents in Haiti
186. Civil strife in Trinidad
187. Civil strife in Jordan
188. Arab-Israeli cease-fire agreement
189. Civil war in Jordan
190. Soviet submarine base in Cuba
191. Civil war in Cambodia
192. Withdrawal of troops from South Korea
193. Duvalier dies in Haiti
194. Improved relations with Soviet Union
195. Stand-down in Sea of Japan
196. India-Pakistan (Bangladesh) war
197. Seizure of merchantmen by Cuba
198. North Vietnam peace talks with North Vietnam
199. Breakdown in Laos
200. Civil war in Cambodia
201. Civil war in Cambodia
202. Peace agreement with North Vietnam
203. Civil strife in Lebanon
204. Civil war in Cambodia
205. Arab-Israeli war
206. Arab oil embargo
207. Civil war in Cambodia
208. Egypt-Israel Sinai agreement
209. Improved relations with Egypt
210. Cyprus-Greece-Turkey crisis
211. Arab oil policy
212. Collapse of regime in South Vietnam
213. Collapse of regime in Cambodia
214. Improved relations with Soviet Union
215. Cambodia seizes U.S. merchantman Mayaguez

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30 Years

Continued from Centerfold

however has been another important function of U.S. armed forces stationed all over the world. This would be the "peaceful intervention" of U.S. armed forces intended to influence the outcome of political events in countries where U.S. interests are concerned—which over the period in question has been no small area of the globe.

Such "peaceful intervention" was strikingly illustrated in a 1978 study by the Brookings Institution (one of the U.S. imperialists' favorite think-tanks) entitled "Force Without War"—an examination of the "political" use of the U.S. armed forces as opposed to their "military" use.

But that the authors are not in the least confused by the relationship between "political" and "military" is revealed in the fact that they even quote Karl von Clausewitz (the military writer also quoted by Lenin and paraphrased above by the Chairman) to demonstrate that war is "a continuation of political intercourse with an admixture of other means". The writers go on to comment that: "So, too the armed forces—by their very existence as well as by their general character, deployment, and day-to-day activities—can be used as an instrument of policy in time of peace. In peace, as in war, a prudent statesman will turn to the military not as a replacement or substitute for other tools of policy but as an integral part of an 'admixture... of means'." In other words, military threats and intimidation—what is commonly known as "gunboat diplomacy"—by the U.S. imperialists are "prudent" aspects of U.S. foreign policy in between periods where the U.S. rulers are forced to let it all hang out with open, straight-out military violence. Likewise the authors point out, even the *withholding* of military activity can also have profound political implications—like the cancellation of a planned port visit to Chile by the U.S. carrier *Enterprise* in 1973, a clear signal that the U.S. had no use for the Allende government and that the CIA-organized junta could proceed in full confidence to overthrow him as planned.

The authors admit that "The U.S. has utilized its armed forces often and in a wide variety of ways since World War 2; most of these uses have had a political dimension: that is, they were able to influence the perceptions and behavior of political leaders [referred to in the study as "targets"] in foreign countries to some degree." This is what the study calls using the military as "an instrument of coercive diplomacy"—a means to either *deter* or *compel* a particular "target" to do or stop doing something.

But for the purposes of this study, the authors specifically state that they did *not* include incidents which U.S. forces were used primarily as a "martial instrument"—that is to actually wage war (again, like in Korea or Vietnam). Nor did they include regular military maneuvers, disaster relief, routine visits to foreign ports, etc.—all of which of course have political implications. No, the gentlemen at Brookings were only concerned with how the U.S. has attained its objectives by using military activity to "gain influence in target states, not by physically imposing the U.S. will."! Their focus, they said, was to study the ways the U.S. military has been utilized as a "non-violent political instrument"—"those in which the armed forces were used in a discrete way for specific political objectives in a particular situation."

This "discrete" use of U.S. troops taken up in the study is quite revealing; it encompasses U.S. attempts to influence (as the authors put it) everything from elections in Honduras to civil strife in Curacao. The authors came up with a minimum of 215 incidents just between 1946 and 1975 in which "U.S. military forces were used without significant violence to underscore verbal and diplomatic expressions of American foreign policy." While a small number were military displays associated with the "improvement of relations" with

one country or another, the great majority were blatant and heavy-handed attempts to yoke various nations and their governments more tightly under U.S. imperialist domination—or intimidate those they could not control. Of course, the claim by the authors that all this was accomplished "without significant violence" pales into the realm of the absurd since in scores of cases they have listed either the *threat* of military force was sufficient to attain U.S. objectives without actually having to resort to open violence, or the U.S. was working both sides of the street anyway—operating through the CIA, engineering military coups, funneling massive aid to various puppets, etc.—in which case a "peaceful" show of U.S. military might was merely an adjunct to already existing U.S.-sponsored internal murder and repression.

Of course, today the temporary strength of the U.S., represented in part by this "peaceful" use of the military, is rapidly turning into its opposite and is being challenged principally by a relative newcomer to the thieves' banquet table—the imperialists in the Soviet Union. As the U.S. and the Soviets gear up their military forces in the REFORGER exercises and the Warsaw Pact maneuvers respectively, what is obviously in store is not the use of these armies as "non-violent" political instruments to "discreetly" influence other nations, but as *violent*, political instruments to recarve the whole world through brute force in the blood and fire of WW III—and in the very near future.

In this light, the details of the Brookings study of "non-physical" military diplomacy are a vivid illustration that even in times where there is little *direct* military violence by the armed forces of the imperialists, their "peaceful" maneuverings are, as Lenin remarked, "inevitably nothing more than a 'truce' in periods between wars." (i.e. inter-imperialist wars to decisively redivide the world—*RW*) There is no Chinese wall—so to speak—between the forces which drove the U.S. to ply its wares world wide, in particular over the last three decades, and the forces which are now driving it to war with the Soviets. Far from it. Because "imperialist war is precisely the outgrowth of imperialist economics and imperialist politics." Our rulers' cries of "aggressor!" are more than laughable in light of the Brookings list (reprinted here). A few highlights follow with explanation.*

1946—Turkey—The Soviet Union (then a socialist country) makes a proposal to Turkey for joint defense of the Dardanelles Straits (the passageway between the Black Sea and the Mediterranean)—a matter which Turkey had previously raised. Suddenly the U.S. announces it is returning the remains of the former Turkish ambassador (who died two years before) aboard the most powerful warship in the U.S. navy, the *USS Missouri*, accompanied by two destroyers. The meaning of this event was clear—that the U.S. was willing to project its military power wherever necessary to protect its empire consolidated during World War 2. The Soviets dropped their proposal and the U.S. proceeded to proclaim Turkey as being within the U.S. "sphere of interest."

1947—Greece—Official beginning of the Truman Doctrine as U.S. sends a naval squadron from the Seventh Fleet on a "visit" to Greek ports to underscore

* The Soviet Union figures in some of these instances, and a word should be said about its evolution since World War 2. After giving birth to the first socialist society, the Soviet Union also suffered the first restoration of capitalism, after the death of Stalin. In the late 1950s the USSR was undergoing the process of capitalist restoration and as it emerged as a social-imperialist power (imperialist with a socialist cover) its first tendency coming up against its stronger rival, U.S. imperialism, was to try to get ahead by *colluding* with the U.S.—a tendency which can be seen in some of the instances below in the 1960s. In the 1970s the Soviet Union was strong enough, and had the necessity, to *contend* more sharply with the U.S. (as for instance in Angola in 1975), and the process of imperialist contention is rapidly reaching the point where on both sides there is the necessity of going to war against the other.

massive military aid to the Greek government for the purpose of suppressing a revolution of the Greek people led by communists.

1948—Three American destroyers assigned to help UN mediator "maintain peace between Arab and Israeli forces" and back up seizure of Palestinian land for the newly created "U.S. policeman of the Middle East"—the state of Israel.

1949—China—U.S. cruisers sent to Shanghai "for protection of American nationals" in a military display against the Chinese revolution. A few months earlier 1500 marines had landed in an attempt to reinforce the U.S. naval base at Tsingtao which then had to be quickly abandoned.

1951—Yugoslavia—U.S. attack carrier *Coral Sea* visits Yugoslavia and takes Tito out for a fire-power demonstration to flaunt Tito's split from the Soviet Union and emphasize U.S. intentions to pull Yugoslavia under its wing.

1954—Guatemala—"Any nation's attempt to dictate to other nations their form of government is indefensible!" declared Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953. However, the newly elected Arbenz government in Guatemala had just decided to nationalize 270,000 acres of uncultivated land owned by the United Fruit Company as well as institute other mild national reforms. On June 18, 1954 a U.S.-trained Guatemalan military man, Castillo Armas, invaded the country from his base in Honduras with a puny force of 150 men backed up by 6 U.S. planes. They did little damage and the invasion force was contained within 20 miles of the border, yet Arbenz quickly resigned. Why? One reason was that in the weeks before the U.S. Navy had established an "informal" blockade of the Guatemalan coast and three U.S. strategic B-36 nuclear bombers had paid a well-publicized "courtesy call" to the U.S.'s faithful (and now deceased) puppet, Somoza, in Nicaragua who the U.S. was arming to the teeth and who had coincidentally just broken off relations with Guatemala. So much for what the U.S. ambassador to the U.N. described as "a revolt of Guatemalans against Guatemalans"!

1954—Vietnam—U.S. discretely suggests the possibility of sending 500 planes to drop tactical nuclear weapons on Dienbienphu to stave off a French defeat. French Prime Minister Mendes-France turns it down as he fears French forces will be wiped out along with the Viet Minh. Allies decide they are not ready to provide a general land war in Indochina and risk Chinese retaliation.

1956—Suez Crisis—U.S. Sixth Fleet employs harassing tactics against European warships to demonstrate disapproval of Anglo-French intervention, to emphasize U.S. intentions to take over as the dominant imperialist power in the Middle East, and to make the point that Britain and France will not be allowed to reassert their dwindling hegemony over the area.

1957—Jordan—U.S. naval transports with 1800 Marines anchor off Beirut to threaten Palestinians and Arab nationalists who are rebelling against the U.S./British-backed monarchy of Jordan's King Hussein. Sixth Fleet maneuvers close by in the eastern Mediterranean.

1958—China-Taiwan—The People's Republic of China begins shelling the islands of Quemoy and Matsu and establishes a naval blockade in preparation to liberate these territories of China from the clutches of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary Taiwan regime. Carriers from the U.S. Seventh Fleet escort Chiang's ships "legally" up to the three mile limit thereby preventing the PRC's navy from maintaining an effective blockade, allowing Chiang to successfully reinforce and resupply his forces. This was the same tactic the U.S. had used in 1955 and was to use again in future confrontations over the islands—all, of course, without ever intervening in China's internal affairs!

1958—Indonesia—The CIA was supplying arms and flying bombing missions for Sumatran separatists attempting to overthrow the Sukarno government, which leaned heavily toward the Soviet Union. Secretary of State John

Foster Dulles piously proclaimed, "We intend to conform scrupulously to the principles of international law..." As part of this "scrupulous conformation," when the Sukarno government claimed the Lombok and Mahassai Stratis as Indonesian territorial waters, the U.S. sent an entire unit of destroyers to assert the "right of innocent passage"—in fact to awe the Sukarno government with a display of U.S. military power. However, when the CIA plots were publicly exposed and the rebels appeared to be losing, the U.S. found it expedient to turn around and send arms to Sukarno to try and reestablish "friendly" relations. Later in 1965-66 another coup (involving the U.S.) against Sukarno succeeded. 1,000,000 people—accused of being communists—were killed.

1958—Lebanon—A rising tide of Arab nationalism and inroads by the Soviet Union (now a capitalist country) in Egypt and Syria were threatening U.S. hegemony in the Middle East. Civil war broke out in Lebanon in which the government of President Chamoun—the only Middle Eastern ruler to publicly praise the hated Eisenhower Doctrine that declared the region to be U.S. turf—appeared doomed. But even more the U.S. was concerned with the overthrow of the monarchy in Iraq, which raised the possibility of the nationalization of U.S., French and British oil holdings—and Lebanon was a perfect staging area if armed intervention proved necessary. So, Ike orders 14,000 U.S. troops into Lebanon, backed up by a 70 ship convoy and the Strategic Air Command—in his words, to emphasize U.S. determination "without implying any threat of aggression." Not a single shot was fired—hardly surprising since the Lebanese rebels and their supporters in the military found themselves confronted with an invasion force twice the size of the entire Lebanese army and staring down the barrels of U.S. howitzers armed with atomic rockets. Thus, the U.S. "peacefully" enabled Chamoun to stay in power until a suitable pro-U.S. replacement could be installed while the government of Iraq took the hint and announced it had decided *not* to nationalize oil.

1958—Venezuela—On a state visit, U.S. Vice-President Richard Nixon and his party are set upon by thousands of angry Venezuelans who spit on Nixon's car and pelt it with rocks and bottles, yelling "Yankee go home!" The U.S. responds with its own "diplomatic" message and a battalion-sized Marine amphibious force in full view right off the Venezuelan coast.

1960—Congo—U.S. carrier *Wasp* arrives off coast in "readiness to evacuate Americans." In fact it is delivering petroleum to U.N. forces, which are mainly made up of American troops. The U.S. proceeds to intervene under the cover of the UN over the next 4 years to crush the struggles of the Congolese people, led by Patrice Lumumba (murdered by the CIA in 1961).

1961—Berlin Crisis—In response to the building of the Berlin Wall and Soviet demands that West Berlin be incorporated into East Germany, U.S. puts its entire military machine on alert, pours 40,000 additional troops into western Europe supported by 300 tactical fighter planes, resumes underground nuclear testing, sends a battle group under the autobahn to West Berlin and deploys tanks along the wall. The Soviets take similar moves but eventually back down on their demands.

1961—Bay of Pigs—Visible presence of U.S. fleet encourages Cuban exiles organized by the CIA to go ahead with their abortive attempt to overthrow Castro.

1961—Dominican Republic—The U.S.'s brutal puppet dictator, Rafael Trujillo, was losing his grip and, to their dismay, had begun flirting with Castro and the USSR. He was so widely hated by the people that the U.S. feared leftists would come to power. So suddenly the U.S. declared the Dominican Republic was in need of a democratically elected government. But after the

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30 Years

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CIA engineered Trujillo's assassination, the remains of the Trujillo family refused to leave and his brothers attempted to consolidate their rule. So the U.S. "discreetly" stations two carriers, twelve destroyers and 1800 Marines off the Dominican Republic sending jet fighters streaking along the coastline. The next day the Trujillos fled the country.

1962—Thailand/Laos—Kennedy flies over 7000 U.S. troops into Thailand to defend its "independence and integrity" during the civil war in Laos. Actually this show of armed strength was aimed at deterring further military advances by the Pathet Lao and forcing a settlement which resulted in a coalition government with the rightists in Laos formed through the threat of American intervention.

1963—Dominican Republic—When Juan Bosch, a left-leaning nationalist is, in fact, democratically elected and begins a broad program of social reform, the Kennedy administration calculatedly *refuses* his request for a military display by the U.S. to prevent the coup by a junta, headed by a known CIA agent.

1963—Haiti—During a conflict between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, a U.S. naval task force, including the carrier *Boxer* and 2000 Marines, cruises off Haiti allegedly to "protect U.S. nationals." In fact they are there to make sure neither the Dominican Republic nor the Haitian people get any ideas about overthrowing the U.S.'s faithful butcher, Papa Doc Duvalier.

1964—Brazil—Secretary of Defense

Robert McNamara oversees CIA plans for a coup against the government of President Joao Goulart. In March, the jittery generals in a junta headed up by Humberto Castelo Branco proceed as planned, reassured by various U.S. military arrangements to back them up if necessary. U.S. tankers move into position to supply the conspirators with oil. U.S. planes are poised to drop clandestine arms by air. Just before the coup, General Andrew O'Meara of the U.S. Southern Command visits Rio promising to fly U.S. paratroopers out of the Panama Canal Zone and drop them into Brazil to clean up any pockets of resistance, if necessary.

1964—Zanzibar—U.S. sends the battleship USS *Manley* to "rescue U.S. nationals" from the country following a revolution in which the British dominated "independent" government was overthrown. The show of force was intended to show extreme U.S. disapproval of the new regime which proceeded to merge with Tanganyika into the new nation of Tanzania and establish friendly relations with the People's Republic of China.

1965—Dominican Republic—With the outbreak of civil war and Bosch's supporters advancing on the capital of San Isidro, the U.S. decides that a little less "discretion" was called for and a little more U.S.-style "democracy." Thousands of U.S. troops invaded the island, "peacefully" occupying it for almost a year and staging elections at the point of a gun in which—to no one's surprise—another U.S. man, Joquin Balaguer somehow manages to "defeat" Bosch.

1968—North Korea—American naval task force including three carriers assembles in the Sea of Japan as part of U.S. response to seizure of U.S. spyship *Pueblo* in North Korean waters.

1969—North Korea—After a U.S.

Navy EC-121 reconnaissance plane is shot down over North Korea Nixon decides to "diplomatically" underscore U.S. concern. Six aircraft carriers, the battleship *New Jersey*, three cruisers and sixteen destroyers are directed into the Sea of Japan, the Yellow Sea and all other waters surrounding North Korea and land-based combat aircraft are flown into South Korea from Vietnam. The U.S. politely requests that the North Koreans refrain from messing with their spy planes while they are flying "routine missions" over North Korean territory.

1970—Trinidad—The people of Trinidad were fed up with the government of Prime Minister Eric Williams (known popularly as an "Afro-Saxon") who had been protecting the interests of the white minority and the imperialists—including half a billion in U.S. oil investments—ever since Trinidad's supposed "independence" from Britain eight years before. A revolt breaks out on the island as mutineers in Trinidad's army seize the country's only armory. In accordance with the Nixon Administration's policy of "less direct involvement" in Latin America, the U.S. dispatches a fleet of six naval vessels to maneuver off the coast while rushing a plane load of light guns and ammunition to the government, enabling it to control the uprising.

1971—India and Pakistan—Civil war breaks out in Pakistan, with the Bengalis in the eastern half of the divided country declaring themselves to be the independent state of Bangladesh. With the tacit approval of the Soviets, India invades and occupies East Pakistan to "assist" the Bengalis and considers an offensive against West Pakistan to eliminate this strategic U.S. client-state altogether and secure undivided Indian and Soviet hegemony in the area. The U.S. sends a task force from the Seventh Fleet into the Bay of

Bengal consisting of the *Enterprise*, the world's largest attack carrier with 75 nuclear-armed fighter-bombers on board, an amphibious assault carrier with 2000 Marines and 25 assault helicopters, three guided missile escorts, four destroyers and a nuclear attack submarine. The same day India assures the U.S. "We do not want any territory of what was East Pakistan...we do not want any territory of West Pakistan." Two days later India declares a unilateral ceasefire on its West Pakistani border.

1975—Cambodia—After the U.S. spyship *Mayaguez* is seized in Cambodian territorial waters, the U.S. sends in gunboats and paratroopers to rescue the captured crewmen in a surgical strike designed not so much as a "martial instrument" as a political message for both foreign and domestic consumption to indicate that while the U.S. may have been kicked out of Indochina, it is not about to give up on this strategic area of the world and is still a formidable power capable of throwing its weight around.

1976—Uganda—Israeli commandos raid Entebbe airport to free an aircraft held by Palestinians. On the way home they land at Nairobi airport and Ugandan President Idi Amin (who usually worked hand-in-glove with Western imperialism) threatens military retaliation against Kenya for their assistance to Israel. Suddenly a U.S. P-3C maritime patrol aircraft lands at Nairobi airport on a "routine mission." A day later the U.S. frigate *Beary* enters the Kenyan port of Mombassa for "a courtesy port call." Meanwhile the U.S. aircraft carrier *Ranger* suddenly reverses engines and is steaming up the Indian Ocean toward Kenya for a "routine periodic deployment." Amin gets the message and decides not to retaliate against Kenya. □

CODIFYING

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Under the *Lau Remedies* this was interpreted in California, for example, to be 10 "limited-English-speaking" students or less, whereas the new rules have upped the limit to 25 or less. A number of speakers at the hearings pointed out that this will result in literally hundreds of thousands of non-English-speaking students being eliminated from the possibility of effective bilingual education altogether, even where there are enough to fill an entire classroom.

The federal proposals make a big deal out of what are termed "extremely liberal" access requirements—that is, any student who scores below the 40th percentile on an English proficiency test. But the exit requirements provide that any student who after two years scores at or above the 30th percentile may be axed from the program. Thus, a student whose performance *drops* from the 39th to the 30th percentile is no longer considered in need of bilingual education. And on top of this, a student who has received bilingual service for five years can be dropped from the program no matter how low his or her test scores. In any case, a student who is comparatively limited in both languages can be pulled out of a bilingual program as soon as he achieves "relative proficiency" in English. With regulations like these, as one Chicano at the San Francisco hearing pointed out, "You could enter a kid on one day and exit him the next!"

These are some of the fine-print mechanisms by which bilingual education is being attacked under the guise of "protecting" it. The real point of these regulations can be seen from the whole section devoted to detailing the circumstances in which bilingual instruction may be straight-out waived by the government. These include schools which operate "alternative programs" (like plugging in the ol' TV), programs "designed to demonstrate a more cost-effective approach," or schools where there is a "rapid, unforeseen increase in the enrollment of limited-English-proficient students"! A representative of the California Board of Education was

roundly booed by the crowd when she defended these waivers at the San Francisco hearings.

But the fact is that bilingual education in this country was never intended by the government to be equal education in two languages anyway. The federal guidelines make it quite clear that the primary goal of these programs is that "students must be taught English as quickly as possible"—in other words, not much different from the same old concept of "immersion."

To this end, one alternative being proposed for the new regulations is that while primary-language-superior students must be given bilingual instruction, those who are comparatively limited in both English and their native language would not, since they might as well "get on with learning English." This despite the fact that, as one Spanish teacher pointed out, due to the phonetic similarity between English and Spanish, Hispanic students who develop proficiency in Spanish first actually end up learning English faster in the long run anyway. Obviously, the government's pious "concern" that students learn English is predicated mainly on the principle that they definitely *don't* learn their native language.

The point is that under capitalism, the ruling class must of necessity ruthlessly stamp out the language and traditions of those peoples they oppress, since these pose a very real threat to their stranglehold on society maintained by dominating the entire ideological, political and cultural superstructure. And this is all the more so as the turbulence and upheaval the '80s promise become increasingly evident.

Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth

Cuba, home of the first successful revolution against Yankee imperialism in Latin America, a country which as a result became a symbol for revolution for a great many people opposing imperialism around the world.

Cuba, which despite all this has become a pawn of Soviet social-imperialism, a breeding farm for cannon fodder for the expansionist ambitions of the revisionist superpower.

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Who Lost Iran?

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the fate of other U.S. puppets, like Diem of South Vietnam, and was nervous about his mentors.) (*Washington Quarterly*, p.7) In addition, something that neither side in this debate bothers to mention is the fact that during the revolution, every major decision the Shah made concerning his strategy to put down the revolution was made only after "consultation" with the U.S.—what these bourgeois experts euphemistically call "encouraging" the Shah to take this or that action.

The debate also makes it crystal clear that BOTH sides in the debate are equally imperialist in their motives, and equally willing to shed blood for their objectives. Sullivan, the State Department "dove" fully backed the Shah until late November of 1978, and directly encouraged him to massacre thousands in the Bloody Friday massacre and the fire at the Rex Cinema in Abadan. (Before each of these actions there were high level meetings involving the Shah and Sullivan). It was only after more bloodshed seemed against "U.S. interests" that Sullivan opted for new tactics. (Before becoming Ambassador to Iran, the "dove" Sullivan had been in charge of the U.S. secret bombing campaign against Laos in the 1960s, and also helped implement martial law in the Philippines while he was the U.S. ambassador there from 1973-77). And to the bitter end, Sullivan was plotting how to maintain and protect and reassert U.S. domination of Iran. He comments on trying to choose the Americans who should stay in Iran after the revolution, "to help the new regime in its economic and security programs." (*Foreign Policy*, p. 183) As far as who—Sullivan or Brzezinski—was the most broadminded concerning the overall interests of U.S. imperialism; we will let these two wolves claw each other to death to decide which one might have that "honor."

The U.S. government's intrigues during the Iranian revolution and their subsequent revelation follow a familiar pattern. During the heat of battle, the U.S. government devoutly denies any intention of interfering in the affairs of another "sovereign" nation; any action that the U.S. takes is defended on the grounds of being provoked by the "aggression" of the other side, or in the name of defensively protecting U.S. lives. Yet some time later when the battle is over and the truth is revealed, either through official investigations or leaked documents, it inevitably turns out that the U.S. imperialists were continually "interfering" in the situation, and that they were not "victims" but imperialists trying to bloodily suppress the masses, or battle their imperialist rivals.

Isn't this exactly the same pattern that the battle over the U.S. embassy has taken? The U.S. government is constantly whining about being held hostage by terrorists, about being attacked without provocation; and about still being patient and restrained and not interfering in Iran's internal affairs. Yet from the revelations of their past; from the documents the students have already released from the U.S. embassy; (and from more dirt that will undoubtedly be exposed in years to come) isn't it obvious that it's all a sham to cover their own imperial intentions and plots? And if there are any who still doubt this, Brzezinski—the man who has been exposed as having plotted a military coup in Iran is still head of the National Security Council!

In fact one reason that this debate is taking place now is precisely because the imperialists are stepping up their plotting against the Iranian revolution and preparing for future attacks, and they are thrashing out how to best go about such bloody crimes.

The imperialists have also cynically used the whining about being too "timid" and too concerned about "human rights" in Iran that has been part of the debate to whip up chauvinist sentiment for "getting tough" and not being "pushed around" anymore. This sentiment is useful to them, both for their future aggression against Iran, but

also to build general public opinion for World War 3.

Both Strategies Failed

Could they have crushed the revolution, if they had only had their act together? Sullivan claimed that the U.S. should seek a political solution, forming a new government and obtaining Khomeini's consent. Yet during the course of the revolution, the U.S. had encouraged the Shah to form three "new governments": Emmami's in August of 1978; Azhari's in November of 1978; and finally Bakhtiar's in January of 1979. Various promises of reforms—from the reorganization of SAVAK to freeing several thousand political prisoners were made to the people.

These conciliatory gestures simply emboldened the masses at the Regime's weakness; and when the reforms proved either shallow or illusory, thousands more were drawn to opposing the regime altogether. Usually within days, or even hours, after the announcement of these maneuvers, the masses were out in the streets demonstrating for the Shah's death, the overthrow of his regime and the downfall of whatever temporary government he had installed.

Sullivan himself admitted that the fate of any new agreement depended on Khomeini's approval; but what guarantee did he have of that? The stand of the U.S. government throughout the revolution was that only a government that kept the same fundamental relationship to U.S. imperialism was acceptable, and the Pentagon issued several statements to the effect that even a neutral regime would be a defeat for the U.S. They were particularly concerned about the military role Iran would play, for both spying against the Soviet Union, and suppressing revolution in the Persian Gulf.

Yet throughout this part of the revolution, Khomeini had remained firm that the Shah had to go, and that the relationship between Iran and the U.S. had to be changed. While they (of the Khomeini camp, Bazargan was furthest to the right) were not opposed to relations with the U.S., they definitely had contradictions with the U.S., and wanted a redefinition of the Iran-U.S. relationship that would give them more independence. They were particularly opposed to playing the role of gendarme of the Persian Gulf for the imperialists. They also realized that any out-front sellout to the U.S. would cause widespread anger among the masses, and the revolution could then go beyond their control.

In fact there were many negotiations between Khomeini and the U.S. in the latter stages of the revolution, right up to the moment of insurrection, but they always fell apart precisely because of these contradictions.

Brzezinski's "iron fist" was also implemented, and it too failed! 800 people were burned to death in August of 1978 in Abadan; a move plotted by the U.S. and the Shah to intimidate the people. The people's anger and activity redoubled. Over 10,000 people were massacred on one day—September 8, 1978, Bloody Friday. The result? An incredible wave of strikes and unprecedented street fighting throughout Iran. On November 5th, the Shah installed his military government. Troops bristling with weapons patrolled the streets, shooting demonstrators on sight. Any gathering of over 2 people was outlawed. But the waves of the Iranian people's struggle crashed higher and higher, threatening to tear the Iranian military asunder, and causing the downfall of the military government.

Overall, during the revolutionary upsurge of 1978 and early 1979, over 60,000 Iranians were killed. This blood-thirsty terror however, served mainly to enrage the people, expose the nature of the Shah's rule and spur them to finish it off for once and for all—whatever the cost. With each escalation of violent repression, the left also grew stronger, and the masses came nearer to open civil war with the old regime.

In short, the imperialists did have a

strategy in Iran: crushing the revolution through the use of the dual tactics of repression coupled with narrow political concessions. Both tactics were used; both failed. Once the masses were unleashed—especially as the possibility of actually overthrowing the old regime became clear—and as their struggle and understanding grew through the course of the battles with the regime, they proved to be far too powerful and aroused for either imperialist bloodletting or deception. In fact once the revolution was in progress, everything the reactionaries did to derail the mass upsurge ended up giving it even more momentum. As one government spokesman admitted toward the end of the revolution, "There was just no major action that we could have taken that would have yielded positive results." (*New York Times* 1/12/79)

Yes, there were real tactical splits and vacillations within the imperialist camp; the controversy between Sullivan and Brzezinski isn't sham. But these splits and vacillations were themselves one outcome of the revolutionary crisis itself. The imperialists were faced with a situation in which nothing they tried worked—where they had no good options. These conditions made splits over how to handle the revolution inevitable. As one State Department official said at the time, "This was an enormously difficult situation that simply defies any attempt at a clear-cut response." (*New York Times* 11/2/79)

Imperialist Crisis at Root

But what was the fundamental reason that all the U.S.'s counter-revolutionary measures failed? What was the driving force that gave the revolution such overwhelming power? Again imperialist pundits of all varieties have come up with dozens of explanations; from religious fanaticism, to too much modernization too fast, to the personality of the Shah himself. But as these experts covered over the role of U.S. imperialism during the revolution, so too they all concealed and clouded the role played by U.S. imperialism in creating the contradictions that inevitably led to the revolution.

The revolutionary storm that swept Iran was incredibly powerful because it was the explosion of the social, political and economic contradictions that had been building under the surface of Iranian society for over 80 years. These contradictions were between the masses of people on one side; and the feudal relations of society and imperialist domination of the country on the other. The steadily increasing penetration of imperialism into Iran, far from mitigating these contradictions, only intensified them in new forms; and the crisis that increasingly gripped imperialism in the 1970s brought them to a head.

Over the 26 years that the U.S. controlled Iran (before that the British had been dominant) the imperialists poured billions in capital into the country. This took place in the form of capital investments, and indirectly through allowing the mid-east oil producers to raise their crude oil prices and rake in billions in oil revenues. The imperialists did this for the purpose of building strong allies in the Middle East, both as military outposts to secure control of their oil, and as lucrative areas for investment and trade. To this end, the U.S. instituted programs to modernize Iranian agriculture (partially), industrialize the country (lopsidedly), and develop its armed forces into a modern military machine.

But all this development took place within the context of Iran's subordination to the overall needs of the U.S. imperialist bloc. Therefore, all the billions that flowed into Iran only twisted and distorted the economy of the country and intensified the class contradictions within Iran.

Despite receiving over \$20 billion a year in oil revenues, the Iranian economy in the early and mid-70s was a mess. Agriculture remained stagnant, making it necessary to spend several billion a year on food imports. The industrial development that had taken place was both dependent on imperialism for supplies, and highly distorted and anarchistic. This led to bottlenecks, shortages for intermediate goods, incredible waste, low productivi-

ty and industrial stagnation. Billions were spent on arms imports (\$5.5 billion in 1977 alone), extravagant industrial projects and parasitic consumption by the upper classes. By the late 70s imports had reached over \$18 billion a year or nearly 80% of oil revenues. The sudden surge of oil revenues in 1974 had also shot inflation up to 30% a year.

Iran was dependent on oil revenues for 77% of its budget, and the level of these revenues was entirely dependent on the world oil market—mainly of the imperialist nations. In 1975, the bankruptcy of this dependence came home to roost. A sharp recession hit the West in 1974-75, and the demand for oil contracted. As a result Iran's oil revenues dropped \$4 billion per year from predicted levels.

In times past, the U.S. may have been able to bail the Shah out of this predicament by granting Iran easy credit, encouraging domestic production as a substitute for imports, and lightening its financial and military obligations to the Western bloc. But by the mid-70s, U.S. imperialism was in sharp decline itself. Its productive base had been eaten away by the declining rate of profit, and growing stagnation and parasitism. It was challenged by Soviet social imperialism. Many of the underdeveloped countries of the world were in serious financial trouble, and so was the U.S. And, in turn, the U.S. was counting on countries like Iran to help it get through its balance of payments problems by continuing to import goods from the U.S. And because this is a crisis whose only resolution is a new redivision of the world through imperialist war between the U.S. and the USSR, U.S. imperialism was (and is) counting on countries like Iran as bases against the Soviets. This still conditions U.S. policy on Iran.

As a result, the Shah was forced to clamp down. There were massive cut-backs in the construction industry and sharply increasing unemployment. While the overall level of imports—mainly food and military equipment—had to be maintained, there were also some industrial projects which were cut back. Iran also began to borrow on the international money market, to try and finance its now deficit budget. These loans, coupled with rampant world-wide inflation, further spurred inflation within Iran.

The growing economic crisis also forced the regime to clamp down politically. In 1975 the Shah dissolved his "two party" system, and formed the Rastakhiz party, which became the only legal political party in Iran. This was in fact a "coup d'etat" by the Pahlavi family that pushed a section of the Iranian comprador bourgeoisie (those more connected with European capital) out of their thieves paradise, in order to better protect U.S. capital.

Along with this the national bourgeoisie was further squeezed both politically and economically. Wholesale attacks on the middle class merchants were launched so that the Shah, and his U.S. backers, could grab the lucrative sphere of distribution. In one year alone over 250,000 businesses were either closed down or fined, and some 8,000 businessmen (mainly the bazaar merchants) went to jail. At the same time, the poverty that had long been the lot of Iranian peasants and workers was redoubled by rising inflation and unemployment.

The U.S. government realized that titanic contradictions were building up within one of their key client-states; and so they pushed the Shah to institute some minor reforms to lessen the pressure and prevent an explosion. This was the Shah's so-called "Liberalization" program. It was not as some have tried to claim, aimed in anyway at sharing power, nor was it motivated by a concern for human rights. It was simply a tactical maneuver by the imperialists to try and preserve their beloved King of Kings. Some among the U.S. imperialists have tried to blame this liberalization for causing the revolution, but this too misses the point. U.S. imperialism had created its own gravediggers. If they hadn't "liberalized"—Iran would have exploded anyway—the contradictions would not have been repressed forever. But this

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Who Lost Iran?

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tactic itself was doomed to failure; simply instituting minor political changes, without being able to make concessions in the economic sphere (because the imperialists couldn't make them), could not relieve the fundamental pressure building throughout society.

Sure enough, through the slight crack of liberalization, the spiral of revolution began. Political activity started first as a series of mild reformist letters by Iran's upper classes, but soon spread to the students and the middle classes, and then to the broad masses turning from a timid plea for reforms to a violent battle for revolution.

None of this is to say, of course, either that every revolutionary situation gives rise to a successful revolution; or that the intrigues of reaction cannot delay or temporarily defeat a revolution; or that the masses don't need class-conscious leadership in order to make a thoroughgoing revolution. (In fact one of the reasons the Iranian revolution was successful, although not the main reason, was the fact that Khomeini, the undisputed leader of the masses, did not capitulate to the U.S. and did at that time play an overall progressive role.) The revolutionary left, while not the dominant force in the op-

position, also played an important part in the revolution at crucial junctures such as the oil workers' strike and the actual insurrection itself.

The point is that during the struggle to overthrow the Shah, and to continue the revolution against U.S. imperialism afterward, the U.S. imperialists have consistently tried to obscure and hide the profound contradictions gripping their system that gave rise to this revolution, and the tremendous strength latent in the millions of oppressed people, so brilliantly demonstrated by the Iranian revolution. The fact that the Iranian revolution was a product—and a symptom—of a profound international crisis gripping U.S. imperialism means that Iran (along with Nicaragua, etc.) are signs of even greater storms to come arising from the same source.

Of course, it is hardly surprising that these "experts"—all their lying aside—would have the wrong understanding of the Iranian revolution. After all it was these same gentlemen, who pronounced the Shah invincible and all-powerful only 2 years ago (and who undoubtedly think imperialism will last forever)!

Who lost Iran? U.S. imperialism did.

Khomeini

Continued from page 4

U.S. They then effectively tabled the discussion for now—also hoping to keep it out of public view—by sending it to a special committee. The students holding the embassy added that they considered Khomeini's message the "minimum decisions" that parliament would make.

For another thing, it is uncertain just how the U.S. government will react to these initiatives. They do want the hostages returned, but not for any "humanitarian" reasons, only imperialist ones; so they are determined to do so on essentially their own terms. While the U.S. appears to be moving to breathe new life into the UN Commission that got booted out of Iran last February as a "neutral forum" to investigate Iran's "alleged grievances" against the U.S. government, they have no intention of giving Iran an official apology for their rape and plunder of Iran under the Shah, nor for their continuing attempts to reverse the revolution. At a time

when the U.S. bourgeoisie is trying to drum up mindless patriotism and military preparedness at home and to make a show of "resolve" internationally for war against the Soviets this is indeed an "unacceptable demand." Furthermore, the imperialists have even bigger plans in Iran than retrieving the hostages—they want to overthrow the Islamic government and install a pro-U.S. puppet regime in its place. Therefore they may well play it tough in a further effort to destabilize the Iranian government.

And finally, the millions of Iranian people, who time and again have risen to thwart the schemes of both the U.S. and the compromisers and outright reactionaries within Iran, have yet to be heard from. Millions see the struggle around the embassy as crucial, not in terms of simply holding onto the hostages indefinitely, but as a means to expose both the past and continuing role of U.S. imperialism in Iran, so the Iranian people can more thoroughly cut off the roots of imperialist domination of their country. □

FBI

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One proposal for disrupting the newspaper involved the use of the syndicated "labor columnist" Victor Riesel, known as a human funnel for the FBI. Riesel obligingly wrote a column which called upon "law-abiding union members" to refuse to handle shipments of the *Black Panther* newspaper. The FBI then reproduced 50 copies of this column for each of its 39 field offices, instructing them to mail it to union officials and members and police organizations.

The ruling class's stepped-up efforts to destroy the Panthers in 1969 was coordinated with intensified attacks through the media. Chicago, where Fred Hampton was murdered in cold blood of that year, is a sharp example of how this came down. The rising chorus of media hysteria about the "violence-prone, criminal Panthers" was accompanied by an increasing number of police raids and arrests. In 1969, 113 Panthers in Chicago were busted, resulting in only a handful of convictions, mainly for harassment. Fred Hampton, one of the most politically advanced and inspiring Panther leaders, was the focus of these attacks. The ruling class was so desperate to stop his influence over the masses that on January 24 the FBI made the self-exposing move of having him arrested on an old warrant right in the television studio before he was to appear on a talk show.

Under direct orders from the FBI, *Chicago Tribune* columnist Ron Koziol produced a whole series of articles portraying the Panthers as "highly violent." These articles were to support and lend credibility to the stepped-up COINTELPRO operations. All these slanderous stories were the media build-up for the lies of the authorities following Hampton's death. All the Chicago media reported the official police version that Fred Hampton was mercilessly slain in his bed during the police raid on his home because the Panthers had fired repeated rounds at the cops in a "wild gun battle." In the face of the mass outpouring of anger over Hampton's murder—walkouts at high schools and demonstrations at colleges, spontaneous demonstrations of one to five thousand people, both Black and white—the media let loose with a deluge of literally hundreds of articles over the next few weeks justifying the police shooting and saying basically that the Panthers deserved whatever they got.

The message driven home again and again was put out by a *Tribune* columnist—those who want to "rule by force and terror (speaking of the Panthers, of course, and not the pigs who murdered them—RW) can expect nothing less than disaster..." "Violence-prone," "schooling in hate," "a threat to our democratic society" were the words sung over and over in a sickening refrain to apologize for and justify this murder. Sensing that all this was not getting over, several days after the murder, the *Tribune* printed the infamous photos of a door in Hampton's apartment riddled with holes that the cops claimed were from the bullets fired by the Panthers. They were later exposed as nail holes by some reporters who refused to go along with the blatant lies. A TV show also appeared around this time, complete with a re-enactment of the pigs' story of the "wild gun battle" that forced them to shoot into the apartment.

But all the FBI's sophisticated media coordination and lies could not stop the avalanche of outrage triggered by the murder of Fred Hampton. J. Edgar Hoover sent out a directive to counteract this anger with media slanders. "...There is an immediate need for a concise compilation of all the violent acts that will surely portray the Black Panther Party in its true light as an aggregate of violence-prone individuals who foment and initiate violence..." said the FBI memo. The pig-columnist Koziol obligingly dashed off seven articles in the space of three weeks illustrating this theme in lurid detail.

By the early '70s, many of the Black Panther leaders and many of the members all over the country were imprisoned, exiled, hunted by the law, or dead. By the mid-'70s the party barely existed as a viable political organization—its revolutionary content having degenerated into worn-out reformism. (While this is not the place for a thorough summation of the Black Panther Party, readers are urged to study a speech by Bob Avakian, reprinted as the pamphlet *Summing Up the Black Panther Party*, which does deal with this important question in depth. Here, we will only note that it would be mistaken to consider repression by the enemy as the sole or even principal reason for the demise of the Black Panther Party.)

Again, the importance of this look into the methods of the political police in the past lies in understanding their methods of the present and the future. The well-oiled machine of hack writers and media cooperators is a long way from the scrap heap, as are the other methods infamous in COINTELPRO.

Somoza

Continued from page 5

in Central America and the Caribbean with increasing panic, as increased Soviet-Cuban involvement as well as growing revolutionary movements are now posing serious threats to its domination of a region that it has always considered its "backyard," and it is by no means prepared to let the area slip from its clutches.

Somoza himself was said to have been biding his time, maintaining contacts with both friendly U.S. officials and allies within Nicaragua. Last week, the Nicaraguan government arrested nine officers of the former National Guard and charged them with participation in an anti-government plot headquartered by Anastasio Somoza Portocarrero, Somoza's eldest son, who now operates out of Miami. One of those arrested was Colonel Bernardino Larreos, who had been the Minister of Defense under the new regime until January, 1980.

The role of Somoza in the U.S. strategy for Central America was not necessarily based on his return to direct power in Nicaragua; this was in fact not only extremely unlikely, but unnecessary. But Somoza and his circle had extensive connections not only with Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, but with reactionary regimes and businessmen throughout Central America—not to mention strong friendships in the U.S. Congress and in the military.

Some of Somoza's machinations

came to light in late June as the result of a squabble with newspaper publisher in Paraguay over a woman. Somoza, whose life in Asunción was punctuated by regular bouts of drunken public degeneracy, took the wife of Humberto Dominguez Dibb, the owner of Asunción's daily newspaper *Hoy*, as his mistress; the former Miss Paraguay had left her husband some time before Somoza's arrival and had been seen around casinos and cafes with several other "prominent" citizens before she came Somoza's way. In revenge, Dibb began publishing in his paper Somoza's projects to organize a private army to reclaim Nicaragua. The exposés continued until General Stroessner ordered a halt.

It is more than mere irony—and far more than mere coincidence—that Somoza's limousine had just pulled up in front of the U.S. embassy when he met justice. The official State Department reaction was one of silence, apart from the statement that "of course, we deplore violence—no matter to whom it occurs or where." But the U.S. backed this butcher and the whole Somoza dynasty as they slaughtered tens of thousands of Nicaraguans in the service of imperialism throughout the 20th century; and right up to the day of his death, behind a hastily donned mask of pious disavowal of his "dictatorial methods," the U.S. and Somoza were collaborators. But it can truly be said that Somoza's bloody death was a fitting end for this bloody butcher. His death will be cheered by millions upon millions of oppressed people, not only in Nicaragua but throughout the world. +

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