



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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Iran: U.S. Global Gangsters Howl "International Law"



On Wednesday night, November 28, the honorable Jimmy Carter laid out the new reactionary theme of the week at his press conference, when he barked that Iran is guilty of "violating the most fundamental precepts of international law" and then went on to warn that

with the "honor" of America at stake "we will not yield to blackmail." With the bandleader setting the song, the cry went out, from TV and newspaper editorials, senators and congressmen and other loyal hacks of imperialism: "How dare this nothing nation sneer at the

United States, the United Nations and the whole *civilized* world." But what really enraged these civilized gentlemen is that their own reactionary attempts to pull off a right-wing coup and get the U.S. back in the position where it could lord it over Iran has so far been foiled

due to the struggle of the Iranian people.

While Carter insisted that any "claims raised by Iran would ring hollow" as long as it continued its outlaw seizure of the embassy, what really

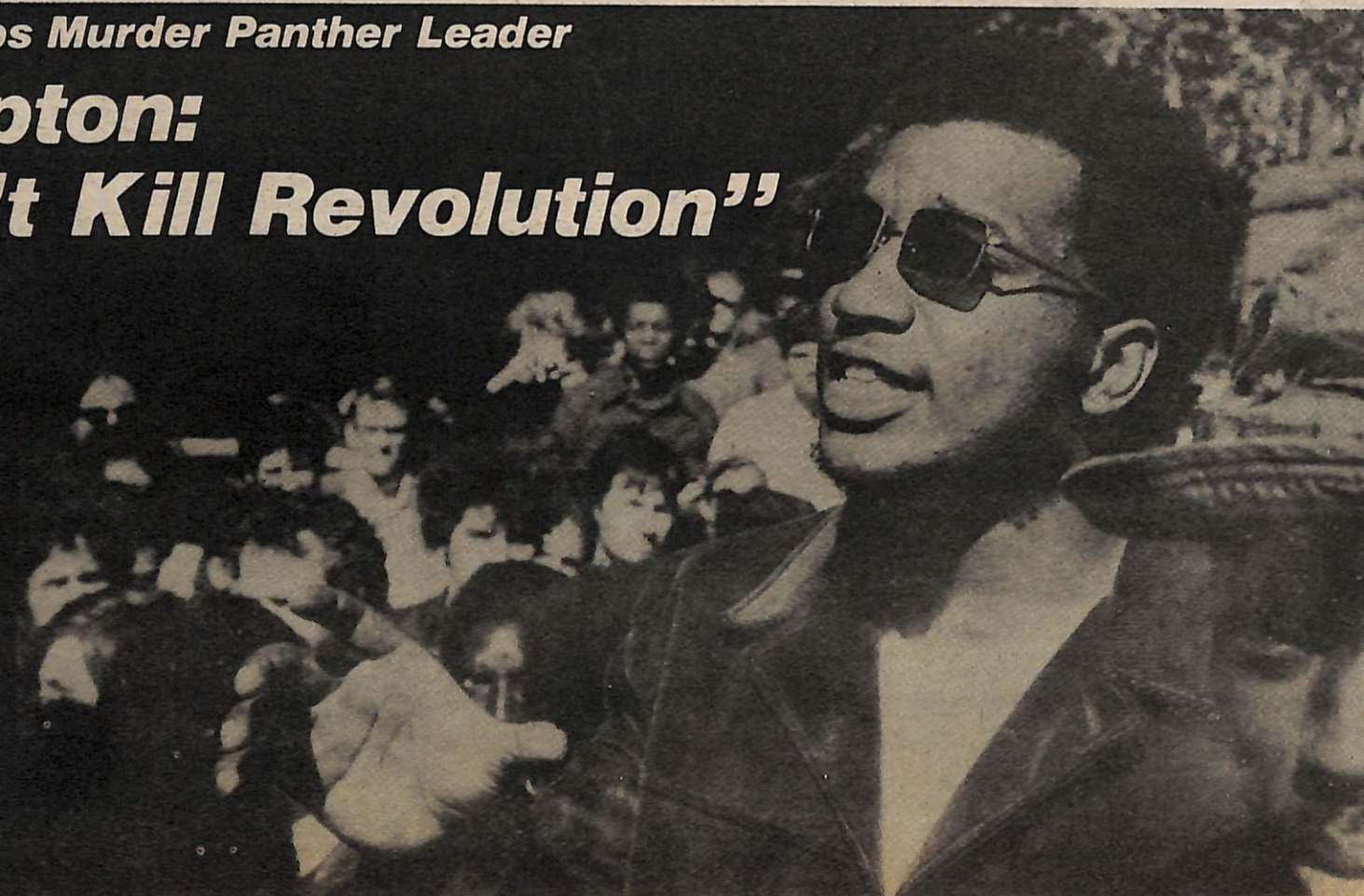
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Ten Years Since Cops Murder Panther Leader

Fred Hampton: "You Can't Kill Revolution"

Dec. 4, 1969. Ten years ago this week. The raid was staged from the front and the rear, following a meticulously constructed floorplan. Armed with shotguns and automatic weapons, the hired assassins burst through both doors simultaneously, shattering the pre-dawn hour with a barrage of gunfire. Many bullets ripped into the walls, but enough hit their mark, as the Chicago police carried out with cold precision the execution of Fred Hampton, Illinois leader of the Black Panther Party, and Mark Clark.

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Why Iran's People Hate U.S. Imperialism (And Why We Should Too)

Why do the Iranian people and so many hundreds of millions the world over hate the U.S. and all it stands for? This is the question you will never hear asked or answered in the middle of these weeks of media-manufactured hysteria and racist jingoism about Iran. While hundreds of thousands of people march daily in front of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, filled with anger and outrage, the media and every other paid pimp and parrot for the U.S. ruling class shriek that this is the work of fanatics and ingrates. "How can they hate us, after all the progress and modernization that the U.S. has brought to Iran and all these backward countries? After all the great benefits we have bestowed upon them?"

How indeed! How can the slave hate the slavemaster? Why should anyone hate his torturer?

Let's set the record straight about the "benevolent" U.S. government and ruling class—that class of millionaire bankers and industrialists who rule this country and forcibly spread their system of exploitation and plunder throughout the world. Let's get clear about U.S. imperialism and the "great benefits" it supposedly brings to the people under its domination.

Throughout the 1950s, '60s and '70s, Iran's oil fields and refineries pumped out \$60 million worth of oil a day. But who benefited from this tremendous wealth? Not the oil workers. Under the Shah and his U.S. protectors, they slaved for a miserable \$2 or \$3 a day—in a country where prices are as high as in New York City. And they were among the best paid workers in the country! Did this oil wealth go to provide public services and care for the people? Are you kidding? In the Shah's Iran, health care and education were reserved for the rich, and the workers were forced to live in slums without running water or heat. These fantastic oil revenues were stolen to enrich the Shah, his family, and a handful of big capitalists, landlords and generals inside Iran. But still more, they gushed into the bank accounts of the foreign oil monopolies—Standard Oil, Texaco, Gulf and other imperialist interests in the U.S. and Western Europe.

Keep Bob Avakian and Mao Defendants Free

Committee Responds to Government Appeal

On November 23 Carl Rauh, U.S. Attorney, and Mary Ellen Abrecht, prosecuting attorney in the case of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, filed a notice of appeal to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. This notice indicates the government's plans to file an appeal with the higher court asking that Superior Court Judge Pratt's order dismissing the 25 count felony indictment against the 17 defendants be overturned and the 241 years of charges be reinstated against all defendants.

The government has 40 days from the time that the court records in this case are transferred to the Court of Appeals to write and file the actual appeal itself. At that point, the defendants will have a similar time period to answer the government's appeal.

The appeal in this case was not unexpected. In fact, it was the product of joint efforts by the U.S. Attorney's Office and Judge Pratt, who cooperated in developing the tactics most desired at the time by the U.S. government for retreating and maneuvering, in the face of growing support for the defendants and the potential for this support to mushroom by the February trial date. The national office of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants issued a call this week to committees across the country and to all who have been involved in and watched the developments of this case: "...the prosecution will surely file the appeal... and we must take every step to block their efforts to move on this appeal."

In light of this the national office is issuing a protest of the government's appeal calling on thousands to step forward and endorse this protest which demands:



Martyrs Square, Tehran, September 8, 1978—Black Friday. On this one day alone the Shah's troops killed more than 10,000 people as massive protests against the Shah and U.S. imperialism swept the country. This picture, showing troops surrounding masses of bodies, was hidden by a newspaper and only released after the Shah was swept away.

During these years, hundreds of U.S. corporations—GM, International Harvester, Bell Helicopter, ITT, and Pepsi Cola—to name just a few—ripped off billions in profits from their investments in Iran. And the Shah's fascist regime was only too happy to maintain a "good business climate" by sending its secret police agents (the hated SAVAK) into every factory, to declare strikes and protests of any kind illegal, and to imprison, torture and execute those who organized the people to stand up and strike back in rebellion.

In Iran more than half the people still live in the countryside in serf-like conditions even more wretched than in the cities. Only ten years ago, Iran could feed itself through self-sufficient agricultural production. By the Shah's last year, 30-40% of its food needs had to be imported, mainly from the U.S., at a cost of over \$1 billion a year. In past years, U.S. agribusiness corporations, aided by tax breaks and other "help" from the Shah's regime, flood-

ed the country with grains and other foodstuffs at prices cheaper than the peasants' products. These imports were intended to and did ruin many peasants and even small landlords. Unable to afford even the seed for another year's planting, tens of thousands have been driven under. Big landlords and foreign corporations moved in, gobbling up the land and forcing the now landless peasants to work for them for almost nothing. Food prices skyrocketed.

This is truly the fruit of "modernization" in Iran—a bankrupt agriculture and food imported from the U.S.!

But not only was Iran turned into a gold mine for profit-hungry U.S. corporations. The whole country was opened up to the imperialists' culture: pornography, prostitution, Western fashions and "beauty contests"—all made in the USA. When Khomeini and other Moslem religious leaders denounce this degrading degeneracy that was foisted on the Iranian people, they strike a responsive chord among the

masses, not because everyone is enamored of the moral codes of the Koran, but because they hate what U.S. imperialism has done to them and their country, which this imported filth symbolizes.

Grotesque CIA Creation

In order to force the Iranian people to submit to this set-up, the U.S. needed the service of an enforcer and a well-armed and trained gang of hoodlums. They needed someone on the scene who could serve their interests and their domination of the country. And let's not be blinded by lies. For the past 25 years the people of Iran have been squarely under the boot of U.S. imperialism.

The Shah, that self-proclaimed "King of Kings" and "Center of the Universe," was in fact chosen and installed in power by the U.S. government through a CIA coup in 1953. This military coup that overthrew a popularly elected nationalist government was

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KEEP BOB AVAKIAN AND THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS FREE! WITHDRAW THE APPEAL—DROP ALL THE CHARGES ONCE AND FOR ALL!" In part this protest states:

When they made their plans to target Bob Avakian and the RCP—the U.S. government failed to take into account the thousands upon thousands of people from all walks of life who would and did begin to step forward to stand against this assault. In the face of massive and ever-growing support for the 17—the U.S. government was forced to retreat and maneuver.

...It is clear that new attacks on Bob Avakian, and the RCP and its members and supporters may come down at any time and in many forms. By appealing the dismissal, the government is clearly indicating its intention to hold these same charges that were dismissed above the heads of Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants—like a sword ready to drop at any time. Further, we will never forget that the Black revolutionary leader, Fred Hampton, was murdered in his bed while legal charges against him were pending in the Court of Appeals.

With the strength of the victory already won in forcing the government to retreat, we demand in the face of their new maneuvers: Withdraw the Appeal, Drop All the Charges Once and for All! Keep Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants Free!

Copies of the protest can be received through the national office of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, 2108 18th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009.

Soledad Brother, Fleeta Drumgo, Murdered



Fleeta Drumgo was shot and killed November 24, 1979 in Oakland, California. The circumstances of his death are at this point open, because it must be understood that the bourgeoisie operates in many forms and often in very murky ways. Along with George Jackson and John M. Cluchette, Fleeta Drumgo was one of the three "Soledad Brothers," and was later one of the San Quentin Six. He was one of the leading figures in the intense struggle of Black prisoners against the brutal, racist existence they faced in a society that had no room for them in the first place.

Born in Los Angeles 33 years ago, Fleeta was thrown into prison in 1966 for ripping off two TV sets. Four years later, in January 1970, as one of the Soledad Brothers, he was charged with the killing of a white guard in retribution for the killing of three Black inmates. This was a battle that crystallized the life and death struggle behind the prison walls. And the brothers' own uncompromising stand against oppression was an inspiration to many thousands during the revolutionary upsurge in the early 1970s.

The Soledad Brothers, especially George Jackson, had been singled out as militant activists among the prisoners. The prison authorities did all they could to keep a lid on the scene that was going down. The three were put in chains and shackles for their first two hearings. No word was allowed to leak out of the prison—all mail that mentioned anything of the case was censored. Finally John Cluchette was able to smuggle a note to his family, and the word began to spread about the Soledad

Brothers.

The case hit national news when George Jackson's brother, Jonathan, electrified the country by entering the Marin County Courthouse two days before the trial was to begin, and with gun in hand announced, "Gentlemen, I am now in charge." He took a judge hostage and took three prisoners, including Ruchell Magee. Although Jonathan Jackson died in the hail of bullets shortly after, the Soledad Brothers and the revolutionary struggle going on inside could never again be buried.

By the end of the trial the Soledad Brothers had received support from all corners of the world, and George Jackson's books were being read everywhere, influencing many with their revolutionary ideas. As the Soledad Brothers and their supporters awaited the verdict, George Jackson was set up to be murdered at the San Quentin Adjustment Center, where "trouble-makers" were locked up. Using the excuse of a so-called escape attempt, the prison authorities murdered Jackson, and in the melee that followed, three guards and two inmate trustees were also killed.

Six prisoners from the Adjustment Center were charged with murder—Fleeta Drumgo, Hugo Pinell, David Johnson, Johnny Spain, Luis Talamantes, and Willie Tate—the San Quentin 6. But the authorities didn't stop there. Because of the "legal" hassles, the San Quentin 6 were forced to wait four years for their trial to take place. But the 6 made their stand clear the whole way through—it was a frame-up because of their political and organizational ac-

tivities inside the pen. It was about prison conditions, about racism, and society's responsibilities for these, and it was about the assassination of George Jackson and the state's attempt to cover that up.

Eventually, Talamantes, Drumgo and Tate were found not guilty; Spain was convicted of two counts of first-degree murder and conspiracy to commit murder; Pinell was convicted of two counts of felony assault; and Johnson was found guilty of one count of assault. Drumgo was released in 1976 at the end of the trial.

Fleeta Drumgo was typical of thousands of Black inmates during that time. Locked up while hustling for survival, he was revolutionized while behind bars. In the face of death threats and the threat of remaining in jail for life, he refused to compromise. This stand inspired many thousands throughout the country to stand up and fight their oppressors.

All his life, Fleeta had to fight to survive—first as a Black youth in the ghettos where hope for the future was denied, then inside the jails, and finally outside again in the society that had locked him away for ten years, tossed him back outside, and challenged him to survive once more. And no matter who pulled the trigger on him, it was the system that killed Fleeta Drumgo, and it cannot be ruled out that it did so directly.

He had been politically active from time to time in the past few years, speaking at rallies to support prison-related causes, and had signed a statement of support for Bob Avakian and

the Mao Tsetung Defendants. The *RW* had talked with him recently, and while he spoke of the difficulties of fighting day to day to get by, what also came through was his great love for the struggling and oppressed people everywhere, and his undying hatred for the ruling class that had murdered and brutalized so many of his comrades and friends.

"I'm still dedicated to righting those wrongs, and I want my brothers inside and everybody to know that. We want to be free and we have to fight for this, and they're not giving us nothing and we understand the nature of this country, that it was taken, that they took everything in this country and people who want to be free are gonna have to take it—they're gonna have to take their freedom... I understand that a certain class of people is oppressing me—and when I say me I don't mean just myself, I mean the people... they're weighing on me... they're stunting my growth and if I didn't deal with it, I would be in contradiction with myself."

Fleeta Drumgo's life meant something because he refused to live in chains, because he saw the hand of the ruling class behind the bars that kept him chained and fought this enemy. He should be remembered for this. ■

New Pamphlet from the
Revolutionary Worker

Nearly 1,000
sold on the
first day of re-
lease in Chi-
cago alone!

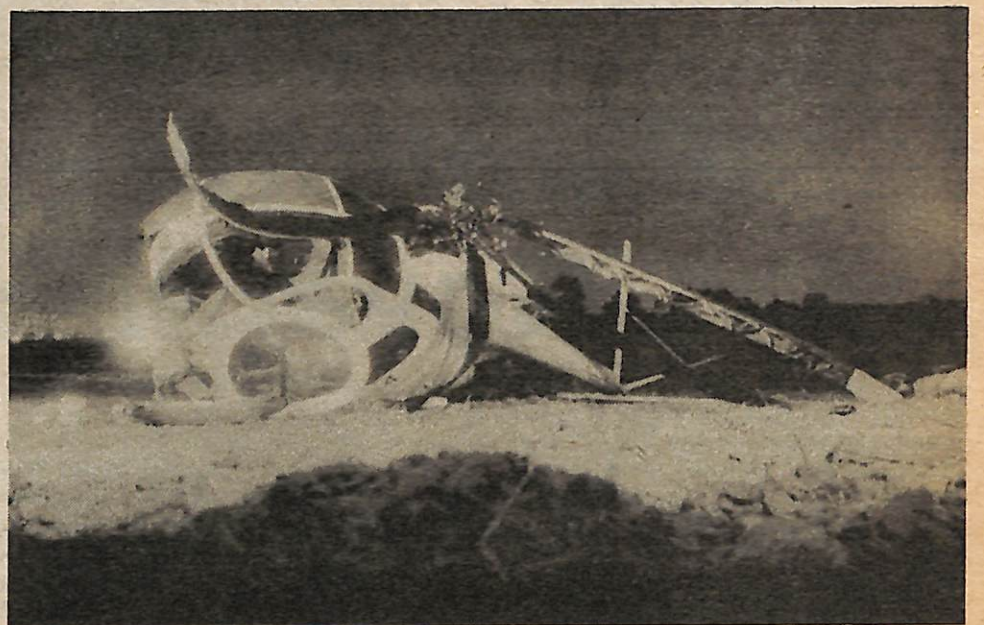
IRAN:
IT'S NOT OUR
EMBASSY!

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

25c

Excerpts from a speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, November 18, Washington D.C. price: 25c

Border Chopper Bites Dust



November 24, San Diego—Tijuana Border. It seemed like a routine patrol, as the Immigration Dept. helicopter swooped low over the U.S.-Mexican border fence, its search beam jabbing through the darkness to the ground below, probing for some more people to arrest and deport. But this whirly pig patrol met with a response that they hadn't quite bargained for—a barrage of rocks was launched of all sizes (the people's anti-aircraft missiles), from all sides, and directly below the helicopter. This time the people drew blood. One

of the marksmen on the ground, in a display of power and control that would put any major league baseball pitcher to shame, scored a direct hit to the copter's tail rotor, which sheared off, sending the \$2 million mechanical marvel crashing to its doom. This inspiring incident serves as a verification of the truth expressed in the slogan made popular by the Black Panther Party in the 1960s... "*The spirit of the people is greater than the man's technology.*" ■

The Newspaper Pravda in the Bolshevik Revolution

A Toe to Toe Fight for the Revolutionary Press

How does a revolutionary newspaper play the key role in preparing the Party and the masses of people to make revolution? Why is the Revolutionary Worker the main weapon we now have in our struggle, and why is getting it out and around the most concrete and pressing task for all who want to see revolutionary change in this country and the world?

Experience from the past is a teacher for us today. The following is the main part of a chapter from a book on the Russian revolution in 1917. This chapter (No. 20) centers on the role of the Bolshevik newspaper Pravda, which was the daily paper published in the city of St. Petersburg from 1912 to 1914. The book, *The Bolsheviks in the Tsarist Duma*, by A. Badayev, is the personal account of the author's years as an elected workers' representative in the Duma (parliament) which was dominated by the feudal autocracy. Badayev and the five other elected Bolsheviks used the Duma not as an arena for legislative reforms, but as a platform for revolutionary agitation. Many of the particular experiences in this chapter, including the use of the Pravda offices as organizational centers, cannot directly apply to our conditions today but the basic experience of the use of this paper as a collective organizer for revolution is very relevant.

Pravda played an extremely important role in the development of the revolutionary movement before the war and, from the moment of its foundation, was one of the chief means of conducting our Party work. The editors and the workers concerned in the printing and distribution of the paper became directly engaged in the organization of the masses. Every revolutionary worker considered it his duty to obtain and read his Bolshevik newspaper every day, despite all the difficulties which might arise. Every copy was passed from hand to hand and read by scores of workers. The paper gave expression to their class-consciousness, educated and organized them.

The popularity of *Pravda* among the workers can be explained by the fact that it consistently followed a firm Bolshevik policy and, unlike the opportunist Liquidationist press (*Luch* and other papers), it always stated the problems in simple, straightforward language. Whereas the circulation of *Luch* never exceeded a maximum of 16,000 copies, that of *Pravda* reached 40,000 a day. A similar relation in the degree of support among the workers was visible in the amounts brought in by the collections which were made on behalf of the papers. *Pravda* was started on the money of the workers and supported throughout by workers' subscriptions, but the Liquidators published their paper mainly on big donations given by individuals in sympathy with the Mensheviks. In 1913, *Pravda* received no less than 2,180 contributions from workers' groups while *Luch* during that period only received 660. The following year (until May) *Pravda* received 2,873 and *Luch* 671.

In connection with every political event, every battle of the working class, workers sent letters, resolutions and reports to *Pravda*. We were unable to publish all this material on the four pages of the paper, even in its enlarged form, and much could not be printed for censorship reasons. The workers bluntly expressed their opinions of the tsarist regime and their willingness to engage in revolutionary struggle against it and, when the editors decided to take the risk and publish such correspondence, the paper was invariably fined and confiscated. As this was such a common occurrence, the workers provided for it in advance by requesting: "In case the paper is confiscated, please publish our news once more in the



Like Pravda in Russia in the years before World War I, the Revolutionary Worker has an absolutely vital role to play in preparing for revolution. But to play this role, it must reach broad masses of people. Those who see its importance must take up the task of distributing it. Networks must be established. In the next few weeks, its circulation must double! Don't just read this paper—distribute it! Become a co-conspirator!

following number."

Pravda maintained its close contact with the workers also through the numerous visitors to the editorial offices, which became an important centre for organisational work. Meetings between delegates from local Party cells were held there, information was received from factories and workshops and from there instructions and the arrangements about secret meeting-places were taken back to the districts.

The tsarist secret police were well aware that the Bolshevik *Pravda* was a very dangerous enemy to the regime. Although, owing to the growing revolutionary temper of the St. Petersburg workers, the police hesitated two years before deciding to crush *Pravda*, they continually worried it with minor persecutions designed to reduce its power. Throughout the existence of the paper, every issue appeared after a struggle, every article after a fight. Arrests, fines, confiscation and raids—the police gave us no rest.

The Party created its newspaper under extremely difficult conditions and the Central Committee attached enormous importance to its part in the revolutionary movement. The group of comrades who were responsible for it were assisted in their difficult work by the Bolshevik fraction in the Duma [Parliament]. *Pravda* and the fraction worked hand in hand and only with the aid of the paper was the fraction able to carry out the tasks assigned to it by the Party and the revolutionary movement.

We used the Duma rostrum to speak to the masses over the heads of the parliamentarians of various shades. But this was only rendered possible by the existence of our workers' press, as the so-called liberal newspapers devoted only a few lines to our speeches and sometimes passed them over in silence. Had there been no workers' Bolshevik paper, our speeches would not have been known of outside the walls of the Taurida Palace.

This was not the only assistance which we received from *Pravda*. At the editorial offices we met delegates from the St. Petersburg factories and works, discussed various questions and obtained information from them. In short, *Pravda* was a centre around which revolutionary workers could gather and which provided the support for the work of the fraction in the Duma.

From the moment that the fraction was formed it made newspaper work one of its chief tasks. Immediately the Fourth Duma opened, the Bolshevik "six" published the following appeal in *Pravda*:

"Being absolutely convinced that *Pravda* will carry out the task of welding together the forces of the proletariat during the present period, we appeal to you, comrades, to support it, distribute it and supply it with material. No doubt *Pravda* has its shortcomings, like any new paper which has not had the time or experience to gain strength, but the only way to remedy this is to support it regularly."

When I was charged by the Party with the task of attending to the issue of *Pravda* I addressed the following message to the St. Petersburg workers:

"A workers' deputy and a workers' newspaper serve the same cause. There must be the closest co-operation between the two; that is why, comrades, I consider it my duty to take the most active part in bringing out our workers' newspaper, *Pravda*. Comrades! by our own efforts, with our hard-earned pence, we have created the first workers' daily in Russia. We, the workers of St. Petersburg, took a leading part in this work. But it is not enough to found a newspaper, we must strengthen it, and to put it securely on its feet a great deal has to be done. Every worker must become a regular reader and every reader must recruit other regular readers. We must organise collections for *Pravda* and ensure that it is distributed as widely as possible. Comrades! Let us all work together to build up the paper which serves the cause of Labour."

But in addition to organising support for *Pravda* and arranging for the means to continue its publication, I had also to struggle against the continual persecution of the police. We were constantly fighting against the confiscation of the paper and had to resort to the most varied subterfuges in order that the issue of any particular day should reach its readers.

To comply with the law a copy of the newspaper was sent from the printing shop to the Press Committee at the same time as the paper was issued for sale. As the Committee usually issued an order immediately for the confiscation of the issue we had to utilise the short interval between the dispatch of the paper from the printing shop and its receipt by the Committee for the distribution to our vendors.

Representatives from factories and works gathered in the courtyard outside of the printing office in the early dawn ready to receive the paper straight from the press and dash off to their districts. Later the police became familiar with our manoeuvres and the printing establishment was surrounded with spies and the neighbouring streets filled with detachments of mounted and foot police. Often, in contravention of the law, the officials of the Press Committee came to the printshop and confiscated the paper as it came off the presses. Then we attempted to conceal a few bundles of the paper in the attic or on the staircase in order to smuggle out at least a few copies after the police had gone.

The "immunity" which I enjoyed as a member of the State Duma somewhat facilitated our task in this constant struggle with the authorities, but, needless to say, it in no way insured either my comrades or myself from police persecution and legal prosecution. The investigating magistrates accumulated case after case against me and, when they considered that a favourable moment had arrived, they presented their bill—I was prosecuted several times in respect of the newspaper. The government did not venture to arrest workers' deputies but during the proceedings tried to involve other more vulnerable people.

Many times I was asked: "Who edits the newspaper *Pravda*?" And every court official received the same stereotyped answer: "The name of the editor is printed in each copy of the paper and the collaborators are thousands of St. Petersburg workers."

In May 1913, *Pravda* was closed down and a few days later appeared under the new title of *Pravda Truda* [*Pravda* (Truth) of Labour]. This very obvious camouflage was resorted to on many other occasions; the editors had a supply of titles all containing the word

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Vets Invade Nat'l Guard Base

Demos Demand: "U.S. Hands Off Iran!"

This week saw a number of significant demonstrations that hit back sharply at the attempts of the U.S. rulers to rally the American people around their chauvinistic garbage aimed at the people of Iran. For weeks they have sent out the FBI, their immigration officials and whatever scum they could muster to raise their ragged banner in the streets and extol "American honor above all" to whip up public support for their plans for military intervention in Iran. They wanted a clear



Demonstration in Washington, D.C.

field to spread their patriotic anti-Iranian trash uncontested. But they had no such luck.

Near Detroit, 30 demonstrators picketed in support of Iran outside the Selfridge Air National Guard Base as four Vietnam veterans, members of Vietnam Veterans Against the War and one RCYB member stormed into the headquarters of the base command. Taking charge, they read a proclamation and demanded the commander phone this proclamation to the White House and the Pentagon. It read in part: "Yes, you're in trouble, Mr. imperialist... You've whipped up public opinion inside your country to unite behind your tattered flag. Your 'ugly Americans' have jumped out with sickening patriotic slobbering. You think we're all whooping it up to be used as your cannonfodder, to defend your oil, to preserve your plunder... Mr. imperialist you are dead wrong... You had better take note that blood will run two ways if you dare to lift one military finger against the Iranian people."

In the meantime, the proclamation was being posted throughout the base, especially around the barracks, where giant red spray-painted demands appeared. After five hours of being detained the five were busted on Federal trespassing charges and escorted from the compound. Proudly defiant, they sang the Internationale, the anthem of the international working class, uninterrupted right in the face of their captors! Also, during the action an American flag was burned.

The demonstration on the outside also had a marked effect on thousands of people leaving and entering the base. Busloads of school children returned to their homes on the base, some raising clenched fists as they passed the demonstration. On one bus the youth, upon seeing the banners and signs, started their own chant: "Shah go Home, Shah go Home." Some workers who had news of the action left their jobs to come out and argue with the demonstrators but left with stronger agreement on many questions.

Word of all this spread like wildfire over the media. In the Detroit area, hundreds of thousands of people heard

Chappaquiddick: a campaign shadow Begins today on page 3-A

THE MACOMB DAILY
WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1979

Radicals invade Selfridge



Radicals (yes, revolutionaries!) did indeed invade the Selfridge Air National Guard Base, while outside the base demonstrators (some of whom are pictured above) raised these sharp demands.

news of the fact that veterans and revolutionary youth had take a "brazen action" against the government and in defense of the Iranian people. And clearly word of this action was received at the highest levels of the government. The Pentagon's National Guard Bureau hastily ordered 4,400 National Guard units to toughen security as a result of the Selfridge incident.

On November 27, in Washington, D.C., the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and the Vietnam Veterans Against the War called a march and rally at which representatives of a broad range of organizations spoke. Two hundred people marched four abreast in support of the Iranian people and against U.S. imperialism, delivering a powerful message to this country's rulers: "U.S. Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Iran" and "The Shah Must Face the People's Wrath, Send Him Back!" Led by a contingent from the VVAW and marching in formation, the demonstrators went right up past the capitol building—defiantly raising the banner of revolution and proletarian internationalism right in front of the very monuments which stand as symbols of the power and plunder of the U.S. capitalists.

During the last month the 150 "picked troops," volunteers for the front lines in D.C. to stop the railroad of Bob Avakian and free the Mao Tsetung Defendants have not only been going out

to the masses of people around the trial but also to build revolutionary solidarity for the struggle of the Iranian people. In the days building up to the demonstration, sharp class struggle was waged around the question of Iran as revolutionary agitators hit the streets of D.C.

The ruling class did not want to see this demonstration happen. But they did not have the freedom to stop it despite arrests, harassment and intimidation tactics. 100 motorcycle cops were sent out in a show of force, riding in formation past the assembly point to threaten the march and anyone watching. But they couldn't stop it. In addition to creating a lot of controversy in the streets, including yells from a small handful of reactionaries, a significant amount of support for the action was demonstrated.

A number of people raised their fists in solidarity, some joined the march and many bought the *Revolutionary Worker* and studied a leaflet issued by the Revolutionary Communist Party. Fast discussion and debate went on at bus stops, street corners and in front of stores about what the U.S. is up to in Iran. Many of the very people that the bourgeoisie had hoped would follow them blindly were intently checking out this demonstration and what it had to say. At the end of the march a rally was held that united a number of forces including VVAW, the RCYB, and the

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If the U.S. government decides to launch a military invasion of Iran, we will take up arms and fight—alongside our brothers and sisters—the masses of Iranian people. In doing so, we will be traitors to the American government, but not to the American people.

This was the message of three Americans living in Iran (above), who called a press conference in Tehran on Monday, November 28 to denounce the U.S. government's harboring of the Shah, the wretched butcher of the Iranian people. The three women praised the Iranian students who took over the U.S. embassy, and said that the hostages should stand trial.

Only three days earlier there had been a demonstration of Americans living in Iran (right). "Having lived here through the revolution," they said, "we know the Shah is a murderer." The demonstrators marched through Tehran demanding that the U.S. return the Shah to Iran to face the just wrath of the Iranian people. Along the way they were cheered by Iranians shouting "Long Live the American people!" It was a sharp blow to the current avalanche of bullshit coming from the U.S. rulers, trying to save their own ass by making it appear like it's "Americans vs. Iranians."



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RCP as well as a representative from the Washington Coalition to Save Seabrook (an anti-Nuke group), the president of the Howard University Student Association, the Youth International Party (Yippies), and an Iranian student.

In Cleveland, a demonstration in support of Iran at an army recruiting station in a predominantly Black town outside of Cleveland was surrounded by dozens of riot-equipped police. Right on cue a Black guy waving a giant American flag drove into the middle of this yelling "Love it or leave it." As this flunkey jumped out of his car waving his putrid rag, the news media cranked up their camera, hoping for a thick slice of apple pie. But before they could get there a revolutionary Black steelworker grabbed a bullhorn and confronted this fool.

"You chump—you're waving that dirty damn piece of trash—that rag that flew over My Lai, that's flown over generations of Black people being enslaved, that the Ku Klux Klan carries around. This is the flag of exploitation and oppression and you're a god damn fool for doing anything but spitting on it. Now get that out of here before I shove it up your ass!"

The cops' smiles suddenly faded. They came charging across the street—suddenly discovering that the demo was "blocking traffic"—and gave an ultimatum for people to leave in 15 minutes.

In Los Angeles, a demonstration called by the U.S. Hands Off Iran Committee brought 25 people to the steps of the Beverly Hills Courthouse on the first day of arraignments of the 130 Iranian students arrested several weeks ago when they started to assemble for a demonstration against the Shah and were attacked by reactionaries and the police.

Meanwhile on college campuses around the country, thousands were drawn into debate about whether to line up behind the moronic flagwaving of the U.S. rulers or take a stand with the Iranian people and their just demand for extradition of the Shah.

● At the University of Chicago, a

sizable crowd gathered as revolutionaries took on a handful of reactionaries who were mindlessly chanting "Nuke Iran!" and "We Love the Shah!" and singing every timeworn patriotic hymn from "God Bless America" to the "Star Spangled Banner." A few cheers went up and discussion raged as the RCYB and members of VVAW torched a blow-up of John Wayne and the American flag, chanting "Shah, your crimes are red, white and blue. The Iranian people have plans for YOU!"

● In Boston, 100 people rallied in support of Iran at Boston University drawing a crowd of close to 500, including a vocal group of reactionaries.

● At the University of Massachusetts in Amherst 75 demonstrated in solidarity with Iranians.

● At Washington University in St. Louis an American flag was burned.

● At West Virginia University a crowd of hundreds gathered to check out what was being said by members of the RCYB who hung an effigy of the Shah on the day that Iranian students were supposed to report to immigration authorities who had invaded the campus. As the cops looked on, a bunch of rabid ROTC types screaming slogans such as "Iran sucks!" moved in, attacking an RCYBer who was then busted for "disorderly conduct."

Just how uptight the ruling class is about these challenges to their claims that the campuses have become a bulwark of reaction was revealed in Tampa at the University of South Florida. When the Committee to Defend the Iranian Revolution (organized by the RCYB) held a rally, over a thousand people came. Suddenly about 150 thugs, with KKK written all over them, invaded the campus to disrupt the rally, waving American and Confederate flags and throwing eggs to the disgust of the vast majority of the crowd who had gathered to listen and debate.

As this week of demonstrations ended it was clear that the U.S. ruling class was encountering significant opposition. Where they intended to have only one flag—theirs—out there waving among the people, instead there were two. There were two roads stretching out before the American people, two



PHOTO BY TIM BAKER

Demonstration at University of Chicago.

campus forming. Many lessons were learned by the hundreds and thousands who watched, who analyzed, who listened, first to the ignorant rantings of the anti-Iranians and then to the agita-

tion of the revolutionaries and others. A broad range of people are being won to stand more firmly with the people of Iran and against U.S. imperialism and its bloody plans. ■

I.L.W.U. Hacks Show True Colors: Red, White, Blue & Reactionary

On November 13, Jim Herman, president of the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) announced a boycott of Iranian cargo until U.S. hostages in Iran are released. Herman "applauds President Carter's harshest diplomatic response to the present crisis." Now dragging in to the fourth week as rice and medicine reportedly sit on the docks this boycott is a blatant attack on the struggle of the Iranian people against U.S. imperialism, and reveals the kiss-ass class collaborationist nature of the ILWU leadership which likes to parade around as having a "social conscience."

The Iranian boycott goes against other stands which the ILWU has taken in the past, such as on May 30, 1975 when it criticized the sending of Marines to "free American hostages" in the Mayaguez incident. At that time the ILWU sarcastically explained: "Part of the problem, however, is that we have been conditioned over the last ten years simply not to believe in our government. It started perhaps with the phony Gulf of Tonkin Resolution and the continual and unbelievable stream of lies we were fed regarding the war in Indo-China as revealed in the Pentagon papers."

The ILWU has built a certain reputation as a "progressive" union with a long history of militant trade union struggle. As early as 1962 the ILWU opposed the war in Vietnam, but while the leadership then headed by Harry Bridges occasionally organized them-

selves to march in the big anti-war marches, they *never* agreed to a boycott even during the height of the anti-war movement.

For several weeks members of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) have been out at the ILWU hiring halls struggling with their fellow workers to take a stand against this reactionary boycott on Iran, and they have been making an impact. Several days ago when one of the union goons threatened to beat up the NUWO members, one longshoreman stepped up to defend the NUWO, and several others held off the rabid goon and made him go back inside the hall. At the ILWU Local 6 hiring hall, the union dispatcher called the cops to get rid of the NUWO agitators. When the cops arrived, a crowd of ILWU warehousemen came out, putting themselves between the NUWO and the cops. The cops split, saying, "I guess there's no problem here."

On November 29, the NUWO posted a big four foot high telegram in front of the hiring hall, calling on people to sign it. The telegram read: "To the Iranian people from American workers: We see the war plans of the high and mighty rulers of this country—and it makes us sick! You are kicking the ass of the rich and their flunkies worldwide—right on! Send the Shah back! U.S. keep your bloody hands off!" A number of workers signed the statement and more debate and signatures got going as the statement was also passed around inside the warehouse. This was the same day

Defense Plant Workers Stand with Iranian People

Statement to the U.S. Government

President Carter:

Right here at McDonnell-Douglas, amidst your missiles and war weapons, we workers are outraged and denounce the reactionary KKK, Nazi, and red, white and blue scum who have attacked the Iranian students. We also denounce the news media's attempts to portray those goons as speaking for the American working class. We have nothing in common with them or the Shah, whom you are so "valiantly" protecting. In fact we workers have far more in common with the Iranian students than with the American (read: CIA) agents being held hostage. We will not let you get away with all this America-love-it-or-leave-it bull that you're trying to whip up as you get ready for your World War III.

The wolf is crying wolf. For it is you, the U.S. imperialists, who are trying to hold hostage at gun point the people all over the world. We workers are not the ignorant fools you think we are. We know who the Shah is—a murdering dog. And it is only fitting that you, the Shah, the KKK and the Nazis have been caught more openly in bed with each other. You have unleashed your poisonous tools of patriotism and national chauvinism, and these reactionaries, to beat up and even kill Iranian students.

We will not be pawns of your political terror and the reactionary climate you are trying to whip up in this country against "foreigners." We are American workers who demand:

—Hands off the Iranian students!!
—Deport the Shah!!
—No U.S. Military Intervention in Iran!!

—15 workers from McDonnell Douglas
Huntington Beach, Ca.

that the international executive board called for a continuation of the boycott.

One older ILWU warehouseman said, "One minute they say the hostages are all right. Then Carter says they're being tortured. Now they say American honor is more important than the hostages. They must think we're the dumbest people in the whole world. What's Carter trying to stir up?" Long-

shoremen and warehousemen don't have to look very far to answer that question, because the reactionary boycott fits right in with the ruling class's schemes to whip up patriotism and pave the way for the possibility of military intervention in Iran. The question is, do the longshoremen want the red, white and blue toadies in union office to speak for them? ■

Iran: U.S. Gangsters Howl

Continued from page 1

rings hollow is his pious whining about the sacredness of international principle. The bloody tracks that U.S. imperialism has left around the world from Latin America to Southeast Asia, the countless coup attempts, assassinations, and open military aggression show just how much these bandits are concerned about upholding international law. In fact, what is the content of this so-called international law which the imperialist system has created? The only law that the imperialists have and ever will follow is the law of profit, plunder and empire grabbing. *That* is the content of their internationalism—that nothing can get in the way of their ability to suck the labor and wealth out of the people of the world. That's the only law they were following when they put the butcher Shah back on his throne in 1953.

Of course, at the time, these honorable gentlemen ridiculed any suggestions that the U.S. had directed this bloody coup. Now, because of the constant work of revolutionaries, in particular the Iranian revolutionaries, in exposing this coup, the U.S. can't deny it. In fact they even boast about it. The CIA official, Kermit Roosevelt, who directed the coup has come out with a book in which he boasts how the Shah told him afterwards, "I owe my throne to God, the Army and you." On the other hand, the U.S. has never hesitated to wrap itself in the cloak of defenders of "international law and order," to disguise its aggression, and this time they're really pouring it on.

About-Face to Save Face

After blocking earlier efforts by Iran's foreign minister Bani-Sadr to get the issue into the UN, the pinstriped gentlemen at the State Dept. reversed themselves and demanded that the Security Council meet to take up the Iran crisis. The reason for this sudden turn-about lay in the fact that despite the massive naval show of power off the coast, the Iranian people remained firm in their demand that the Shah be returned to pay for his crimes. The U.S. of course had no intention of allowing the Iranian government any opportunity of getting a "fair hearing" in the UN. The current president of the Security Council, Sergio Palacios de Vizzio, whose own government of Brazil has long been under U.S. domination, had already clearly expressed his support for the U.S. against Iran. But when Khomeini denounced the United Nations meeting, noting "that a decision had already been reached" and when he yanked Bani-Sadr out of the foreign minister post, these wolves in pinstripes had to gnash their teeth. While they yelped about Khomeini's outrageous behavior and vowed the UN would still meet, the imperialists were left with less and less maneuvering options.

With their original scenario of an easy victory over the Iranian people having run aground, the imperialists had begun bickering among themselves, in a manner which recalls their famous "who lost Vietnam?" quarrel. Kissinger all along and increasingly of late has launched criticism that Carter was pussyfooting around on the question of Iran and making loud noises about the U.S. government's mistreatment of their loyal, deposed Shah. Meanwhile, Carter has let the word out through his mouthpieces on Capitol Hill that Henry kicked off this "Iran crisis," while he assures the press that the "Former Secretary of State played no role in the decision to admit the Shah." The Shah for his part, in response to a question about the possibility of an investigation of his regime, said that this was a ridiculous idea since if anyone were to investigate him they would have to investigate *all of the U.S. Presidents since World War II!*

Further compounding their predicament was the fact that the Shah's illness could no longer be used as a pretext for



Tehran: March led by revolutionary Left.

keeping him in the United States, while at the same time Mexico announced that they didn't want the Shah to return there because he was too much of a hot potato. The problem of which way to turn as their options shrank was reflected in Carter's Wednesday night press conference. While nothing new was really put forward, Carter made a lot of growling noises about how Iran ought to realize that "we stand together united as a people."

This was the same message that UN Ambassador McHenry had delivered earlier at the aborted 16 minute Security Council session. When he was asked by press about any extension on the Security Council, McHenry launched into a harangue that "everyone is united against Iran's violation of international law," and especially that "Americans are as one, man or woman, white or Black," and that the restraint shown by the American public so far must not be misunderstood as a sign of weakness. For these upholders of civilized behavior the reactionary chauvinist war fever that they have been whipping up still isn't sufficient for them—not when they are seriously calculating how to get away with some form of military attack against Iran.

While Carter talks about "exhausting all peaceful options," this has been nothing but the wolf dressed in sheep's clothing—the better to catch its prey. The imperialists' idea of a "peaceful settlement" means that the Iranian people peacefully cave in to the U.S.—let the

hostages go, let the Shah get away unpunished and let the U.S. slip back the chains over their necks. While the U.S. would love this they know that the Iranian people will never submit to such a peaceful settlement. The bourgeoisie's carrying on about international law and diplomatic rights has been designed to clear the way for military force. But even if the U.S. gets the green light to militarily attack from some kangaroo court UN resolution, it still won't be so easy to actually carry out their aggression.

The restraint that the government has been exercising so far has been based strictly on well-deserved fear—fear of the whole Mideast region exploding in their faces, with Iran being the finger on the trigger. When a U.S. government official recently talked on TV about how the other Mideast nations were united against Iran, he hastened to clarify that he was referring to the governments of those countries. The fact that the U.S. has moved and cut back its embassy personnel in these countries amounts to a confession that while the imperialists may have the rulers of these countries on a leash, the masses of people hate the U.S. ruling class' guts and have been heartened by the Iranian peoples' courageous stand. Within Iran itself, people have remained united and have been preparing themselves for a U.S. attack. The students holding the embassy have taken measures to ensure that any U.S. plot to either free the hostages or harm them as an excuse for a U.S. attack will not succeed. Khomeini has been forced

to reverse his policy of earlier this year that only the military may have arms, and has called for the Iranian people to be armed. Barricades and army bases have been opened up and veteran street fighters from the February revolution are teaching others how to fire rifles and handle grenades. While Khomeini will attempt to use this call to arms to consolidate the armed people under his command, this is a very favorable situation for the genuine revolutionary Left. Khomeini has been forced to back up on his open attacks on the Left and now people are snapping up revolutionary literature, as the bookvendors have been permitted to openly sell such material again after being driven underground during the summer. The streets of Tehran are dotted with groups of people debating and discussing the current events.

While the bourgeoisie continues to explain this upheaval by referring to religious frenzy and the personal charisma of Khomeini, it has been the people's own heightened political struggle and awareness which has pushed Khomeini to continue his strong anti-imperialist stand. And it's been the masses' political strength that has kept the pot boiling within the ruling revolutionary council. The latest to get roasted is Foreign Minister Bani-Sadr, who had been the leading spokesman for conciliating with the United States. The new foreign minister is Sadegh Ghotbzadeh, who has the unsavory reputation of being a big opportunist. Earlier he affiliated himself with the Bani-Sadr/Bazargan faction but recently he has become a loyal supporter of Khomeini. While backstabbing and jockeying for power within the revolutionary council no doubt played a part in Bani-Sadr's removal as foreign minister, his demotion is overall a sign of the current strengths of the people. Ghotbzadeh now looks like a leading candidate in the elections currently going on for presidency of the Islamic Republic. The bourgeois press has speculated that perhaps after these elections are over and Khomeini feels more secure that he may become "reasonable." It's true that Khomeini looks to these elections to consolidate his own position. But his power has been and will continue to rest on his stand with the millions of Iranian people. Even these "Iranian watchers" for all their other wishful thinking don't really give themselves much hope. U.S. imperialism has succeeded in wedging itself between a rock and a hard place.

In the face of their dilemma, they have received some rather revealing advice from their fellow imperialists, particularly the British who have years of experience in ripping off the Middle East. The British imperialist magazine, *The Economist*, in analyzing the relative merits of some sort of embargo on exports to Iran says, "The one sort of 'export' that certainly ought not to be stopped is the links the west still keeps up with some parts of the Iranian armed forces—such as the Iranian officers under training in America"; and speculates that the Khomeini regime will sooner or later be overthrown, "Whether Iran is then taken over by the Marxist left or by a better (and less anti-western) alternative is going to depend, in part, on whether there are still some bits of Iran's tattered armed forces in a shape to beat the left to the draw. It is in the west's best interest that there should be."

And if this blatant coup mongering is not enough, the British go one step further to suggest possible military action for the U.S. in Iran, proposing the seizure of three islands called Abu Musa and the Tumbs at the entrance to the Persian Gulf, which were occupied by Iranian troops in 1971. "The taking of Abu Musa and the Tumbs," says *The Economist*, "would be entirely permissible response to the damage Ayatolla Khomeini has done to the United States," and would increase the security of oil tankers in and out of the Gulf. In offering this friendly advice to the U.S. imperialists, their British cohorts have given a very fitting example of this "international law" they are so concerned about. It has nothing to do with saving hostages in some embassy and everything to do with holding the world hostage for imperialism. ■

**Bob Avakian
on WBAI
Part 2**



Marxism and May Day 1980 VS. Economism and Reformism

This is the second article in a two part series based on an edited interview with Bob Avakian on New York radio station WBAI in late October.

Interviewer: Our guest is Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party. We will examine his own assessment of the importance of the Revolutionary Communist Party and we will seek out the *objective* reality of their actual impact on social change. Welcome to WBAI, Bob.

B.A. Well, thank you. That sounds like a good idea and also very ambitious for an hour and a half.

Interviewer: We're always very ambitious at WBAI.

B.A. Well, that's good. That's good.

Interviewer: ... One of the things that's interesting—you said what defines a vanguard party, of course, is its class stance and ideology. I wonder if you could give us some specifics of what you think the state of the working class movement is today and then we can move into how you look at the fiscal crisis confronting the class and some questions around national oppression.

B.A. Well, the state of the working class movement today. I think the people who are serious about leading the working class on through to revolution understand this. We have to understand that now it is at a very primitive, early and beginning stage and the political level and political activity of the working class still remains at a low level. But on the other hand we see very important developments both in terms of what you mentioned in passing, the economic crisis, and also in terms of developing consciousness and activity of the working class.

One of the things we think is going to be extremely important in the period ahead besides the call to come to D.C. and wage this battle which many workers are responding to even at the cost of sacrificing their jobs in the short run—many workers have come forward to do that. But beyond that, on this May first in this country there's going to be an unprecedented event, something which hasn't happened really at all in this country before and certainly not in such a thorough-going revolutionary way, which is: we've issued a call for a May Day demonstration in various parts of the country on a work day on May first. And on that day, there's going to be many thousands of workers, together with thousands of other oppressed people, who are going to be rallying around the

revolutionary banner, under the leadership of our Party, to openly step forward and proclaim the revolutionary stand of the working class and to take the political stage and to march forward toward taking history into their hands. And this is going to be a tremendous battle. They're going to try and intimidate people. They're going to try and fire people. They're even going to jail and even go beyond that to try to stop this demonstration. We think it's going to be a real leap forward and also a real test of the development of the working class movement and its consciousness.

The thing that, most importantly, has to be done—which our Party in fact has deepened its grasp of and is carrying out in an all-around way is to bring the larger political questions and the question of world affairs to the working class. And not to make the error that the old Communist Party made and that many today who call themselves "communist" but are bogged down in or sunk down to petty and pitiful reformism which is simply trying to appeal to and simply trying to mobilize the workers on the most narrow trade unionist basis and taking the stand that the workers cannot and will not be concerned about and take up the broader political questions and even the questions of the international struggle and world affairs. And we've seen it by taking our newspaper the *Revolutionary Worker* consistently into the factories as well as the neighborhoods, selling it now in 20,000 copies, but seeing it passed hand to hand to many times that number and laying the basis to expand that distribution greatly on a weekly basis. We've seen the workers *do* respond and *do* want to take up and learn about and struggle around these questions, the broader questions in society: the oppression of the Black people and other nationalities, the question of the fight for the equality of women, the question of what's happening in Iran and Nicaragua, the question of the development of world war—

Interviewer: Well, we'll get into all those—

B.A. This is what also establishes a vanguard party—whether or not you take those political questions to the workers and mobilize them around them or whether you sink down to trade unionism.

Interviewer: Well, I'd like an opportunity to get to some of those questions.

B.A. Okay, go ahead.

Interviewer: Ah, your newspaper has a quote that says that "May Day 1980,

the giant heart of the international proletariat will skip a beat as thousands of their own"—meaning the proletariat—"thunder through the streets of America ushering in a new decade." It's very poetic but I don't know if I see the white working class thunder around much of *anything*. I'm interested if you do acknowledge that there's a rather low level of class consciousness, I'm always a little confused about the contradiction of a low level of class consciousness and thundering simultaneously, but what I'd like to know is how the RCP sees activating a rather dormant white working class, around what issues can you mobilize them, and around what theoretical inclination can you begin to mobilize revolutionary and ultimately socialist consciousness?

B.A. Well you see, there's one thing we have to fundamentally disagree with and point out right from the beginning. We're not talking about the white working class. We're talking about the working class of all nationalities—

Interviewer: I'm talking about the white working class. Because I make a different assessment as to their level of consciousness and the consciousness of oppressed nationalities.

B.A. Well, what we're talking about is bringing forward the *whole* working class of all nationalities and uniting it to step to the front of and take the vanguard position in the struggle of the people and uniting in its highest interests as a class which is *one class with one class interest*.

Interviewer: All right, I certainly understand that. But concretely what is the theoretical input that the RCP has to building socialist consciousness in a working class that views communism as totalitarianism, by and large, that has not even for the most part taken up its own minor trade union battles much less larger questions of political struggle.

B.A. See, I think there are a couple of points here. First of all, you said that you don't see the thunder when there's a low level of consciousness but that's precisely the contradiction: that because there has been a low level of political consciousness and political movement, for *thousands* of workers to step out in a class conscious and revolutionary way onto the stage of history and openly unfurl a revolutionary banner would be very powerful. This is what they're going to be doing and saying that *these* are the real interests of the working class—to see workers from the steel mills, auto plants—

Interviewer: It would be great, how are you going to do it?

B.A. Well, we're actively out—you see that call we issued is actually the first step toward raising the banner. We're actively out with the newspaper, with leaflets, with other information in the factories everyday. We've had regional meetings to build for this which altogether were attended by I don't know how many—hundreds and hundreds, perhaps a thousand people—I'm not sure of the exact number—in various parts of the country. Overwhelmingly those were workers, Black, white, Puerto Rican, and they form—

Interviewer: Those are the vehicles for communication—but what's the content of those things that are going to come to a person and cause them to risk their job to come out on a May Day demonstration. What, what are the issues that you are evoking a response to?

B.A. Well, the rest of that statement from which you quoted kind of lays out a basic programmatic thrust. We will be developing more specific slogans and demands as this campaign unfolds over the next seven months. But the basic programmatic thrust—there were four points. One, to take a stand against national oppression and discrimination of all kinds against women as well as oppressed nationalities, that's the first point. The second point is to stand up and defend and rally around the revolutionary leadership in this country, especially our Party. Number three is to take a stand on an internationalist basis and throw away the red, white and blue and to take up the red flag and declare our unity with the working class and oppressed people fighting against imperialism throughout the world. And the fourth point is to make clear our overall stand toward the socialist future. These are the points that we're raising. This is the stand that we're taking and specifically on that last point to bring out the question of world war, to take a stand against world war and to say that we won't fight with the imperialists. We're going to wage a war against them to overthrow them in unity with our class and other oppressed people throughout the world.

These are the programmatic thrusts that we're bringing out and as I said, at these meetings there was tremendous enthusiasm because there was very lively political struggle among the workers about what is the significance of this, is it possible to mobilize other workers, and if so, how can we do that? But I

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Hawaii Public Workers Buck Hacks in Militant Strike

"We don't need any more compromise leaders!" "Get out!"

It was the sixth week of the strike by 8,000 public workers in Hawaii, and all hell was breaking loose at a mass meeting November 26 where a tentative settlement was proposed by the union leadership.

From the start, this strike by garbage men, sewer, road and maintenance workers, the first in the history of Hawaii, has been straining at the shackles placed on it by the bourgeoisie and especially by the United Public Workers Union leadership headed by director Henry Epstein. It has sent shudders down the bourgeoisie's spine. The strikers have taken a determined and militant stance in the face of vicious attempts by the ruling class in Hawaii to beat them into submission. The workers have refused to obey a court order requiring 911 strikers deemed "essential to public health and safety" to return to work. Hundreds have been dragged into court, charged with contempt, and threatened with fines of \$200 per day for continuing to strike. The court has even threatened to garnish strikers' wages to collect the fines. The Chamber of Commerce and the Hawaii Employers Council have begun a campaign to repeal the public workers' right to strike.

On October 29, wildcat pickets shut down bus service during the rush hour, forcing Epstein to nervously apologize to his masters. "The union is partially out of control." In response, the National Guard was put on alert by the governor. Bus drivers whose contract



expires this week have honored UPW picket lines with clenched fists. Picket lines have shut down the docks twice for brief periods.

The militancy of the strikers has won them broad support among the people in Hawaii. As the garbage at the schools piled up, threatening the state with having to close them, students refused calls to clean the schools themselves. At McKinley High School in Honolulu on October 25, students linked arms to prevent police from escorting teachers across picket lines. Hundreds of students backed up this action, telling the police, "And if you try to open school tomorrow, you'll have the worst riot you've ever seen." Within hours all public schools were shut down by the

School Superintendent.

When the governor tried to turn this around, calling for a "massive turn out" on November 8 for parents to clean and reopen the schools, and threatening to call out the National Guard, he got a massive no-show except in middle-class communities. In several poor and native Hawaiian communities the schools remained shut down tight for quite a while until Epstein and his boys actually asked parents to go in and clean the schools.

Such treachery throughout the strike has infuriated the workers. The workers denounced the union hacks' sell-out "compromise settlement," neatly timed to be announced on Thanksgiving Day when workers would feel the holiday

pinch without a penny of strike benefits or other income. At the Nov. 26 mass meeting held to discuss this "compromise settlement," one striker after another blasted Epstein for his treachery. He was denounced for letting the schools reopen when picketers had marched with golf clubs and 2 x 4's to keep them shut down; for letting private maintenance companies sneak into the airport (a key target of the strike) every week; for business agents never showing up for weeks to let them know what was going on, etc. By the end of the meeting, 2/3 had walked out in disgust.

Coming smack up against the union leadership and all the bounds the bourgeoisie has so desperately tried to keep the struggle within has raised many sharp questions among the workers about the nature of the enemy and where to go from here. At the Nov. 26 meeting a worker spoke in reference to the proposed sell-out, saying, "I don't like it either. But what choice do we have? If we don't follow the union, who are we going to follow, the legislature?" A member of the National United Workers Organization answered him back, speaking to the fact that the union hacks are part and parcel of the bourgeoisie's set-up. "And is there really any difference between a legislature and courts busting the strike, and Epstein setting you up to have to accept it?"

In this militant strike the workers are being forced to come to terms with a lot bigger questions than how to best organize a picket line. The question they are being presented with is, "How can we go on fighting in the same old way?"

Government Plot Thickens in Peltier Trial

The railroad of Native American freedom fighter Leonard Peltier, Rocque Duenas and Bobby Gene Garcia is moving into high gear. On November 22, Judge Lydick moved to exclude any testimony from other inmates at Lompoc Federal Penitentiary—to prevent the presentation of any defense at all. Two weeks earlier, on the only day that reporters from the capitalist media were present, the judge had grandstanded that of course he would let the defense show any evidence of a government plot on Peltier's life...if such evidence existed. Since then, he has thrown away any facade of fairness and gotten down to the business at hand.

Judge Lydick ruled that he would not authorize the transport of twelve inmates, the key defense witnesses, to the courtroom. Apparently, anything they might have to say would be "irrelevant, hearsay and cumulative." "Irrelevant"—although they know firsthand about the government conspiracy to murder Leonard Peltier—some even protested to the warden early last summer—as well as knowing about the concern of Dallas Thundershield, Bobby Garcia and others to protect Peltier's life. "Hearsay"—although the inmates include an eyewitness. And "cumulative"—meaning it goes over matters "already sufficiently covered." Actually, the judge and his masters are worried that the government's act is not sufficiently covered—and any defense would bring to light even more of the sordid dealings of the government in this case and in their savage oppression of Native Americans in general.

These are exactly the same well-greased tracks that railroaded Leonard Peltier to prison in the first place. Then, presiding Judge Benson excluded testimony from most of the witnesses that the FBI had not already murdered, stating that "the FBI is not on trial here." The truth about the government's armed attacks on encampments

on the Pine Ridge Reservation and the armed resistance of the people wouldn't help the government lock up Peltier or smash such resistance—so it was ruled "irrelevant."

In the current trial, the government team of prosecutor, FBI, and judge have paraded one after another FBI agent to the witness stand, with a few prison guards thrown in for variety. While testifying, these witnesses keep one eye on the prosecutor's table, where special agent Ladd (head of FBI coverage of Peltier's escape) sits with U.S. Attorneys. Whenever the prosecutor rises to her feet, the witnesses immediately stop speaking. Since these agents have had difficulty keeping their stories straight under cross-examination, the prosecutor has been constantly hopping up to "object." Invariably, the judge immediately croaks "sustained."

When defense lawyers objected to this obvious conspiracy, including witnesses and prosecutor all gathering to discuss testimony during recesses, Judge Lydick immediately sent the jury out of the room. Then, right in the middle of the defense attorney's statement, he himself stomped out of the courtroom, refusing to listen to anything "irrelevant" to the government's purpose in this trial.

But the combined efforts of the state have not been adequate to hide the blood on the government's hands. During the escape last July, another Native American prisoner, Dallas Thundershield, was shot in the back and killed. The testimony revealed that this was no routine escape shooting. The murderer, William Guild, was not a guard, but a maintenance man at the prison power house, just outside the prison fence. According to Guild, he got the high-powered rifle used to kill Thundershield by asking a guard to throw down a gun—a rather unusual circumstance, to say the least.

How Guild even came to be employed

in the area of the prison where most escape attempts take place is also telling. Evidently, he had been a guard there at Lompoc, but was busted down to the position of glorified janitor—apparently for too openly brutalizing prisoners. (The judge also ruled that "irrelevant.") Somehow, Guild was transferred to work in the same isolated area of the prison at the same time Leonard Peltier was transferred there from the federal prison in Marion, Illinois (which another prisoner stated was part of a government plot to murder him—see *RW* No. 21). When Guild aimed through the darkness at the figure of a man whose hands were raised, he may well have thought he was shooting Peltier. On the stand, he appeared satisfied he had at least killed another Indian.

Other testimony showed that FBI special agent Ladd's "standard escape" flier, sent to all law enforcement in the area at the time of the escape, portrayed Peltier as a vicious murderer, armed with a high-powered automatic rifle—statements which the FBI agents involved testified that they knew to be lies, calculated to incite searchers to shoot Peltier on sight.

Disrespect for Capitalist Justice

The solemn decorum of the court-

room is being disrupted daily, to the distress of the government team. The defendants wear ribbon shirts and beads, and a medicine pipe sits on the defense table. Many supporters wear traditional dress and feathers; some have brought in sprigs of sage and eucalyptus, so the aroma will fill the courtroom and, some have said, "get rid of the stink of pig justice!"

This past week, elders of the Diné (Navajo) Nation have come to court to stand with the freedom fighters. As one said, "It's not right to have our warriors behind iron bars. I believe in what he did...our land is being taken. I support Leonard because he was protecting our mother earth, our Indian people, our ways. I will never be taken off my land. I will fight to the last and maybe die like that...all three of these warriors must go free."

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Correction: In the article "U.S. Gov't Out for Blood in Peltier Trial" that appeared in the last issue of the *RW*, it was stated that U.S. Marshals smashed an altar of Indian prayer objects in front of the courthouse. In fact, they were prevented from accomplishing this despicable act by the people who were holding the vigil for Peltier's freedom.

Alcatraz Takeover 10 Year Anniversary

Alcatraz Island, Nov. 22. An estimated 300 Native Americans, including about 30 veterans of the original takeover of the island in 1969, gathered at this site to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the militant occupation of Alcatraz that sent shockwaves across the country. People from many different tribes from all over the country, including a number who have come to California for the Leonard Peltier trial in Los Angeles, participated in a traditional ceremony and heard speeches by leaders of the American Indian movement.

The takeover of this former site of a federal prison was the opening shot of the tremendous upsurge of militant struggle against the oppression of Native Americans during the past decade. From the uprising at Wounded Knee to the recent Red Lake rebellion, the last 10 years have seen the growth of a new era of Native American resistance, including mass armed self-defense against government attack. The turnout at Alcatraz is a sure sign that this resistance is not about to let up.

Puerto Rican Fighter Killed in Jail

Angel Rodriguez Cristóbal, a Puerto Rican revolutionary, was found dead in a jail cell in Tallahassee, Florida, beaten and hung while serving a six month sentence for trespassing on U.S. Naval property on the small Puerto Rican island of Vieques. Federal authorities are trying to suppress facts in the case; facts that strongly show that Rodriguez was murdered for the "crime" of fighting this blatant U.S. colonialism.

The U.S. imperialists are desperate to suppress the revolutionary struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their independence and will stop at nothing, including telling the people Angel Rodriguez committed suicide and very quietly put the issue to rest along with his body. But to their dismay, the facts keep popping up.

The story begins in Vieques, a small Puerto Rican island of fishermen occupied by the U.S. military since World War 2. The Navy uses the island for target practice during war games, shelling the beaches and the waters and destroying the livelihood of the island. For years the Vieques along with other Puerto Ricans have fought against the wanton destruction of their homeland.

On May 19 a religious service was held on the beach occupied by the U.S. Navy. Twenty-one were arrested for trespassing on the beach of their own country which is being mercilessly destroyed by the U.S. invaders. Among them was Angel Rodriguez. On Sept. 26, Rodriguez was sentenced by a court in Puerto Rico to 6 months in jail and a \$500 fine.

In a statement during the trial, Rodriguez declared: "I'm a defender of the independence of Puerto Rico. I was captured by the military police of the U.S... for this reason I should be

judged as a prisoner of war, not in this court, but in a military court. I went to Vieques like a Puerto Rican, like a freedom fighter, like a socialist, the only way to drive the Marines out of the beaches is to use the Vietnamese formula, that's the only way, and Vietnam did it, and trying to harm the U.S. army as much as possible as soon as possible."

Two days after his conviction, Rodriguez was secretly extradited and moved to the federal correction institute in Tallahassee, Fla. In the prison he refused to work after he was denied medication for an allergy he developed. He was placed in solitary confinement on Oct. 25. He was in good spirits when he was visited by his lawyer on Nov. 2. On at least one occasion, Rodriguez was given "medical treatment," not the allergy medication he requested, but thiazine, a mind stupefying drug which suppresses the nervous system and is used in mental hospitals to subdue mental patients. A diary he was writing was confiscated at this time. Rodriguez was visited Nov. 10, the day before his death, by his lawyer and another comrade of his.

An "official" autopsy was performed in Tallahassee, but a request for a second autopsy in Puerto Rico was denied. Rodriguez' family and lawyer deny Rodriguez would want to take his own life, and a doctor who viewed the body with a microscope stated the body was badly bruised. When questioned about this, prison authorities tried to cover up their ass claiming the bruises were gotten while the body was taken down from the cell bars where he was "found" after supposedly hanging himself. A pool of blood 6 inches in diameter was found 7 feet from the



body inside the cell and blood was found on the blanket in the cell. Authorities refused to answer questions by Rodriguez' lawyer and brother regarding the position of the body, about any abnormality or sounds during the night of the death and wouldn't say whether pictures were taken upon discovery of the body.

The fact is, Rodriguez was killed because he went straight up against the oppression and plunder of his country by the U.S. imperialists, who will stop at nothing to keep themselves on top with the masses of people under their boot. ■



WITCHHUNT Trial Convicts Puerto Rican Youths

Jose and Jimmy Julbe, two Puerto Rican youths, were recently convicted of murder in a Brooklyn Superior Court. The decision to railroad them was made a year ago when they and Fidel Rivera, another youth, were charged with killing Irving Sussman.

On December 3, 1978, two to three thousand Hassidic Jews stormed a Borough Park police station hours after the body of Sussman, an old Jewish man, was found. 200 of them plowed into the station while thousands more, including Assemblyman Samuel Hirsch, amassed outside. It was a gathering of reaction. Their demands were explicit: that arrests be made in the Sussman case and that more police be sent in to protect their community. All this was aimed squarely at the Black and Puerto Rican community as revealed in an account in the *New York Times* on December 4, 1978, "The men and women of Borough Park say there are elements present in their community that adversely affect its quality of life, elements that if unchecked or unattended pose a danger of one day transforming Borough Park into, say, a South Bronx or a Brownville..."

The cops roughed up some of the Hassidic Jews. Assemblyman Hirsch got his own head clubbed. But the animosity dissipated like a family spat. Said Lieutenant George Illiano, "These people are not anti-police, they're pro-police." It was also learned that the police have been actively training Hassidic anti-crime squads which in reality are nothing but vigilante groups on the hunt for minorities. Mayor Koch and the police department were quick to oblige the Hassidic community. 40 new patrolmen were sent into the area. 30 to 40 detectives were put on the Sussman case. Within hours of this reactionary mob scene the Julbes and Fidel were charged with the murder. From that moment on they were considered guilty; there wasn't even the pretense of a fair trial.

At the time Jose, Jimmy and Fidel were arrested, the Hassidic Jews were

not the only ones whipping up a racist tornado. For weeks the ruling class in New York City had set into motion a wave of racist hysteria. Nightly news programs and early morning papers were inundated with reports of crime involving minority youth.

Gearing Up Repression

The message of this media bombardment was clear: to indict Black and Puerto Rican people as criminals. This was done to create further divisions and fear among white people and to divert the growing anger at crime away from the system itself and onto the oppressed nationalities. It also served as a further warning to Black and Puerto Rican people who only months before were outraged at the cold-blooded murder of a Black community leader, Arthur Miller, at the hands of the police. The ruling class was gearing up to intensify their repression and to move against the struggle against national oppression. It was during this same period that the NY state legislature passed a law calling for 12, 13 and 14-year-olds to be tried as adults for various felony counts. It wasn't long afterwards that Black kids accused of swiping candy bars were being charged with robbery while a group of young white thugs who dumped trash and wrote obscenities on the home of a Black family were sent home to their parents to cool off.

After the reactionary outburst of the Hassidic Jews the police went to work. They combed through the jails looking for someone to pin the murder on, someone, anyone, who wasn't white. Jose and Fidel were being held in the Bay Ridge jail on minor robbery charges. Within hours of the Hassidic Jews' protest they became the prime suspects.

Jose was beaten half crazy, kept awake all night and beaten until he signed a confession. Fidel was picked up from his house for routine questioning in the middle of the night. When his family called the precinct to find out what happened to him, the cops acted

like they didn't know what they were talking about. Shortly afterwards, Jimmy was picked up along with two other Puerto Rican youths, who were later used by the District Attorney as witnesses. Bail was set at \$100,000 each, a fortune their families could never afford. The point of this was to further convict them, to convince the public that they were such dangerous criminals they could never be let out of jail.

For 11 months these youth sat in prison. Month after month the case was postponed. It wasn't until a Jewish man was killed recently in Brooklyn that this case came to trial—under a "proper" whipped-up atmosphere.

From the onset of the trial the judge, the D.A. and the defense attorneys acted as if this were simply a criminal trial. Said one alternate juror, "I know there are political implications in this trial, but that is not what I am asked to decide." The real world was being blocked out of this trial. During the proceedings no mention was ever made of the Hassidic Jews' riot-for-blood. The D.A. put one of the youths originally picked up with the others on the stand as an eyewitness. His description of the murder was so vivid it raised the question that he might have been a part of the murder himself. His testimony was full of lies and contradictions. The judge, with the jury out of the room, of course, openly asked the D.A. if a deal had been made to get this kid to testify. The second eyewitness never took the stand.

The D.A. went on to present as evidence Jose's shirt and jacket which was claimed to have Sussman's blood on it. Jimmy's blood was said to be found under Sussman's fingernails. This was the evidence that most swayed the jury. But it was evidence that could have been called into question by the defense attorneys had they brought the political atmosphere surrounding the arrests into the trial. Instead each lawyer looked out for his own client in the most narrow legalistic way and didn't give a damn if the others were convicted. If

not for the insistence of the family, no alibi witnesses would have been able to take the stand. Relatives and an owner of a local social club testified to Jose and Jimmy's whereabouts on the night of the murder, but by the time they spoke, the all-white jury was not about to believe a word of these Puerto Rican people.

The defense attorneys refused to tell the jury that Jose was beaten until he signed a confession. Even that confession described a man different than Sussman. No explanation was ever given for Jimmy's blood appearing under the fingernails of Sussman since when he was arrested not a scratch was on him. At one point Jose's father rose to his feet attempting to bring into evidence a photograph of Jose at the social club on the night of the murder, but the judge instructed the jury to ignore this "unruly outburst."

Who killed Irving Sussman was never the point of this trial. The Julbe brothers and Fidel Rivera were indicted to indict the communities of the oppressed nationalities. The Julbe brothers were convicted (Fidel was acquitted for lack of evidence) to convict Black and Puerto Rican people. This was made clear by the visits of Assemblyman Hirsch to the judge during the trial. On the day of final arguments all of a sudden 6 Hassidic Jews showed up in the courtroom. The following day, before the jury went out to deliberate, 12 Hassidic Jews came to the courtroom, later flocking about the D.A. When asked if they would be disappointed if the youths were found guilty one blurted out an emphatic no, while the others tried to cover this slip of the tongue by saying they were only interested in seeing justice done.

Justice!—this trial was never about justice! It was the completion of a verdict rendered a year ago when these youth were arrested. On December 14 they will be sentenced. They face a possible 25 years to life in jail. ■

New York Daily News Fires Pete Hamill

Pete Hamill, well-known writer for the *New York Daily News*, was recently canned by editor Mike O'Neill. Local New York City papers reported that O'Neill was particularly upset by two recent columns by Hamill, most importantly one dealing with the Iran situation. Hamill and his friends contend that the *News* dropped his column because it was "too Left" for the readers. But the examination of the column on Iran reveals some interesting positions and conflicts beyond Hamill and the *Daily News*.

The November 9 column of Pete Hamill is anything but Left. Entitled "Enough of this Khomeinia, Let's Do Something," his first line reads, "All right, let's rumble." Lashing out at Khomeini for being a religious maniac, Hamill proposed the following: that the U.S. not be obliged to follow the rules in dealing with Iran, that the death of one American in Iran should be considered an act of war by Iran, and that the U.S. should respond with "its military might to utterly, totally destroy the oil fields of Iran, its support facilities and its refining capacity."

There was nothing in most of Hamill's column that the *Daily News* or the ruling class as a whole disagrees with. The American imperialists would like nothing better than to smash the struggle of the Iranian people. The problem is that they have not been able to. Military threats and attempted negotiations to water down the wrath of the Iranian people have yielded a big fat zero. In face of all this the Iranian people have not only stood firm, but escalated their struggle, pushing the U.S. ruling class flat up against the wall. Attempts to bring the Iranian people to their knees have instead brought millions strong into the streets, gun in hand.

As the conflict has continued for weeks now and with the U.S. imperialists getting backed further into a corner, they've begun to get a bit testy with each other. They are beginning to have falings outs around who's to blame for the current mess and around tactical questions of how to best accomplish

their objectives now that their hopes for a quick victory have been dashed.

What ired O'Neill and most likely Kissinger and David Rockefeller was Hamill's calling for, in the same column, the "precise details and circumstances of the Shah's visit to the United States, no matter how embarrassing. The truth is more important, in this case, than the public exposure of private stupidity." He goes on to say that the American people must know all the memos, correspondence by Kissinger and Rockefeller and any other information to be found in the White House and the State Department. Hamill calls for the Shah to be kicked out of the country and takes this a step further by saying, "We must be certain that the Shah's visit was not a carefully planned gamble, conceived in some devious way by Kissinger and Company, to create chaos that would topple the Khomeini government."

Clearly Hamill knows much more about what's going on behind the scenes in this affair than he's saying, and knows quite well what such an exposure would reveal. It would be very embarrassing, to say the least, for powerful sections of the ruling class. Apparently a section of the bourgeoisie would like to dump the whole affair only on Kissinger and Rockefeller via Hamill and other accounts already published about the intervention on their part to bring the Shah here. Pursuing these revelations, however, not only is not desirable for Kissinger and Rockefeller, it would expose a "carefully planned gamble... to topple the Khomeini government." It would reveal the U.S. imperialists' twisted designs to regain a firm stranglehold on Iran, showing how, after the Shah was overthrown, the U.S. government, through pro-West elements in the Bazargan government and remnants of the Shah's regime, has been working to bring about a coup to get another U.S. puppet regime in power and smash the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people. It appears that Hamill in his call for a public exposure was stopped in his tracks by the same forces he was trying to nail. ■



Tehran: March led by revolutionary Left.

Shah: U.S. Man for Decades

From an article in the *Washington Post*, Thursday, November 9.

"Kissinger on the Controversy over the Shah"

"We asked Henry Kissinger to comment on the allegations that he pressured the administration to permit the Shah of Iran to enter the country and that he was exploiting the Iranian crisis politically. Mr. Kissinger's response which we print here was written before the President's press conference last evening.

"Every American president for nearly four decades had eagerly accepted the Shah's assistance and proclaimed as an important friend of the United States. President Truman in 1947 awarded the Shah the Legion of Merit for his support of the Allied cause during World War II and in 1949 praised him for his 'courage and farsightedness' and 'his earnestness and sincerity in the welfare of his people.' President Eisenhower in 1954 paid tribute to the Shah for his 'enlightened leadership.' President Kennedy in 1962 hailed the Shah for 'identifying himself with the best aspirations of his people.' President Johnson in 1964 lauded the Shah as a 'reformist 20th century monarch' and in 1965 praised his 'wisdom and compassion... perception and statesmanship.' President Nixon in 1969 declared that the Shah had brought about 'a revolution in terms of social and economic and political progress.' President Ford in 1975 called the Shah 'one of the world's greatest statesmen.' President Carter in 1977 praised the Shah as 'a very stabilizing force in the world at large', and in 1978 lauded the Shah for his 'progressive attitude' which was the 'source of much of the opposition to him in Iran.' Such quotations could be multiplied endlessly."

Why Iran's People Hate U.S. Imperialism

Continued from page 3

financed, planned and directed out of the U.S. embassy, right down to the very last detail. The head of the CIA operation, Kermit Roosevelt, has just written a book (which the CIA has ordered withdrawn from circulation and destroyed), detailing and bragging about how the U.S. pulled off the coup. (After his great success he was offered the job of heading up a similar coup the U.S. pulled off in Guatemala a year later, replacing a nationalist government there with a military junta subservient to U.S. imperialism.)

This embassy that was the command post for the 1953 coup is the same U.S. embassy in Tehran that is now ringed daily with hundreds of thousands of Iranians—the very same embassy that relayed U.S. instructions to the Shah for more than 25 years, and up to the students' takeover was still the hub for the U.S. government's continuing efforts to overthrow and turn back the Iranian revolution.

Over these 25 years, under six U.S. presidents from Eisenhower to Carter, the least bit of opposition to the Shah's regime and U.S. pillage was met with Gestapo-like savagery. His secret police, the SAVAK, was organized by the CIA in 1957, with help from Israel. It imprisoned hundreds of thousands, torturing many to death with the most brutal "modern" techniques learned from their CIA "advisors," who often gave on-the-job training. The U.S. Agency for International Development gave SAVAK a \$2 million grant for "public safety." Thousands of heroic men and women died in these prison dungeons. The whole country was

literally turned into a concentration camp.

Mass Murder on U.S. Behalf

As the Iranian people continued to struggle, and finally rose in a mighty revolutionary torrent in 1978 against this fascist despot and his U.S. masters, the "American Shah," as he was called in Iran, demonstrated before the whole world that he would stop at nothing to beat the people into submission. In August, 1978 SAVAK agents were ordered to give the people a grisly lesson of what their rebellion would meet. SAVAK set fire to a theater in Abadan that was showing a progressive film and chained the doors shut as more than 800 men, women and children were burned alive. Armed troops fired into the crowds outside who rushed forward in an effort to free the murder victims. They then tried to cover this heinous act before the world. The Shah's radio and the U.S. media blamed this atrocious slaughter on "Moslem fanatics." Only weeks later, on what came to be known as "Black Friday," the Shah's troops shot down 10,000 unarmed demonstrators in the streets of Tehran. These and thousands of other crimes have been incontrovertibly documented.

This murdering puppet is the same criminal now resting in luxury in a New York hospital, harbored and protected by his masters whom he served so faithfully. Just as he would not have been able to stand for one week in Iran during the past 25 years if he had not been backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism.

From jet fighters and tanks to the latest electronic torture equipment, the

U.S. government armed the Shah to the teeth. From 1972 to 1978 alone this amounted to \$18 billion in military equipment. And now these same imperialists lament that we "gave" Iran all this equipment that has fallen into "unfriendly hands." Bull! The U.S. gave nothing. These arms sales were another tremendously profitable venture for U.S. corporations—paid for by the oil wealth produced by the Iranian people. They were forced to pay with their labor and natural resources for the instruments and weapons of repression that were used against them.

The U.S. set the Shah up as its main cop on the beat in the Persian Gulf—a strategic area where 2/3 of the world's oil reserves are located. The U.S. imperialists turned Iran into a huge U.S. military outpost, with more than 40,000 American personnel swarming all over the country acting like overlords in the army, navy and every government ministry.

Is there any wonder why the American flag that flew over "Iranian" army bases, factories and even government ministries has become a hated symbol of imperialism, a symbol for the ugly reality of mass impoverishment and savage oppression. The putrid words about "human rights," "freedom" and "democracy" coming from the mouths of the rulers of the U.S. only serve to intensify the anger and hatred for American imperialism felt by the people of Iran and hundreds of millions of others worldwide.

Is it any wonder that the U.S. imperialists must derisively refer to this hatred felt by the Iranian people as "anti-American rhetoric" whipped up by Moslem fanatics? Is it any wonder

that they must still try to paint the Shah as a benevolent monarch whose "modernization" efforts were not understood by the "ignorant Iranian people"?

It wouldn't go over too big if the President were to get on TV and say, "The kind of system we've got here in this country is one where the rich suck the lifeblood of the people everywhere for their own private profit. We need to keep the Iranian people in bondage, just as we need to enslave people all over the world and here at home—that's the only way we can keep this great system going. So, my fellow Americans, for these fine principles of capitalism, we expect you to deliver up your children to kill the masses of people in Iran, and to die and kill in any other war we deem necessary to protect U.S. imperialism."

No. That wouldn't go over too big. But that is exactly where it's at.

And even in the face of their efforts to create a storm of anti-Iranian hysteria and stomach-turning patriotism, the truth is becoming clear to more and more people. The question never has been "the national interests of the American people." It is the *international interests of the U.S. imperialists* that they are trying to line up to support. Their interests lie with exploiting and oppressing the masses of people around the world. *Our international interests* lie with joining together with the world's oppressed to wipe out these dogs—to make them feel the full brunt of the hatred that the Iranian people have so righteously shown in front of that embassy in Tehran. ■

Imperialists Offer Deadly "Ceasefire" in Zimbabwe

The London conference on Zimbabwe has entered its final stage, taking up the question of a ceasefire between the guerrilla forces of the Patriotic Front, headed by Robert Mugabe and Joshua Nkomo, and the Rhodesian armed forces under the command of general Peter Walls. Walls, generally recognized as the leading figure and behind-the-scenes strongman within the Muzorewa-Smith regime, showed the world what Rhodesia thought of the negotiation process when he launched a massive air attack into Zambia (a sanctuary for Nkomo's ZAPU forces) a little over a week ago. The attack was only the latest in a long string of savage military assaults, particularly against Mozambique, which offers shelter for the larger and more active forces of ZANU, and it came on the heels of the Patriotic Front's acceptance of Britain's proposal for interim arrangements leading up to new elections in Zimbabwe—which represented a major concession on the part of the Patriotic Front, and which came about, in part, due to pressure put on the Front by Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda (see last issue of *RW*).

Kaunda's lobbying for western imperialist interests at the London talks did not save Zambia from the vicious Rhodesian assault, nor did the Patriotic Front's acceptance of the British interim arrangements render the Rhodesian minority regime more "reasonable." The spirit of compromise has not been a cornerstone of the imperialists' policy toward these negotiations, and as part of their efforts to force a thorough capitulation from the Patriotic Front, the U.S. and Britain have wholeheartedly (though of course not openly) supported Rhodesia and its ally, South Africa, in their stepped-up military attacks on the Patriotic Front and the front-line

African countries. Even given all this, the Patriotic Front has chosen to remain at the negotiations and has made major concessions, one after another.

In their proposal for a ceasefire, the British want the guerrilla forces to give up a substantial part of their liberated areas, come out into the open, assemble in areas designated by Britain and stop fighting immediately. At the same time, Rhodesia's armed forces would remain intact without any restraints on their sphere of activity. Indeed, under the British plan, they would be the ones who would "monitor" the ceasefire (with token representatives from the Patriotic Front on a joint ceasefire commission).

The gangster logic of the imperialists' plan is quite clear. It has been met by demands from the Patriotic Front which include (1) a force of several thousand troops, either from the U.N. or from various Commonwealth countries, to enforce the ceasefire, (2) a period of several months to organize the ceasefire, (3) the disarmament of the vigilante bands of white Rhodesians which have sprung up in opposition to the liberation forces, (4) the immediate dissolution of some elements of the Rhodesian military, such as the greenberet style Selous Scouts (notorious for their savagery and responsible for the deaths of untold numbers of civilians), and (5) the retention of all territory now controlled by the Patriotic Front, with mutually agreed upon ceasefire lines drawn, behind which the opposing armies would withdraw.

The imperialists have no intention of accepting these just demands and expect the Patriotic Front to agree to their terms sooner or later. On the earlier question of adopting a constitution before interim arrangements were agreed to, and on the question of the nature of the interim arrangements themselves, the Patriotic Front position

was separated from the British position by seemingly insurmountable chasms, and in both cases the Front went along with the British proposals with only slight modifications. Agreeing to the British ceasefire plan would round out the imperialists' neo-colonial designs on Zimbabwe and would represent a complete betrayal of the interests of the Zimbabwean people.

Throughout the entire three months of negotiations, Britain has conceded nothing of substance, and at each crucial stage of the talks Lord Carrington, chairman of the conference, has presented the imperialists' proposals as ultimatums for the Front to accept, or else. This has been Carrington's approach on the question of a ceasefire as well. He gave the Patriotic Front until November 26 to arrive at a "yes or no" decision on the British ceasefire plan.

The Patriotic Front requested an emergency meeting with leaders from five front-line African countries, all of which have been putting pressure on Mugabe and Nkomo to settle quickly with the British. Only three of the five countries sent representatives (neither Zambia nor Angola showed up), and despite the Front's announcement that the front-line states "clearly understand and support our position," Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere's silence on the question raised serious doubts as to the real level of unity achieved there.

While the meeting was going on, N. Sithole, a renegade from the Zimbabwe African National Union and a member of the Muzorewa-Smith (Rhodesian) delegation at the London Talks, returned to the Rhodesian capital and predicted that the negotiations would end in agreement. As he put it, "There will be an agreement because of the real pressure from Commonwealth countries and from the front-line states and other elements."

The pressure is certainly real, but the

question remains, can such pressure not be withstood? Could it be any more severe than the pressures of war, which both Mugabe and Nkomo have repeatedly vowed to continue if the negotiations fail? A significant part of the answer lies in the roles played by Mugabe and Nkomo at the London talks. Have they played the role that might be expected of revolutionaries at such negotiations—i.e., that of exposing the heavy hand of the imperialists at every turn and preparing public opinion, both in Zimbabwe and throughout the world, for a continuation of the struggle for liberation whatever the outcome of the negotiations?

Despite a few obligatory protestations, Nkomo has done nothing to change his image as a self-seeking careerist, willing to accommodate with whichever imperialist bloc (the U.S. or the Soviets) will offer the most attractive deal. This has been the source of much friction between ZAPU and ZANU until recently, when the hatchet was buried in order to present a united voice in London.

There are questions around Mugabe's role as well. For example, he summed up the agreement on interim arrangements saying, "What has happened is that we managed to get the British to agree to our forces having the same status as the Rhodesian forces. In other words, they will be treated equally and we can rely on our forces for the same purposes as the other side will rely on their own forces during the interim period." Given the unrelenting aggression by Rhodesian troops throughout the entire process of negotiations and the British ceasefire plan that amounts to nothing more than a call to surrender, Mugabe's assessment objectively serves to hide the real nature of the agreement and to disarm the Zimbabwean people, rather than prepare them for the continuing struggle ahead. ■

INTERFERENCE ON S.F. AIRWAVES

San Francisco, Ca. K-SAN Radio, Jive 95 is dead. The first FM underground radio station, founded by Big Daddy, Tom Donahue, in the late 1960s, has been strangled by its owners who could no longer tolerate its progressive image. For the past ten years, K-SAN was simply the San Francisco radio station. When it started, you could tune into Jefferson Airplane, Big Brother, or Country Joe singing, "one, two, three, what are we fighting for..." K-SAN played the music of the '60s, Black, white and Latin, and anything that had a progressive note to it made its way on to the airwaves. They did live concerts, from the early days of the Fillmore, where the best of rock could be heard, to Springsteen's Winterland concert last year. The news department—although they "mellowed" as the '70s dragged on—were anti-Vietnam war, anti-Nixon, anti-nuke and anti-Shah, and that beat the hell out of 90% of their radio peers.

When Metromedia took over the station in the early '70s, a lot of people were waiting for the ax to fall, but K-SAN D.J.'s rode out the seventies without too much interference. The movement of the '60s ebbed and if a little bit slipped out on K-SAN it wasn't too much of a threat. But recently the owners became very concerned about K-SAN's ratings and concerned about the products of the big companies. "Tighten up" became the order of the day and the ratings became the sacred barometer. They started building a cage around the largest record collection in the west coast and finally ended up

locking up the records so the D.J.'s couldn't get them. The station manager and Metromedia hack, Gerry Graham, couldn't control the scene, so he appointed his secretary Abby, "who's Chuck Berry?", Melamud as program director, and heads began to roll. Finally even Graham got dumped in favor of David Moorehead, Metro-media's "Man in a Leisure Suit" and one by one the D.J.s were fired or left. Ditto the newscasters.

We went to X's *San Francisco Radio*, a new wave disco started by three ex-K-SAN D.J.'s. One of them, Howie Klein, had this to say: On programming: "Tom Donahue's theory of programming was based in the ears, listen, hear what sounds good. This was the only determining factor on whether it goes on the air. The other way your program is by trade publications... these publications put together what is selling and program according to the sales."

"Gerry appointed his secretary program director so that he would have someone under his thumb at all times. Who else but his oppressed secretary, the symbol of oppression at K-SAN."

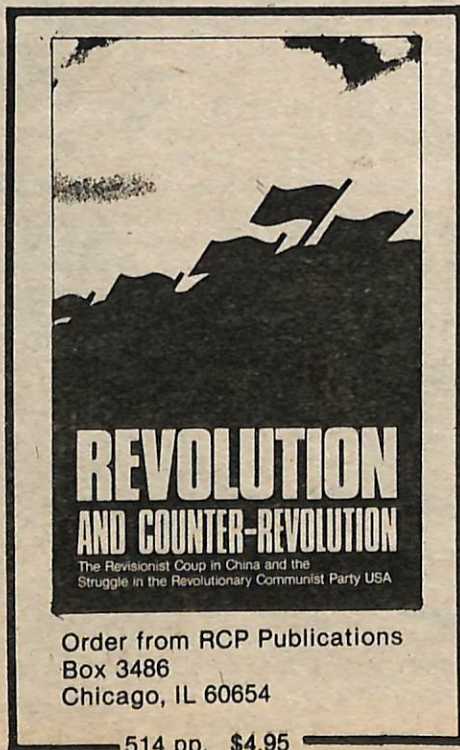
On new wave: "It's the music of aliveness, young people in the world know something is happening. They want to wake up and think. The establishment can't have that because they know it would destroy them. New wave is rebellion, it's a threat to them... David Moorehead doesn't know it but he's a man controlled by the imperialist class. We want to play freedom and aliveness and the system

doesn't like this. They want us to watch TV and go out and buy things from the advertisements."

K-SAN's demise is more than a blow at all those who want to puke when they hear plastic, packaged R & R. In fact all the "tighten up" and "music programming" business has everything to do with the plans the ruling class has for the 1980s. While the economics of the situation is important to Metromedia, more important is the threat of dealing with the rebellious new wave/punk scene, of having a radio station reaching thousands that isn't totally under their thumb. And while the punk scene definitely has two sides—rebellious, anti-system sounds on the one hand and nihilistic decadent, submission on the other, the volatile nature of the new wave music is a property many stations find too hot to handle. The established rockbands are predictable, boring to be sure, but more importantly they are about as dangerous as a water pistol. The anger and rebelliousness of the punk scene is an unknown quantity, and at a time when the ruling class demands that we all tune into their get ready for war program, this doesn't make it. Why push groups like the Clash and the Dead Kennedys when you've got willing reactionaries like Eric Clapton and Linda Ronstadt around?

For this reason K-SAN (D.J.'s are forbidden to use the familiar K-SAN anymore) has cut its ties with the past. The fact is that even its mildly progressive image was too much for Metromedia to stomach. The ruling class

simply can't afford to let such an important part of their system as a radio station not toe the line. The fact that K-SAN was not the "enemy" to them but just a straggler behind the troops, made no difference. The media must help lead the charge, all resistance is unacceptable. For the hundreds of young Bay Area musicians, it's another lesson in the politics of art, and for the thousands of K-SAN fans driving with the radio on just won't be the same.



REVOLUTION AND COUNTER-REVOLUTION
The Revisionist Coup in China and the Struggle in the Revolutionary Communist Party USA

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KKK: Murderin on a Capit



Above: Cross burnings and Klan terror in Chester, S.C., 1965.
Right: A "human interest item" that appeared in a Hammond, Indiana newspaper this year.



THE CLANSMAN
AN HISTORICAL ROMANCE
OF THE KU KLUX KLAN
BY
THOMAS DIXON, JR.
ILLUSTRATED BY
ARTHUR I. KELLER
NEW YORK
DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
1905

The movie "Birth of a Nation," based on The Clansman and other novels, was Hollywood's biggest moneymaker until the equally reactionary "Gone With the Wind."

From the first reactionary hoofbeats of the nightriders down backwoods southern roads after the defeat of slavery in the Civil War to the Greensboro massacre, the terrorist activities of the Ku Klux Klan have been cloaked by the capitalist media in a shroud of mystery and lies. The bourgeoisie has good reason to do so, because when the sheets are torn off, it is revealed that the KKK has been in the service of American capitalism from its earliest days.

Even among those who burn with hatred for the KKK and recognize that it is an instrument of terror against Black people and others to keep them down, there is the common misconception that the KKK is a bunch of white racists tied to some backward, right wing elements that are out of the mainstream of the U.S. ruling circles. But the Klan is not an aberration, they are murdering puppets on the capitalists' strings, and the ruling class has continually revived the Klan in periods of political and economic crisis to foment reaction and smash the struggle of the masses against the high and mighty.

Birth of the Klan

Christmas Eve, 1865, Pulaski, Tennessee. Six ex-confederate soldiers met in Judge Jones' office and formed a weird ritualistic band of nightriding thrillseekers, choosing a name which combined the Greek word for circle and the Scottish word Clan, these supporters of slavery dressed up in cone-shaped hoods and white robes and rode through the night claiming to be the ghosts of confederate soldiers killed in the war. Very quickly it was discovered that the Ku Klux Klan provided a most effective means of terror and intimidation of ex-slaves and poor white sharecroppers uniting to struggle for democratic rights and land after the Civil War. This alliance had produced armed organization and militias to protect and defend bourgeois democratic gains made in the South through the defeat of the system of slavery, and it was such armed militias that the KKK sought to wipe out. In essence, the KKK

was continuing the rôle of the nightriding patrols that existed under slavery to sweep through the roads of the south to catch runaway slaves and terrorize the masses of people dominated by the wealthy plantation owning aristocracy who ran Southern society.

Fast on the heels of the first Reconstruction Act passed by Congress in 1867, the first national convention of the KKK was held in Nashville, Tennessee, headed by a notorious Confederate cavalryman, Nathan Bedford Forrest, ex-slave dealer, and proud perpetrator of one of the worst atrocities of the entire Civil War, the massacre of Black soldiers garrisoned at Ft. Pillow, Tenn. With the blessing of none other than General Robert E. Lee, the Klan was organized throughout the southern states and headed up by a senator from Mississippi, a Governor from North Carolina and a future congressman from Texas.

By the time of the economic crisis and depression of 1873, the northern capitalists were consolidating into a few monopoly corporations that grabbed control of the means of production and natural resources. Thousands of smaller capitalists were wiped out and the economy was being transformed into full scale imperialism, the rule of a few giant conglomerates and banks. The northern bourgeoisie had found it necessary to emancipate the slaves in order to crush the competing power of the southern plantation aristocracy and to insure their own consolidation of power through the Civil War. With their victory they found it just as necessary to nip the growing democratic revolution in the bud and crush the aspirations of Black people in order to achieve the undisputed rule of northern capital in the South.

Federal troops, which at best had only halfheartedly backed up any democratic advances by Blacks and poor whites after the war, increasingly were used by the northern capitalists to crush any attempts by ex-slaves and sharecroppers to own and produce on their own land, particularly after the depression of 1873. And the even more blatant terroristic rôle played by the KKK throughout the South was indispensable to the capitalist class during this period.

The South was crucial to the profit drive of the northern monopoly capitalists, and systematic Klan terror helped stake out the entire region as an underdeveloped preserve for northern capitalist expansion.

Industrial development in the South was controlled by the bourgeoisie in the North, and semi-feudal agriculture, with Black peonage as its base, was enforced. This was profitable not only to the planters but to the developing commercial interests in the South, and most especially to the northern bankers and manufacturers who made loans to the planters, bought into the plantations themselves and used the enforced poverty of the farmers, especially the Black peasants, to maintain starvation-level wages in industry.

After the betrayal of Reconstruction through the alliance of northern capitalists and southern planters, federal troops were withdrawn altogether in 1877 (to be used against the railroad strike of northern white workers), handing Black people and their allies, the poor white farmers, over to Klan terrorists. By 1890, not only had the gains of Reconstruction been wiped out, but vicious laws directed at keeping Black people down in a semi-feudal state as sharecroppers were enacted on a national level.



Klansmen and their government bodyguards in Atlanta, 1965.

g Puppets alist String

In 1883, the Supreme Court wiped out earlier civil rights laws passed under Reconstruction. In 1896 the high court instituted legal sanctions for the notorious separate but equal doctrine which began the period of legal segregation in the South. But in addition to this legal oppression of Blacks, from 1890 to 1899, an average of two Blacks per week were lynched in the United States; from 1882 to 1938 a total of 3397 were lynched (records weren't kept before 1882).

This vicious repression was met with righteous violence by both Blacks and whites. The May 30, 1896 *Cleveland Press Gazette* gives one instance of this kind of resistance:

"Jacksonville, Florida—Jack Trice fought 15 white men at 3:00 a.m. on the 12th, killing James Hughs and Edward Sanchez, fatally wounding Henry Daniels and dangerously wounding Albert Bruffun. The battle occurred at Trice's humble home near Palmetto, a town six miles south of here, to prevent his 14-year-old son being 'regulated' (brutally whipped and perhaps killed) by the whites. On the afternoon of May 11, Trice's son and the son of Marshal Hughs of Palmetto fought, the white boy being badly beaten. Marshal Hughs was greatly enraged and he and 14 other white men went to Trice's house to 'regulate' his little boy. The whites demanded that the boy be sent out. Trice refused and they began firing. Trice returned the fire, his first bullet killing Marshal Hughs. Edward Sanchez tried to burn the house but was shot through the brain by Trice. Then the whites tried to batter in the door with a log, which resulted in Henry Daniels getting a bullet in the stomach that will kill him. The 'regulators' then ran. A final bullet from Trice's deadly

The KKK parades down Pennsylvania Avenue past the White House.



rifle struck Albert Bruffun in the back. The whites secured reinforcements and returned to Trice's home at sunrise, vowing to burn father and son at the stake; but the intended victims had fled... posses of bloodhounds are chasing Trice and his boy, and they will be lynched if caught. It is sincerely hoped that both will escape." (from *Chronicles of Black Protest*, Bradford Chambers, 1968)

Bourgeoisie Keeps the "Dream" Alive

Romanticized in novels like *The Clansman* by Southern preacher Thomas Dixon of Gastonia, North Carolina, published in New York in 1905, the legend of the exploits of the KKK continued to be promoted by the bourgeoisie even during times of relative inactivity. In 1914, one of the pioneers of the early motion picture, D.W. Griffith, made the novels of Dixon into "Birth of a Nation," shown widely throughout the U.S., which depicted the Klan as noble robed riders of chivalry avenging atrocities committed by "savage Blacks and mulattos." Protests against the film threatened to make theater showings difficult, particularly in the northern cities, until the signal came from on high. "Mr. League of Nations," the very symbol of democracy, Woodrow Wilson put the Presidential seal of approval on the film by holding screenings in the White

How Samuel Byrd
Box 204
Abbeville, Georgia
Dear Sir
I am a former member of the
Klan in the State of Georgia
and I am writing you to see
if you can get the office of Mr. J. L.
Baskin of Lexington, Virginia, in 1942.
The Klan is needed today as never
before and I am sure you will
be able to help in the process of re-
building the Klan in the State of
Virginia. I am sure you will find
it necessary to remove the Klan from
the Union. Will you please inform
me as to the possibility of re-building
the Klan in the State of Georgia.
Respectfully,
Robert C. Byrd

In 1946, U.S. Senator Robert Byrd put the bourgeoisie's opinion of the Klan out in the open. "The Klan is needed today as never before..." he wrote in a letter to the Grand Dragon of the Invisible Empire.

House. By the time of Griffith's death in 1948, the film had grossed \$48,000,000, and even today this racist reactionary filth is widely promoted by the bourgeoisie as a "classic" work of American cinema and is shown as often at prestigious universities as it is at Klan meetings.

On Thanksgiving Day, 1915, under the direction of Colonel William J. Simmons, the Klan was "reborn" on an altar atop Georgia's Stone Mountain—an altar which contained an open bible, an American flag and an unsheathed sword, as well as the familiar burning cross. At this time the Klan was

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Police Report

How the Cops Helped the Klan in Greensboro

With all the fanfare befitting the discovery of a deadly strain of flu virus, the Greensboro Police Department on November 27 released a 92-page report "justifying" their actions in connection with the November 3 massacre by the Klan and the Nazis here.

The report, unanimously praised by local authorities, was aptly summed up in an article in the *Greensboro Daily News*: "Greensboro Police Chief William E. Swing said Tuesday police officers did the right thing in allowing a Ku Klux Klan convoy to proceed on November 3 even though an informant that morning had told them some Klan members had handguns." The Greensboro city council later showed their deep gratitude by passing a resolution praising the police department's handling of demonstrations by "communist groups."

In fact this vicious report which openly brags that the cops were "doing their job" by lending all possible assistance to the Klan murderers, is one more step in the campaign to vindicate the murderers, declare open season on communists, and drive home to the people the lesson that "if you don't stay on your knees, this is what you'll get." The authorities' real goals were shown recently when District Attorney Mike Schlosser, who will be prosecuting the Klan case, made a public appeal on the University of North Carolina at Greens-

boro campus for students to come forward and testify in court against four Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade members who were arrested on the campus the week before Bob Avakian spoke in Greensboro. Schlosser, who does not normally prosecute misdemeanors, said of the four RCYB members charged with trespassing and disturbing a class, "I'm going to see to it that these people are prosecuted to the hilt." This is in sharp contrast with his pointed silence on the Klan case, as he and the cops prepare to let them off on a self-defense plea.

This was made crystal clear by the police department's report itself. While they obviously try to cover up many events of that day (the police radio transcript full of missing pieces especially right after the shooting), the contradictions in their story are obvious and glaring. In fact every page of their report points to a conscious plan to open the door to the Klan murderers.

—Not only did the cops know that the Klansmen were there in force and were armed, they followed them for a full 15 minutes as they made their way through town heading straight for the rally site—yet in all that time they didn't even get one unit on the scene, leaving the Klan a perfectly clear field.

—The cops claim to have been confused about the rally site, since the site announced on one of the leaflets was

different from the one granted on the permit. But the Klan was not confused, since they went straight to it. Not only that, but the cops themselves knew that there were people gathering at two sites because they had sent surveillance cars out to check the sites. Furthermore, three cops were in a surveillance car at the scene of the murder the entire time.

—With their tongue firmly planted in their cheek, the cops smirk in their report that they could not stop the armed Klan caravan since the law forbids them from stopping someone if a crime hasn't been committed. But the report also shows that cops clearly were aware that the Klan would attack. One cop radioing in said, "This is breaking up sooner than we anticipated."

—The cops make a big deal out of the yellow van that supposedly had the weapons in it, yet millions nationwide watched on TV as the murderers calmly got their weapons from the trunk of a Ford Fairlane which conveniently escaped. In fact, out of nine Klan cars, only one was stopped after the shooting, while one cop on the scene of the murder, asking over the radio if the other cars should be stopped, was ignored.

—Out of 35 Klansmen, only 15 have been arrested, and police say they aren't even seeking any of the others. Yet one local newswoman has pointed out that the man whom she saw kill some of the

people has not even been arrested. In fact, by arresting many who claim they didn't actually fire the weapons that killed anyone and letting the other killers go free, the cops are clearly setting this whole thing up for an acquittal.

—The police leader of all this was Lieutenant T.W. Spoon, the executive officer in command of the entire affair. While the Klan was driving toward the murder site he was talking on the phone. Then when the shooting broke out, he directed all units to the Windsor Community Center several blocks away from the shooting. "Don't all come to the area," he said over the radio. "I'll advise further when I arrive on the scene." Meanwhile the majority of Klan murderers made their clean escape.

But what's even more revealing than what is in the report is the fact that they put it out, proudly displaying their role in the cold-blooded murder of five demonstrators that day. They're saying openly that the Greensboro massacre is the wave of the future in this country, as the ruling class is more and more seeing the need to drop their phony mask of democracy and bring out the real foundation—the gun. In fact the only truthful conclusion of the entire report is that the Greensboro police were definitely "doing their job."

KKK

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mainly revived in Georgia and Alabama, putting down a 1918 shipyard strike in Mobile and hunting draft dodgers, and in the next few years after the war the KKK set out to "clean up" Birmingham and other southern cities of "criminal elements"—that is, they hunted Black veterans returned from World War I.

In 1920 Colonel Simmons signed a contract with the Southern Publicity Association, a slick promo agency headed by Edward Young Clarke, a professional promoter, and Elizabeth Tyler, a financial backer, that had run patriotic fund drives for the YMCA and the Salvation Army during the war. In the midst of the social upheaval after World War I, marked by a growing workers' movement and the fact that millions around the world were greatly inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Klan played on the patriotic fervor of the war to stem the tide of change in the U.S. Drawing on the ideology of groups like the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, who had attacked European immigrants in the mid-1800s, Simmons and his promo firm waged a campaign to broaden the targets of the KKK to include foreign-born workers, Catholics, and communists, defining the Klan as "white, gentle, American and protestant." With this "new image," the Klan was promoted nationally more than they had ever been in the past as the organization for reactionaries to join.

In 1921, the bourgeoisie outdid itself in promoting the Klan while pretending to pose as its enemy. The *New York World*, one of the biggest newspapers in the country, conducted its own "thorough investigation of the Klan." For three weeks the *World* filled its pages with shocking articles detailing the Klan's secret rituals and dogma, catalogued its violent acts, "exposed" the Klan's efforts at organizing within police departments, the army reserve and court officials, and speculated on the Klan's financial assets (which it set in the millions).

While the *World's* blockbuster series was spreading publicity about the Klan, through 18 major newspapers, the U.S. House of Representatives conducted a phony "investigation" which resulted in another barrage of headlines about the Klan.

Exploded into the minds of the American people by the bourgeois press and the House Committee's investigation, the Klan not only carried out its own terrorist acts, but unleashed reactionary violence by other groups and individuals "inspired" by its example. The "reborn" Klan tailored its activities according to where it operated, which by the time of the hearings' completion included all 48 states and the Panama Canal Zone! In the South, Blacks and labor union organizers were the main target; in large urban centers it was Jews and Catholics; on the West Coast, Japanese and other Asians. Everywhere, the Klan attacked communists and striking workers.

In 1937, Senator Hugo Black, a known Klansman, was appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court by none other than Mr. New Deal himself, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The bourgeoisie's "investigation" of Black's murky past was used as an example of how this "former" Klansman had changed his ways and gone liberal, but in fact this was an example of the game the ruling class likes to play, posing their black robed henchmen as the official defenders of democracy, while their white sheeted henchmen carry on the extralegal work of terrorizing the people and making the government "look good." Roosevelt obviously saw in Black a "talented politician" who could better serve the interests of the ruling class wearing "official" sheets.

With the outbreak of World War 2 and the temporary alliance of the United States with the Soviet Union—then a socialist country, against Nazi Germany and the Axis Powers, the Klan went through another

lull in activity, its leash reined in by the bourgeoisie only to be let loose as soon as the war was over. In the fall of 1945, fiery crosses again burned brightly atop Stone Mountain, and the KKK prepared to take up its role as shock troops for the victorious U.S. imperialists, especially targeting returning Black veterans as well as communists.

Senator Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, who has recently said that he would be glad to beat on any Iranian he could get his hands on, wrote to Dr. Samuel Green, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan, in 1946:

"The Klan is needed today as never before and I am anxious to see its rebirth here in West Virginia. I have noticed in the press statements pointing to a renewal of its activities in certain Southern states. It is necessary that the order be promoted immediately and in every state in the union. Will you please inform me as to the possibilities of rebuilding the Klan in the realm of W. Va."

Respectfully yours,
Robert C. Byrd

While the Klan's crusade against communism reinforced the attacks by Senator Joe McCarthy, it wasn't until the Supreme Court decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in southern schools that the Klan came into its own again. Throughout the stormy years of the civil rights movement, when Blacks stood up against decades of segregation and abuse along with supporters in the South and the rest of the country, the KKK was carrying out its role of terror and intimidation and murder to beat back the growing movement of support on the part of whites.

The Klan served the capitalists well and was a useful tool in trying to contain the civil rights movement. At the same time, their actions helped to promote the image of the bourgeoisie as the only force capable of providing an end to the oppression and discrimination faced by Black people. In fact the ruling class not only looked the other way while Klan activities spread like wildfire, but recent exposures showed that agents of the bourgeoisie often working through the FBI actually carried out some of the very acts they claimed to be investigating.

The fatal Alabama highway ambush of Viola Liuzzo after the Selma to Montgomery march in 1965 was instigated by so-called FBI informer Gary Rowe. A Klansman who served a few years in jail for this attack claimed Rowe was the actual trigger man. Rowe's self-serving autobiographical account of his years "inside the Ku Klux Klan," recently televised in a movie starring Don Meredith as Rowe, was a quick snow-job for the FBI, forced by the shocking revelation of their complicity in terrorist acts against civil rights demonstrators in the 1950s and 1960s. Clearly the FBI serves not to investigate but rather to instigate these crimes against the masses; their main role is to protect and cover up the role of the bourgeoisie in unleashing the Klan whenever it serves their interests. (The two dozen agents hurriedly sent by President Carter to Greensboro clearly have their work cut out for them.)

Klan Revived Once Again

Since the middle 1970s when the capitalist system gave us another serious economic recession, the bourgeoisie has unleashed its faithful lackeys in the Klan to attack Blacks and other minorities in the north, south, east and west, and to foment white chauvinism and disunity in the working class. Klan activities recently have gone hand in hand with an onslaught of bourgeois propaganda about reverse discrimination. While the Supreme Court justices put on Black robes and turn out their Bakke and Weber decisions to reverse the gains made in the Black liberation struggle of the 1960s in the legal sphere, KKK'ers put on white sheets to attack Black people in the streets. While continuing to carry out their terror at night, they are increasingly coming out more into the daylight.

The bourgeoisie has even come up with some new brands of sheets to cover the hated face of the Klan. David Duke,

fronting the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, dresses like a clean-cut student teacher and calls his Klan outfit a "white civil rights organization," a constituency group representing the interests of the white masses. He goes on the university lecture circuit and emphasizes the Klan pushing for a greater role in electoral politics.

Robert Shelton, head of what used to be the biggest Klan operation, the United Klans of America, out of Tuscaloosa, Alabama, calls Duke a "publicity hound" and even hints that Duke and other rival Klans are financed by the FBI; Shelton's own funding by the bourgeoisie is evidently drying up and siphoned off to Klans with a better "plan" for serving the capitalists.

On the flip-side of Duke's "electoral" Klan is Bill Wilkinson's Invisible Empire, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which may include up to one third of the total Klan membership across the country. Wilkinson talks openly about "armed insurrection" against the government. "A revolution is our right," he proclaims, "we" meaning "the white race" and particularly the "middle class" which is increasingly crushed by imperialism's crisis and which is the social base of a growing fascist movement led by the bourgeoisie.

Wilkinson's Klan openly brandishes Thompson machine guns, sawed-off shotguns and riot guns. During the recent period, the Invisible Empire has carried out a massive recruiting drive and fundraising effort in Alabama and Mississippi, concentrating on small towns and cities with relatively small Black populations and with little history of clashes during the days of the civil rights struggles. Wilkinson's men ride through these small towns on horses wearing sheets just like their riders, holding rallies and stopping cars to raise money "to stop the niggers." Local cops and sheriffs appear proudly on the podium at the Empire's rallies and give solidarity messages with a grin.

While providing Duke's button-down Klan all the media coverage he can handle, the bourgeoisie moans about how it can do nothing about Wilkinson's out-front calls for reactionary violence. After an attack on Blacks in a Decatur, Alabama shopping center where 200 Klansmen surrounded eight Black picketers, firing into one Black man's car, the Decatur city council passed an ordinance banning the carrying of weapons within 1,000 feet of any public demonstration. Two weeks later, a couple of hundred Klansmen, in robes and heavily and visibly armed, drove through town in a caravan and circled the mayor's house, jeering while Decatur police waved greetings at them and smiled their approval at their fellow pigs. The police chief made no arrests; he said it was "unclear" whether the ordinance referred to a "moving cavalcade."

After a Black minister in Decatur protested the conviction of Tommy Lee Hines on trumped-up charges of rape, Wilkinson publicly boasted of how his Klan had stopped the minister's car on the highway, dragged him into the woods and whipped him brutally. And

to this day none of his men have been prosecuted for firing into a large protest march against Hines' conviction.

While civil rights marchers in 1965 were met with tear gas, cattle prods and billy clubs, and allowed by the federal government to march only after Martin Luther King agreed to drastically limit the number of marchers, the Ku Klux Klan march of 1979 across the Edmund Pettis Bridge in Alabama got a full-scale escort by state troopers and police helicopters on all sides as they slithered down the Jefferson Davis Highway, symbolically reversing the verdicts on the civil rights movement and Black liberation struggle by marching the same route that Blacks and supporters had marched a decade before. The capitalist media swarmed all over this sickening march—50 Klansmen flanked by over 200 newsmen and women!

Entering the 1980s, as U.S. imperialism plunges downward in its worst crisis in its entire history, the bourgeoisie needs the Ku Klux Klan and other reactionary groups like the Nazis more than ever. This is not 1873 with a depression leading to the consolidation of monopoly capitalism, the birth of U.S. imperialism. This is U.S. imperialism in its death throes, and only a redivision of the world in its favor through war can reverse this trend downward. To the imperialists, the Klan is useful in terrorizing Black people and in exploiting contradictions among nationalities and fanning the flames of race hatred; the Klan is useful in diverting the anger of the masses away from the ruling capitalists and on to various scapegoats; the Klan is useful in making open attacks on forces of the Left, particularly communists who are creating public opinion for the violent overthrow of U.S. imperialism by the masses of working people. And while the Klan does their dirty work, the bourgeoisie can pose as the respectable "protector" of "freedom and democracy."

One tactic certain to be developed more and more is a con game called the "war between extremists" or the "battle between Left and Right" where the bourgeoisie steps in to "mediate," posing as the good guy trying to keep two opposite crazies from each other's throats, often banning all mass actions and protests in the process, i.e., those by the people resisting oppression. For example, the Greensboro city manager attributed the murder of five by Klansmen to "outside radical influences," "brought about by two dissident groups who were not residents of our city, whose intent was to promote riot and chaos." Their real purpose has been to declare open season on Blacks and communists, giving the Klan the green light, while attempting to terrorize the masses into submission.

To wipe out the Klan it is necessary to overthrow the masters that these reactionary vermin loyally serve. The "Invisible Empire" of the Klan must be dealt with appropriately through the righteous resistance of masses of all nationalities, but this resistance must be part of the growing revolutionary struggle to overthrow the empire of the clan behind the Klan—the U.S. imperialists.

Fred Hampton:

Continued from page 1

State's Attorney Hanrahan and the cops mouthed their own flimsy cover story, but within days the threadbare cover masking the raid showed gaping holes. Immediately the effort to paint the hired murderers as heroes began. Mayor Daley praised the police for their "courageous" actions—braving the so-called "criminal assault" of those they murdered in their sleep. Thousands of people—from the neighborhood, plants, campuses—walked through those rooms, invited by the Panthers, reconstructing the grotesque scene. The facts surfaced. There was no "gun battle," no "shootout" over an "illegal weapons cache." No woman with a shotgun had jumped out to fire the first shot.

The naked truth of that blood-soaked bed where Hampton lay—drugged the night before with a sedative by an undercover cop—was as ugly as what it

revealed: the true face of the system, stripped of its mask of democracy and justice, where paid informants and back-room plots, backed by ruthless brutality, were woven into an insidious web of deceit. The murder of Fred Hampton was a coldly calculated murder-by-plan, a desperate, deadly attack which showed the ruling class would go to any lengths to wipe out the serious threat that Hampton and the revolutionary leadership of the Black Panther Party represented. It was threatening enough that the authorities were willing to pay the political price of temporary exposure of their brutal dictatorship in order to get Hampton out of the picture.

It soon became clear that this was part of a concerted nationwide attack on the Panthers. The same day the bullets tore into the Chicago headquarters, David Hilliard, a national Panther

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think one thing those workers are beginning to grasp more clearly is this kind of stagist approach that has really crippled and infected the communist movement in this country going back, way back to the old Communist Party, the idea that first you have to get the workers going around narrow, economic questions. Not that we shouldn't fight against attacks on people's living standards, not that we should allow ourselves to be crushed. But the idea that this is the most important fight, the main thing we have to concentrate on, or that first we have to get workers going around the trade union questions, and then maybe later, after they've started fighting on those things, then we can start introducing some politics—we're making a thorough break with that and we're saying and our experience is proving that in fact workers are taking up the political struggle. What we're doing now is bringing forward the thousands and tens of thousands of people who represent the advanced, awakening section of the working class. That's why the international proletariat's heart will skip a beat because when they see an advanced revolutionary section of the working class precisely uniting Black, white, Puerto Rican and so on, men and women, it will be a tremendous step forward, not only for us here but for the world struggle. And we're seeing that workers in fact are concerned about the whole struggle in the world.

And yes, it's true that people have been misled and brainwashed about what communism is, but frankly, the workers respond a lot more quickly and a lot more thoroughly to the class understanding that we bring to them about what communism is, about what capitalism is, than the middle classes who have a lot harder time. They are much more hung up on this question of totalitarianism. When we bring out a class analysis, that this is a class dictatorship and a slave system of capitalism that needs to be overthrown and replaced by a working class dictatorship representing the majority and moving toward the elimination of classes, especially the politically aware workers rally and take that up whereas a lot of the middle class people get hung up on that and want to say well I don't like dictatorships of any kind, there should be freedom for everybody, capitalist and worker alike, and so on.

Interviewer: Okay, the four points you mentioned in your *Revolutionary Worker* paper to me are not programmatic conclusions, they're slogans, so I still go back and ask, what are your concrete programmatic concerns in relationship to let's just take major issues—housing, unemployment, the

rising inflationary pressures that are breaking the backs of consumers in this country and then I'd like to ask you some questions about your trade union strategy and also around the question of national oppression.

B.A. Well, you see the thing is, I think those things are very concrete political demands. There are hundreds and thousands of battles that go on throughout this society against police repression, around the questions of housing, around the job, all kinds of other questions that—

Interviewer: I know the questions, I'm curious as to what your answers are.

B.A. What our answer is, is to raise people's political sights as to how all this fits together, what is all part of this—

Interviewer: Is that what you tell somebody who's fighting for fuel in the middle of the winter?

B.A. Of course we do. We'd unite with them. We'd say, yeah, let's wage the fight, let's mobilize more people in the fight, but fundamentally and most importantly, let's understand what this stems from and what is the solution to it because there's plenty of reformers out here promising pie-in-the-sky and never telling them the truth that this situation is not going to get better or fundamentally change 'til we unite enough people to rise up and overthrow the system that causes it.

Interviewer: Do you feel a relationship between reform and revolution? Do you see approaching a certain reform and raising consciousness off of that? If you give people a sense of the ultimate solution, how do you give them a sense of surviving for what is obviously a sustained battle in the process of social change in this country?

B.A. You see, but you can't separate and say that there's a stage of surviving and then there's a stage of revolution. What we're involved in now is a stage that is not yet a revolutionary situation. We recognize this. It's a situation where we have to lay the groundwork for, raise the consciousness and prepare people for revolution and right from the beginning the most important thing we have to say to people, no matter what particular struggle they're involved in, is to help them see how this fits into the overall pattern. This is a big battle Lenin had back in 1902—and it's still very relevant right here—with the Economists of his time who raised essentially what you're raising: you're not pointing out enough concrete demands, you're not telling people how they can solve their problems under capitalism or how to survive until revolution. And Lenin said, that's right because there is no way to do all that. We can't have a stage of first surviving and improving our conditions and then later maybe making revolution.

Capitalism is in crisis, it's preparing world war. The conditions and suffering of the people are going to be intensified and worsen a hundredfold unless we rise up and make revolution. Now

when we go and unite with people, we unite with them in fighting back. When we go to a nuclear demonstration, a battle that's going to be raging this winter and raged last winter around getting heat for people to survive, a fight in the street against police murder, of course we unite with them right there and try to give tactical as well as other leadership to the struggle but the main thing we do even so is to point out how this fits into the overall pattern of capitalist oppression and police tyranny and how they have to unite with the working class and the revolutionary people in general to overthrow this. And that anything else is not going to be speaking to their real and fundamental interests and is going to be prolonging the system by spreading illusions that somehow you can improve your conditions under a system that's going to be knocking people further down, and knocking them on the head even more viciously.

Interviewer: All right. Lenin had a very specific strategy throughout his life of fighting around the trade union question, fighting in the electoral arena and a number of other questions. I still am very befuddled, other than the rhetoric you present, I think many people have some sort of consciousness that this is a corrupt government which perpetuates itself and is not merely in the guise of any one individual but what people do not have is the theory to be able to go to the many reform battles that exist within the working class in this country and the oppressed nationalities and begin to bring revolutionary and socialist consciousness. That takes theoretical ideology, it takes an ideology of how to work in the trade unions, it takes an ideology for what is the strategy for accomplishing national liberation and it takes an overall consideration of how do you get across the idea not of just fighting around narrow economic trade union issues which are important certainly, but how you fight for community empowerment of such a nature that people realize that socialist revolution is the answer. I'm still very confused as to what would be the distinction between the RCP and many other groups that are out there. You seem to present a lot of generalities.

B.A. Let's break it down. You said, for example, earlier that if, for example, we were able to succeed with this call that we issued for this May Day demonstration—you yourself said that if that happened that would be tremendously significant.

Interviewer: Tens of thousands of workers around a political cause? It certainly would.

B.A. Well, let's say even ten thousand workers around the country. That would be tremendously significant, wouldn't you agree? Wouldn't that, in fact, add a positive shock value and a positive awakening value for thousands, possibly millions of workers to turn their eyes to that and to question, what is all this about, who are

these people from among our own ranks who are taking this kind of a stand?

See, I think that battle would, in fact, draw these other people, out of many other battles, who will come into motion around many particular things, but will be concentrating that and raising it up to a higher level, and that's what we have to do in our everyday work. We link up with all kinds of struggles of people fighting back against being crushed or for demands for partial reforms, but we always have to present, not only to ourselves but to others that these are a by-product of and can only play a positive role if they are built in a way that contributes toward revolution.

I disagree with this idea—you cannot have "community empowerment" under capitalism. You're just spreading illusions. The capitalists are going to control the factories, they're going to control the communities, they control the state and they're going to run the society until we rise up in a revolutionary storm and overthrow it. Now you can say that's rhetoric, but it happens to be a scientific fact. Going out and trying to tell people they can control an institution, a community or whatever, under capitalism is the *worst* kind of rhetoric because it's an *illusion* and while it might seem very practical, concrete and realistic, that is exactly what reforms consist of, reformist illusions consist of, that they appear to be realistic. Whereas once you understand the nature of the system, you understand that they are *not* realistic and can only deceive and demoralize people.

Our main weapon is the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper. You see this is another thing we did learn from Lenin. And we know that the conditions in Russia were different than they are here, but there are certain general principles that have to be applied in each country though they have to be applied specifically and concretely. And the thing that Lenin insisted over and over again was the main work a communist has to do consists of revolutionary agitation and propaganda in connection with the ongoing struggle and in an all-around way to expose the system and raise the sights and unite the workers around their higher interests together with the other oppressed people. That is the main form of our work in an ongoing way, the distribution of our newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, and the development of networks and the coming together of people to take up that newspaper, distribute it, discuss the issues and on that basis to become politically aroused and trained and to get a scientific and theoretical view of the all-around struggle through that newspaper as well as through other Party literature. Yes, we join in the immediate battle for partial demands and reforms and so on, but the centerpiece of our work and the most important part is our newspaper and our overall agitation and propaganda. ■

leader, was arrested in Oakland, California for "threatening to assassinate President Nixon" in a public speech. Four days later, on Dec. 8, 300 Los Angeles police launched a full-scale military assault on the L.A. Panther office. At the end of a 5-hour gun battle, four Panthers were wounded and the leaders, including "Geronimo" Pratt, were in jail. By February 1970, a total of 28 Panthers had been killed nationwide in a two-year period, and scores were in prison facing trial.

Revolutionary Leaders

For the oppressor as well as the oppressed, revolutionary leaders play a crucial role in the class struggle. One must seek to wipe them out, while the other must cherish and defend their leadership as a crucial part of the struggle. In a secret FBI memo, the ruling class underscored the need to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify and electrify the militant black nationalist movement." The threat posed by revolutionary leaders—always great—is even more dangerous to the ruling class in times of crisis. And the '60s, marked by tremendous mass upheavals and social movements, were definitely

such a time.

The ghettos of America were seething with discontent and erupting in open rebellion. The impact of leaders like Fred Hampton, who not only united with the Black uprisings but pointed beyond them to the necessity for armed revolution, was indeed "electrifying." He stood up in Chicago's West Side ghetto which had twice gone up in flames and told people: "If you kill a few pigs, you get a little satisfaction. But when you can kill them ALL you get complete satisfaction... We have to educate the people. We have to arm the people. We have to teach them about revolutionary political power. And when they understand all that, we won't be killing no few and getting no little satisfaction, we'll be killing 'em and getting complete satisfaction."

Not only in the Black community but throughout society, the Black Panther Party's exposures of the oppression of Black people in America, their revolutionary line and militant internationalist stand were a powerful force driving forward the struggles that were erupting on many fronts during those turbulent years. On Nov. 15, 1969, when half a million people—draft resisters, pacifists, liberals and radical students—marched in San Francisco

against the Vietnam War, David Hilliard shouted from the speaker's platform: "Do you want peace in Vietnam?" (Audience) "Yes." "Well, you goddamned sure can't get it with no guitars... We ain't here for no goddamned peace, because we know that we can't have no peace because this country was built on war. And if you want peace you got to fight for it."

Social movements were erupting on many fronts—on the campuses, among the different oppressed nationalities, in response to the oppression of women, in the military. All these movements were spontaneously and spottily hitting at the same enemy, but they were not yet really linked, unified, or conscious of their common foe. Unifying them, spreading them to the working class, was a tremendous potential threat. And the Panthers, Fred Hampton in particular, were making moves in that direction. This was so in spite of the limitations of the Panthers, who were not based on the working class nor firmly enough rooted in the science of working-class revolution, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought.

Still the Panthers, labeled a "Black nationalist hate group" by the FBI, drew a sharp dividing line between themselves and the cultural "pork

chop" nationalists. Fred Hampton criticized the early formulations in the 10 Point Program of the BPP where "we used the word 'white' when we should have used the word 'capitalist,'" and he led in forging alliances with other nationalities. In Chicago the Panthers formed a "Rainbow Coalition" with organizations of Puerto Ricans and working-class white youth, as well as establishing ties with SDS. While not a real united front under a single vanguard Party, this was still a big step at the time. Already shaking from the widespread social upheaval, the ruling class couldn't miss the dangerous potential here.

On May 1, 1969 another threatening spectre confronted the bourgeoisie. At a Free Huey rally of 10,000 people—Black and white, all nationalities—David Hilliard stood in the plaza of the San Francisco Federal Building. "I want all you people here to show this United States government this red book. It's the Red Book—by Chairman Mao from red China. Is this the answer?" And thousands of red books went up in the air in response.

Throughout society, even where there were no Panthers, the impact and influence of the Black Panther Party was

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A Toe to Toe Fight

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Pravda: Za Pravdu [For Pravda], *Proletarskaya Pravda* [Proletarian Pravda], *Severnaya Pravda* [Northern Pravda] and *Put Pravdy* [The Path of Pravda] followed one after the other. The secret police lost no opportunity of suppressing *Pravda*, yet our work was so well organized that the St. Petersburg workers were rarely without their daily newspaper.

Not the least of our difficulties was the lack of funds. The main source of money was the regular collections made among the workers at factories and works, but we sometimes received material help from individual persons who were in sympathy with the workers' revolutionary movement, including Maxim Gorky, who helped us whenever he could. Gorky was a regular contributor to all Bolshevik publications and he not only lent material support himself, but took steps to procure funds for the paper from others...

Incensed by the tenacity of *Pravda*, the police became ruthless and ignored all legal formalities. Although they had no orders of confiscation, they arrested newsvendors, took away bundles of *Pravda*, and did not even trouble to get a retrospective decision of the Press Committee to legalise their actions.

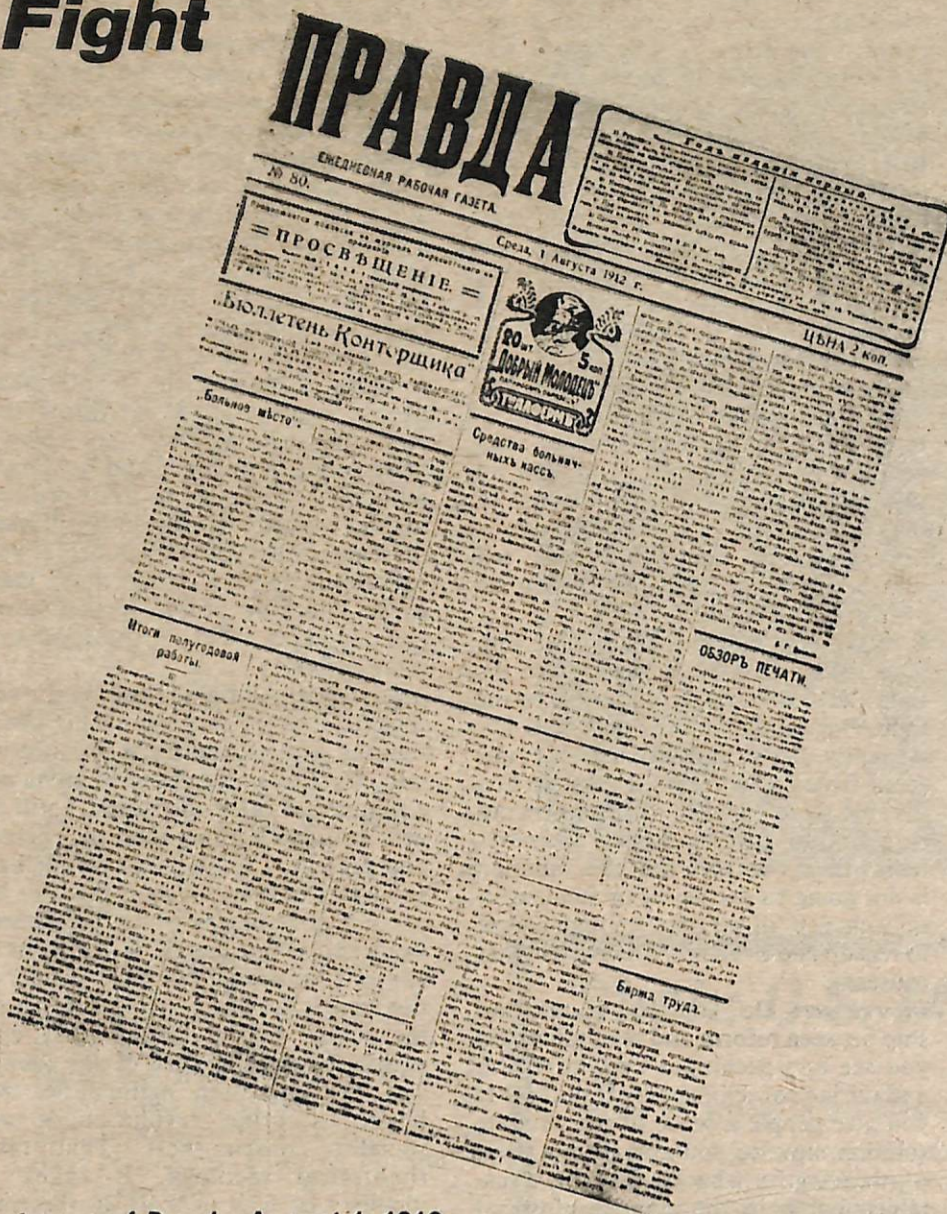
At the end of February 1914, a police detachment under the command of a high official, but without any order, raided the editorial offices late at night. Locks were wrenched off the doors, everything was turned upside down and manuscripts and correspondence thrown into a heap in the middle of the floor. I was informed of the raid by telephone and at once ran to the offices and remonstrated with the police about the illegality of the search. But, as I no longer figured as the official editor of the paper, the officer replied: "Why do you interfere? You are a stranger in this office, it does not concern you."

"It certainly does. I am a workers' deputy, and this is a workers' paper. We are serving the same cause," was my reply.

The police concluded their search and took away all the material that they wanted. On the following day I made another protest to the Minister responsible, but it was ineffective; the Minister and the police were working hand in glove.

At this time, the government introduced a new press law into the State

Front page of *Pravda*, August 1, 1912.



Duma, designed to take away the last vestiges of the "freedom" conquered in 1905. The police raids on *Pravda* were a foretaste of the intention of this law. The fraction framed an interpellation dealing with the illegal confiscation of *Pravda* and on March 4 I spoke in support of the urgency of the interpellation. I dealt with the general conditions of the workers' press throughout Russia and my speech amounted to an appeal to all workers to rally to the defence of *Pravda*. The Black Hundred [feudal landlord—RW] majority rejected our motion, but my speech attained its object—the workers heard our call; both the amount of collections and the number of subscribers to *Pravda* increased

daily. July days of 1914. Full reports of the development of the struggle were published every day and the editors were in constant touch with the strike committees, helping them and organising collections in aid of the strikers. As a consequence the police persecutions increased, fines, confiscations and arrests became more frequent and day and night the offices were besieged by spies and by every variety of policemen. Every number was in danger and was only saved from the police with the greatest difficulty. We had to argue as to whether such or such an article of the law rendered the newspaper liable. I spent much time at the editorial offices

helping the editors and I always carried with me copies of the relevant statutes so as to be able to confront the police officials with the actual text.

When the revolutionary movement in St. Petersburg had reached the stage where the workers were constructing barricades, the government decided to act. The secret police were instructed that our organisations must be smashed and the revolutionary movement deprived of its principal weapon, the press.

This time the raid on the newspaper was planned to take place at a moment when the principal visitors to *Pravda* as well as the whole editorial board could be arrested. The police descended on the offices just after dusk on July 8, when the work was in full swing and the workers had just arrived from the districts with their correspondence and the workshop collections and on the other kinds of Party or trade union business. I at once went to the offices and found the building surrounded by police. After forcing my way through with some difficulty, I saw the place was in complete disorder, police officials were ransacking all drawers and cupboards and all the collaborators of the paper together with the visitors had been arrested and bundled into one room. I was not allowed to reach them and had to talk through an open door.

I at once protested against the search and the arrests and said that I would raise the matter in the State Duma. The police rang up their superiors and, on being told to proceed without ceremony, they ordered me to leave the place at once. I persisted, but they forced me out, and drew up the usual charge against me for interfering with the actions of the police.

This ransacking of *Pravda* was the signal for a series of attacks on labour organisations. During the few days just before the declaration of war the police destroyed all working-class papers, educational and trade union organisations. Mass arrests were made in St. Petersburg and batches of prisoners exiled to the northern provinces and Siberia.

The war brought still more stringent police measures and the Party was forced completely underground. Our fraction often discussed the question of resuming the publication of a workers' newspaper and the matter was on the agenda of the November Conference when the whole of the Duma fraction of the Bolsheviks was arrested.

Throughout the war, we were unable to resume the publication of *Pravda*. ■

Hampton:

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spreading and deepening. Distribution of the *Black Panther* newspaper reached 40,000 copies a week in Chicago alone.

The Black Panther Party "is the greatest threat to the internal security of the country," said J. Edgar Hoover. "This group is dedicated to the principle of violent overthrow and will go to any length to further this aim." In 1969 the ruling class took major steps to unleash the apparatus of the state to systematically disrupt and destroy the party. Revolutionary leadership providing real direction to the people was too explosive for them to tolerate.

COINTELPRO

No tactic was too low-down and dirty, as the tricky dicks under Hoover's personal direction made the BPP the main target of the secret COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM (COINTELPRO). Massive frameups in New York and Connecticut, bombing and raids of Panther headquarters across the country, were launched in an effort to crush whole chapters. The FBI took up plans to disrupt distribution of the newspaper and use other means to erode the widening base of support for the Panthers. Lies and distortions were fed to bourgeois mouthpieces in the media. Mainly concerned with their influence on the Black masses, the ruling class was also very upset about the Panthers' influence on the middle classes. Anonymous calls and letters were sent

to universities and churches, alluding to misuse of funds and facilities by the Panthers.

But the cornerstone of the FBI's strategy was to go after the leaders. Fred Hampton became a prime target. The FBI hatched a plot modeled after the "internecine struggle" they fomented between Ron Karenga's Black nationalist "US" organization and the Panthers, which resulted in Karenga's hit-men snuffing Panthers Bunchy Carter and John Huggins on the UCLA campus. In early 1969 COINTELPRO in Chicago sent an anonymous note to Jeff Fort, head of the Black P Stone Nation, a South Side street gang, claiming the Panthers had "a hit out for you." When this did not result in a shooting war and the death of Panther leaders, the ruling class ordered direct action by their own armed forces.

In April 1969 Hampton was sentenced to two to five years on the ludicrous charge of helping kids take \$71 worth of ice cream bars during a mass outburst in Maywood, Illinois after the assassination of Martin Luther King. Denied an appeal bond because, as the judge said, "he advocates armed revolution," Hampton was sent to Menard State Prison.

In June, Hanrahan announced a major "war on the gangs" in Chicago, continuing to try to portray the Panthers as common criminals. But the three armed raids on Black Panther Party headquarters that followed, accompanied by arrests and criminal indictments, were clearly not aimed at stopping "gang" activity. They were part of an effort to smash the Illinois Panthers while their leader was in jail.

But each raid called forth stronger support from the people, support that the heat could feel as people from the community came out to pelt them with rocks and bottles.

The ruling class prepared its final move. In a seemingly "even-handed" gesture, the court decided to grant Fred Hampton's appeal bond. He was released from jail only to be gunned down in his bed.

The murder of Fred Hampton was coldly calculated and carried out, but it was nonetheless an act of desperation, not strength, by those who ordered it. Why did the ruling class fear this man so much that they would risk dropping their facade of reason, respectability and democracy to gun him down in a vicious gestapo-like attack? What the capitalists feared most was the potential of Fred Hampton and the Black Panther Party to grip and mobilize the masses and arm them with the revolutionary theory to rise up and strike the capitalists down.

You Can't Kill Revolution

"You can jail a revolutionary, but you can't jail the revolution. You can run a freedom fighter around the country, but you can't run freedom fighting around the country. You can murder a liberator, but you can't murder liberation." Today these words of Fred Hampton still ring true. While there is not yet a surging mass movement like the tumultuous struggles of the '60s, the system is in fact in deeper trouble than before. This underlying reality is the basic reason why not only can revolution not be killed, but it has become a real possibility in the decade ahead.

So today, the question of revolu-

tionary leadership assumes even greater significance for both sides in the coming storms of struggle. And today, building on the past, including the great achievements of the Panthers in their revolutionary days, there is an even firmer, clearer revolutionary leadership—the Revolutionary Communist Party led by its Chairman Bob Avakian. It is a leadership the oppressor will be even more determined to strike down, and it is a leadership the oppressed must look to, cherish and defend as the crucial link to seizing the time in the period ahead. ■

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They sit in the front row wearing traditional dress. Most are in their late 60s and speak only their native Diné language. At one session when the judge entered the court, the bailiff called out, "All rise." The elders stayed seated. "Translate it into their language," a marshal instructed. It was translated, but the elders folded their arms and sat resolutely along with most of the rest of the people in the room. However, a few spectators did jump to their feet—the U.S. Marshals.

Continuing and stepped up support for Peltier, Duenas and Garcia is key as the government moves full steam ahead to "neutralize Leonard Peltier" (as one FBI agent put it). They already have plans to sentence him to several months of segregation in their infamous control unit at the federal prison in Marion, Illinois, where the program includes both drug-induced stupors and surgical lobotomies. Bobby Gene Garcia faces even more time in the control unit, and they hope to imprison Rocque Duenas for twenty years. ■