



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 117

(Vol. 3, No. 15)

Published weekly

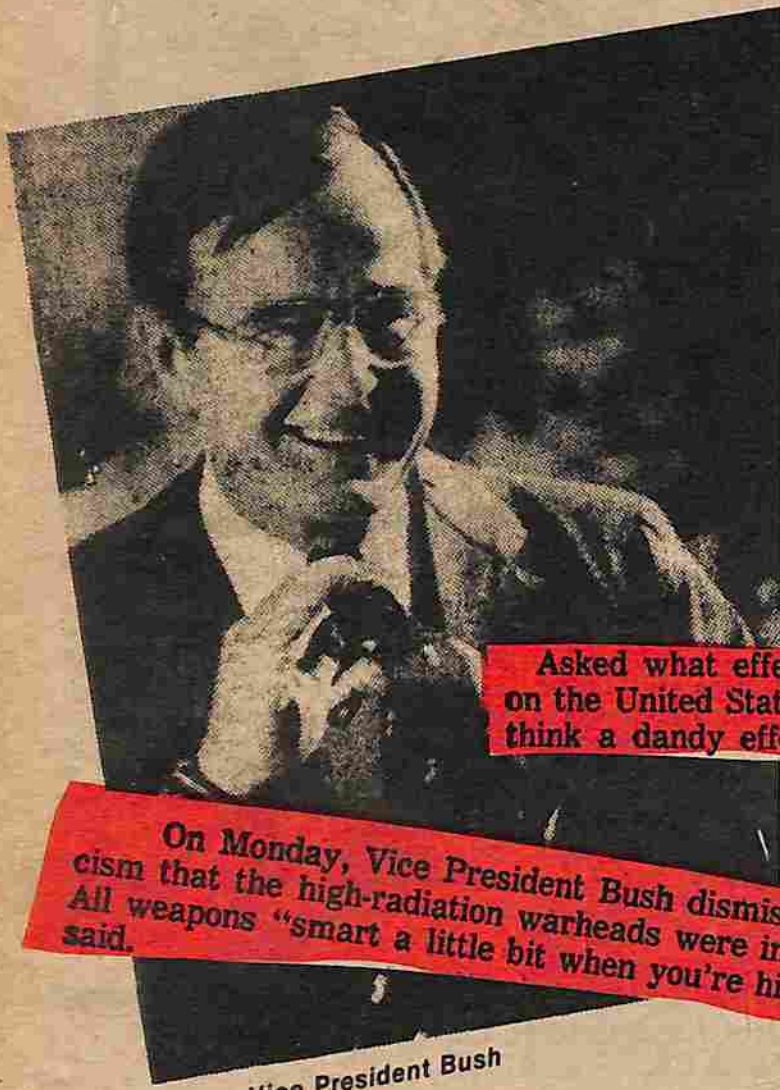
August 14, 1981

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French

ISSN 0193-3485

50¢

NEUTRON BOMB: PERFECT CHILD OF IMPERIALISM



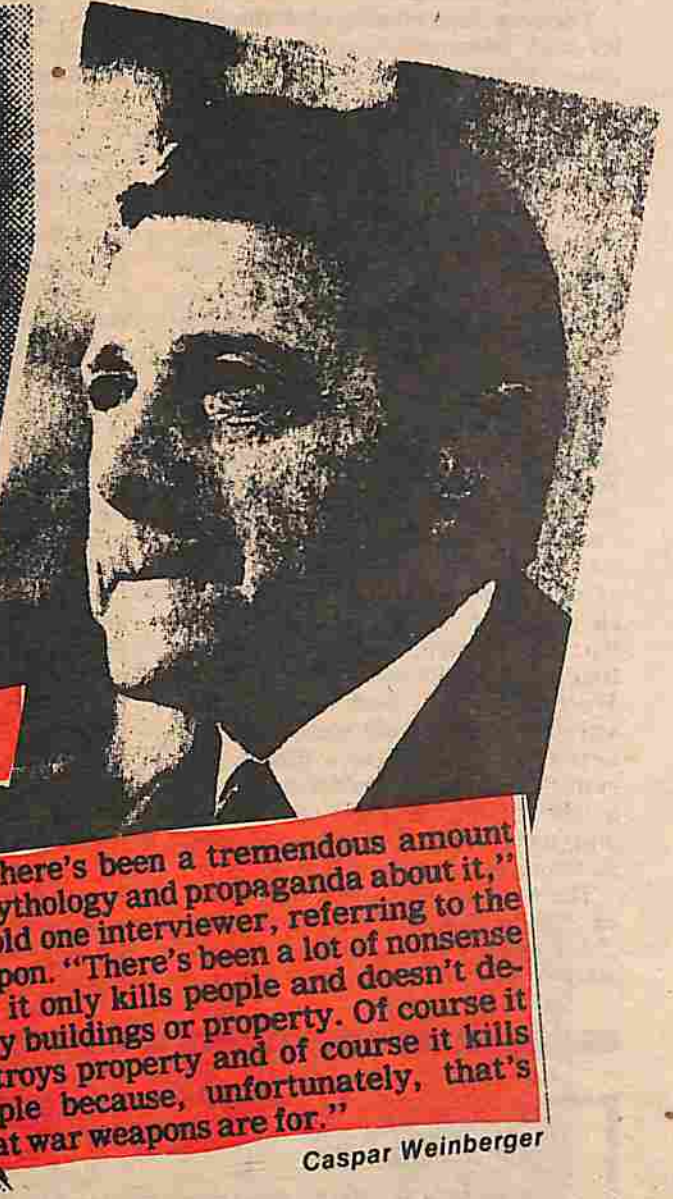
Vice President Bush

On Monday, Vice President Bush dismissed criticism that the high-radiation warheads were inhumane. All weapons "smart a little bit when you're hit," Bush said.



Alexander Haig

Asked what effect the neutron warheads would have on the United States-Soviet arms balance, Haig said, "I think a dandy effect."



Caspar Weinberger

"There's been a tremendous amount of mythology and propaganda about it," he told one interviewer, referring to the weapon. "There's been a lot of nonsense that it only kills people and doesn't destroy buildings or property. Of course it destroys property and of course it kills people because, unfortunately, that's what war weapons are for."

In an announcement as American as apple pie, the Alamo and slavery, U.S. officials have let the world know that the neutron bomb is back—and they did it in the inimitable style that only an imperialist ruling class long overdue for extinction could muster. On August 8, the headlines blasted across the front pages of the major newspapers that the U.S. was going full speed ahead with the production and assembly of the weapon that is justly despised by millions around the world for its noteworthy quality of killing more people, while destroying less property, per kiloton than any other weapon in history. In that, it could certainly become a fitting symbol for the whole U.S. ruling class, who hold the record for having oppressed more people than any other in history.

Three years ago, when it was the focus of widespread protests around the world, especially in Europe where it is particularly slated to be used on a massive scale, President Jimmy Carter

Continued on page 13

The Military Operation Against The Air Controllers Strike

Three dozen air traffic controllers normally man the Gander Control Center, situated in the North Atlantic on the island of Newfoundland. The Center is located at the edge of a huge airfield well-known during WW2 as a fuel stop for U.S. crews ferrying new bombers to Europe. Today, the airfield is little used; but the 36 Canadian controllers at Gander provide the sole radar guidance for all North Atlantic commercial air traffic departing from or arriving at points in the U.S. and Canada.

By August 10th, the week-old strike of the United States Professional Air

Traffic Controller Organization (PATCO) had already wrought considerable havoc with the Transatlantic route, reducing the traffic to about 60% of normal. From the outset of the strike, the Reagan administration had been leaning heavily on the Canadian government to crack down on its own controllers to prevent any support actions which would further threaten the tightly-integrated web of international transportation. The Canadian Controllers Union (CATCO) was threatening to refuse to handle U.S.-connected traffic on the grounds that the U.S.

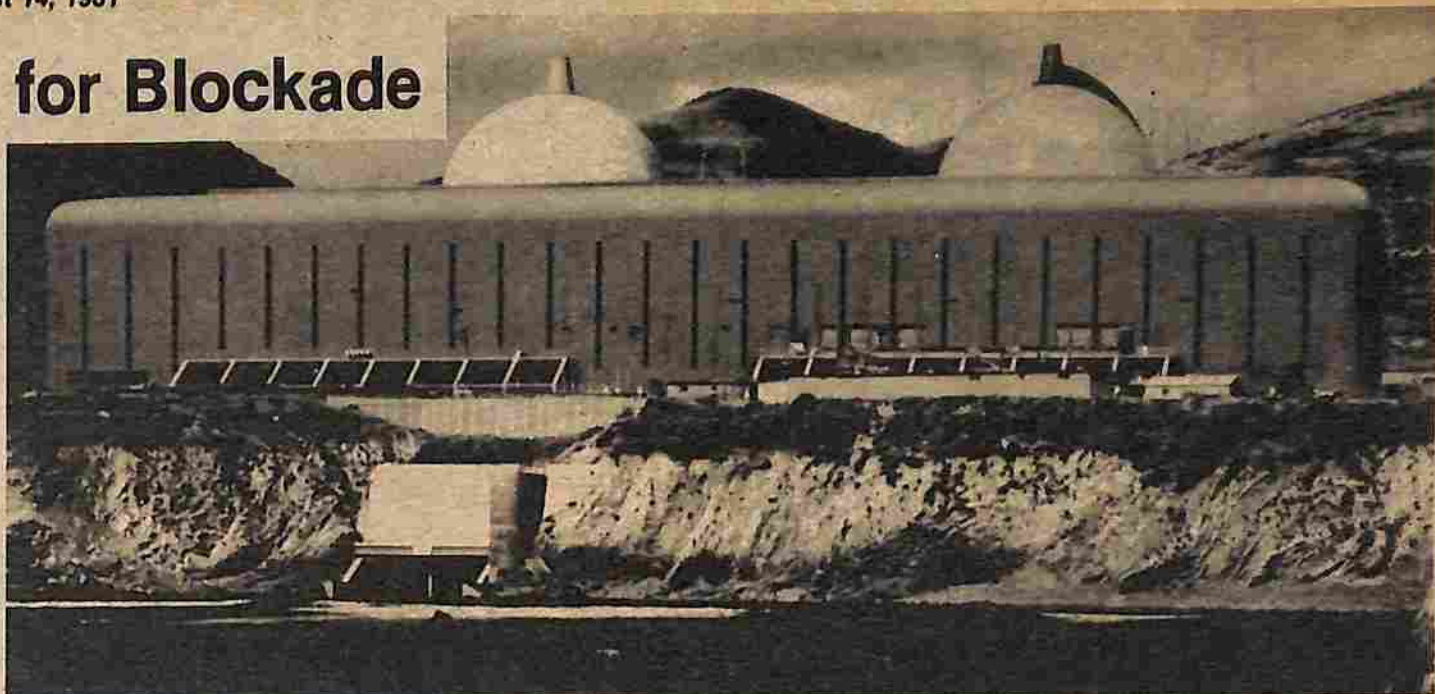
Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) and the Department of Transportation were deliberately running an unsafe control system with their skeleton staff of controllers patched together from supervisory, scab and military personnel. Canada's Minister of Transport, Jean Luc Tetin, could be seen on TV declaring that he had "assurances" from the U.S. government that the air traffic situation was "safer than ever."

On August 10th, controllers at Gander began to phone in sick or to

Continued on page 16

State Prepares for Blockade

10,000 Cops for Diablo



On August 4, California Governor Jerry Brown called a press conference to announce plans to deal with the upcoming blockade of the Diablo Canyon Nuclear Power Plant by anti-nuke activists. "The full forces of the state government," including the National Guard, will be used to put down the action. Brown spoke against opening that plant at a demonstration in 1978 before 40,000; a great many opposed him speaking at the rally, and some organizers tried to prevent it after he helicoptered in. The state and federal governments now have full plans in operation to stop the blockade.

The only thing holding back the fueling and low-power operation of the plant (5% of capacity) is a security clearance from the Atomic Safety and Licensing Board, which will come any day now. The date is being kept strictly secret. Fueling the plant could begin within 24 hours of this announcement. And with the announcement, the Abalone Alliance—the organizers of the blockade—will immediately mobilize, hoping to stop the fueling and operation of the plant. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission, in granting the license for the operation of the plant, has disregarded the fact that the plant is virtually sitting on the Hosgri earthquake fault, which is capable of producing a quake ten times greater than the plant was built to withstand. There is also no plan to evacuate area residents in the event of a meltdown or other accident; an important safety valve—the same type that malfunctioned at Three Mile Island—has not been completely tested. There is no plan to deal with the radioactive waste from the plant, and last week PG&E (Pacific Gas & Electric) admitted they had only half the necessary number of certified plant operators on their staff, and are planning to use supervisory personnel to fill in the gaps.

The Abalone Alliance recently released a Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) memo which discussed plans, asked for by the California National

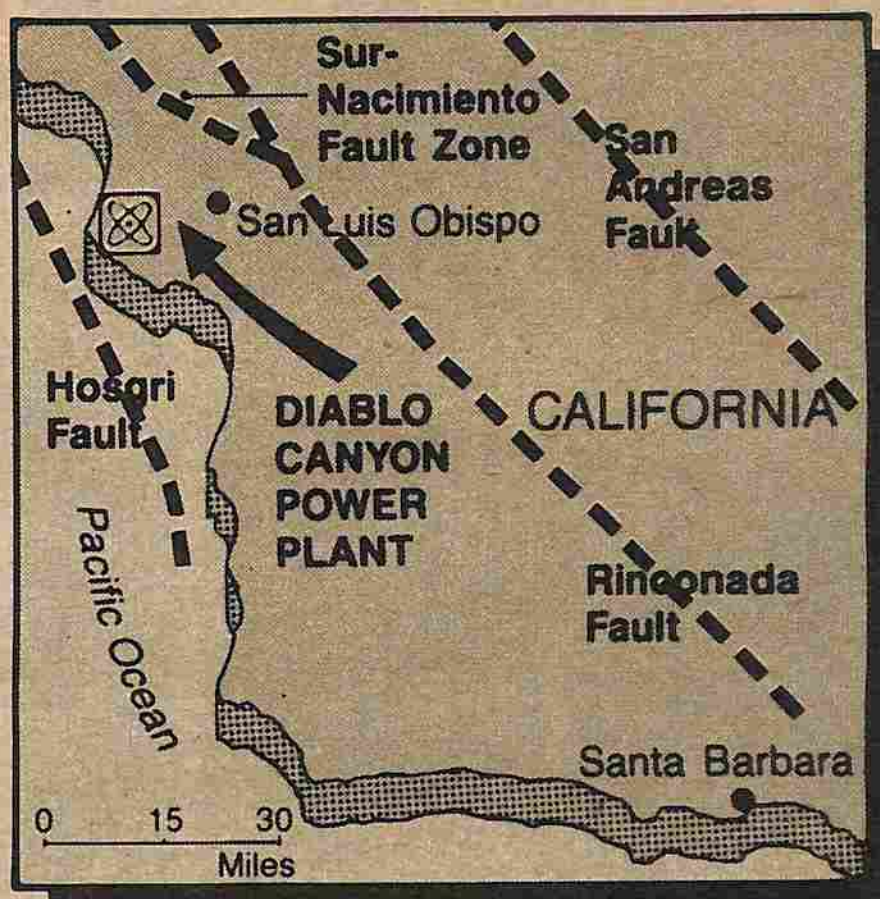
Guard, for extensive use of helicopters (as many as 200) to fly law enforcement personnel onto the plant site and fly people arrested out. The FAA has arranged for "guarded air space" around the plant to facilitate this massive operation. The National Guard refuses to discuss any other possible uses of these military helicopters, but clearly they could also be used to drop tear gas, etc.

The man Governor Brown appointed to head the state operations for Diablo Canyon, California Highway Patrol commissioner Glenn Craig, has labeled the 10,000 figure a "gross exaggeration," but Brown's statement and what's known already of preparations indicate otherwise. They have already announced they will be putting at least 500 sheriffs and 750 highway patrolmen on alert and ready to go at a moment's notice. Also, two battalions of National Guard and military police are being prepared. Several National Guard units have been on alert for over a month. Last month the California Attorney-General assigned 20 agents from his Bureau of Investigation (this represents 10% of that office) to a special Diablo Canyon Task Force to gather intelligence on people planning to do the blockade.

Among other plans for the area around the plant, the highway patrol has made a list of all boat owners and others who have "legitimate" reasons to use a pier and boat launch near the plant. This list will be used when the highway patrol closes the road to that pier, which is the same road that leads to the plant. Only people on the list will be allowed to use the road. The Coast Guard is also developing plans to deal with a flotilla of demonstrators who will approach the plant from the sea.

There is some dispute among authorities as to what to do with people arrested. If they put people in makeshift cells, it would be costly, yet if they release people immediately without bail, they know they will just go back to the blockade. Other possible plans being

The Diablo Canyon Power Plant, a scant 2 1/2 miles from the nearest fault line, and very close to several others.



discussed include flying people out all over the state, holding them in prisons (one of which is nearby) or National Guard camps.

While the Abalone Alliance has made no statement about how many people are expected to participate in the blockade, the government claims it has prepared to deal with 10 to 30,000. Press reports call the Abalone Alliance plans the "best organized and orchestrated" attempt to blockade a nuclear facility in years (in 1978, 478 people were arrested in a blockade attempt at Diablo Can-

yon). For months, people have been organizing for this blockade. The Abalone Alliance has developed an extensive organization of "affinity groups" (small groups of approximately 5 to 25 people) throughout the state and elsewhere who are now on 24-hour notice to begin the blockade. They are not planning a "symbolic" stand against the plant, but a serious attempt to blockade it and keep the workers off the plant site, and to get as many people as possible onto Diablo Canyon property. □

Subscriptions

One Year—\$20

Ten Weeks trial Subscription—\$4.00

- English Edition
- Spanish Edition
- Chinese Edition
- French Edition (monthly)

Foreign Subscriptions—
\$80 Airmail
For Institutions—
\$30/year

Contact your local *Revolutionary Worker* distributor to arrange for your weekly copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* or write to:

Box 3486, Merchandise Mart Chicago, IL 60654

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Order Chinese edition, from:
Everybody's Bookstore, 17 Brenham Pl., San Francisco, CA 94108,
Order French from:
Revolution Books, 16 E. 18th St., New York NY 10003

CONTACT THE *Revolutionary Worker* Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654 IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE:

- Alabama: P.O. Box 2334, Birmingham, AL 35201 (205) 787-0202
- California:
 - Berkeley, 3126 Grove St., Berkeley, CA 94703 (415) 841-8314
 - Los Angeles Area, Revolution Books 2597 W. Pico Blvd., L.A., Calif. 90006 (213) 384-3856
 - San Diego, P.O. Box 16033, San Diego, CA 92116
- District of Columbia: Revolution Books 2438 18th St. N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 265-1969
- Florida: P.O. Box 24983, Tampa, FL 33623
- Georgia: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 10743, Atlanta, GA 30310 (404) 767-6784
- Hawaii: Revolution Books 2848 South King St., Honolulu, HI 96826 (808) 944-3106
- Illinois: Revolutionary Workers Center 542 S. Dearborn, Room 906, Chicago, IL 60605 (312) 922-1140
- Kentucky: P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 or call (513) 281-4275
- Maryland: Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 1992, Baltimore, MD 21203
- Massachusetts: Revolution Books 118 Massachusetts Ave., Box 137, Boston, MA 02115 (617) 492-9016
- Michigan: Revolution Books 5744 Woodward Ave., Detroit, MI 48212 (313) 872-2286
- Missouri: P.O. Box 6013, St. Louis, MO 63139 (314) 773-6068
- New York:
 - Buffalo, Box 121, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, NY 14205 (716) 895-6561
 - NYC & New Jersey: Revolution Books 16 East 18th St., New York, NY 10003 (212) 243-8638
- North Carolina: P.O. Box 5712, Greensboro, NC 27403 (919) 275-1079
- Ohio:
 - Cincinnati, c/o Revolution Books 313 Calhoun St., Cincinnati, OH 45219 (513) 281-4275
 - Cleveland, P.O. Box 09190, Cleveland, OH 44109 (216) 431-6910
 - Dayton, P.O. Box 3005, Cincinnati, OH 45201 (513) 274-8046
- Oregon: Revolutionary Workers Center 4728 N.E. Union, Portland, OR 97211 (503) 282-5034
- Pennsylvania: P.O. Box 11789, Philadelphia, PA 19104 (215) 849-3574
- Texas:
 - Austin, Revolutionary Worker P.O. Box 5914, Austin, TX 78763 (512) 477-3105
 - El Paso, P.O. Box 2357, El Paso, TX 79952 (915) 566-3377
 - Houston, P.O. Box 18112, Houston, TX 77023 (713) 641-3904
- Washington State: Revolution Books 1828 Broadway, Seattle, WA 98122 (206) 323-9222
- West Virginia: P.O. Box 617, Beckley, WV 25801

Some Thoughts Provoked on (Proletarian) Dictatorship and the Seduction of the (Bourgeois) Democrats

This is the third and final excerpt from a recent letter by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. The two previous excerpts appeared in RW Nos. 115 & 116.

I went to see the movie "Fort Apache, The Bronx" recently. Not only is it reactionary from start (beginning with the title which upholds by analogy the slaughter of the Indians) to finish (where the pig hero can't give up being a pig and with renewed vigor finally chases down a much younger man who outran him earlier in the picture). It is all the more vicious because it hides its reactionary message behind, or wraps it up in, liberal nice-guy fair-playism, and "we're really all for the poor people" humbug. Maybe some of the liberal pretensions are sincere, are liberal intentions (though with Paul Newman I doubt it, since he's already done a stint for U.S. imperialism in the U.N. and you can't do that without being pretty damn conscious of what it means), but even if they are sincere that only shows the complete inability of liberalism to correctly deal with the situation, especially as it's sharpening up. In fact, it shows that liberal intentions lead to and serve reactionary ends sooner or later, if they're clung to; if that's as far (forward) as you go, you'll get turned around (backward).

Think about it: It's not just that it's true, nor is it the most essential point, that the cops are up to their snouts in corruption, kick-backs, shake-downs and on and on, and hardly have an interest in "stopping crime." Much more fundamentally their role is to enforce the daily hell in which millions held at the bottom of society are condemned to live under the system, with the appropriate and officially supported brutality and murder—often seeming arbitrary but serving its purpose in its very arbitrariness, so that terror against individuals has the social content of terrorizing masses. And in general their role is to serve and protect, out of the barrel of a gun as the bottom line, the law and order of exploitation and oppression. Those who don't know this, think it's one-sided or simplistic or even smirkingly dismiss it as "rhetoric," should learn better if they have any respect for the truth and really want to help change things from where

they—actually—are to something better. Painting things "from the cops' side of the story" at the very best amounts to promoting sympathy for slave overseers, presenting "reality" through their eyes and advising the slaves to live in tormented submission, perhaps with the "dignity" of the "noble savage."

The film tips its hat to "those in the Bronx working to turn it around," but what can that mean, in the context of the movie, except forces attempting to patch up a few gaping holes and cover up the source and nature of the problem and its only possible solution? How can the Bronx be "turned around" unless the whole country—and beyond that the whole world—is turned around, which means first of all turning it upside down? And the very forces which represent and work toward that aim, the revolutionaries, are caricatured and slandered in the film.

I left the theater wondering, among other things, why it is that liberals—as opposed to open reactionaries—would be responsible for such a film. This called to mind an argument I'd had not long before with a more or less classical bourgeois-democrat, who would admit that, yes, there are many things wrong with bourgeois democracy (and he was even hip enough to call it that) but when there was the threat of something worse—fascism—then the only thing to do was to defend this bourgeois democracy. I asked him if the U.S. today would fit his description of such a bourgeois democracy, and he said yes, at least on paper. I replied to this by first pointing out that this much-vaunted democracy in the U.S. was founded on—that is, the political as well as economic cushion for sections of the people in the U.S. was possible because of—the international exploitation and plunder of U.S. imperialism, the great majority of whose victims were ruled over with much more raw and vicious terror. Was I supposed to celebrate and defend this set-up, in order to preserve such bourgeois democracy within the borders of the U.S.? I asked. And then I not only pointed out the general truth that bourgeois democracy is in fact bourgeois dictatorship over the proletariat and masses, but I also gave a number of concrete examples of what this means in the U.S.,

especially for the less privileged sections of the proletariat and the oppressed nationalities in particular. After a few minutes of back and forth on this point, he came out with the following remarkable comment, which served as a sort of sum up of the two positions: "You want to see society run and the power in the hands of the Blacks, the Puerto Ricans, the Chicanos, Mexicans, the Indians, the poor whites and so on"—"the dictatorship of the proletariat, for short" I interjected—"but I" (he went on) "am afraid that if that should happen they would be exactly the ones who would take away all my rights!"

Here, as I said, is a rather remarkable statement, striking in its naked class bias. His opposition was openly expressed, not because he saw my position as claiming to represent the interests of the proletariat and oppressed masses while in fact serving some other interests; no his opposition was precisely and frankly because my position, the communist position, did in fact represent the interests of the proletariat, proletarian revolution and—here's the heart of it—the proletarian dictatorship.

Here is a rather classical expression of the outlook and position of the petty-bourgeois democrat, opposed to the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the bourgeoisie and frightened of its potential to institute an open terroristic dictatorship, but frightened also of the revolutionary struggle—and still more of the victory, the seizure and exercise of power—by the proletariat. But what did he mean when he said that the proletarians in power "would be exactly the ones who would take away all my rights"? In reflecting on our discussion, two things stood out in relation to this. First, that he regarded the masses of the proletariat as a mob, dangerous if not kept within well-defined bounds (this is central to the whole outlook put forward in "Fort Apache, The Bronx"). Secondly, to the petty bourgeois, in particular the petty-bourgeois intellectual, ideas are the commodities

Continued on page 19

New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

\$3.00 (include 50c postage)

Also published as a separate pamphlet

New Constitution

Contains a section on the General Line of the RCP, USA and 11 Articles

75c (include 50c postage)

Order from: RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654



RCP

Revolutionary Struggle in India

From the Pages of Mass Line

On 22-5-1980 counter petitioner No.1 organised public meeting at Vellangallur in which he spoke prejudicial matters, affronting the security of the State. He, in his speech, spoke against the accused in Madavaramba case, in which 2 Sub-Inspectors, One Head Constable and 6 Police constables sustained grievous injuries due to the attack of the extremists. He instructed and promoted stealing among his followers to adopt the same method to attack police as done by the extremists at Madavaramba on 21-5-1980. He also stressed the need for armed revolution against the so-called reactionaries who are few enforcing agencies and peaceful residents of the locality and to do away with them.

After the meeting counter petitioner No.1 directed a procession from Vellangallur to Madavaramba colony, Ayikarakunnu colony, Tana junction and Irinjalkuda Bus stand, shouting songs and slogans such as

“ഇന്ത്യയിൽ ഭരണത്തിന് അധികാരം നേടണം. ഉന്നയിച്ച
 ഭരണത്തിന് അധികാരം നേടണം. ഉന്നയിച്ച നൽകേണ്ടതാണ്
 ഭരണത്തിന് അധികാരം നേടണം. ഉന്നയിച്ച നൽകേണ്ടതാണ്
 ഭരണത്തിന് അധികാരം നേടണം. ഉന്നയിച്ച നൽകേണ്ടതാണ്
 ഭരണത്തിന് അധികാരം നേടണം. ഉന്നയിച്ച നൽകേണ്ടതാണ്

which were likely to promote ill-feeling and enmity between classes and sections of the General public and Government officials whose duty it is to safeguard the security of the State and to maintain peace.

Charge sheet against revolutionaries in Kerala, India for shouting slogans and leading the singing of the “Internationale” as “likely to promote ill-feeling between classes and sections of the general public and government officials...” —charges written under the authority of the “Marxist” Home Minister of Kerala, Mr. Ramakrishnan, who said that no “democratic” government could tolerate such “provocative” actions.

“Mass Line comes to you after a long absence,” read the welcome words of the front page editorial of this Marxist-Leninist newspaper from India. Its very reappearance something of a triumph—another issue of the paper after four months of police suppression, with quite a story to tell.

The editorial begins by detailing some of the very severe financial difficulties which force this English language paper to cut back from biweekly to monthly issues earlier this year, including the particular problems of establishing a national network of agents outside of the state of Kerala where it is published, and of finding ways to collect the money from sales in this province far from the major cities of this semi-colonial, semi-feudal country. (Other such newspapers are published in some of the country’s regional languages, including in Kerala.)

But, it goes on to say, “a more important and in a sense more far reaching cause for the present publication breakdown was the recent developments in the state...”

“Of course, the revolutionary left could never aspire for a troublefree course. After the recent spurt of activities of the revolutionary forces in Kerala manifested militantly through the people’s courts and the annihilation struggle at Kenichira in Wynad (more on this later) the government overtly and covertly set out to put a stop to the dissemination of revolutionary literature. Harrassing our agents began much earlier. In isolated places where revolutionary forces are weak they sent policemen to intimidate our agents. Now they have come out into the open. On June 12, a large contingent of police raided our book stall (Vijayan Book Stall at Arpookara East) and illegally confiscated a number of books. So far they have not returned them. Moreover they raided the office of *Mass Line/Comrade* (our Malayalam weekly) and without any reason at all, arrested two of our editorial team and detained them for a week before bail was granted. The police raided the press where we were getting our books and periodicals printed, and intimidated its owner and took into custody a press worker and a member of the managerial staff and detained them for two days with valid documents. This forced us to search for

another press...”

For almost a year now the Indira Gandhi government, along with its general subservience to Soviet economic and political domination (although the U.S. still has its sharp hooks in the country and woos Gandhi as well), has used a special National Security Act to arrest and jail for up to three years without trial anyone declared a “threat to national security.” As *Mass Line* puts it, despite India’s “democratic image, with a parliamentary set-up and all,” the essence of this “democracy” is that “There will be peace as long as the oppressed do not resist oppression.” Just two cases in point: the government’s murder of 10,000 revolutionaries and jailing of countless more to put down the so-called “Naxalite” rebellion which swept India’s villages in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the mass jailings of a wide variety of Gandhi’s political opponents, as well as huge numbers of revolutionaries during 1975-77 under the “Special Powers Act.”

“Marxist” Reactionaries in Power

The situation is especially sharp in Kerala, where the history and current level of revolutionary work among the peasants and rural laborers is matched by the treachery and current level of bloodthirsty hypocrisy among the so-called “Marxists” who run the state. Kerala, like several other states where the central government has been faced with an especially explosive situation among the masses, has long been run by a “United Front” lead by the Communist Party of India (Marxist), which broke away from the Soviet Union (which openly supports Gandhi) in the early 1960s, declared itself “equidistant” between China and the USSR in the great polemics the Chinese communists waged against Soviet revisionism, and later fell back into the programmatic agreement with the USSR on every major question and into purely parliamentary activity. Despite the reputation this party’s “centrism” gained it among certain international circles (the *Guardian* newspaper in the U.S., which shares many of the CPI(M)’s positions, continues to praise it), the CPI(M) is a perfect example of the link between subservience to foreign imperialism and domestic reaction. In

Continued on page 19

“They Will Know No Peace”

Revolt in China

Reprinted from the Indian Marxist-Leninist newspaper *Mass Line*.

Press agencies stationed in China have reported a broadcast by an underground radio operating somewhere in western China about a recent mutiny in Guangxi province by 840 PLA men. The authorities, the report said, took three months to suppress the revolt which was provoked by the imprisonment and interrogation of 10,000 former cadres as a part of the anti-left campaign, denigration of the army’s role during Cultural Revolution, and continuing persecution and purge of army cadres under the pretext of attacking the followers of Mao Tse Tung. The revisionist clique in power itself has indirectly admitted revolt when in March it took the unusual step requesting of all PLA men to take an oath of loyalty to the Party, government and its policies.

After the revisionist takeover the party also is in no better shape. Its ideological organ “Red Flag” has written about the creeping ideological erosion in the party and the leading cadres “Sit around all day and talk about casual things, enjoying food and wine reciprocating each others’ favours and indulging in two-way tactics”. The importance of such writing in the press can be best understood in the context of a series of bomb explosions, demonstrations, and strikes.

As Mao Tsetung repeatedly asserted the revisionists who have usurped power will not be able to pass a single day without facing organised revolt from the people.



A scene from the Cultural Revolution—PLA soldiers discuss the Red Book in an evening study session.

Springboks Tour On The Run

As the New Zealand tour of the Springboks rugby team from the Western imperialists' darling apartheid regime in South Africa goes on, it is hardly proceeding with the characteristic grace and agility associated with the species of African antelope for which the team was named. More appropriately, it is staggering along like a wounded beast, stunned by the blows it has received from broad and militant actions of progressive and revolutionary people in New Zealand. Indeed, this world tour, which New Zealand's rulers hoped would be able to leap over any opposition there, has been battered by protest and upheaval such as has not been seen in New Zealand in years.

Last week, demonstrations continued to rock the country as anti-apartheid protestors scaled security fences and stormed onto the runway at Wellington airport, forcing one plane to abort its landing a mere 100 feet above the ground and delaying other incoming and outgoing flights. No sooner had police cleared the area than reinforcements were rushed to a nearby hotel (where the Springboks are scheduled to stay for another rugby match on August 29) where over 1000 demonstrators had converged, some of them invading the lobby and refusing to move until finally arrested.

The fact that New Zealand's rulers have been going to great lengths in lashing out to assure the completion of this tour reveals just how important it is not only to them, but to the whole U.S.-led imperialist pack, to pull off this engagement, and just how high the stakes are for them. Even in the face of widespread opposition and deep political embarrassment, they are bound and determined to publicly "rehabilitate" the barbaric South African regime—a regime which figures so prominently in the Western bloc strategic scenario for world war. New Zealand's rulers had been fully expecting trouble, and it has come out that they had already prepared a security plan seven months in advance code-named Operation Rugby—a plan described as "the most complex police operation of its kind ever carried out in New Zealand." The plan involved logistical training for police at various military installations (it was predicted that 3,600 cops might be needed in case of "trouble"), and its estimated cost was NZ \$2.7 million. As it has turned out, every bit of this security has been needed—and more. As of last week, more than 4,000 of the country's entire police force of 4,900 have been mobilized to cope with the continuing demonstrations, in addition to numerous retired cops who have been recalled for special duty.

Since last week's report on events around the Springboks tour, we have received more information on some of the protests that have been exploding across New Zealand (there has been a virtual blackout in the U.S. press), putting the government under something resembling a state of siege as it continues to escort the Springboks around under armed guard. On July 29, the combined efforts of regular police aided by New Zealand's Red Squad (which has been assigned to bodyguard the team) prevented hundreds of protestors from halting a match played in New Plymouth. However, the same day, the authorities had their hands full with a much more difficult scene in the streets of Wellington as a demonstration of 1200 roared through the streets, invading the offices of the Wellington Rugby Union, barricading themselves inside and throwing checks and tickets for the match scheduled there out the windows. After police burst through the barricaded doors to make arrests, the protestors moved on Parliament, where phalanxes of police and plainclothes detectives had barricaded themselves in front of the doors after the Acting Prime Minis-



July 25—(Above) Demonstrators tear down the fence surrounding the Rugby field. (Below) Demonstrators raced onto the field pursued by police and some reactionary spectators. At least 500 reached the center of the field and linked arms. Officials cancelled the game.

ter had been advised that morning that "there was cause for worry about the security of this chamber." Halted by baton-wielding police, the demonstration then attempted to march to the home of the South African consul-general in a nearby suburb. At this point police attacked, brutally beating heads bloody and sending eight to the hospital. But the demonstration continued as protestors wearing crash helmets formed a perimeter around the crowd, which continued through the city center to the central police station before finally dispersing. Meanwhile in Auckland, cops guarded the police station there as well as the ruling National Party's headquarters, as 1,500 protestors swept past and instead tried busting into the offices of Air New Zealand House before being repelled by a three-deep line of police.

Two days later in Palmerston North, 1000 riot-clad cops ferried into the city by bus and Air Force planes (the biggest police mobilization ever in New Zealand) braced behind yards of barbed wire laid out by army engineers to prevent the disruption of another Springboks match at the Palmerston North Showgrounds, as several thousand demonstrators moved toward the stadium. Here a physical confrontation was defused as leaders of several anti-tour groups, who insisted that the protest remain non-violent "to prove that peaceful political protest was still possible," had march monitors station themselves between several hundred helmeted demonstrators and police. Many

were angered by this, and controversy rose, reflecting a broad spectrum of outlooks and widely differing degrees of political consciousness among the demonstrators. Various reformist leaders counseled caution (one stating, "There is no way we can walk through that. And there is no way the government can justify a blue line like that"), and attempted to lead protestors in pathetic choruses of "God Save New Zealand." Others, disgusted by all this, opposed it. One woman took the megaphone to declare, "The ones that are serious... We mean business... We are not here to muck around!" The same day in Auckland, a demonstration that swelled to 4,500 people marched through the city center and held a mass rally there as debate continued over how to carry on the struggle.

Meanwhile, as the government continued to whine that the Springboks tour was not political and "just sports," Prime Minister Muldoon issued loud noises that if the protests didn't stop he would call a general election to decide the issue of "law and order." This was a calculated attempt on the part of the government to politically mobilize the more backward strata in New Zealand like those that have filled the stands to watch the Springboks play, and set them to do some of the imperialists' dirty work.

As reported last week in the *RW*, after the match in Hamilton a few weeks ago was canceled midway through, elements of the beer-guzzling crowd launched vicious attacks on the

demonstrators. (During the battle, the crowd also turned its wrath upon the press box—where, it turned out, 10 of the 20 sporting journalists were from South Africa. After showering it with bottles and cans, they proceeded to attack a CBS camera crew, destroying much of its equipment.) Since then, a number of anti-tour leaders and participants have been forced to go into hiding after telephoned death threats and attacks on their homes by thugs described in the press as "rugby supporters."

Meanwhile, the New Zealand government has been hemming and hawing, trying to deal with the international uproar over an issue to which they are by no means strangers—i.e. the persistent efforts by the apartheid regime over the years to use sporting competition as a means to break through the worldwide opposition by the masses to their crimes that has forced many governments to issue sanctions and isolate them internationally. In 1976, after New Zealand's national rugby team—the All Blacks (named for their uniforms)—went on a much publicized tour in South Africa at the time of the Soweto rebellions, dozens of African nations ended up boycotting the Montreal Olympics when New Zealand was not excluded. The following year New Zealand was forced to sign the Gleneagles Agreement in which all the so-called British Commonwealth countries at least formally pledged to cut off sporting contacts with South Africa. Various officials are now doing flip flops to

Continued on page 6

New Government Moves Against Dennis Brutus

New developments in the U.S. government's attempts to deport black South African poet and Northwestern University professor Dennis Brutus once again illustrate the U.S. rulers' determination to silence this long-standing opponent to the hideous apartheid regime. Recently the government issued a second order for him to leave the country and has continued to block other attempts to legalize his immigration status.

As reported a few weeks ago (see *RW* No. 111, "South African Poet Threatened with Deportation"), Dr. Brutus has a history of struggle against white minority rule in South Africa stretching back to the early '60s which led to his imprisonment and later exile from South Africa. He first entered the U.S. and remained here on an H-1 visa, granted to people with special skills, that has been routinely renewed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) each year. However, since last August he has faced a growing torrent of governmental harassment and run-around. All of this has not stopped Dennis Brutus from exposing the apartheid system. In fact, he has been actively involved in building opposition to the upcoming visit to this country of the Springboks South African rugby team. Last spring, with the threat of deporta-

tion already hanging over his head, he helped lead a struggle at Northwestern University that exposed the "new" and "reformed" image of South Africa being promoted by the U.S.

Dr. Brutus's first notice to leave the country by March 5, 1981 used the pretext that he had violated his "temporary" status. It stated, "You have been in this country for ten years, creating a strong presumption that both your stay here and your present position are in effect permanent." But Brutus has always maintained that he is not in this country permanently and would in fact return to Africa, but not until the national liberation struggle is victorious and Azania is a "free and democratic country." When he left Robben Island prison where he was incarcerated by the South African authorities, he had to sign an agreement with the racist government which stated that if he ever again set foot in South Africa, he would be jailed immediately. While Brutus does hold Zimbabwean citizenship, the network of South African secret police operating in that country have frequently demonstrated their presence by gunning down opponents of apartheid.

Recently Brutus's appeal of the first deportation order was denied and he was given a second deadline of July 5 for him to be out of the U.S. However,



the growing number of people stepping forward to defend Dr. Brutus, including two Black U.S. Congressmen, forced the INS to recede a little and grant a meeting to discuss the case. At this point, to cut through the red tape surrounding the H-1 status, Dr. Brutus's lawyers filed legal papers stating that he should be granted the visa status of "Distinguished Scholar," which would allow permanent residency in the U.S. The government's response to this request was a transparent attempt to

force Dennis Brutus to leave the country. On August 5, the INS said they will not even consider granting the "Distinguished Scholar" visa unless Dennis Brutus initiates the application from a U.S. consulate office abroad.

The Dennis Brutus Defense Committee is rightly convinced that should Dr. Brutus leave this country, he will not be allowed to re-enter the U.S. The committee is publicly exposing this latest trickery and building support for Dr. Brutus's fight against deportation. □

Springboks Tour

Continued from page 5

explain how New Zealand still "reaffirms" the Glencagles agreement and stands by its "abhorrence" of apartheid while at the same time refusing to bar the Springboks from the country. Muldoon whined that it wouldn't be democratic to "take from our sportsmen and our sporting bodies the right to make their own final decision on whom they would play," etc., etc. Acting Prime Minister MacIntyre, subbing for Muldoon as he met with Reagan in Washington (no doubt in part to discuss the "progress" of the tour), screeched that "illegal and violent means" used by the protestors had "changed the issue from one of opposition to apartheid to a threat to the institutions of a democratic society."

But what the Springboks tour and the New Zealand government's efforts to defend it with all the means at its disposal has shown is that opposition to apartheid is in fact regarded by the democratic institutions of the imperialists as a major threat. And they have expertly revealed the naked essence of these institutions—barbed wire, club-swinging police, etc. and also the following little exchange. After the storm trooper chief of the Johannesburg riot squad publicly bragged that he would have needed only 20 of his men to teach the protestors a lesson, a top New Zealand police official retorted that, "Given his bloody system, I could have done it with less."

Further, the Police Minister of New Zealand, Ben Couch—himself a Maori (a native people of New Zealand)—blurted out on national television that he fully supported apartheid. Later he admitted he had been "caught off balance" by the interview and claimed that he was in fact *morally* opposed to it. Of course, such remarks from so slavish a bootlicker for New Zealand's rulers were to be expected—notwithstanding the fact that this fool, a former member of the All Blacks, was barred from playing during its tour of South Africa in 1949 because he was a Maori!

Unfortunately for the U.S. rulers themselves, New Zealand has so far proved a rather unsuccessful testing ground and provided a chilling prelude to what may happen if they attempt to bring the Springboks here for a tour that was originally scheduled for Chica-

go, Albany and New York beginning on Sept. 19. The shock waves rippling across the ocean from New Zealand are posing quite serious implications for their plans to wrap the South African regime in the ultimate cloak of imperialist "legitimacy"—a glowing welcome in the USA. Already there have been ominous signs for them as on July 16 a small crowd of demonstrators showed up at Kennedy International Airport in New York to greet the Springboks who were then en route to New Zealand. Since then, a broad coalition of 55 different groups so far has vowed to oppose any Springboks tour of the U.S. and to organize large demonstrations if they come.

The U.S. press has been floating out various rationales (much the same as those New Zealand's rulers have run out) for why the Springboks should be allowed to come. Writing in the *New York Times*, Tom Selfridge, the president of the Eastern Rugby Union (ERU) who originally invited the South African team, ran out the time-worn and tedious argument that "sports and politics don't mix." However, considering the fresh memories of the U.S. rulers' political use of the 1980 Olympics, Selfridge was obliged to go through some interesting contortions to make his point. His logic? See, the boycott over Afghanistan didn't work. Nor was the patriotic orgy surrounding the victory of the "plucky" American hockey team at Lake Placid of much enduring value. Therefore, sports should not be political any more (at least until after the Springboks tour)! (Evidence that the ERU's concern in inviting the Springboks here is indeed *anything* but political was the revelation that it has been soliciting contributions from banks and corporations that do business with South Africa and offering anonymity, if desired, in a letter which notes, "Your company will benefit from this support in the South African community".)


Selfridge goes on to wonder why all the fuss since "In fact, the (South African) team is multiracial, selected on ability and open to all players in South Africa"! This, of course, is a crude lie, considering that rugby is one of the most segregated institutions in South Africa. The Springboks' "integrated" members consist of one mixed-race bench-warmer who is there for obvious

reasons and, oh yes, a mixed-race "assistant manager" who preaches patience with the "evolutionary progress" being made by the South African regime, and who, incredibly, says of apartheid, "I believe it can be overcome by playing rugby"! Neither of them are allowed into "white" hotels when playing in Johannesburg, even to have a drink with their team "buddies"!

Then there was New York's Mayor Koch, who announced on July 17, despite repeated protests from a variety of groups, that he would allow Downing Stadium on Randalls Island to be used for a Springboks match slated for Sept. 26. In response to objections by the Organization of African Unity, Koch cynically wrote to the UN that "The use of city athletic facilities in no way expresses the city's endorsement of the politics of those using those facilities.... Let me put it at its most extreme: if the Eastern Rugby Union wished to play the PLO, I would not bar them from doing so." However, a couple of weeks later Koch apparently decided it would not be so easy to pull off an appearance by the Springboks in New York City

and suddenly canceled permission for use of the facility on the advice of his police commissioner, who warned of the "strong possibility" of violent disruptions, and said that crowd control would be "exceedingly difficult" as well as costly.

Still, the matter of a U.S. tour by the Springboks is far from settled. Indeed, Koch's initial offer of a stadium on an island off Manhattan (with all the attendant military advantages for defending it from demonstrators) is a sign of the intentions of the U.S. rulers to pull this tour off if at all possible, as well as an indication of the resistance they will be facing (the ERU has declared that despite Koch's reversal they have "no intentions of cancelling"). So, too, was the announcement in Chicago by the Midwest Rugby Football Union that the game there will be played at—get this—a *secret location* with a number of alternative sites in reserve within a radius of 50 miles in case it is discovered. What more evidence is needed of the imperialists' desperation in this matter and the fact that they are in a very defensive political position around it?



BARRICADES in BERLIN
Klaus Newkrantz

"IT'S ONE HELL OF A STORY and working class art at its finest."

Stirring novel of armed class warfare... Berlin workers' battle to march through the streets on May Day 1929.

"It has a liveliness and emotional impact today that is in large part due to the fact that what it describes is a struggle which certainly did not end with that May Day battle in Berlin in 1929."

\$2.95

Order from
BANNER PRESS
P.O. Box 6469
Chicago, IL 60680
Please add 50¢ postage
Illinois residents
add 5% sales tax

U.S. "Best Hopes" in Iran: The Exiles, the Army and the IRP

Spitting out his words in snake-like precision, ex-hostage Victor Tomseth, former No. 2 political officer at the U.S. embassy in Tehran and quite clearly still assigned to the case, responded to questions posed in a special report on Iran, Tuesday, August 11 by ABC Nightline's Ted Koppel, on the situation in Iran today and Iran's strategic importance for the U.S. imperialists. Tomseth was quick to point out that a distinction should be made "between the collapse of Iran and the collapse of the current regime." Further, when asked about the possibilities of viable pro-U.S. imperialist forces which could replace the current reactionary regime in Iran, should it prove unable to keep the reins of power, Tomseth commented that such forces would likely have to be "internal to Iran, with viable nationalist and Islamic credentials."

This program was aired, after a long silence in the U.S. press on Iran, to reiterate the official State Department line of support for the IRP, to educate the government's troglodyte social base that "some people will be surprised that the U.S. is in fact supporting the IRP regime," as Koppel put it; and at the same time, publicly entertain the question of possible alternatives for the U.S. imperialists in a situation which they admit looks rough for the IRP in Iran. While they attempted to paint a picture of "fratricidal" Iran in utter chaos, a definite air of pessimism shrouded the various imperialist mouthpieces—only one indication of the sticky wicket that the U.S. imperialists face in Iran.

One commentator indicated that not only is the U.S. supporting the IRP regime, but they might even send arms to Iran, "although such requests from Iran were unlikely." These Iran experts are well aware that the IRP is desperately trying to hang onto its mass support by using "anti-imperialist" demagoguery, and an open request for arms would be the kiss of death. So while keeping up the public embargo on military assistance, the U.S. has been sending military supplies indirectly to Iran—through Israel among others. This came out into the open two weeks ago when an Argentine cargo plane full of U.S. made tank parts and ammo destined for Iran was shot down just inside the Soviet border. According to the Swiss arms merchant who spilled his guts in the *London Sunday Times*, the deal was arranged between Iranian government and Israeli agents in London and the arms from Israel were being shipped first to Cyprus to get new papers and then on to Iran.

Last month, nine days ahead of schedule, the U.S. returned more than \$2 billion in frozen Iranian assets, as called for in the hostage deal. This was greased by one of the fastest legal decisions ever handed down by the Supreme Court with lawyers from Iran and the U.S. standing side by side and arguing the same position in court. Through such a move the U.S. imperialists clearly wanted to back up the IRP regime, whose economy is in dire straits and is running short of foreign exchange, as well as to head off any more moves by sections of the IRP to extend Iran's trade and military supply arrangements with Soviet bloc countries.

While all these actions by the U.S. government are aimed at shoring up the regime, the U.S. imperialists have never ceased plotting other options in case the IRP should be unable to keep power, or if the opportunity should arise to successfully challenge the current regime, such as the death of Ayatollah Khomeini. Who could have better credentials, such as those mentioned by the spy Tomseth, than the top commanders of the Islamic Armed Forces of Iran? It has been an open secret for some time that the U.S. imperialists have placed much of their hopes on the army. For example, in a recent syndicated column, Jack Anderson wrote that "Top level U.S. officials are wondering if the Iranian army isn't the last best hope of overthrowing Khomeini and setting up a stable, less anti-American government."

The Exiled Generals

In addition there are new signs that the U.S. is unleashing the reactionary Iranian exile movement, very likely in conjunction with pro-U.S. imperialist elements in the Iranian army itself. A case in point is General Bahram Aryana.

The significance of General Aryana and his Azedegan group was first disclosed in a special article written for the *RW* (*RW* No. 114, July 17) which exposed the existence of a covert action program based in Washington directed at preparations for a pro-U.S. military coup in Iran should the IRP fail in its efforts to repress the masses. While the U.S. press has carefully avoided any mention of Aryana, the documents from the coup planning center made clear his centrality to the U.S.-backed efforts. Now General Aryana's name has for the first time been publicly floated.

For example, a July 31 issue of *Iran Times* quotes another rightist publication *Setad* (*Headquarters*), which is put out by former officers from the U.S.-trained Shah's army, as reporting that "Aryana has gone to Turkey. This publication (*Setad*) says it is possible that his positioning himself along the border with Iran in Eastern Turkey might not be unrelated to an armed uprising inside Iran." General Aryana's presence in Turkey was also confirmed to the *RW* by a spokesman of U.S.-based monarchist groups.

Iran Times further cites a report in the July 2nd issue of *Foreign Report*, a high-priced "insider's newsletter" published for members of the bourgeoisie by the British magazine *The Economist*. The *RW* has obtained a copy of this issue, which is mailed to its subscribers "on the condition that it is regarded as confidential by the recipients," and which reports the views of an anonymous source on the situation among rightist Iranian exiles:

"The ex-patriot group does not look to Bani Sadr for leadership but points to *General Bahram Aryana*, former chairman of the Chiefs of Staff, who is said to have the backing of up to 15,000 former members of the armed forces living outside Iran. General Aryana, who is aged 74 but he is described as being extremely active, lives in Paris where he is apparently the only opposition leader with a command structure, called *Azedegan*." (Emphasis in original—*RW*)

Foreign Report then goes on to describe other exile forces in phrases lifted wholesale from the documents emanating from the Washington coup planning center as reprinted in the *RW* article cited earlier.

Washington Center (late April): "...He (Reza Pahlavi) has disassociated himself from many of the corrupt former advisors and the influence of his mother, Empress Farah...the Shah and his advisors have been seeking closer ties with General Aryana in Paris."

Foreign Report (July 2nd): "...He (Aryana) has had contact with the son of the late Shah, Reza Pahlavi, who lives in Egypt and is said to have disassociated himself from the influence of his mother, ex-Empress Farah Dibah, and some of the Shah's controversial former advisors."

But we can hardly be surprised that *Foreign Report* is a conduit for building favorable opinion among the bourgeoisie for the possible use of a U.S. coup option. After all, *The Economist* was named specifically in the document as a target publication to be "approached and persuaded," and

it is, in fact, the purpose of such an "insider's newsletter" to build advance public opinion among the ruling classes for necessary measures. All this is right in keeping with the Washington-based project's aims as stated in their own secret documents: "The objective of our communications program is to prepare the way for the eventual change in government... Effort should be also directed at leaders in the business community of the alliance in order that their financial and trade support can be quickly applied after the change."

In addition to Aryana's positioning himself in Turkey, other forces led by Admiral Madani, who the coup plotting documents mentioned was preparing "to follow Aryana," are now based in the Gulf sheikdoms in the south. These forces are clearly setting up right on Iran's borders, carefully avoiding Iraq

in order to avoid being labelled as "unpatriotic," and where they will be able to keep in close touch with pro-U.S. forces in the military and elsewhere inside Iran.

This flurry of exile activity is very significant. But it also points to even more intense and extensive efforts of the U.S. to rally its supporters inside Iran. At the center of these efforts, as we mentioned above, is the Iranian military. However, a look at the situation in the military itself further reveals why the U.S. imperialist spokesmen appeared pessimistic about the future.

Turmoil in Military

One feature of the current upheaval in Iran and the intensifying mass struggle against the IRP regime is that the regular armed forces have not yet

Continued on page 15

Student Shot in D.C.

Iranian Embassies Seized in Four Countries

Last week in a worldwide series of coordinated actions, Iranian students, for the most part supporters of the revolutionary Islamic Mujahadeen, seized the diplomatic offices of the reactionary Iranian government in Bonn, West Germany; Oslo, Norway; Ottawa, Canada; and Washington, D.C. In Washington, all traffic was blocked off on Wisconsin Avenue for several hours, as the Metropolitan Police, SWAT team, uniformed Secret Service agents, FBI agents and Army explosives experts surrounded the Iranian Affairs Section of the Algerian embassy which represents the Tehran government in the U.S.

Early in the morning a group of 24 student militants entered through a rear entrance of the building, proceeded to the third floor and quickly overpowered two guards, who were tied up. Holding the rest of the staff captive, the students proceeded to hang banners out of the windows, burn a picture of Khomeini, and spraypaint the walls in red and black with slogans denouncing the vicious murders in Iran by the Islamic Republic Party.

After 45 minutes, the students, who were unarmed, agreed to release the captive staff and leave. But as they were leaving, one of them was shot in the back and critically wounded. All were immediately arrested and charged with damaging a diplomatic mission, a federal crime. The cops denied that they fired the shot that seriously wounded the Mujahadeen supporter, and arrested one member of the Iranian mission, charging him with the act. Yet police did not identify the alleged assailant and instead spirited him off to a hospital which police also refused to identify.

In Oslo, 20 supporters of the Mujahadeen from Sweden seized the Iranian embassy, holding 8 hostages until they were allowed to talk to the press. Shouting "Khomeini murderer," the group held the embassy for 5-1/2 hours while it was surrounded by Norwegian anti-

terrorist squads.

In all the actions, police announced that the student militants had refused to identify themselves; yet in a scene reeking of collusion between the U.S. government and the reactionary regime in Tehran, Radio Iran quickly broadcast the identities of 5 of the students who had seized the Iranian mission in Washington and 8 who had taken part in the similar action in Bonn. Meanwhile, in New York, 60 Iranian students who had been arrested at private homes in Englewood, New Jersey after participating in a demonstration to protest the torture and murder of Mujahadeen leader, Mohammed Saadati, were moved to the Brooklyn Federal Detention Center. When asked for their names, they would identify themselves only as "militant." Having been arrested in the first place for protesting the crimes of imperialism, they have been subjected to continuing threats, insults and abuses in captivity, and have responded by maintaining a hunger strike. Having been frequently told, "We will send you back to Iran for Khomeini to execute you," the students were also told that Washington had been consulted because of the "specialty" of their case.

Last summer the U.S. imperialists found themselves painted into a similar corner after arresting and beating 160 Iranians in a street demonstration in Washington. The government was eventually forced to release them; and now in this case, the government has offered to release on their own recognizance, 51 of the 60 still held—those against whom the U.S. government is unable to charge any immigration violations. Yet the 51 have refused the conditional release, vowing to remain in jail until all 60 are freed. They have also expressed their support for the other Mujahadeen supporters around the world who have taken part in the seizures of Iranian embassies, now labeled "nests of compromise" by the students. □



Eyewitness account:
 "I don't believe any shots came from the house... You can't hold babies and shoot guns at the same time."

Above: Police prepare to storm house.

30-100 Years for MOVE

On August 4, 1981, almost 3 years to the day of the vicious and brutal assault on the headquarters of the predominantly Black organization MOVE in the Powelton Village section of West Philadelphia, Common Pleas Judge Edwin Malmed sentenced 9 MOVE members to 30-100 years in jail. All 9 (Delbert Orr Africa, Edward Goodman Africa, Michael Davis Africa, William Phillips Africa, Geanine Phillips Africa, Merle Austin Africa, Charles Sims Africa, Debbie Sims Africa and Janet Holloway Africa) were charged and convicted on 1 count each of 3rd degree murder; 7 counts each of 3rd degree attempted murder; and 1 count each of conspiracy. The charge of 3rd degree murder stems from the fact that one cop, James Ramp, wound up dead in what everyone knows—and what all the evidence points to—was his being caught in the crossfire during the five minutes of intense gunfire that the Philly police had opened up with. While this trial may have been unusual as the longest trial in Philadelphia history, there was certainly nothing unusual about the despicable national oppression that it was founded upon.

Judge Malmed, in defense of such long jail terms said: "In my opinion, any thought of rehabilitation of these defendants would be absurd. They have persisted in setting their own bizarre codes of conduct without regard for the laws of the commonwealth or the rights of others, and I don't think their attitudes will change..." And, he concluded, "These people are repulsive," adding quickly that this by no means had any bearing whatsoever on the harsh sentences. The Philly media went hog-wild in attempting to paint the MOVE people's lifestyle as "repulsive"—a lifestyle that was based on going back to nature and of rejecting completely the ravages of bourgeois technology and bourgeois norms. But it was never simply a question of "lifestyle" in the eyes of the rulers. It was MOVE's utter rejection and opposition to their rule that drove the authorities into a frenzy and spurred their attempts to crush MOVE beneath their boots. In fact, the presence of MOVE members at every protest against this rotten system was a common sight throughout Philly.

During the course of this trial, the prosecution never actually proved that any MOVE members shot and killed James Ramp—how could they? Eyewitnesses had testified to the fact that the so-called "shoot-out" was in fact, a five-minute, one way shoot-in; the MOVE members never firing a shot. One Walter Palmer, who had been act-

ing as the city's liaison with MOVE, was one of those eyewitnesses. "I don't believe any shots came from the house. The cracking sounds were to my left and not in front of me. The shots did not come from in front of me. I had my eyes trained on that window. You can't hold babies and shoot guns at the same time," he testified vehemently. This reference to "holding babies" describes the fact that people in the besieged house were holding children above their heads to keep them from drowning in the 4-5 feet of water that was flooding the place from fire department water cannons.

Many other witnesses testified that the supposed weapons taken from inside the MOVE headquarters appeared to be the same weapons commonly used by Philly's Tac Squad in their all too familiar assaults. This "evidence" was further shown up for the none-too-subtle plant it probably was by the pigs themselves. Every cop who took the stand, contradicted the previous one when asked where the weapons were found, what kind of weapons they were, and who found them. In case you're wondering if any evidence from the scene of the assault was introduced into the trial, the answer is no. Within 3 hours of the shoot-in, in an unprecedented maneuver, Philly police bulldozed the MOVE headquarters to the ground, thus destroying evidence that might have aided in the MOVE members' defense, and evidence that might have further exposed the criminal attacks of the state. But possible additional evidence notwithstanding, this whole foul episode from start to finish, shows clearly that the rulers were rabidly out to eliminate the MOVE people.

Not counting the long history of harassment, beatings and arrests, the actual concerted attacks on MOVE began in 1974-75. The city made its way right up to the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court in order to obtain a writ to enable them to search MOVE headquarters for possible health, sanitation and safety violations. This finally came to a head in May 1977, when the authorities tried to inspect and serve eviction notices all in the same visit. Clearly, the so-called inspection was only some legal facade upon which to undertake their real purpose—evicting the MOVE members. MOVE refused them entrance. The police promptly surrounded the area with 200-300

cops. One member, Charles Africa, was arrested on weapons charges and warrants were issued for the arrests of all the MOVE members on similar charges.

This led to a 10-month standoff, with teams of police stationed in the area for 24 hours a day—in houses, people's apartments, on roofs, everywhere. Finally, on March 16, 1978, police began what turned out to be a 50-day seige in an effort to starve out the MOVE members. All water and electricity to the house was stopped. No one could enter the cordoned-off area without proper identification. All those living in the area had to be searched whenever they went to work or to the store and again upon their return.

But public opinion was quickly rallied against the authorities and their starve-out tactics. Active MOVE supporters as well as others, made numerous attempts to break the blockade and get the besieged people food and water. "I don't agree with everything you stand for," one woman explained as she joined in running the blockade. "But I'll be damned if I'll let them starve you out." Another man, who had come to Philly from New Jersey to help, was arrested as he tried to throw a bag of groceries over the 8-foot fence the MOVE members had built for protection. Fifty days later, on May 3, the increasing outrage and resistance of MOVE and its supporters throughout the city, forced the authorities to back down temporarily. They withdrew the blockade and dropped the weapons charges on the 21 people, and MOVE agreed to vacate. By the time the 90-day limit was up all those MOVE members who had been charged had moved out, but new MOVE people had replaced them at the headquarters. The city freaked at this in-your-face defiance.

The courts ordered all the 21 MOVE members, previously cut-loose, brought into court within 10 days. In the early morning hours of August 8, 1978, the cops moved on the Powelton Village headquarters in force. 12 adults and 11 children were inside when the storm-troopers surrounded the place. A bulldozer and a crane began knocking

down the fence and the house itself. Water cannons opened up, flooding the cellar quickly with over 4 feet of water. The police then opened fire. After a full five minutes of blazing guns, a total of 15 cops and firemen lay wounded and one pig lay dead—victims of their own deadly barrage.

That night on the evening news millions of people watched on as Delbert Africa was viciously punched, stomped and struck with rifle butts as he lay on the sidewalk. What people did not see, was that once inside the paddywagon and safely out of news camera range, the police shot Delbert, seriously wounding him. While pigs grunted things like: "They should have killed them all" and Mayor Frank Rizzo volunteered to do it himself—"The only way we're going to end them is to get the death penalty back in, and I'll pull the switch"—the massive indignation and outrage that arose in the aftermath actually forced the state to go through the motions of indicting some of the cops who attacked Delbert Africa. The all-white jury from a suburb of Dauphin County, was little more than a signpost pointing the direction this trial was heading. But even this little safety valve proved unnecessary when the judge, Stanley Kubacki, ruled the whole deal an acquittal on February 2, 1981. And, with the sham trial acting as his cue card, the defense attorney quickly stepped in front of the TV cameras and cried: "Instead of being prosecuted, these men should have been given medals."

The 30-100 year sentences read out on August 4, 1981, fell upon a courtroom without the MOVE people there. They had already been banned from the court proceedings because of their "misbehavior". Application for parole in this case is only to be considered after a *minimum* of 30 years is served, 30 years of a bloodthirsty sentence gavelled out by a bloodthirsty system. □



Centaurus A, 14 million light years away—a galaxy that may have been formed by the collision of 2 galaxies.

Correspondence

on Carl Sagan's Cosmos

The One-Sidedness of the Second Law of Thermodynamics

The following letter was submitted as part of the continuing debate in the RW on the scientific and philosophical questions raised by Carl Sagan's Cosmos series begun in issue No. 93. As with the other letters in this debate the RW does not necessarily agree with everything in the letter, and encourages responses from readers on the questions it goes into and other scientific and philosophical questions.

In the spirit of delving into the questions of science and philosophy raised by the Cosmos series, I would like to address a topic about which there is fierce class struggle—the evolution vs. creation debate. Actually this is about only one small part of that debate: it can be expressed as “evolution vs. thermodynamics”. But first a general point about “scientific” creationism.

In order to promote their obscurantist view of God creating the universe, etc., the Bible-thumpers have had to try to disprove the theory of evolution “scientifically.” This in itself is a reflection of their inherent weakness philosophically and an indication of the power of a scientific world-view when grasped by the masses. And as previous letters have pointed out, this is exactly what progressive scientists like Sagan are all about; working to put this into the hands of the masses. As Sagan put it, “accept nothing on authority”—and unfortunately for the Bible-thumpers, for millions today the last thing they will do is accept the creationist nonsense on Biblical authority!

So they must try to defeat science “scientifically”—or rather by using pseudo-science. This is somewhat analogous to revisionists in the revolutionary movement using pseudo-Marxism (Marxist-sounding phrases) to uphold opportunism and reaction. In both cases, reactionaries depend on and assume they can get over because of the relatively low level of understanding of the masses (of course these people invariably underestimate both the desire and ability of the masses to grasp cardinal questions). And in both cases the response of class-conscious forces must be to expose the charlatanism of these demagogues and in the course of this struggle develop and popularize a deeper understanding of the laws of nature and society as well as a genuinely scientific approach or method of in-

vestigating these questions.

Back to the evolution debate itself. The “scientific” creationists have aimed their fire in several directions—for example, one is to try to discount the Carbon-14 dating technique used by archeologists, etc., which has clearly and repeatedly established the age of fossil remains in the millions of years, blowing a huge hole in the nonsense about the world only being 5,000 years old as the Bible says. This attempt has been largely ineffectual.

But another argument of theirs on the surface seems to many more plausible and more disturbing. It roughly goes like this: “the 2nd Law of thermodynamics states that the entropy of the universe is increasing.” (In rough terms, entropy is a general measure of the molecular disorder or randomness of any system.) “So,” claim the “scientific” creationists, “we have a clear contradiction because evolution represents not increasing disorder but the opposite, the motion toward higher level, toward more and more intricate and highly ordered living things.” “And thus,” they conclude, “evolution is impossible.”

There is so much wrong with this argument that it's hard to decide where to start unraveling it. First, it's interesting to note that this is hardly a new debate. In fact in the 1940's, the journal *Science and Society* had a debate on exactly this question. And unfortunately, at that time those who were struggling to uphold a scientific view on this question were not consistently applying dialectical materialism. The same is largely true today. In fact it is the failure to analyze these questions dialectically that gives an opening to the “scientific” creationists.

For example, Isaac Asimov, in a recent article in the *New York Times* magazine, while criticizing the “scientific” creationists, still fully accepted the 2nd Law as an unconditional law of the universe, arguing only that there are local violations of the law where entropy is decreasing (as on earth where evolution is a fact) but only because of and more than compensated for by the increase in entropy of the radiating sun. What he says is partially true but doesn't get to the heart of the question.

The weakness in Asimov's (and many other's similar) arguments is mainly two-fold: first the 2nd Law of thermodynamics is neither a universal nor an

unconditional law, but rather is a correct expression of only one side (one aspect, one tendency) of the contradiction that determines the motion of matter at the molecular level. (More on this shortly.) Secondly, the 2nd Law does not explicitly say that the entropy (randomness) of the universe is increasing. This is an incorrect assumption derived from a metaphysical interpretation of the concept of an “irreversible” process, plus a narrow empiricist and one-sided interpretation of our present observations and knowledge of the motion and development of the universe. We will see that this assumption is closely akin to the religious interpretation of the big bang theory, complete with creator and all.

First of all, the state function entropy of a system is a real and exact thing that can be measured. It is defined as follows: the entropy change ΔS of a system for any change in state is defined by:

$$\Delta S \equiv \int_1^2 \frac{dq_{rev}}{T}$$

or in words—take the system from state 1 to state 2 by a reversible path. To compute the entropy change of the system, as you go along this path, divide each infinitesimal amount of heat dq by the temperature T at which it is absorbed by the system, and add all these quantities. It turns out that the value of entropy, while it is calculated by use of a reversible path, is actually path-independent; it is the same no matter what path is taken between state 1 and 2.

Examples of change from one state to another include things like water going from a liquid to a gas (or to ice) and vice versa; another example is a certain mixture of chemicals going through a chemical reaction yielding a new mixture of different chemicals.

Now one of the most frequently used examples to illustrate the validity of the 2nd Law is a situation where a gas (say air) is released from a small closed container into a larger one. What happens is that the gas leaves the small container and fills the larger one until there is equal pressure throughout the system. It turns out that (in this case) there is no energy difference between the begin-

ning and final state of the gas and so energy changes cannot be used to explain this motion of the gas.

However, entropy and the 2nd Law can and do explain it. In this system the gas moves toward greater entropy, or viewed on the molecular level, the gas molecules seek their most random possible state. It is more probable for the gas molecules to be spread throughout the larger container than to be in the more ordered state of being in the small container only. Thus the 2nd Law is an expression of this “repulsion” tendency in the motion of molecules.

But now, using this same example, let us change the conditions of the gas, say by reducing its temperature. At a certain point, the gas condenses into a liquid. This is not a more random but now a less random state of molecules. Clearly entropy and the 2nd Law alone can't explain *this* motion of molecules. This is an example of an opposite, attractive rather than repulsive tendency—namely the tendency for a molecular system to seek its lowest energy state. (Liquid at a given temperature and pressure has a lower energy state than its gas phase; that's why energy must be removed from it by cooling its surroundings.)

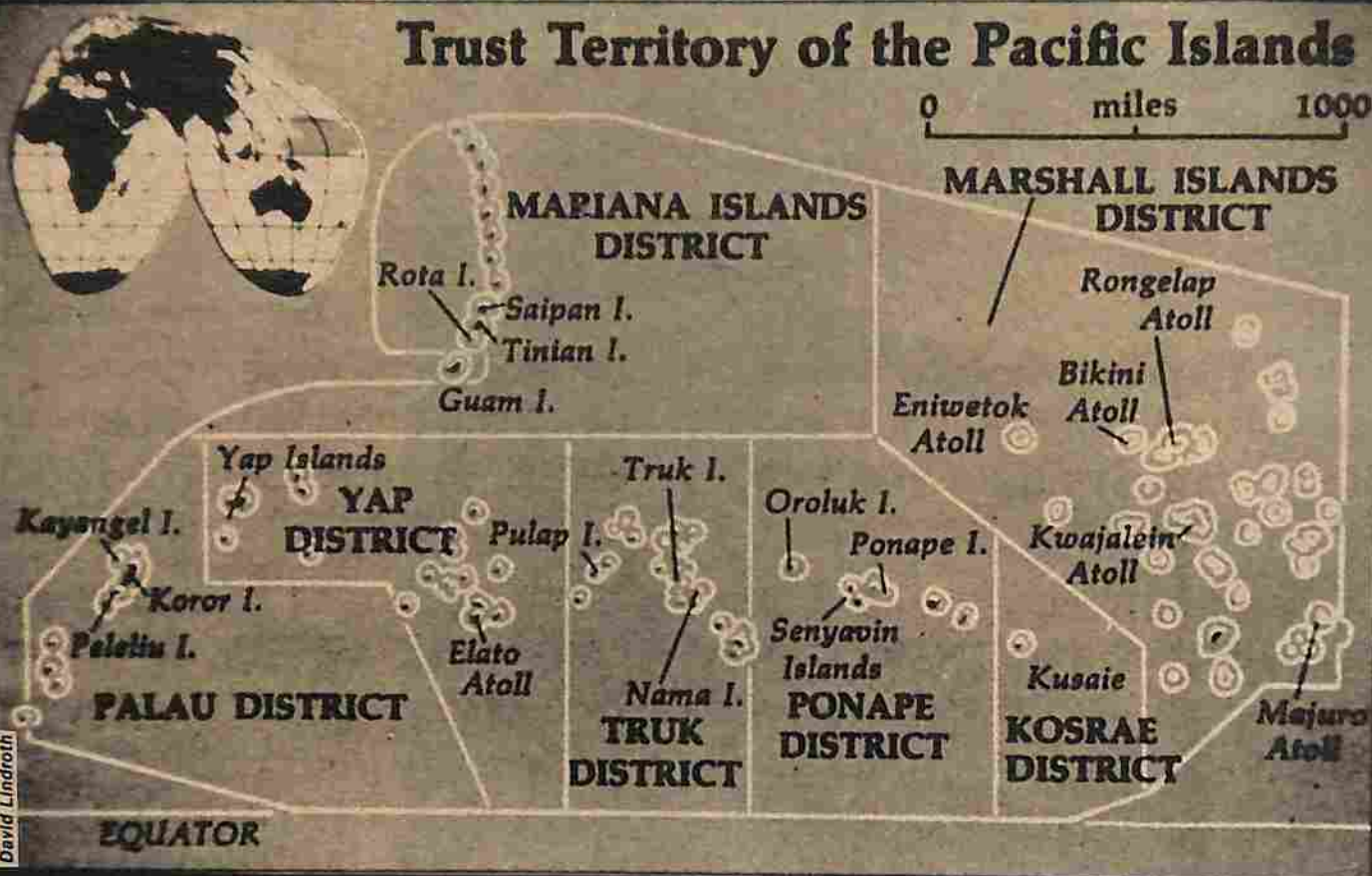
To make this clearer let me quote from a college chemistry textbook: “It is clear that *one* of the driving forces that determines the behavior of molecular systems is the tendency to seek a state of the lowest possible energy. After all, this is the reason that a gas condenses or a liquid freezes. But it is also certain that the tendency toward minimum energy cannot be the *only* factor governing the behavior of molecular systems; if it were, no gases would exist at any temperature. There is another driving force, just as important as the energy factor. To put it briefly, it is the tendency of systems to assume a state of maximum molecular chaos, or disorder... Now if the tendency of systems to move toward a state of maximum molecular chaos were all-important, all materials would eventually evaporate or dissociate entirely, and there would be no solids or liquids at any temperature. Thus, on the one hand, we have the drive toward lowest energy, that can be followed by allowing molecules to associate in one on the condensed phases, and on the other hand, we have the drive toward molecular chaos, which could be achieved by the evaporation or separation of molecules into independent units. The condition of equilibrium must be one which is the best compromise between these two conflicting drives toward maximum chaos and minimum energy.”

Despite the fact that the above is couched in somewhat metaphysical terms like “best compromise,” it is expressing a more dialectical and correct view. The two tendencies are in fact a unity of opposites *inside* a molecular system and their unity and struggle determine the essence of it. For example, it is this contradiction that determines (under particular conditions) the freezing and boiling points of a substance. In fact these nodal points can be seen as places where a qualitative leap takes place—where the two aspects (lowest energy and maximum chaos) change places.

So we can see that the 2nd Law of thermodynamics is not a universal and unconditional law of molecular motion. It expresses one aspect of the contradiction. By itself it can only explain molecular motion correctly in very limited cases (like our example above of the expanding gas) where the aspect of molecular chaos greatly predominates and it is thus OK to temporarily ignore the other aspect of motion toward lowest energy.

Another weakness in the arguments of many progressive scientists as they battle the “scientific” creationists on this front is that they take the 2nd Law of thermodynamics to mean that the entropy of the entire universe is increasing. This is an incorrect assumption the “scientific” creationists are happy to share, for if it were true how could evolution buck this trend? Let us look at what the formal statement of the 2nd Law actually says:

Continued on page 16



Testimony At C

Nucleus of the Marshall Islands

This letter comes from Virginia Wohl, a panel member of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal. Virginia is a writer and contributor to the RW, who exposed the lies of the hostages at their major press conference at West Point last January.

To the RW and Co-conspirators,

The Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. imperialism held its third session in Chicago this past weekend. Since I have had the opportunity to travel with the Tribunal there are many things that one comes to understand, to hear first hand, and to be deeply affected by, that I'm compelled to share.

I don't think many of us can miss the reversal of historic verdicts currently going on, they are in the newspapers every day. Just as Chicago's hearings were getting underway the anniversary of the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have taken place. It was celebrated by the ruling class, yes, celebrated. After all, they greeted it with the announcement about the neutron bomb. There is only one thing better that the imperialists would like to do than to wash their hands of every despicable war crime they have committed, and that is to prepare people for more of the same.

When one has had the opportunity to hear first hand of the war crimes the U.S. has committed, why they have been committed and that they have been done in the name of the people living inside this country, their poisonous logic cannot be anything but rejected. Indeed it makes one's blood boil.

I have traveled with the Tribunal around the country, seeing its vast land mass, its stretches of farms with few inhabitants, its crowded cities, the ghettos and barrios and the monuments of glass and steel. Chicago even has a shopping district called the Ivory Coast, just one small example of how people in this country are supposed to be conditioned to think that the U.S. has the right to own everything. They try to make living in this country like living inside a gas mask, immune to the stench of their destruction. Or as one Palestinian brother put it in his testimony, "You pay \$20 million in taxes to drink our blood." I don't think it will do to fix people's eyes only on their own oppression, not when there is a world to change.

The exposures that have been brought forward at the hearings of the War Crimes Tribunal often keep me awake at night. They are permanently branded in my mind. I know that other people have been deeply affected by these exposures as well, having talked to people after the sessions. People come to listen and to testify: a woman who lived in Jamaica who saw all the dirty work of the CIA in the Jamaican elections; listening to how the people of the Marshall Islands have been used as guinea pigs; Palestinian brothers with their faces completely concealed, risking their lives to expose imperialism; listening to accounts of apartheid inside South Africa and the feeble attempts to pretty it all up with a game of rugby. You have to really question when the children of the Marshall Islands are innocently basking in radioactive ash as a result of their island being used for target practice and knowing that the U.S. government willingly did this, why does U.S. imperialism have to exist at all? Then I might add you can see quite vividly, throughout the testimony, the revolutionary resistance of the people—that an army of gravediggers is all over the world. And that we are part of that army. No other Tribunal, anywhere, has been marked by this stand.

Another point I think is awfully important to make, but I speak for myself as the Tribunal does not have a position on the nature of the Soviet Union. Its focus, correctly so, is on exposing the U.S., but it will hear positions on the Soviet Union pro or con as long as there is substantial exposure of the U.S. And here you have testimony on Chile, on Palestine, on Iran, and other parts of the world, and the question of what the Soviets are doing cannot help but come up, and it's being exposed by those who are in that situation first hand. I think people will find the testimony that I will send to the RW, especially from one Palestinian brother, to be very enlightening on this question.

The imperialists have tried to act as if the Tribunal does not exist. But the raw nerve it is striking is beginning to be exposed. During the testimony of one of the Palestinian brothers, a Chicago policeman entered the back of the room. He said there was a complaint.

During the Tribunal hearings we also got word that 5 people who were building for the Tribunal had been busted at the Latin American soccer games going on in Chicago. A man who had witnessed the arrests came back to the hearing to describe what had happened, how people were leafleting the games and the police arrested them, beating one woman who'd been thrown handcuffed to the ground. On Sunday night the Chicago cops again showed up with a report of a complaint. When people pointed out that the address they said they were looking for was not where they were, one of the cops responded, "Have you found anybody guilty yet? I killed some Cong."

The major media refused to report on the hearings though they knew damn well it was going on. The Tribunal office received calls from the *Chicago Tribune* and from TV channels 2 and 9, requesting more information about the hearings.

We subsequently learned from a journalist at the *Chicago Sun-Times* that every reporter there knew about the Tribunal but that no one was assigned to cover it. One woman who works at a local wire service in Chicago got her press packet with all the contents removed.

But the timeliness of the Tribunal and the exposure it is bringing forward have resulted in some breaks even in the media, and both radio station WLUP in Chicago and two newspapers, *The Reader* and *The Defender*, interviewed panel members and witnesses.

The Chicago hearings took testimony from a wide range of forces and from people from all walks of life. I will list a number of the areas of testimony but to do all of it at this time would require a lot more space. Among the testimony that we've received were statements from brothers from Palestine; an Arab American who recently toured Lebanon and the West Bank; a brother from Mexico who had been there during the 1968 massacre of students and protests at the Olympics; Professor Dennis Brutus, a poet who was imprisoned and shot in South Africa (or Azania, as the people call their homeland); the son of missionaries who spent 9 years in India; a brother from Iran; and also on Chile; a tape from a proletarian on the West Coast who denounced his U.S. citizenship; a woman from Venezuela; the Philippines; the Marshall Islands; Vietnam veterans; and testimony submitted in written or taped form on Cambodia and Guatemala; testimony on Agent Orange from Val Woodward, a biologist at the University of Wisconsin; on Puerto Rico; and many other countries. It was too numerous to be played or heard at the hearings but will all be part of the record of the Tribunal.

The panel members consisted of myself; Carl Dix, one of the Ft. Lewis 6; Leo Gomez, of the Revolutionary Communist Party; Stan Stern, a Chicago professor; Mohammed, a brother from Iran; and Scorpio, a Vietnam veteran who was drummed out of the Marine Corps for refusing to order his men into combat.

Let me close by saying that the Tribunal also received a solidarity message from Ziad Abu Ein, a Palestinian brother who has been held in a federal prison by the U.S. government which has been trying to deport him to Israel; a banner from a Chicago artist which was signed in Arabic, Farsi and Spanish, which will travel to the hearings in Atlanta and New York City and one from the youth at Cabrini Green which I think is very powerful and significant, a banner which read: "Stand Up With the People of the World."

Two more hearings will be held in Atlanta and New York City, and we want to urge people to build for the Tribunal to make it even more powerful in every way possible, to testify, to actively build for the Tribunal, to assist in disseminating its findings throughout the world, and raising very much needed funds.

Thank you,

Virginia Wohl

The following testimony was given at the Chicago hearings of the War Crimes Tribunal by a former Peace Corps volunteer who served in the Marshall Islands:

Micronesian People vs. U.S. Imperialism

Before I start I'd especially like to acknowledge the work of the Micronesian Support Committee in Honolulu in the course of preparing this testimony. They did much of the research upon which the documented part of the testimony is based.

I'd also like to deeply thank the Tribunal for deciding to hear this case of the Micronesian People vs. U.S. imperialism. The plight of the Micronesian people has been a real weight on my soul over the past few years—ever since I first came into contact with them several years ago, and I am grateful now for the opportunity to be able to popularize their plight in this unique anti-imperialist forum.

In early 1975 I joined the Peace Corps and was sent to the Marshall Islands, Micronesia in the western Pacific. My job was to be a co-op ad-

visor on one of the outer islands there. I'd heard that the Peace Corps was just a tool of U.S. imperialism, but this particular project seemed innocent enough. And besides, what did "U.S. imperialism" mean anyway?

At any rate I stayed there for the next two years, and when I left I took with me many confused and contradictory impressions. Only later after I was able to see how the Marshall Islands fit into the larger picture did I understand what the real purpose of the Peace Corps was there.

I'd heard tales of enforced migrations, missiles streaking through the sky at night, tales of relatives who ended up dead because they happened to be in the wrong place at the wrong time during a military maneuver. But then these things never sounded that terrible coming from the lips of the ever-smiling,

Chicago War Crimes Tribunal

Clear Rape the shall nds

light-hearted Marshallese people.

On the other hand, I'd seen for myself some of the horrible living conditions spawned by the American military base in the Marshalls. I saw children living in gross poverty and suffering from malnutrition while only 4 miles away fat American missile technicians lived their segregated lives of luxury and decadence on land they stole from the Marshallese people.

What did it all mean? The word "imperialism" slowly began to move out of the realm of the abstract and take on a very concrete meaning.

When I returned home I vowed to make some kind of sense out of this experience, and I read everything I could get ahold of on the Marshall Islands and Micronesia. I discovered some amazing facts. President Kennedy, I found out had initiated a plan to "win the hearts and minds," so to speak, of the Micronesian people. The Plan, known as the Solomon Report (named after its Harvard author), remained classified for many years, but parts of it leaked out in the mid-1970s:

"Washington should facilitate the general development of Micronesian interest in, and loyalties to, the United States by various actions" it stated. Some [of these actions] were: '1) sponsorship by the State Department of Micronesian leader visits to the United States; 2) introduction in the school system of United States oriented curriculum changes and patriotic rituals; and 3) increasing the number of college scholarships offered to Micronesians.'" (Johnson, *Oceans*).

Inundating Micronesia with Peace Corps volunteers was another recommendation of the Solomon Report.

Later on I discovered why the U.S. imperialists were so interested in this remote, resource-poor section of the world.

"Micronesia is not only a testing ground for weapons of mass destruction. In the words of U.S. Lt. Col. Giroux: 'A complete withdrawal from Vietnam, gradual reduction of forces in Thailand and Taiwan, a precarious position in the Philippines and our questionable long-term presence in South Korea and Okinawa have limited our fall-back options in the Pacific. The only feasible fall-back position is unquestionably located in Micronesia where island bases, unlike those in Asia, would be under permanent U.S. control.'" (RW 5/30/80 p. 11)

Or, as the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper recently put it, "especially in the 1980s the value of any area of the world is not calculated simply in dollars and cents, but far more in strategic value and especially today in relation to imperialist contention and war preparations on a world scale." (RW 4/10/81 p. 22). You probably could not find another area on earth where this thesis is borne out more clearly than in

Micronesia. In fact it has been said by those of the military persuasion that whoever controls Micronesia controls the Pacific, and the Peace Corps as it turns out is just a part of the overall plan for securing this area.

The strategic necessity of holding on to Micronesia has taxed the ingenuity of Pentagon planners, I discovered, from the very beginning of the United States' domination of Micronesia after WW 2. The problem has been how to maintain iron-tight control over the islands and use them for any military purposes whatever including the following, but still maintain the facade of democracy and "foreign aid":

Taking over two-thirds of the prime agricultural land on Tinian Island in the Marianas District in the mid-1970s to build a \$300 million air/naval base.

Taking over 30,000 acres, or 28% of the land area of Palau, to establish a jungle warfare training center, despite protests from the people of Palau.

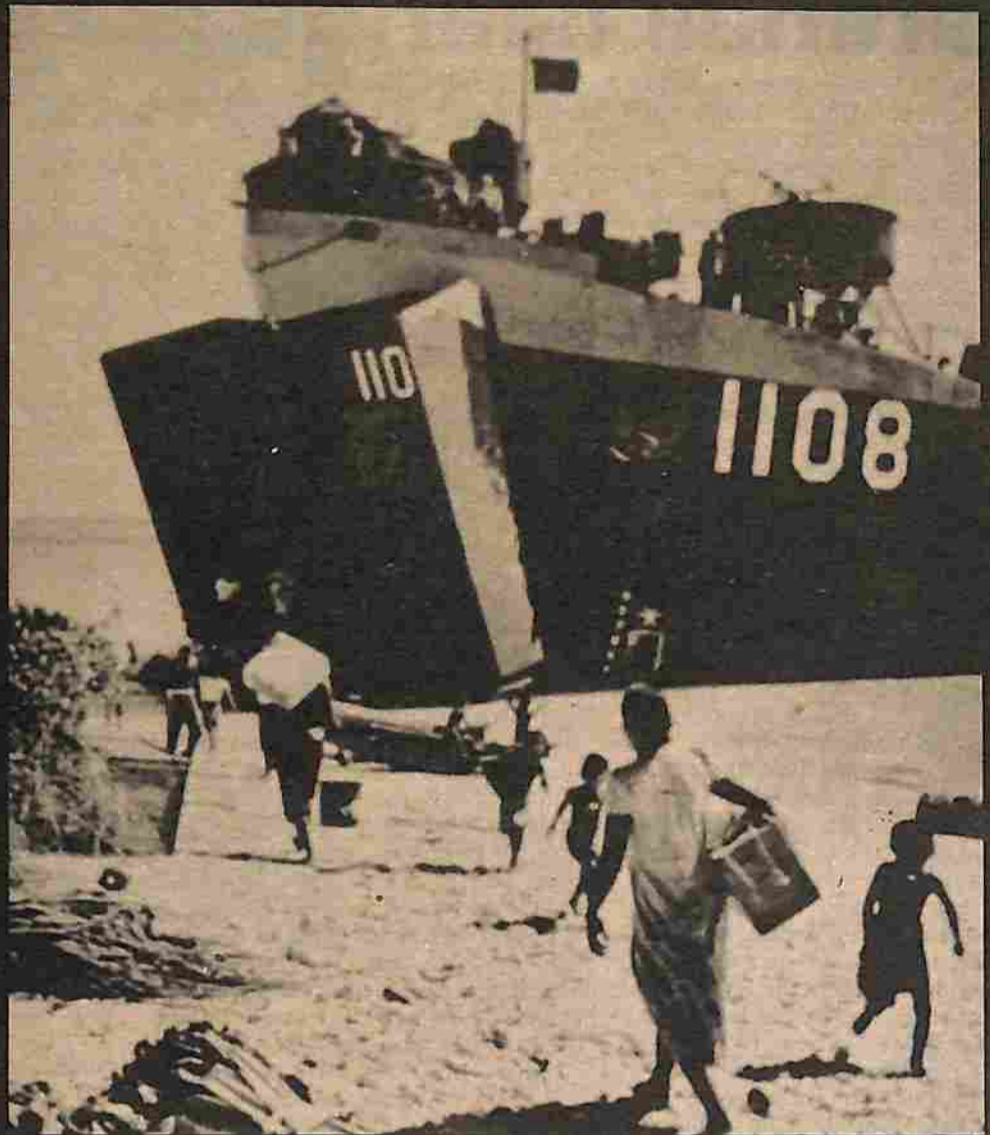
Establishing in the 1950s a secret CIA base in Saipan to train nationalist Chinese agents for the possible invasion of mainland China.

And, not least, their testing of weapons of mass destruction in the Marshall Islands from 1946 to the present day.

These contradictions have prompted the U.S. imperialists to coin some rather unique, and sometimes hilarious, terminology to describe their control of the islands. Thus, under its U.S. tenure Micronesia has evolved from a U.N. strategic Trust territory—in which the United States, as administering authority, has had the right by UN Charter "to establish naval, military and air bases and to erect fortifications in the Trust Territory" (Johnson, *Oceans*)—to its soon-to-be-established new political status with the U.S. known euphemistically as "free association," which according to the *New York Times* allows "exclusive United States military control in the area." (NYT 11/20/80) As you can see, great changes have taken place under this new status. The chief U.S. negotiator of this deal recently described the new relationship as follows: it "sets up a unique political relationship for which there is no parallel anywhere in the world, or, for that matter, in world history." (NYT 1/15/80) It "gives the United States absolutely everything that we want." (NYT 11/20/80)

But then who cares about the legalities anyway; they're only incidental as Henry Kissinger explicitly pointed out in his infamous 1969 statement on Micronesia (prior to his authorizing illegal CIA surveillance of Micronesians during their future political status negotiations). And I quote Mr. Kissinger: "There are only 90,000 people out there. Who gives a damn?" (Source: Author Robert Kiste)

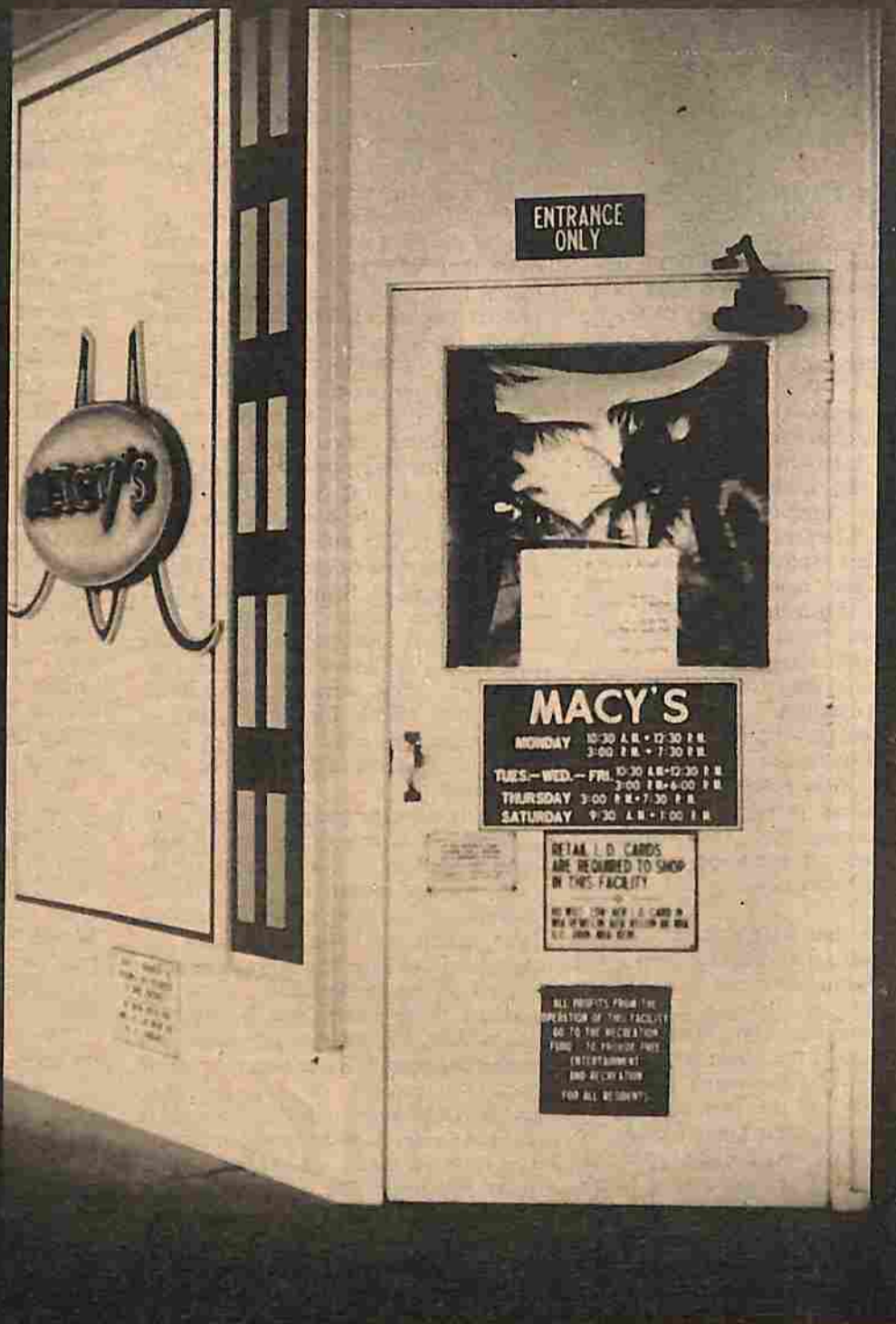
Continued on page 12



Above, Marshallese islanders being relocated from their homes to make way for U.S. nuclear testing on Bikini and Enewetok atolls. Some islands would be completely vaporized "for the good of mankind and to end all world wars."

"After U.S. imperialism's spokesman informed the Bikinians of their imminent move, he consoled these recently Christianized people by telling them they were like the 'children of Israel whom the Lord saved from their enemy (i.e., the Japanese—RW) and led unto the Promised Land.'"

Below, shopping at Macy's on Kwajalein, is only allowed to those who are issued Retail I.D. cards. Only Americans can get them.



Nuclear Rape of the Marshall Islands

Continued from page 11

On August 6, 1945 an American B-29 took off from Tinian Island in Micronesia and hours later dropped the first atomic bomb in history on a human population in the city of Hiroshima, Japan. Over 100,000 people perished from the bomb's blast. Three days later a second atomic bomb was dropped on Nagasaki, Japan killing another 70,000 people.

Today Hiroshima is a city of museums and monuments dedicated to the people who died—and are still dying—as a result of the Hiroshima blast.

A few years ago I visited Hiroshima and I remember seeing a monument there known as the Monument of the Atomic Children. It is dedicated to the many children who died from the Hiroshima bomb. The lower part is filled with paper cranes, and each one has the name of a child written on it who perished from the bomb. The school children today periodically bring these cranes for the monument in order to remember those young lives like their own. It's really very touching.

Within months of this unprecedented human slaughter, the U.S. imperialists began searching for sites where they could further test and develop their nuclear arsenal. They settled on two remote Pacific atolls in the Marshall Islands, Bikini and Enewetok, and, like the vultures, they are, descended upon the people there. After U.S. imperialism's spokesman informed the Bikinians of their imminent move, he consoled these recently Christianized people by telling them they were like the "children of Israel whom the Lord saved from their enemy [i.e., the Japanese] and led unto the Promised Land," he then explained that American scientists were experimenting with nuclear weapons "for the good of mankind and to end all world wars." He told them how the Navy had searched the world over for a test site and had determined that Bikini was the best. (Source: Robert Kiste, author) "With more than 42,000 military, scientific and technical personnel, 250 naval ships and more than 150 observation aircraft poised to enter Bikini Atoll for *Operation Crossroads*, the 166 Bikinians had little choice but to leave their island." (Giff Johnson, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*.)

With little planning or forethought the Bikinians were relocated several times onto various uninhabited, resource-poor islands. They faced starvation more than once and have been forced to adopt a completely different lifestyle. Less than two years later the people of Enewetok Atoll experienced a similar fate.

For 12 years the United States detonated nuclear explosions, including the first of many hydrogen bombs, at Bikini and Enewetok. Several whole islands were completely vaporized in the process. I remember seeing recently one of the first explosions at Bikini captured for the readers of *National Geographic Magazine*, circa 1946. The caption reads: "Uranium explodes with the power that lights the stars. Swift and silent, its mushroom cloud rises from Bikini Lagoon."

These silent mushroom clouds that the imperialists find to be so *fascinating* left in their wake a terrible legacy for the Marshallese people whose homes these islands once were. The islands are now hot beds of radiation poisoning and will probably never be safe to inhabit again.

Of course that hasn't prevented the imperialists from trying. In 1968 then President Johnson, under pressure to demonstrate his humaneness and because of the increasing international publicity around the plight of the people of Bikini and Enewetok promised the Bikinians that they would soon be able to return to their home islands. A year later Bikini was declared safe for reoccupation. The Atomic Energy Commission stated, "There's virtually no radiation left and we can find no discernable effect on either plant or animal life." (*Marshall Islands*, published by Micronesian Support

Committee) The Bikinians slowly began returning to their now unrecognizable home.

In 1975 the notorious Lawrence Livermore Laboratory conducted extensive medical tests on these returned Bikinians. Their report remained classified for two years, but its conclusion when released was unmistakable: "All living patterns involving Bikini Island exceed Federal (radiation) guidelines for 30-year population doses." (Giff Johnson, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*) In other words, as the government was later forced to admit, "levels of [radioactive] strontium and cesium, as well as plutonium, were rising alarmingly among the returned islanders." (*Time* 4/3/78)

The Department of Interior, the administering authority then of the Marshall Islands, labelled these findings as "incredible." But then a study for the Department of Energy concluded that "Bikini Atoll may be the only global source of data on humans where intake via ingestion is thought to contribute the major fraction of plutonium body burden." (Johnson, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*) And a Lawrence Livermore Laboratory scientist stated that Bikini "is possibly the best available source of data for evaluating the transfer of plutonium across the gut wall after being incorporated into biological systems." (Johnson, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*) In August 1978 the Department of Interior removed the remaining Bikinians from Bikini Atoll. It is now conservatively estimated that Bikini probably will not be safe for human occupation for at least another half century. (Kili Island, where most of the Bikinians now live, is nothing but a refugee camp. The Bikinians themselves describe it as prison-like there.)

The people of Bikini and Enewetok were not the *only* Marshallese, however, to lose their islands and be exposed to massive doses of radiation because of nuclear testing. On March 1, 1954 the United States detonated *Bravo*, the largest hydrogen bomb exploded at Bikini. This test was carried out "despite an incomplete and alarming weather report indicating that winds from sea level to 55,000 feet were blowing in an easterly direction toward Rongelap and Utiirik [atolls]." (Johnson, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*)

Within 10 minutes after *Bravo* exploded its giant nuclear cloud reached more than 21.6 miles into the atmosphere. Four hours later, a white, snow-like ash began to fall on the astonished people living on Rongelap Atoll, 100 miles east of Bikini. The ash "soon formed a layer one-and-one-half inches thick on the ground and fell into the drinking water tanks. Children played in the radioactive powder..." (Johnson, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*) Twenty two hours after the blast, the people of Utiirik Atoll, 275 miles east of Bikini, got a similar dose of radioactive fallout.

The people of Rongelap and Utiirik Atolls were never warned of any precautionary measures they might take in the event of radiation exposure. Furthermore, they were not evacuated from their islands for more than two days after the test, well *after* some Americans in the affected area were evacuated.

Within days the people "began to experience the effects of severe radiation poisoning: itching and burning of the skin, eyes and mouth; nausea; vomiting and diarrhea... Many of the people [also] began to wholly or partially lose their hair, and skin burns began appearing on the necks, shoulders, arms and feet of those most heavily exposed."

In 1964, the first thyroid tumors and cancers appeared. Since that time, more than 90 percent of the Rongelap children who were under 12 years old in 1954 have developed thyroid tumors." (Johnson, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*) At least one of the exposed children has died of leukemia. Yet, despite these facts, the U.S. government medical teams that semi-annually examine the exposed Marshallese people consistently reassure them of their

good health. The following quote from a Brookhaven National Laboratory report may indicate the real interest behind these frequent medical examinations: "[This] group of irradiated Marshallese people offer a most valuable source of data on human beings who have sustained injury from all possible modes of exposure..."

These terrifying nuclear explosions and their horrible aftermath are only part of U.S. imperialism's legacy to the Marshallese people, however. You see, in the logic of modern-day imperialism it's not just enough to be able to produce bigger and more impressive mushroom clouds "with the power that lights the stars" than your imperialist rivals. You must also have a reliable and accurate "delivery system," i.e., ICBM's, if you're going to "make it" in today's competitive world.

Thus, in 1960 a \$2 billion missile testing range, the largest missile base in the world, was established on Kwajalein Island—after the Marshallese were (forcibly) removed, of course—and the Kwajalein lagoon became a target for Inter-Continental Ballistic Missiles fired from California. The people of Kwajalein Island thusly removed, as well as other Marshallese occupying nearby islands in the broad target area, were forced onto the island of Ebeye to live, four miles from the missile testing range.

Today Ebeye has the highest population density found in the Pacific. 8,000 Marshallese people live on Ebeye's nearly treeless 1/10 square mile (minus 13 acres used by the Coast Guard). An average of 13 people live in each single-room unit on Ebeye, and "some rooms sleep as many as forty at night." (G. Johnson, *Progressive*) Because sanitation facilities are non-existent, untreated raw sewage is dumped directly into the Ebeye lagoon. "The bacteria count there has been 25,000 times higher than the safe level set by the U.S. Public Health Service and the World Health Organization." (G. Johnson, *Progressive*)

More than half of Ebeye's population is less than fourteen years old. "The [single] elementary school [on the island] has room for barely one third of the eligible students, and even these must attend school in split sessions." (G. Johnson, *Progressive*) Additional fine schools do exist only four miles away at the Kwajalein Missile Range, but they are only for the American children who live there. Kwajalein schools are closed to all Marshallese.

Life for children and young adults on Ebeye is not easy. Recreational facilities are all but non-existent. Commenting on the critical alcoholism problem on the island after returning from Ebeye in 1977, New York journalist Paul Jacobs wrote: "I've seen ten-year-old kids so drunk they can't walk." The children there have no future under this system, and they know it. The unemployment rate on Ebeye is at least 36% and rising. "Since 1967, more than a dozen young men on Ebeye have committed suicide—an act unheard of in the outer islands." (Alexander, *Progressive*) When life is this bad, alcohol is an appealing escape—even for children.

For those Marshallese living on Ebeye who are lucky enough to have a job, they can take a boat ride every day over to the master's house at Kwajalein Island and perform one of the menial tasks necessary to keep the Kwajalein Missile Range functioning, such as staffing one of the restaurants or cleaning the houses of the American technicians there.

The 3,000 Americans occupying the 900-acre Kwajalein Island have created a make-believe southern California suburb for themselves there. They live in "an exclusive air-conditioned community that includes a lush green golf course, tennis and basketball courts, baseball fields, swimming pools, and movies," all provided free, of course.

Fresh fruits and vegetables, as well as other mainstays of the American diet, are flown in several times a week to

Kwajalein Island's airport. Good medical care, including a hospital that was staffed with seven physicians in 1976, and modern shopping facilities with reasonable prices are all part of life for the Americans on Kwajalein Island. (I remember seeing a sign on the local Macy's department store there that read: "Retail I.D. cards are required to shop in this facility." It said the same thing in Marshallese below it. What the sign didn't say is that only *Americans* are issued Retail I.D. cards. A sign on another building read: JAB DRELON, which is Marshallese for "Stay Out". No explanation was given. If you're Marshallese you don't need one.)

The apartheid conditions at Kwajalein are best illustrated, however, by the following incident related by an American doctor working on Ebeye in the late 1960s:

"The Ebeye Hospital ran out of intravenous fluids needed to sustain the lives of [some] Marshallese children severely dehydrated from... profuse vomiting and diarrhea. I took one Marshallese child that was very ill and put her on a skiff and motored four miles to Kwajalein where the Americans live. We also needed to borrow some intravenous solutions to take back to Ebeye.

"We were stopped at the beach by an American guard who would not let the child enter the island... She was Marshallese. The Marshallese nurse pleaded with the guard that the child was dying and she could not receive appropriate therapy on Ebeye. The guard did not permit the child onto the island. She died on her way back to Ebeye..."

"I went to the Kwajalein Hospital. There I met with an American M.D. and asked for the intravenous fluids that we needed. He also refused my requests. I then went to the medical warehouse on Kwajalein and stole several cases of intravenous fluids and took them back to Ebeye." (Johnson, *Progressive*)

The story of another young Marshallese hits closer to home. He was one of the children from the island where I was a Peace Corps volunteer. He was one of the happiest and carefree children on the island, a young man who really knew how to live. A year after I left the Marshall Islands I found out that he had died from some mysterious illness that affected several of the children on the island. Nobody really knows what the illness was, as it was never diagnosed, much less treated properly. You see, there are no doctors on the outer islands and evacuation of a mere child is unheard of.

Such poor health care and loss of young life, I'm sorry to say, is a common occurrence in the Marshalls. In fact, it is a common occurrence wherever there is imperialist domination and national oppression. It is just part and parcel of the imperialist formula: Keep the people in an enforced state of backwardness. Distort their economy and suppress their health care so that their limp bodies are easier to control. But do it quietly so that not too many people find out. And then when things start getting hot, send them Peace Corps volunteers to help cover up your unspeakably heinous crimes!

On March 30th, 1978 an unprecedented event took place in the Marshall Islands, Micronesia. Just prior to a missile test, several Marshallese left Ebeye to reclaim their island in the target area of the Kwajalein lagoon to protest its use by the army. I'm sure this act absolutely dumbfounded the military command at the missile range. They went ahead with the test *anyway*, and afterward they punished these disobedient slaves. But then, what *else* would these uncouth American barbarians know anyway? The people know, however, that this was *only* the beginning. □

NEUTRON BOMB: PERFECT CHILD OF IMPERIALISM

Continued from page 1

decided to *officially* delay its production, while more covertly continuing the actual production of the various components separately. Now, because the U.S. can't wait any longer, the time has come to forget all this "nonsense" and ram it down the masses' throats. As Secretary of Defense Weinberger said while appearing all over the U.S. and European television, "Given the record of vacillation of a few years ago and given the reaction it caused—in Europe and the Soviet Union—of a weak, divided America...had we done anything other than go ahead with it, it would have contributed enormously to the impression that the U.S. was doing business at the same old vacillating stand." Rather, the impression is now supposed to be that the U.S. is *back* in the business of nuclear terrorism, as if it ever left it, from the commanding heights of ground zero.

Indeed, even the timing of the announcement was carefully calculated to convey the message of big, bad America. August 6th is the anniversary of the U.S.' heinous atomic bombing of Hiroshima, August 9 was Nagasaki—and the announcement date somehow fell right in between. But even that wasn't explicit enough. White House spokesmen took special pains to inform the press that the actual decision on the neutron bomb occurred at a meeting on August 6th, the very date of Hiroshima. They went so far as to publicly contradict Weinberger's "confusion" that the decision had been made weeks before. Apparently, Caspar was too revved up for his TV appearance—and the exciting opportunity to throw around phrases like "Of course, it destroys property and of course it kills people because, unfortunately, that's what war weapons are for"—to remember all the subtleties of the effort. He must have been really excited because the Hiroshima connection was about as subtle as a nuclear explosion.

How fitting to announce the newest heinous crime of U.S. imperialism on the anniversary of an old one—and the similarities are striking. The U.S. incinerated 100,000 in Hiroshima that day, and they wounded another 100,000—a total of 89% of the city's population. This is without counting the long-term genetic and cancerous effects of the massive radiation poisoning which the 20-kiloton atomic bomb unleashed. Why did they do it? It certainly wasn't to "save American and British lives," as Churchill, Truman and the other victorious imperialists hypocritically salivated. Japanese imperialism was already on the brink of surrender and had communicated this fact explicitly to the allies as early as July 13th. The mass murder of Japanese civilians was solely for the purpose of bludgeoning the people of the world, including the then-socialist Soviet Union, into cowering and submission before the U.S.' nuclear monopoly, and its proven willingness to use the bomb. Thus, the dawn of the "American Century," the era of U.S. imperialist world domination was ushered in, streaked with blood and stinking of death.

And while the announcement of the neutron bomb was coupled with a certain modern-day equivalent posturing of "saving lives"—predictably, yet another "deterrent" against the Soviets and thus WW3—the real message that's being laid out is more like the modern-day equivalent of Harry Truman's ecstatic remark when he heard the news that the bomb had been dropped on Hiroshima: "This is the greatest thing in history!" Vice President Bush, when asked about the radiating effects of the neutron bomb, replied, "They all smart a bit when you're hit with them, don't they." Secretary of State Haig, when asked what effect the announcement would have on the Soviets said, "I think a dandy effect." The blatant flaunting and glib remarks were all part of the same package as the date of this

"bold"—and blood thirsty—announcement.

A "dissenting view"—freely defined—came from some quarters. In an editorial entitled "Bombing the Alliance," the *New York Times* wrote, "President Reagan's decision to assemble neutron weapons is militarily sound but diplomatically disastrous. There is no rational reason why the NATO allies should deprive themselves of this useful battlefield weapon, an effective deterrent to Soviet-armed attack. But years of irrational debate and effective Soviet propaganda has made the weapon an explosive political issue for friendly governments. They should have been consulted, and, as Secretary of State Haig was urging, asked to help choose the time for decision." With an argument like this, who needs a debate? The neutron bomb? No disagreement there. The only problem is that "irrationality" and "Soviet propaganda" have blinded some in Europe to the value of this "useful battlefield weapon." Why, if it wasn't for all that Soviet propaganda, the whole world could well be wearing neutron bomb pins with happy faces on them. This editorial is a fine example of the difference between the U.S. and Soviet systems—you'd never see a Soviet newspaper writing such a stunning denunciation of government policy as this.

As to the charge that the U.S.' European allies should have been consulted, it is rather unbelievable that they weren't. The *International Herald Tribune* speculated as much, pointing out that the announcement is part of a "two-step" process with the U.S. making the decision "on its own" now in order to take the NATO governments off the hot seat, to test the waters for reaction, and prepare opinion for deployment in Europe. Not coincidentally, the British imperialists' magazine *The Economist*, featured a front page picture of a nuclear explosion with the words, "Don't ban the bomb," on it, and on the inside, an editorial with the same title dated August 8, 1981—the same date that the decision was announced. It stresses the importance of the "common sense" approach to nukes—which could be summed up in the words, "Let them rip,"—as opposed to the dangerous pacifism of the growing anti-nuclear movement in Europe. The British Labor Party, which has called for unilateral disarmament by Britain mainly on the basis of the U.S.' need to come to Britain's defense, can hardly object *too* much since the neutron bomb is a U.S. weapon—and would fit right in with their demagoguery. France has registered no objections because the French imperialists love the neutron bomb as much as the U.S. does; in fact, they have already tested it and are said to be considering production of it themselves. And West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's support of the neutron bomb dates back to the days of Carter. In fact, Schmidt was quite peeved when Jimmy "vacillated" (in the words of Weinberger) by refusing to deploy the neutron bomb at that time. Does anyone really think that he will oppose the U.S. now, when the necessity of the entire bloc to go to war is much closer at hand and when from the point of view of European imperialists, the neutron is indeed a "useful battlefield weapon." This is not to say there are no contradictions between the West European imperialists and the U.S. over tactical moves towards world war, the terms on which the war is to be fought, etc. But there has been very little disagreement from these governments about the neutron bomb decision.

What the neutron bomb announcement will spark among the masses of people in Europe (and the U.S. and elsewhere) is, however, another matter. It comes in a period of sharpening anger and violent protests against war preparations in general. And as the

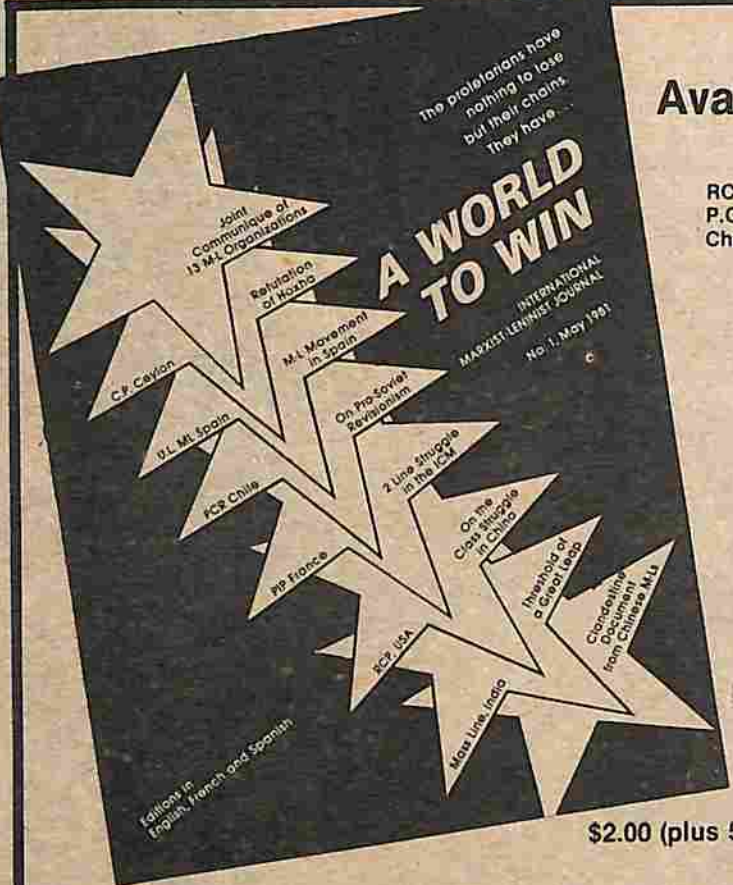
New York Times bluntly put it, "What makes the neutron weapon so irritating is that it forces West Europeans to think about a nuclear war on their soil." This has the potential to be considerably more than an "irritant" to all the imperialists. Indeed, the U.S. is having difficulty with its efforts to get medium-range missiles, the Pershing and the Cruises, pointed at the Soviet Union from European soil by 1983—and some social-democratic forces have opposed this move primarily based on the widespread opposition of the masses. The U.S. press has widely reported that Haig was against the neutron bomb announcement at *this time* for just this reason. Whether or not this is true, the main value of floating Haig out in this way has been to set up Weinberger, Bush and all the rest of the cowboys for the yahoo punch line—"Europe ain't gonna tell us what to do, buddy." In any case, they are all well aware that the political situation in Europe is not going to get *more* favorable in the coming months, so why wait?

As for the Soviet social-imperialists, their public denouncing of the neutron decision is supplying the flipside of the U.S.-style hypocrisy of the moment. They loudly accuse the U.S. of "cannibalistic instincts," calling the neutron bomb the "most inhuman type of weapon of mass annihilation." Of course, no mention is made of the "humanity" represented by the multi-megaton Soviet missiles poised on the Warsaw Pact borders, and pointed straight for the major cities of Europe. And whatever new escalation the Soviets make will only be a "response" to U.S. aggression, just like the U.S. neutron bomb is only a "response" to Soviet aggression, add infinitum.

The fact is the neutron bomb will be a welcome addition to the "integrated battlefield" of both imperialist sides—and will add to the already

massive presence of nukes, chemicals and conventional weapons. The neutron bomb, in particular, is imperialism's perfect child. It releases radiation poisoning that leads to a "premonition phase" of nausea, vomiting, diarrhea, cramps, salivations and anorexia. The severity of these symptoms will let the victim know about how long he has to live. Then, the neuro-muscular symptoms will appear—fatigue, listlessness, sweating, headache, sudden limb paralysis, blood pressure reduction, etc. While the brain and nerve cells slowly disintegrate. While none of this is written about in the current press-hype for the neutron bomb, scientific and military journals have not failed to pick up on the questions involved, particularly what type of "behavior abnormalities" might ensue from soldiers who were so afflicted, or witnessed others who were and saw that their chances of survival were slim. Much of the writing on this subject has been couched in worry over every possible "erratic" behavior of Soviet troops, but given the battlefield conditions, their "own" troops as well as any civilians in the general vicinity would be susceptible to similar "problems."

This whole range of thinking reveals a basic problem of the U.S.'s Hiroshima connection. This isn't 1945, and U.S. imperialism isn't heading into its heyday, but rather into the deepest and most profound crisis of its entire history. Yes, the most swaggering, despicable, reactionary image is called up. But even with their fangs bared the widest—as with the neutron bomb—it only gives a better glimpse of their fundamental weakness. They are driven by necessity toward things like production and deployment of the neutron bomb, and the posturing that accompanies this, despite the fact that the political repercussions among the masses of people are admittedly bound to be tremendous. It has been observed that given certain international conditions, a concrete step in war preparations by the imperialists could possibly spark a revolutionary crisis in one or more countries. Certainly the outlines of such a possibility are evident—if not immediately visible—as a result of the neutron announcement. □



A WORLD TO WIN
INTERNATIONAL MARXIST-LENINIST JOURNAL
No. 1, May 1981

Joint Communiqué of 13 M.O. Organizations
Relation of Ho Chi Minh
M.L. Movement in Spain
On Pro-Soviet Revisionism
2 Line Struggle in the ICA
On the Chair Struggle in China
Thestruggle of a Great Leap
Clandestine Document from China M.L.U.
Mao's Line in Italy
KCP USA
PE France
PCP Chile
U.L. M. Spain
CP Canton

Editors in English, French and Spanish

Available from

RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486
Chicago, IL 60654

\$2.00 (plus 50c postage)

"To carry out the struggle against revisionism and to aid the process of developing and struggling for a correct general line in the international communist movement, the undersigned Parties and organizations are launching an international journal. This journal can and will be a crucial weapon which can help unite, ideologically, politically and organizationally, the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world."

—From the joint communiqué "To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries"

Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions

A summary of the essence of Mao's thought and teachings, which he developed through the twists and turns of over 50 years of revolutionary struggle.

This book delivers a powerful blow in defense of Mao's revolutionary line at a time when everything he fought for, everything that inspired millions about revolutionary China, is under fierce attack.

It blasts the slander that Mao was an idle dreamer trying to impose an impractical vision on the world. No one knew better than he that there was no straight line to liberation but that through continued struggle the world would be won and remade by the people. "The ceaseless emergence and resolution of contradictions as against all notions of absoluteness and stagnation... this Mao grasped as the driving force in the development of all things... and this understanding runs like a crimson path through Mao's writings and actions."

CHAPTERS ON:

by **Bob Avakian**

- Revolution in Colonial Countries
- Revolutionary War and Military Line
- Political Economy, Economic Policy and Socialist Construction
- Philosophy
- Culture and the Superstructure
- Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
- Conclusion: Mao Tsetung, The Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time

\$4.95 (paper) 342 pp.
\$12.95 (cloth)

Available from RCP Publications,
P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago,
Illinois 60654, or at bookstores in your area



WHY COED MOUNTAIN CLIMBING IS BANNED IN IRAN

RW:

Last week, I listened to CBS radio broadcast, over and over again, a smug little feature story on how the reactionary Iranian government has banned coed mountain climbing. The voice of the commentator dripped with chauvinism and snide innuendo as he ran on at the mouth about how backward the Iranians are: Here is Iran with all this anarchy, and unemployment, in a war with Iraq, yet what does its government concern itself with? Coed mountain climbing! And what is wrong with coed mountain climbing anyhow, he asked with indignation.

My mind jumped back to December of 1979 when I was sitting in a hotel room in Tehran together with a delegation of Americans who had travelled to Iran to express support for the Iranian revolution. With us were several progressive Iranians who were telling us of the imaginative tactics developed by

the masses to carry on political struggle under the dictatorship of the Shah. All public and private meetings were banned and spies were everywhere. But since Tehran sits right at the foot of a great mountain range, young revolutionaries quickly developed quite a passion for "mountain climbing." Behind slopes, where anyone approaching could be seen from a great distance, became a favorite meeting place for the young men and women who risked their lives to overthrow the rule of the Shah and his U.S. backers.

I couldn't help but smile at both the pretended astonishment of the CBS commentator and the pious moralism of the reactionary mullahs. Their shared concern over the serious problem of coed mountain climbing is a heart-warming sign that the masses are on the move again.

CK

U.S. "Best Hopes"

Continued from page 7

directly entered the fray, and this is in large part due to the widespread turmoil inside the military. Particularly right after the removal of Bani Sadr from his post as commander-in-chief in the middle of June, there was a wave of strikes, walkouts, demonstrations and even overnight armed clashes on scores of army and airforce bases. Though these remained largely scattered and were in some cases apparently cooled out by Bani Sadr himself, the regime was clearly badly shaken. Soon afterwards, Khomeini met with a number of top military commanders to make sure of their loyalty and plot out how to restore control over the situation. About the same time, a number of officers who had served under the Shah and had been "retired" in 1979 by the new regime expressed their willingness to cooperate with the IRP and were assigned to important posts in the armed forces. Meanwhile, the government moved quickly to try to isolate and neutralize pro-Bani Sadr officers and units; for instance, after a demonstration by airforce personnel at a base near Tehran, agents of the IRP filmed the incident and later arrested 200 airmen.

It is worth noting that the escape of Bani Sadr from Iran was itself an example of the struggle between various factions in the armed forces. While it was widely reported in the press that one of the Shah's former pilots, Col. Bezhad Moezi, flew Bani Sadr and Mojahadeen leader, Rajavi, out of the country, in fact Moezi, who had been assigned to be the Shah's pilot at one time and had resigned after having to fly to Israel several times, later joined the Mojahadeen. Moezi and his crewmen were able to smuggle Bani Sadr and Rajavi into the military section of Tehran's Mehrabad airport and then took off under the cover of night on a "training flight" in a Boeing 707 aerial tanker.

This turmoil in the armed forces is all the more significant because the struggle in Iran today is increasingly going over to arms. With the whole country in upheaval, the regular armed forces have become a particularly important arena of battle; different political forces are fiercely contending for position and power. All indications are that the top commanders of the military—most of whom served under the Shah and were trained by U.S. advisors—are siding with the IRP at this point. Like the IRP leaders, they want to see the revolutionaries wiped out, but they are also not throwing all their eggs into the IRP's basket if it proves unable to stabilize the situation. They have their eyes on political power, and are no doubt consulting with the U.S. about a

number of options, including developing joint plans with the exiled military men. On the other hand, the junior officers and lower ranks of the army and airforce are sharply split. It is here that Bani Sadr has his greatest strength in the military, and there are also Mojahadeen and Marxist-Leninist cadre operating secretly within the military.

The situation in Iran's regular armed forces has been both complex and chaotic since the overthrow of the Shah and the disintegration and defeat of his U.S.-trained army. In the course of the struggle against the Shah's fascist regime, many rank and file soldiers came to enthusiastically support and participate in the revolution. (The actual insurrection in Tehran in February 1979 was triggered by an uprising of homafars, or air force cadets.) Most of the anti-imperialist soldiers' councils formed in the military in 1979 have since been broken up—a task that Bani Sadr applied himself to with special aggressiveness while he was president and commander-in-chief of the armed forces—and many revolutionary-minded soldiers have been drummed out; and both this and the continuing revolutionary ferment have had their effects on the military, especially the lower ranks.

The regular armed forces under the new regime have remained a reactionary force due to the Islamic government's overriding interest from the beginning in keeping the military largely intact in order to consolidate its own power and to use the military to beat down the continuing revolutionary struggle among the masses. This has been most clearly demonstrated in Kurdistan over the past two years. The government's "reorganization" and "Islamicizing" of the military was very limited. For instance, after the purges and executions of the top stratum of the Shah's pro-U.S. generals in early 1979, U.S.-trained middle officers (who all quickly became devout Moslems) moved up the ladder—leaving the reactionary officers' corps largely intact. There was another major purge of the military in July-August 1980 after a U.S.-backed coup plot was uncovered; this included more than 200 of the high-ranking officers who Bani Sadr and Khomeini had been claiming were all "100% loyal to the nation and to the people."

Today there can be no doubt that the armed forces are still seething with coup plotters and officers who have hot lines to U.S. intelligence agencies (the Soviet KGB undoubtedly has its network inside the army as well). One recent eruption of this pro-imperialist pus in the military was the resignation of 850

naval and airforce personnel a few weeks ago. 200-300 of them, together with their families, then fled across the Gulf to Dubai, where it was reported that they had hooked up with reactionary exile forces led by Admiral Madani (former commander of the Navy and a governor-martial law commander of Khuzestan province under the Islamic government).

As part of the IRP's overall plan of step-by-step grabbing up state power over the past year and more, it has not stopped at taking control of key ministries, the Majlis, and the judiciary. These reactionary clerics have grasped very well that political power comes out of the barrel of a gun; and they have applied a two-pronged strategy on this front. On the one hand, through their control of the Supreme Defense Council they have spread religious commissars throughout the army; they have jumped at every opportunity to purge Bani Sadr loyalists from the military; and they have also advocated cutting back the size of the army to well under 200,000.

Alongside their efforts to control and neutralize the regular forces, the IRP have built up the Pasdaran (the so-called "revolutionary guards") as a parallel army since 1979. While initially this was formed as the military arm of the local neighborhood komitahs (and local units of the Pasdaran still serve as local police forces), the IRP leaders have steadily built it up to its present level of more than 60,000 men. The Pasdars have separate recruiting and training from the regular military, they have their own general staff and intelligence services, and they even negotiate directly with other governments for the purchase of heavy weaponry—Libya and Syria in particular, which the Soviet imperialists are utilizing in order to ween this section of the reactionary armed forces from Iran's traditional dependence on U.S. weapons.

The Pasdaran, along with the unofficial fascist gangs hired directly by the IRP, have been the main strike force used by the regime to date against the masses, and for good reason. The government is quite worried about the political sympathies of much of the army and airforce, and they are also well aware that bringing the army out into the streets will polarize things very rapidly, with a great risk that the army would split as it did under the Shah when it came face to face with the politically aroused and armed masses.

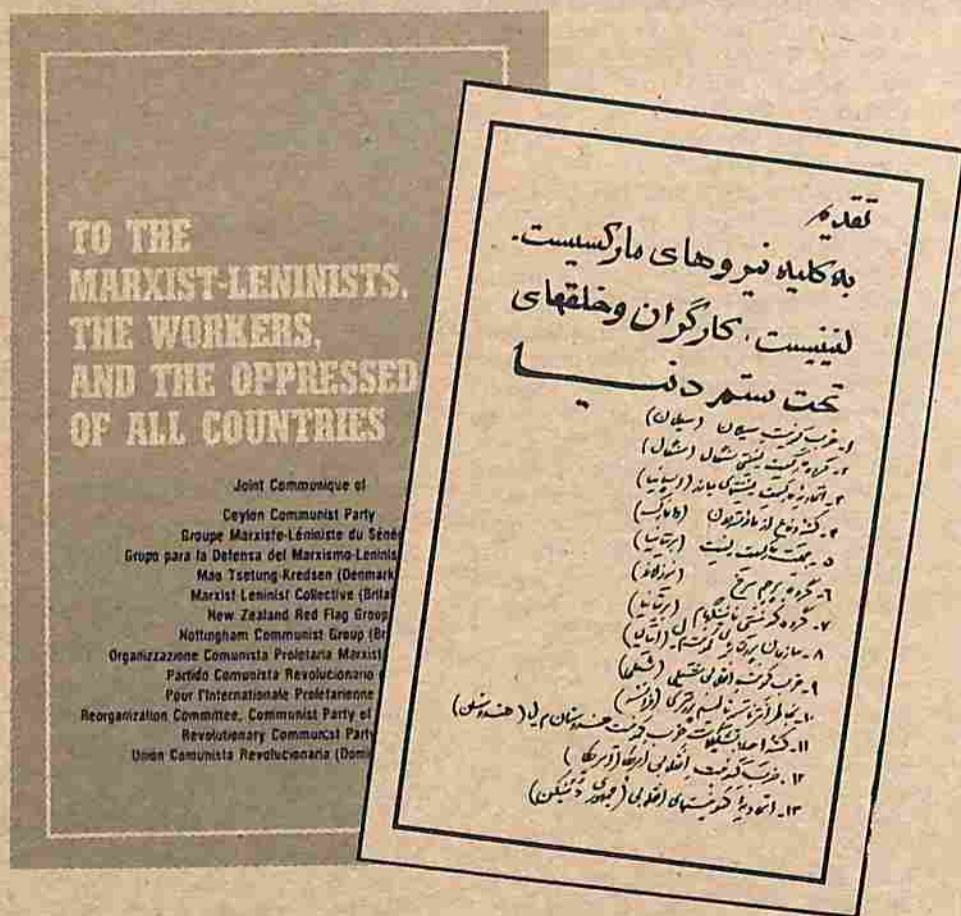
The regime is facing a similar contradiction in the Pasdaran. Most of its recruits are from the poorer sections of the Iranian people—who had believed they were enlisting to fight against the imperialists and their agents—and some have become demoralized and outraged as they are ordered to suppress and brutalize their own people.

Obstacles Ahead

It goes without saying that the U.S. imperialists have similar worries about the situation inside Iran's armed forces, and are plotting out their next moves with reactionary commanders. There are undoubtedly heated discussions taking place right now over how far to go in defending the current regime, and at what point they should try to overthrow a gravely weakened IRP government. All this, however, involves complex and dangerous calculations. Just as the U.S. is coming under increasing pressure to make a major move, their traditional main base of support inside Iran is rent with internal contradictions, and parts of the military have been effectively paralyzed. And as the mass resistance to the IRP takes on the character of a more conscious, organized and armed struggle for power, the armed forces, faced by an armed people, will become even more of a pressure-cooker and will tend to split, with sections joining the revolution.

Since the overthrow of the Shah more than two years ago, U.S. policymakers have been eagerly awaiting a situation when the Islamic Republic would begin to crumble and lose its hold on large sections of the masses. But now that this time is arriving, it is somewhat ironic that they are facing many more obstacles in refastening this grip on Iran: a concentrated example of the situation the U.S. imperialists find themselves in worldwide. Even as the U.S. and their Soviet rivals face each other down in Iran and prepare their next moves, the one factor they both are never able to correctly figure into their calculations is the masses of people and their determination to win liberation from all forms of reaction and oppression. For if the present IRP-led regime has an uncertain future, this does not necessarily mean that either the U.S. or the USSR are going to pick up the reins of power. This possibility, by the way, was never entertained by Ted Koppel and his sleazy guests, but it is the one that most keeps the spy Tomseth and his imperialist godfathers tight lipped and losing sleep. □

Available Now in Farsi



Joint Communique of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations. Autumn, 1980. Published in Chinese, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Italian, Malayalam, Sinhalese, Spanish and Tamil. \$1.00 plus 50¢ postage.

Available from: RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

Cosmos

Continued from page 9

"The entropy S is a function of state. In a reversible process, the entropy of the universe is constant. In an irreversible process, the entropy of the universe increases."

There are two levels on which this assumption of the increasing entropy of the universe must be challenged. The first is our observation of the universe itself. (The 2nd Law, like all truly scientific theories, is derived from practice.) For as far as we can observe (at present 10-20 billion light years), the universe around us is expanding, quite likely from a big bang that took place billions of years ago. Thus, in that part of the universe we now know, entropy does appear at present to be overall increasing (although this is a net result of an intricate interpenetration and struggle of the two opposite tendencies just mentioned throughout all levels of motion of matter of our universe).

Here several points must be made. First, in the period prior to the big bang (yes we can think about that) there was a period in which all the matter that was involved in the big bang got packed together. This would have to have been a period of decreasing entropy—a period where attraction was principle over repulsion. Second, borrowing and expanding Sagan's term "earth-chauvinism"—aren't we suffering from "our visible universe" chauvinism or the equivalent "our big bang" chauvinism? Isn't it possible, in fact, likely, that the big bang we know (surmise) is only one of many (even infinite) big bangs in space and time? While our most recent big bang is presently spewing matter outward (and thereby increasing entropy) isn't it likely that elsewhere in the universe (yet unknown but not unknowable) matter is collapsing under gravitation toward another big bang? Here again would be a massive part of the universe, perhaps as big or even bigger than "our" presently known part, where entropy is decreasing.

Some may say this is preposterous, but exactly this same dialectical play of attraction and repulsion goes on at all smaller structural levels of the universe.

New galaxies, galaxy clusters, stars, star planetary systems, etc., are continually being born through attraction and dying through repulsion. Each motion has its own particularities of course but the pattern is there. Taking stars as an example, not only do we find stars of all ages in the universe (including the early stages of stars that are still forming) but it has been shown that the death of some stars through supernovas sometimes creates the conditions for the birth of new stars—both by spewing out matter and by sending out shockwaves which help drive diffuse matter together. Perhaps in a similar way the shock of matter spewed from one big bang helps create the conditions elsewhere for another. The time scale of this process would be staggeringly large but this would make the process no less real.

While these conjectures may not prove exactly correct, they could only seem preposterous to those who imagine that the present known universe is the largest level of structure that exists. Dialectical materialism, based on practice, says otherwise. Just as there is no ultimate atomic particle that can't be further divided so there is no ultimate (i.e. largest) structure or sub-structure of the universe.

Looking back once more at the formal definition of entropy, we can see how the wrong conclusion that the entropy of the universe is increasing is derived from this definition. What it says is that if reversible processes leave entropy unchanged and irreversible processes increase it, then of course entropy can only overall increase. Right? Wrong! The problem here lies in the use of the term "irreversible". There is no such thing as unconditional irreversibility. For example, while it is true that a normal star only radiates outward finally exhausting itself, what about a black hole? Here extreme gravitation won't even let radiation in the form of light out. Or, as we have seen while a new star isn't formed by sucking radiation in from space while doing "reverse fusion," new stars are formed in the wake of the death of old ones. So again, from a different angle, we see that the 2nd Law of thermodynamics has a relative and conditional validity.

The laws of motion of living matter,

one level of which is described by the theory of evolution, are clearly ones where there is overall not increasing entropy and molecular randomness but the opposite (but again this is a net result of a struggle between life and growth vs. death and decay). This is an expression of the fact that through the unity and struggle of opposites there is spiral development from a lower to a higher level. The theory of evolution is an expression of this progress through struggle.

Our present knowledge of the universe has not yet yielded a definitive theory of how the much larger structures of the universe like galaxies (or "big bang areas") are developing in a spiral from a lower to a higher level. Even the most progressive natural scientists including Sagan, hampered by metaphysics on this point, tend to put forward either a straight line or circular/cyclical view of cosmology. Here is how Sagan sees it in *Cosmos*:

"Very likely, the universe has been expanding since the Big Bang, but it is by no means clear that it will continue to expand forever. The expansion may gradually slow, stop and reverse itself. If there is less than a certain critical amount of matter in the universe, the gravitation of the receding galaxies will be insufficient to stop the expansion, and the universe will run away forever. But if there is more matter than we can see—hidden away in black holes, say, or in hot but invisible gas between the galaxies—then the universe will hold together gravitationally and partake of a very Indian succession of cycles, expansion followed by contraction, universe upon universe, *Cosmos* without end. If we live in such an oscillating universe, then the Big Bang is not the creation of the *Cosmos* but merely the end of the previous cycle, the destruction of the last incarnation of the *Cosmos*." (p. 259)

The first possibility Sagan mentions corresponds with the view that entropy is and will always and everywhere increase. It turns out that this view is not only scientifically incorrect but has in addition a certain metaphorical political content today and represents the pessimistic class outlook of the petit-bourgeois in a time of deepening crisis. (A view that one-sidedly sees only the danger but not the opportunities

developing in the present day political situation.) To see this let's follow this same Sagan quote a little further: "Neither of these modern cosmologies may be altogether to our liking. In one, the universe is created, somehow, ten or twenty billion years ago and expands forever, the galaxies mutually receding until the last one disappears over our cosmic horizon. Then the galactic astronomers are out of business, the stars cool and die, matter itself decays and the universe becomes a thin cold haze of elementary particles." This "inevitable death of the universe" view is paralleled by Sagan's pessimism about humanity's ability to escape from the more immediate threat of nuclear destruction. However Sagan stands out for his efforts to propagate a scientific world view to meet this threat.

Others like Jeremy Rifkin, in his recent book called *Entropy* more explicitly foist the concept of entropy as an all-embracing mystical symbol for the chaotic decay, disintegration and death of all we know from ecology to the biological gene pool to peace, democracy and civilization. (By the way, as *RW* readers may recall, Jeremy Rifkin is the same person who in 1976 headed the People's Bicentennial Commission which tried to put a "left" face on celebrating 200 years of the blessings of the U.S. bourgeois rule—this might give us a clue as to what he is really afraid of losing.)

There is much more that can and should be said about these and related questions and I encourage others to correspond to the *RW*. I hope it is clear how the metaphysical misuse of the 2nd Law of thermodynamics and entropy, whether openly or not so openly from the right or inadvertently among progressive and revolutionary scientists, only plays into the hands of reaction. Just as the smallest sub-atomic particle is infinitely divisible, so the universe is infinitely extensive in space, time and matter and its laws of motion at all levels can be understood thoroughly and all-sidedly only by using dialectical materialism. Lenin said it well: "...by following the *path* of Marxist theory we shall draw closer and closer to objective truth (without ever exhausting it); but by following *any other path* we shall arrive at nothing but confusion and lies." CM

Air Controllers Strike

Continued from page 1

refuse to grant clearance to U.S. flights. The transport ministry practically ordered supervisors to individually confront each controller and demand that they agree to "perform their full duties." The controllers were reportedly threatened with \$5,000 fines, suspensions or firings. "I don't want to tell you exactly what we said," one transport official told the *New York Times*, "but we explained the facts of life in strong terms."

When the pleas and threats failed, and the Canadian government was forced to close the Gander Control Center altogether on August 11th, a slender thread holding together the system of international commercial air transport, a critical part of the "bone structure" of western imperialism, was severed. The descent into chaos on the airways was instantaneous. From 60% of normal, Transatlantic traffic was reduced to 10%—a figure reflecting what traffic could be squeezed through southerly routes which are themselves subject to threat and shutdown by Portuguese controllers operating from a center in the Azores.

The shutdown at Gander lasted, of course, only for two days. But by the time a "compromise" was reached between the union and the Canadian government, with the government mouthing a meaningless "pledge" to investigate the possibility that the jerry-rigged U.S. air traffic control system may, after all, be unsafe, the world had an eye-ful of some real "facts of life."

These "facts of life" had already been broadly hinted, in the hysterical accusation by Ronald Reagan that the U.S. controllers' strike was tantamount to "desertion in the line of duty"; in the charge that the controllers have "violated a sacred oath to the U.S. gov-

ernment"; in the long planned transfer of "loyal and reliable" military controllers to control posts vacated by the strikers; in the recent, highly-revealing and significant threat (even if it remains "only" a threat) reported in the *New York Times* of August 12: "In Washington, meanwhile, a Pentagon spokesman raised the possibility that the President might recall to active duty some of the air controllers who belong to the National Guard or the Ready Reserve, or who have retired from military service... Pentagon officials estimated yesterday that 1/3 of the striking controllers were National Guardsmen, reservists, or retired military personnel. If the President ordered them to active duty, they might be required to go back to the same jobs they were performing before the strike, but for only 1/3 of the pay, officials said."

Part of War Preparation

As was stressed in last week's *RW* article on the controllers' strike, the comprehensive mobilization by the government to crush the strike is basically necessitated by U.S. imperialism's struggle to gear up for war: "The 13,000 air traffic controllers are part of, and in the current conflict have come to symbolize, a stratum of society critical to the military readiness and mobilization requirements of U.S. imperialism as it steps up its preparations for war." In striving to stomp out the least rebelliousness and resistance to authority among controllers, in sternly asserting the "duties of a patriot," and the necessities of loyalty, discipline, obedience, and sacrifice in defense of the fatherland, the U.S. ruling class is impelled by the very critical military-strategic role of the whole civil aeronautics structure to a war mobiliza-

tion effort. In war time or during a pre-war mobilization air traffic control operations would be one of the first parts of the civilian economy to be put on war footing. First many air traffic controllers—who are largely veterans—would be recalled into the military. Further, several hundred civilian jet transports—part of the Civil Reserve Air Fleet—would be placed under the direct control of the Military Airlift Command and used to supplement the air force's own fleet of transport aircraft. The remaining seats on civilian flights would then be allocated to such military uses as transporting military reservists to mobilization centers, transporting incoming wounded from abroad to hospitals in the U.S. and other war-related uses. Such plans have already been drawn up by the Federal Aviation Administration, the Civil Aeronautics Board, the Federal Emergency Management Agency and the Defense Department. These procedures were evaluated in war games conducted by the Defense Department and civilian agencies in 1978 and again in 1980. Also U.S. war plans call for dispersing the U.S. bomber fleet, moving B-52 and FB-111 bombers from Strategic Air Command bases to other military air bases and to civilian airports. This could well mean that B-52s could be launched from civilian airfields.

But the issue is actually far broader than a struggle to assert paramilitary discipline among the technicians in a single branch of the workforce. The U.S. ruling class consciously sees this battle, and is waging it, as a key political test of its ability to begin to place not only air controllers, not only other skilled workers in sensitive jobs, but the population as a whole on war footing, ideologically and increasing in practice.

Broader Questions Raised

All of this is why the strikebreaking

operation, which has been planned over two administrations for the past year and a half, itself is being carried out along the lines of a military operation. But these drastic measures carry with them considerable risks: *Newsweek* magazine has already admitted that the ruling class had "miscalculated": "...the administration gambled that its ultimatum would force most of the striking controllers back to work, and it lost; more than 12,000 union members stayed out." But what is even more dangerous for U.S. imperialism is that the struggle is now taking on international dimensions. These international developments, inevitably further expose the real global issues at the bottom of what *Newsweek* is calling "a high stakes struggle for control of the American sky" (i.e., what is really at stake here is just one part of mobilization for a "high stakes struggle for control of the world").

So what began and remains at heart an economic struggle (and by a better-off section of workers at that) has both touched off reactions and touched on questions that have much more to do with far broader and deeper international questions than this strike. It was an irony that could not be papered over that, while the U.S. ruling class was frenziedly working to crush the controllers' strike, over in Poland new demonstrations and food protests were spreading, the Polish government was struggling to assert its own authority, and the rival Soviet imperialists were engaged in renewed rumblings against "disrupters," "threats to stability", etc. The question was posed: why would both the U.S. and Soviet-bloc rulers denounce and suppress "their own" workers while denouncing their rivals for doing exactly the same? The answer—preparation for a reactionary war between imperialist powers to decide who will rule more

Continued on page 18

ALL-STARS AND STRIPES

The U.S. imperialists certainly outdid themselves in their "welcome back to baseball" extravaganza at this year's All Star baseball game. With Tony Kubek and Joe Garagiola bringing the play by play from Cleveland, the patriotic pageantry clearly deserved the Medal of Honor—for it was above and beyond the usual sickening sing-song of the national anthem and the commercial lyrics of "baseball, apple pie and Chevrolet." But then again, the World War 3 game plan demands nothing less.

The game was annotated by a videotaped message from the Commander-in-Chief himself, Ronald "the Gipper" Reagan, who pronounced the romance between loyal fans and the national pastime to be back on again. It was one-

big-happy-family-time the next day, with an All Star game that, the Cleveland press would claim, "healed the sores." (The sores in this case referring to the worries that the baseball strike would sour many people on the game.)

As the stadium lights illuminated the second largest U.S. flag ever made (the largest is slated to dangle eventually from the Verrazano Bridge in New York harbor), the game ball was delivered. What some newspapers described as "a skydiver" turned out to be one of Ft. Bragg's airborne elite bringing the ol' horsehide via parachute! Next, the over 72,000 fans in attendance and the millions watching were treated to renditions of the Canadian and U.S. national anthems (there were players

from two Canadian teams in the game).

As the PA announcer readied for the team introductions, a hush fell across the press box. "I did not know which way it was gonna go," commentator Kubek said later. "When the National League was introduced the fans started booing." Were they booing because of the strike—were they booing *American baseball*? But when the American League (of which the hometown Cleveland Indians are a part) hit the field and the cheers went up, Kubek's words gushed out with an almost audible sigh of relief: "No, they were just booing the enemy." A truly all-American display.

Ah, but there's more. The game ball was then thrown out by Vice President George Bush, and caught by a 13-year-old in Little League uniform who was drafted for the job by one of the TV honchos with an eye for the trite. But, even before the umpire could yell "play ball," the national pastime's image received a slight tarnishing—at least in the eyes of baseball's Commissioner, Bowie Kuhn. It seems that Morgana Roberts (who's gaining a national reputation for doing this at sports events) rushed onto the field and kissed pitcher

Len Barker. Quickly enough, Bob Hope put it all in perspective, saying that he thought it was just fine. He, unlike stodgy old Bowie, remembers how Playboy bunnies et al. and sports heroes go together quite well in giving red-blooded Americans something to fight and die for. All his USO tours since World War 2 right up to Vietnam have convinced him of that. Indeed, what was the display at the 52nd annual All Star game if not a USO for the homefront? It was clearly in this spirit that Hope (along with a former Commissioner from baseball's "less complex past"—Happy Chandler) received the Commissioner's All Star trophy, usually reserved for one of the players.

And, just as the first pitch was let fly, a broadside of fireworks lit up the Cleveland sky, capping off a night of real Americana and demonstrating once again all the more vividly how the imperialists use sports as a major political and ideological weapon in their cultural arsenal. The 52nd All Star game festivities should illustrate once again exactly what the rulers have in mind when they cry, "Play Ball!" □

Prison Correspondence

To: Revolutionary Communist Party (U.S.A.)

Along with this letter the Revolutionary Communist Party will stumble across one check from me worth the total amount of two dollars and twenty five cents. It's not much but it's being given from the heart. The workers of the world should top the sacrifice being made by the author of this letter (who is a prisoner) by giving even more money along with their undivided attention to the RCP. The large number of free *Revolutionary Worker* newspapers I've received from the RCP is not the only thing motivating me to make this donation to the RCP. My main reason for making this pathetic but sincere contribution to the RCP is because of the top notch quality of the *RW* newspapers I've been receiving not the large quantity. The RCP and *RW* are guilty of systematically assaulting me by mercilessly hurling a continuous stream of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist propaganda at me which has raised my class consciousness to magnificent heights and so I'm indebted to them for life. I can't honestly say I have acquired a firm grasp on all the fine points of the socialist-communist ideology of the RCP in this short span of time. But the Revolutionary Communist Party and *Revolutionary Worker* have convinced me that continuous socialist revolution on a universal scale is the only process able to redeem the majority of humanity from the parasitic tentacles of their feudal and bourgeoisie masters who, when compared to the immense majority of the people are definitely a very small and greedy minority. Speaking from where I lay (underneath the monopolistic boot heel of my

bourgeoisie masters) as far as I'm concerned actively engaging in any social project short of socialist revolution is an exercise in futility. Any oppressed woman or man who still foolishly harbors "fears" about living in a socialist-communist world should be given the "order of stupidity."

Thank you

Dear friends,

A brother here let me read the July 17, 1981 issue of the "Revolutionary Worker" and this is the first time I've had the privilege to read it. Needless to say, we prisoners are seldom able to obtain decent literature pertaining to the struggle, and when I read your advertisement on page 11 about the "Prisoner's Revolutionary Literature Fund," I was surprised. I mean, it's not everyday that you can read of somebody on the outside who is concerned about those of us behind walls.

Being a self-styled revolutionary I have a feeling from reading your paper that my understanding of the struggle is only the tip of the iceberg, so to speak. I am in solitary confinement and so I would be deeply grateful if you could add me to your mailing list to receive the "Revolutionary Worker" and any other literature about the Revolutionary Communist Party, its history, work, goals, etc. I want very much to gain an in-depth understanding of the Party so that I can more intelligently participate in the struggle. Thank you for your concern.

XXX

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

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

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

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

NOW IN ITS SECOND PRINTING

and including an additional article by Bob Avakian

COMING FROM BEHIND TO MAKE REVOLUTION

and
Crucial Questions in
Coming From Behind

Coming From Behind To Make Revolution

A major talk by Bob Avakian which originally appeared in April, 1980 as a supplement to the *Revolutionary Worker* entitled "Is Revolution Really Possible this Decade and What Does May First Have To Do With It?"

Crucial Questions In Coming From Behind:

Originally printed in the *Revolutionary Worker* August, 1980, this important further analysis is now available for the first time in pamphlet form.

\$1.25

Available from RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486
Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654 or at
bookstores listed on back page.

Air Controllers

Continued from page 16

slaves—becomes more obvious. Even the embarrassing fact that trade union support (limited as it is) for U.S. controllers has come almost exclusively from “foreigners” has challenged the narrow, chauvinist “patriotic unionism” that has led many controllers to wave the American flag along with their clenched fists at strike rallies. Then there is the question about what this strike has again revealed about the vulnerability and fragility of the “machine” of the U.S. empire. When a handful of Canadian controllers, motivated mainly by everyday considerations of trade union solidarity took their short-lived action, shudders went through the U.S. and Europe. Not only passenger traffic, but commercial airfreight schedules collapsed. By the time service was restored at Gander, dozens of airliners were on the wrong side of the ocean, a huge backlog of flights existed, major airlines had torn up all “normal” schedules and it was predicted that at least a week would be required to crawl back to the 60% of normal service “target”—unless, that is, the threatened job actions by the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and Australian controllers came off. This system of imperialism is vulnerable to a jolt or a break in the fabric. The point of this, of course, is not some sort of sabotage or “crippling strikes” theory of revolution; nor certainly is it to say that these or other workers in technical or “strategic” jobs are the key to revolution. Far from it; the Miami rebellion or the English riots and the Irish struggle demonstrate this instability far more powerfully. But this strike, too, has provided a demonstration that the strength represented by the highly-integrated and advanced character of imperialism today is also a source of its weakness, its vulnerability to sudden changes and leaps. Looking ahead to the future presents a vision of far more than imperialist strength and world war, but of the great potential in the midst of, or leading up to, all this for breakdown and revolutionary crisis.

Some Surprises

All of this has had a broad impact far beyond the controllers. It is very important to observe, in fact, that the controllers themselves have mostly seen the issues raised by their strike simply as wages, hours and working conditions, and now perhaps government union busting. No matter how strongly felt and fought these are still trade union issues. Despite the military implications of air traffic control, the fact that many controllers are military veterans, and their status as U.S. government employees, the idea that they might somehow be objectively throwing a monkey wrench into the ruling class's political preparations for military mobilization by striking has been the furthest thing from their minds. Now, it is true that this “blind spot” is itself one of the problems the bourgeoisie has to deal with: such relatively privileged strata of the working class are as yet far from thoroughly indoctrinated in the World War 3 “game plan” and their own very prominent place in it. But more importantly, the fact is that the controllers have, largely in spite of themselves, collided head-on with the imperialist “facts of life” which they did not expect to meet up with in this strike. Many of them still have not absorbed the implications of this—either in the way the imperialists want them to (by crawling back and kissing the ring of the government) or in the sense of gaining a genuinely deeper understanding of where the real meaningful lines are being drawn in the world (which is not the union vs. the government, but, no fooling, does pit the internationalist, revolutionary interests of the proletariat and oppressed of all countries vs. the imperialists of the world).

While the rank and file controllers clearly were prepared for a hard-fought, risky strike, the “blind spot” just referred to also would mean that (in *Newsweek's* priggish phrase) “...the union underestimated Ronald Reagan's determination to uphold the

law.” Numerous strikers have expressed genuine shock at such deliberate government “message-sending” tactics as placing one arrested local leader in arm and leg irons. Implicit in such protest as “It's totally unthinkable that this could happen in this day and time” (the words of one Newark, New Jersey strike leader) are various strands of illusions: A member of a union of skilled, mainly white, relatively high paid workers shouldn't be treated “like a common criminal”; such tactics are reminiscent of “the age of unenlightened bosses,” “Victorian mill owners” who never heard of the “social contract”—or of the bribing of a certain section of the workers to insure a loyal political base for imperialism in the working class. Indeed, judged by recent, more “normal” standards, PATCO members had some basis to scoff in advance at the question of the strike's “legality.” By law, for example, unions of government employees are not allowed to bargain for wages or benefits—yet, exactly because of its need to insure stability and due to overriding political considerations, the government has over the last decade ignored this prohibition in the case of PATCO and some other unions. *Newsweek*, in a revealing footnote, comments that “PATCO established its ability to negotiate these issues not by law but by power. So cohesive was the union that the Federal Aviation Administration was reluctant to enforce the prohibition—another reason for the White House's hard line now.”)

Union President Robert Poli and the PATCO national leadership also has been banking heavily over the past year on two other “bargaining chips.” One was the PATCO endorsement of Ronald Reagan in the 1980 presidential elections. An unnamed “administration official” is quoted in the press as saying that “Poli thought he could wave that letter and get what he wanted. It was ridiculous.” And so it proved to be. But it again should be noted that, assuming “normal, peaceful times,” that it would not be unreasonable for the union hack to expect a few favors and a few extra crumbs in return for a rare endorsement of a Republican (PATCO was one of the only three U.S. unions to turn that trick last year). Poli, a hard-core opportunist, was asking for only enough concessions to save his face and his career. He even tried manfully (and failed miserably) to sell the government's final offer to the membership, though it contained nothing they had demanded.

The other imaginary “bargaining chip” was supposed to be that, when push came to shove, the government would blanch at the insuperable safety problems inherent in running the traffic control system on a shoestring for an extended period for the sole purpose of breaking the strike. What a laugh! As the reported instances of near-misses pile up, as the 60-hour weeks by rusty supervisors and inadequately trained military stand-ins under more than usually chaotic conditions build toward the inevitable eventual results, the sole government argument—outside of bland lies and sweet assurances that “it's safer than ever up there”—is the claim that, after all, near misses and hair's breadths of disaster avoidance were commonplace even before the strike, so what's the big deal? The Airline Pilot's Association, top heavy with former air force officers, has played a key role in providing credibility for the government's “safety” claims by backing them to the hilt. After all, “would we lie? We're up there ourselves...and air safety is always our first concern.” Again, because the public-at-large has not yet grasped the full extent of what is going on, it has not realized that the pilots are performing what is tantamount to a military function. In war time, does a military pilot only obey orders to fly a mission if he is convinced that “the air is even safer than before the war started?”

As Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis did point out during an appearance on the MacNeil/Lehrer Report, a television news program, the government does have one objective political reason to strive for some kind of safety standard: if a mid-air disaster does occur, it will have an unfavorable

impact on public confidence in the government's line, and further dampen enthusiasm for air travel. But from this all that can be safely assumed is that the administration is crossing its fingers in the hope that this will prevent such a disaster. The necessity to maintain the absolute maximum feasible air traffic must override all other considerations. Sooner or later, a disaster is bound to occur, and the Reagan administration knows this; in that event, they will unleash every propaganda resource at the disposal of the bourgeoisie to lay the deaths at the door of the “deserters,” the “traitors,” the striking air traffic controllers.

The Sorry Labor Movement

While the AFL-CIO mouths ritual phrases against “union-busting,” it of course has no intention of lifting a finger to support the strike (although in the future, it is possible that the AFL-CIO could intervene on whatever basis is most suitable to the interests of the bourgeoisie). Union leaders are widely quoted—“Off the record,” of course—complaining that PATCO members make too much money to go on strike, that it's an illegal strike, etc. Most revealingly, they criticize PATCO President Robert Poli for “playing his cards all wrong”—he should have been more deft at stringing along the membership and wearing out their zeal for a strike, maybe dicking for a few more crumbs in the process. The AFL-CIO is certainly opposed to “union-busting,” in the sense that they are suspicious of any threat to their own entrenched position and the organized structure which supports it. But as long as the bureaucracy preserves the function of the unions as essential conduits of imperialist influence on the masses of the workers, the AFL-CIO leaders know that this is the best guarantee against any “union-busting drive.”

Douglas Fraser who led the United Auto Workers (UAW) to make nearly a billion dollars in total concessions to Chrysler and other auto makers, and who recently was granted a seat on Chrysler's Board of Directors, openly attacked the strike, saying it “could cause massive damage to the labor movement.” William Wimpisinger, who (like Fraser) is one of the AFL-CIO's excuses for “socialist militants” and the head of the International Association of Machinists (a union which includes most aircraft mechanics) has come up with a “leftist” excuse for crossing PATCO's lines: they did, after all, endorse the reactionary Ronald Reagan for President, and therefore can hardly expect the support of true labor militants.

The whining chorus from the AFL-CIO leaders against “union-busting” does, however, serve an important political purpose: diverting the attention of the millions of workers who are observing these events from the real momentous stakes involved, the broad world questions touched by their strike, and instead keeping the blinders of “business as usual” bourgeois unionism on as far as possible down the trail leading to world war. (We can only note here in passing, that an opportunist rat-pack of revisionists led by the Communist Party, USA is now echoing the reactionary utterings of AFL-CIO bigshots even more eagerly than usual. In addition to lavishing plenty of ink in praise of Wimpisinger, the “firebrand militant leftist” whose union is the chief scabber against the controllers, the CP quotes approvingly AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland's supposedly “militant” statement that the Reagan administration is indulging in “overkill union-busting.” Such “union-busting,” the CP concludes profoundly, poses a “challenge to the entire labor movement.” The CPUSA's “challenge,” as revisionists, is to criminally narrow the sights of the advanced workers as to what is really going on.)

We do not pretend to be shocked by this deplorable lack of “solidarity forever” spirit among the fraternal lodges, in the face of what they mislabel “the first shot in an all-out drive by Big Business to bust the unions.” It is quite easily explained: First, the ruling class's attempt to break the PATCO strike has nothing at all to do with a broader

“union-busting drive”; even PATCO is not the target except insofar as it has become a focal point of “out of bounds” rebellion. Second, the AFL-CIO does not support the strike at all, on the contrary, unites with the necessity to crush it. Their concern is that it is, after all, the job of the union leadership to keep labor disciplined, that Poli blew it, things have gotten out of hand—and that this is going to make their own jobs along the same lines much tougher. Especially going into a period of war mobilization, the one overriding threat to their positions is an erosion of their ability to discipline and “deliver” their membership.

There is not need to waste time wondering why the AFL-CIO leadership does not use its “clout” to aid the PATCO strikers in achieving victory; it is difficult to imagine any result they could desire less.

“The Plan” Could Blow

Poli and the government are now engaging in a sort of charade, the rules of which are fairly simple. The government must keep up the fiction that they are determined to “freeze out” all striking controllers forever and “rebuild the system from the ground up.” At some point, if the strikers grow desperate to regain their jobs at any price, Poli will lead them back in. According to William Safire's theory, a *New York Times* columnist close to the Reagan administration, the plan is: “...no sign of mercy will be shown until the strikers admit defeat; then, selective leniency can be expected.” This means that the bulk of the strikers will be rehired, but a thorough purge of the most active and rebellious elements will be conducted.

That, at any rate, is the “plan.” How things will eventually turn out, it is impossible to say; it is possible that Poli will lose his usefulness and effectiveness, that the membership may steadfastly refuse to yield, that new and unforeseen developments may take place internationally, that the chewing gum holding together the government's air traffic may fall away.

The point here is not to repeat some “...anything can happen, and usually does,” cliché; the point is that it would be well to ponder how far things have already gone. We pointed out last week that the political outlook of the striking controllers was marked by contradiction; on the one hand, we observed then, the controllers do represent that relatively privileged section of workers who have by and large come to believe that they have a real, material stake in this system, and on whom the influence of patriotism and authority inevitably would exert a strong, reactionary pull, not only in the immediate strike battle, but in the longer run as well, in the “great worldwide upheavals shaping up.” This cannot be ignored. But we also stressed that the controllers have been influenced by the anti-war movement and the uprisings of the '60s and '70s, that their experience has been in many cases far broader than the control tower, and that they, not unlike many others in this stratum of the population, have found that the “good life” to be little more than a sugar-coated nightmare, alcoholism and suicide in the suburbs instead of the slums; we concluded that no one should harbor the illusion that “that, in the coming revolutionary crisis, the imperialists have the air traffic controllers and millions of others in this stratum, tucked neatly into their watchbands.”

Only one week has passed since these words were written; yet already this contradiction stand out even more sharply. A flood of politically-charged events has taken place, affecting, of course, not only the consciousness of the controllers, but literally millions of workers and other strata in this country and around the world. The strike, and the political outlook of the strikers, have been from the beginning and remain limited by the bounds of trade unionism; and the dramatic events that have gone down around the strike also tend to jolt and undermine this outlook. In this uneven, contradictory fashion, the truly decisive political questions, the life and death issues of the coming upheavals, are stubbornly asserting themselves. □

Thoughts Provoked

from page 3

they deal in, and this translates in political terms into the position that the important thing is that they be free to say whatever they want—this, for them, is much more important than the content of what they (or anyone else) have to say (there is of course the philosophical dimension to this too: at one point I asked him if there was in his opinion any such thing as objective truth and did it make any difference, which relates to the basic political question: is the important thing that every idea have equal opportunity to be expressed or is the important thing to arrive at the truth and use this to change things?—his answer to this was not surprisingly vague and ambiguous).

All this relates to the following from Marx (in the *Grundrisse*): "In the money relation, in the developed system of exchange (and this semblance seduces the democrats) the ties of personal dependence, of distinctions of blood, education, etc., are in fact exploded, ripped up (at least, personal ties all appear as *personal* relations); and individuals seem independent (this is the independence which is at bottom merely an illusion, and it is more correctly called indifference), free to collide with one another and to engage in exchange within this freedom; but they appear thus only for someone who abstracts from the conditions, the conditions of existence within which these individuals enter into contact (and these conditions, in turn, are independent of the individuals and, although created by

society, appear as if they were *natural* conditions, not controllable by individuals)."

"Freedom of the individual," that holy icon of bourgeois democracy and the petty-bourgeois democrat, can, to paraphrase Marx, never be higher than nor divorced from the material, and political and ideological, conditions of the society of which that individual forms a part. And beyond that, why should freedom of the *individual* be the highest principle anyway? It is only in the world of commodities, where all are in fact tied together by and dependent on each other through labor but appear to be so many isolated individuals (owners of commodities of whatever kind), it is only in a society like that where the freedom of the individual can be proclaimed the highest right.

In abolishing capitalism, the highest development of commodity production, whose secret and essence however is the exploitation by capital of the commodity labor power, in overcoming the narrow horizons of bourgeois right and bourgeois equality that correspond to the bourgeois epoch, can the proletariat do no better politically and ideologically than to "perfect" bourgeois democracy and its eclectic expression in philosophy—the equal exchange of equal ideas in the market place? The struggle in the ideological realm, the development of the critical spirit and the challenging of convention and tradition—all this is essential not only to "allow" or "protect" but truly liberate, unleash under the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a crucial part of carrying forward the transition to communism (and under communism this will no doubt be given even greater expression). But the reason people should not be prevented from expressing unpopular ideas or opinions that challenge the established norm is not because they as individuals must have the right to

say whatever they want to—if that is the heart of the problem, let them say it only to themselves and that will be the end of it—but precisely because the continuing advance of mankind lies in the never-ending discovery of the truth and the use of this truth to transform the world, linked together (knowing and doing, theory and practice) precisely in the practice of changing the world. Ideas which have been proved to be incorrect, and especially those which are reactionary and harmful to society (for example the idea that the mass consumption of arsenic will prevent disease) do not need to be, should not be, allowed, nor their champions allowed to preach them. However, ideas which are not already proven to be wrong and/or reactionary but which stir controversy, which challenge the old—even shed light on old problems—must not only be allowed but must be promoted, in contention with what is established, with convention and tradition—for it is only in this way that knowledge of reality and the transformation of reality for the advancement of mankind can proceed.

How to correctly handle all this is a crucial question that must be grappled with and struggled through in the process of and to make possible the revolutionization of society, including the thinking of the people. But one thing can and must be clearly grasped: it is only that class which as a class has no interests in protecting and preserving the old, even after it comes to power, it is only the proletariat and its revolutionary dictatorship, that can lead to the liberation of mankind, and the attainment of something far higher than anything yet seen, in the ideological as well as the material realm. □

Mass Line

Continued from page 4

Kerala the CPI(M) differs from the other lackeys of the landlords who hold the real power in the countryside only in that the CPI(M)-ers who are often moneylenders, landlords' accountants and landlords themselves—call themselves "Marxists" in preaching submission or else. The CPI(M) dishes out punishment exactly like the most open reactionaries. For instance, in April 1980, a well-known poet, editor and other revolutionary cultural workers were arrested, imprisoned and tortured by the CPI(M)-led state government for (to quote the charge sheet directly) leading a street corner rally and march "shouting songs and slogans such as 'Arise Ye Prisoners of Starvation, Arise Ye Wretched of the Earth' which were likely to promote ill-feeling and enmity between classes and sections of the General Public..." Arrested by the "Marxist" government for singing the *Internationale*!

Rural Struggle

In another article, *Mass Line* reports on the previously-referred to "annihilation struggle" in Wynad which preceded the police closing of the newspaper. "On May 19, a notorious landlord was annihilated at Kenichira, a small village along the Panamaram Meenangadi Road in Wynad District, by a guerrilla squad of the Communist Party of India (M-L). Madathil Mathai, notorious for his crimes against the people, had established complete domination in this area and used to cruelly exploit and oppress the masses. With the help of a goonda gang, he and his son Thomas (who was annihilated over a year ago) had terrorised the people to extort money, rape women and murder whoever resisted. All parliamentary parties without exception (including the revisionists—*RW*) either submitted passively to him or were accomplices to his crimes..."

Last year (*RW* 55) we reported on the execution of "the dreaded Madhathil Thomas, who could kill a bull with one blow of his head. Hitting his enemies, the poor peasants and workers, with his head was his specialty," as *Mass Line* described the man whose death was decreed by a people's trial in the town marketplace in which 2000 poor peasants and workers participated. Like his son, Madathil Mathai was the political power in this remote tribal area. The land was his and his private army brought him what he wanted—including the peasant girls whom he raped just like the feudal lords of old, whose system, now in alliance with imperialism, still persists in India. In a situation like this, the execution of the father, like the son before him, was meant to concentrate the whole question of political power in the coun-

tryside, where 80% of India's people live, to prepare the peasants and rural laborers to wage an all-out revolutionary war for nationwide political power, under proletarian leadership and in alliance with other revolutionary classes. In India, based on its conditions, including the predominance of feudal and semi-feudal conditions over huge areas of the country and population, these comrades have summed up the strategic road to power as protracted people's war to surround the cities from the countryside.

In the year after the execution of Madathil Thomas, despite the hordes of police who roamed the Wynad forests interrogating and intimidating the poor who were all considered suspects, the revolutionary communists have stepped up their activities among the masses, *Mass Line* reports. "A section of the plantation workers were organized, and a trade union, the Independent Labor Organization, which broke off from traditional reformist practices and upheld class politics, was formed with the workers themselves leading it. Another significant development was the widespread practice of holding people's courts to try crimes against the people. The concept of people's political power began to be transformed into a reality, of course in the most germinal form. In Kenichira the struggle obviously turned against Madathil Mathai. Nearly two months before the annihilation, small and middle peasants

spontaneously organized a people's court to try him. The issue was his move to block lorry (truck) transport during the peak season when government depots bought up the farmers' produce. Mathai finally had to submit to the people's will. Soon he was again put up for trial in a people's court organized by the party. The issue this time was his usual practice of denying even rightful wages to a worker. Here too he was forced to accept the verdict of the masses and pay all arrears.

"The enemy retaliated by using his close friendship with the state finance minister K.M. Mani (Madathil Mathai was closely connected to the CPI(M)) to establish a police camp at Kenichira. Under his direction police carried out raids in an effort to arrest party activists and terrorize the masses. When the question of annihilating this enemy was posed before the people, they unanimously supported the party. This, the declared will of the people, was carried out even in the face of police firing and attacks by the goonda gang. Comrade K.T. Rajan, hit by a bullet in his leg, was captured by the police and shot dead.

"While the Kenichira action has created great enthusiasm among the masses, it has struck terror among the class enemies and their state. The 'left' front government unleashed a reign of terror in order to prove its worth as tools in the hands of the ruling classes. In Wynad three torture camps were set

up. The government started attacking all open propaganda work. Activists of the party, cultural forums and student organizations have been arrested for conducting street meetings, taking out processions and posterings. *Ndgugadika*, the popular drama team, have been arrested. Yet the government has miserably failed to smother the revolutionary forces. Both in Wynad and in other parts of Kerala, the movement has retained its positions and has also succeeded in awakening public opinion...

"The growing struggles and the slogan of establishing parallel political power of the people has really unnerved the ruling classes. And Kenichira made them panicky.

"However, over two months have passed since the action and the enemy has not succeeded in his aims. Revolutionary activities and propaganda could by no means be gagged."

As for the temporary closing down of the newspaper and the repression in general throughout the state and the country as well as the financial difficulties, the *Mass Line* editorial concludes: "No doubt, these are the same problems faced by our brothers in other countries as well and we are confident to tide this reaction. We request our readers to cope with these inconveniences. We will be making our utmost effort to reach *Mass Line* to you." □

Contains the text of "Iran It's Not Our Embassy:" previously published as a separate pamphlet.

"Bob Avakian Speaks on the Mao Tsetung Defendants Railroad and the Historic Battles Ahead" is the text of a speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA delivered on November 18, 1979 in Washington D.C. at a rally of over 800 people at an important juncture in the battle to free Comrade Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants, arrested on charges totaling 241 years each. The government had been forced to retreat and maneuver, temporarily dropping all charges in the case in the face of broad and very active support for the defendants all across the country. Since that time the decision to drop the charges has been overturned in federal appeals court and the government's railroad is back on track.

Comrade Avakian's speech, delivered at a crucial turning point in the battle sums up what the government was up to at that particular point in the case and goes deeply into why they are going after the RCP and why they came down so viciously on the January 29, 1979 demonstration against Deng Xiaoping's visit to Washington D.C., which the charges against the Mao Tsetung Defendants stem from. Even more significant is Comrade Avakian's profound and sweeping presentation on the objective situation today facing revolutionaries and the masses of people, the real necessity and possibility for making revolution in the period ahead and urgently preparing to do so today. Finally, he speaks powerfully for an uncompromisingly internationalist and revolutionary stand in support of the struggle of the people of Iran, who had just delivered a body blow to U.S. imperialism with the taking of the U.S. Embassy and hostages in Tehran.

\$1.50 (plus \$.50 postage)

Available from RCP Publications

BOB AVAKIAN SPEAKS

ON THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS' RAILROAD AND THE HISTORIC BATTLES AHEAD

AVAILABLE FROM REVOLUTION BOOKS

IN THE BELLY OF THE BEAST:

Letters from Prison
Jack Abbott, Random House,
1981, \$11.95

BEYOND THE BORDER:

Mexico and the U.S. Today
Peter Baird & Ed McCaughan, NACLA,
1979, \$5.95

THE PROTESTANTS OF ULSTER

Geoffrey Bell, Pluto Press, \$4.50

LAYING WASTE:

The Poisoning of America by Toxic Chemicals
Michael Brown, Pocket Books, 1979, \$3.50

FOR HER OWN GOOD:

150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women
B. Ehrenreich & D. English, Doubleday, \$3.95

THE MOTHER

Maxim Gorky, Progress, \$4.40

A WORKER IN A WORKER'S STATE

(Piece Rates in Hungary)
Miklos Haraszti, Universe Books, 1978, \$7.95

POLAND 1970-71:

Capitalism and the Class Struggle
Information Correspondence Ouvrieres, 1977, \$1.00

IMPERIALISM, THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM

V. I. Lenin, Foreign Languages Press, \$1.50

WRITING FOR THE REVOLUTION

Lu Hsun, Red Sun,
\$2.95

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MALCOLM X

Grove Press, 1966, \$2.75

A CRITIQUE OF SOVIET ECONOMICS

Mao Tsetung, Monthly Review,
\$4.00

OUR ROOTS ARE STILL ALIVE:

The Story of the Palestinian People
Palestine Book Project, The Guardian, 1977, \$3.50

THE CONSCIOUS BRAIN

Steven Rose, Vintage, 1976, \$4.95

These and thousands of other progressive and revolutionary books, including all the classics of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao and all the publications of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, as well as pamphlets and periodicals from around the world, posters, records and buttons are available at Revolution Books at the following addresses:

BERKELEY, CA: 3126 West Grove, (415) 841-8314
BOSTON, MA: 118 Mass. Ave., Box 137, 02115
CHICAGO, IL: 2525 N. Lincoln, 60614, (312) 528-5353
CINCINNATI, OH: 313 Calhoun St., 45219,
(513) 281-4275
DETROIT, MI: 5744 Woodward Ave., 48202,
(313) 872-2286
HONOLULU, HI: 2648 S. King St., 96826,
(808) 944-3106
LOS ANGELES, CA: 2597 W. Pico Blvd., 90006,
(213) 384-3856
NEW YORK, NY: 16 E. 18th St., 10003, (212) 243-8638
SAN FRANCISCO, CA: (Everybody's Books),
17 Brenham Place, 94108, (415) 781-4989
SEATTLE, WA: 1828 Broadway, 98122, (206) 323-9222
WASHINGTON, DC: 2438 18th St. NW, 20009,
(202) 265-1969