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U.N. 2 Convicted

2 Felonies for Exposing War Moves

On June 25, the UN 2—Steven Yip and Glenn Gan—were convicted of two felony charges carrying four years each and immediately hauled back into federal prison. This outrageous verdict was followed by still further attacks by the government. The judge refused to release the 2 on already posted bail until they and "their adherents cleaned up the mess—red paint—from the courthouse" (referring to two spraypainted "Free the UN 2" slogans). It was political blackmail, a demand to straight-up recant their principles, and a threat to hold the two in jail until they did.

When this threat failed miserably and with opposition to this unprecedented move quickly spreading, the U.S. government switched tactics and set bail. They had Deputy U.S. UN Ambassador William vanden Heuvel himself claim to be in fear for his safety, since the verdict requesting a 24-hour guard. To add to this transparent attempt to paint the RCP as terrorist, the UN 2 were told something to the effect that "the RCP had raised the stakes by the UN incident and reached to new levels of terrorism," as bail on Steve Yip was raised by another \$2,000 and on Glenn Gan by another \$2,500—all in cash. The judge made a point of declaring how "even handed" he was being in setting bail so low as the government wanted it set at \$10,000. Sentencing—which the judge made the point of telling the defendants could run as high as eight years and \$15,000—was set for July 15.

The extreme Draconian methods applied to convict the UN 2, the speedy railroad, the serious charges, and the flagrant intimidation by judge Robert Ward during the trial underscored how desperate the ruling class is to clamp down against exposure of and opposition to their war moves. And the especially sharp exposure that went down in the UN on April 30, when Steve Yip and Glenn Gan daringly and ingeniously raised the red banner in that den of hypocrites, obviously stung the bourgeoisie particularly hard.

If one gesture revealed the intent and state of mind of the ruling class, it was Judge Ward's farewell to the defendants and their supporters. When he ordered the defendants to rise to hear the verdict, the entire courtroom stood up, clenched fists in the air. Ward turned to them and shouted in a literal frenzy, "That's your salute to me, this is my salute to you!", giving a fangoo traditional derisive

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Western War Boat Finds Rough Seas in Venice Canals

The recently concluded Economic Summit in Venice was perhaps notable by the lack of economic discussion and initiative. Not that the economy of the U.S. bloc had somehow taken a favorable turn; on the contrary, this meeting was set against the backdrop of a major recession in the United States (the second quarter decline in GNP this year was the second worst since the Depression) and a developing downturn in Europe (unemployment is at a post-war high in England and the German economy is slowing). But exactly because of the fragility of the economy of the Western countries and the rapidly evolving international situation,

politics was what dominated at this meeting.

This was not petty electioneering politics, but the politics of war, of welding together the alliance to wage a war. This was the nakedly advertised intention of the summit even—and especially—if the problem was made to appear as European reluctance to go along with the U.S. imperialists in getting tough against the Soviets. The tasks before the U.S. imperialists—and there was never any doubt over who chairs these meetings—is to rearm and fortify the Western alliance at a time when their economic and financial strength is diminishing, and to do it in a way that

does not throw the imperialist economies into even greater disorder. The U.S. needs its allies and they need the U.S., but the imminence of war compels them to stake out and pursue their independent interests since they will be putting everything on the line. And so the scrambling and maneuvering.

Extraordinary attention was lavished on this conference. The media reported on the possibility of terrorists stowed away on gondolas. The personal attitudes of the European leaders towards Carter became objects of great speculation. But the essential picture painted was that the Western alliance had never been more riddled with disputes. No one could agree on Iran, the Middle East, and, most especially, the nature of the Soviet threat. An American president, embattled at home and held in contempt abroad, was, we were told, trying to disabuse the Europeans and Japanese of their illusions about the

Soviets and detente. Nevertheless, the Summit was chalked up as a success. Unity was maintained as the allies sternly condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and Carter endorsed the meetings of Giscard D'Estaing of France and Schmidt of West Germany with Brezhnev.

An objective assessment of this Summit would suggest that the U.S. did in fact move forward in pulling its bloc together more tightly. The commitments it secured were not without substance in terms of upholding its European military emplacements and the denunciations of the Soviet Union. The machinery for more concerted political and military action is being put together. The Soviets were clearly worried by what was happening to the extent of announcing a token troop withdrawal from Afghanistan while the Summit was in progress. Many of the differences among the Summit partners

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VIETNAM INVADES THAILAND

The intensifying superpower contention in Southeast Asia was turned up a few notches this past week. As the new U.S. Secretary of State Ed Muskie flew to Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia for a meeting of the pro-U.S. Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), before moving on to a NATO ministers meeting in Turkey, the Soviet Union took the opportunity to flex a little muscle. On the morning of June 23, Soviet armed Vietnamese forces occupying Kampuchea (Cambodia) struck across the border into ASEAN member Thailand, occupying two major Kampuchean refugee camps. The U.S.-armed and financed Thai army struck back at once with tanks and helicopter gunships. After several days of fighting the Vietnamese withdrew back across the border.

The Soviet-backed Vietnamese invasion of U.S.-backed Thailand followed less than a month after Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach visited the Thai capitol of Bangkok and let it be known that they had no inten-

tion of withdrawing troops from Kampuchea and reasserted Vietnamese claims over all of Indochina. The Vietnamese military assault into Thailand was another demonstration of their determination to spread Soviet influence in the region and make clear that any resolution of the struggle over Kampuchea would have to be on Vietnamese/Soviet terms.

The two captured UN-sponsored refugee camps, at Aranyaprathet and Sangae, housing approximately 150,000 Kampuchean refugees are the stronghold of the Khmer Serei, a rag-tag anti-communist gang of former Lon Nol forces set up and financed by the U.S. to compete with the Khmer Rouge, who have led the struggle in Kampuchea against foreign domination for a quarter of a century. The size of the two camps does not reflect any love of the Kampuchean people for the Khmer Serei, but the fact that they are the distribution points for UN-supplied food. The other 250,000 Kampuchean refugees inside the Thai border are

under Khmer Rouge leadership. Besides the intended political blow against continued Thai refusal to recognize the Vietnamese puppet government in Phenom Penh, the Vietnamese attack showed their frustration at being unable to stop the growing strength of the Khmer Rouge. Ironically, even the U.S., which has more than made clear its hatred of the Pol Pot-led forces, has had to admit their strength and the fact that they are the only force successfully opposing Vietnamese control of Kampuchea.

Kampuchea was invaded in 1978 by the Vietnamese backed by the Soviet Union and the government led by Pol Pot was forced to operate from the bases in the countryside. The U.S. retaliated with a Chinese attack on Vietnam in 1979, shortly after Teng Hsiao-ping returned from strategy talks with Jimmy Carter in the U.S. In response to the latest Vietnamese action, the Chinese government issued a public warning to Vietnam of "the grave danger involved if they persist in

military adventures in disregard of the just demands of the international community."

But the revisionists in Peking displayed their true colors, i.e., for them the "just demands of the international community" equal U.S. interests in Southeast Asia, when last year, they shut down the voice of the Thai people, a radio station in south China which broadcast the statements of the Communist Party of Thailand, because the Thai party persisted in denouncing U.S. domination of Thailand.

Meanwhile, the U.S. has increased its efforts to strengthen the ASEAN countries (Thailand, the Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia and Singapore). In Washington State Department mouthpiece Hodding Carter III says that Thailand, which was used by the U.S. as a major air base during the Vietnam war, had asked for increased military assistance and that the U.S. would probably approve the request.

Admiral Floats Bourgeois Trial Balloon—"Draft Now"

Scarcely had the Congress finished passing the draft registration law, than the first call for actual induction went up from the administration. When the chiefs at the Pentagon want to go *against* administration policy, they arrange to have themselves called before a congressional committee where they can give their "personal opinion." But that wasn't necessary in this case, as Admiral Thomas Hayward, Chief of Naval Operations, called a group of reporters in for breakfast. "The all-volunteer force is gradually slipping into a failure mode," Hayward told them. Translated from Pentagonese into English, that means, "We can't lay our hands on enough warm bodies for

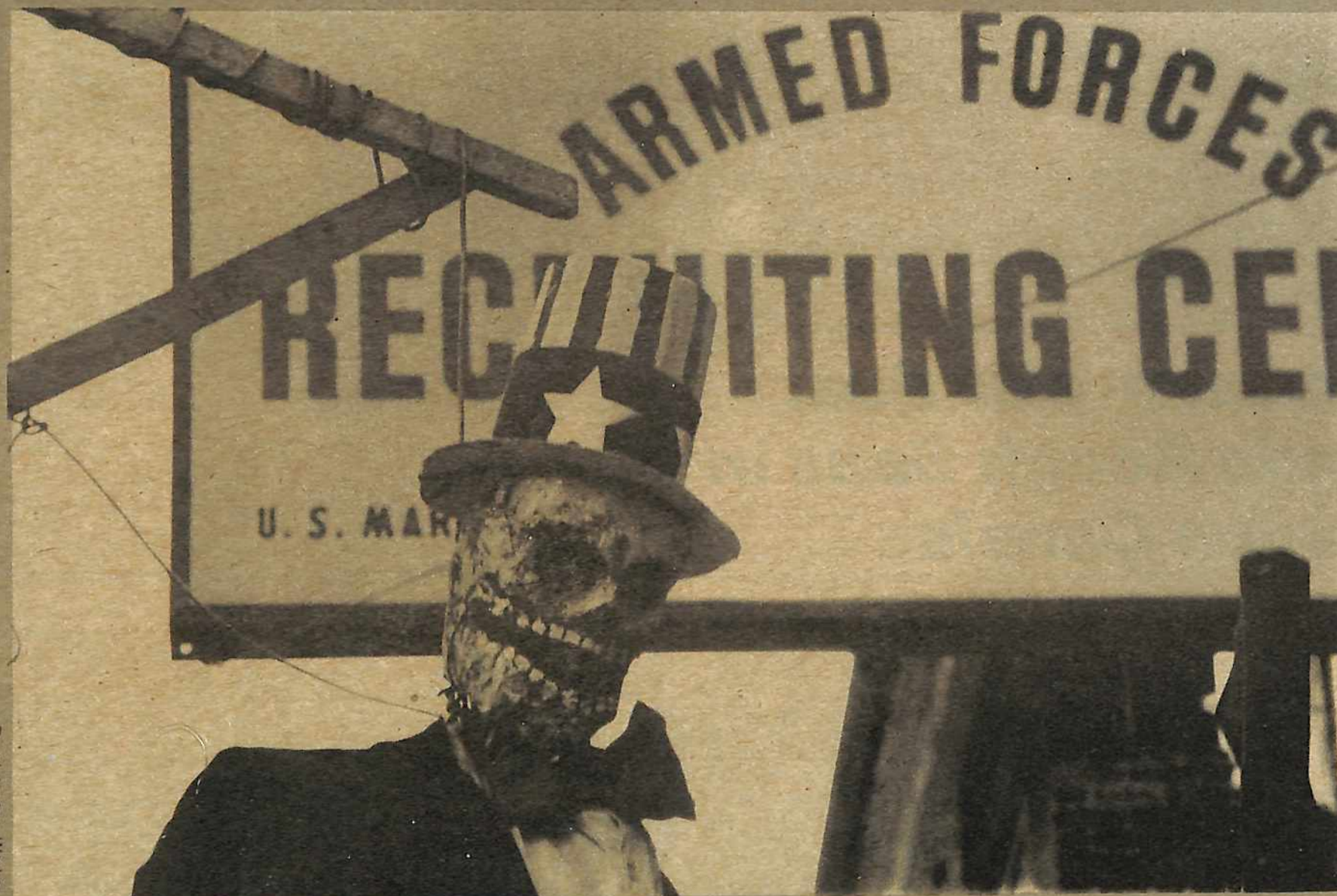
the big one that's coming up."

Hayward went on to explain that he had opposed the draft last November because he feared mass protest. "I can see all the dissidents coming out of the woodwork and going through all that trauma." But Hayward went on to explain that it might be better to fight it out now than under future conditions that could conceivably get worse. "The time has come for the country to get mobilized in its attitude about national security." "We've got to recognize that as a leader of the free world (read: chieftain of one gang of bandits—*RW*), we've got to have the country unified and a strong commitment to national defense. I think conscription would

help that, not hurt it." Sure, it would. Recognizing the opposition that actual conscription would provoke, Hayward went on, "I'm absolutely confident that there would be a lot of youth organizations that would protest. But, would they in fact represent the national consensus?" Now, that's the question they're actually frightened about. It's bad enough having to fight their rival gangsters in the Soviet Union without having to fight the masses in this country at the same time. And that's why the bourgeoisie has been working double-time churning out propaganda about the shortage of "qualified" cannonfodder (those with the technical skills and political reliability to go to war for

capitalism)—and trying to unite the people behind the needs of the ruling class.

Wringing his hands in despair, Admiral Hayward confided to the reporters that "It's the recession that's making it (the all-volunteer force—*RW*) look a little better than it probably is below the surface." Ah, for once the truth. Because below the surface is pretty rotten. And the best these brass-hat gangsters can offer up to you is the golden opportunity to be blown away in a world war with their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union. There now, doesn't that "look a little better" than unemployment, starvation, and drugs?



Effigy of Uncle Sam outside Cleveland recruiting office during recent demonstration in support of the UN 2.

"Finds" Killer—Dead

LAPD COVER-UP IN DAMIAN GARCIA MURDER

On June 24, the Los Angeles Police Department held a press conference to announce that they had suddenly "discovered" new "evidence" in the murder of Comrade Damian Garcia (a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party who raised the red flag over the Alamo on March 20 and who was murdered on April 22 by a police agent at a housing project in Los Angeles). The press conference came exactly one week after the publication of the *Statement of Outrage at the Murder of Damian Garcia* as an ad in the *L.A. Times*, the *San Antonio Light* (the major newspaper in the city where the trials of the other Alamo defendants had begun), and in the Spanish language newspaper *La Opinión*. The LAPD, not to speak of the other police agencies involved in Damian's killing, were clearly reeling from the powerful political blows struck at them especially by the publication of the *Statement*, which included the signatures of over 6,800 people from all walks of life, and which clearly targeted them for Damian's execution. Forced to respond, the ruling class came back with a transparent attempt to whitewash the blood on its own hands. At the press conference, the LAPD blamed the murder on a single suspect who was apparently a member of an East L.A. street gang. Not surprisingly, their suspect had been found dead three weeks before, and therefore can be completely trusted not to make any embarrassing statements which might cause the police further difficulty. However, further difficulties are clearly in store for the police as this feeble shell game, rather than being the successful deception they so desperately need, has already only further exposed their hand.

At the press conference, the police were quick to claim that their new "evidence" backed up their original fabrication that Damian was a "victim of gang violence." If they really thought that this fairy tale would get over, they clearly had a severe case of

wishful thinking. In fact, the police statements were both noteworthy for their continued refusal to respond to the mountains of *old* evidence that has already been presented by the masses:

* No explanation for the fact that this execution was clearly the act of a trained killer or killers.

* No explanation for the fact that the sole targets for execution were two of the three revolutionaries who had raised the red flag over the Alamo on March 20.

* No explanation for the fact that the police, who had been following the revolutionaries through the housing project, and whose "Public Disorder Intelligence Division has kept close tabs on the RCP," in the words of the *L.A. Times*, suddenly disappeared when the site of the murder was reached and conveniently returned to the scene too late to capture the killers, but in plenty of time to arrest the revolutionaries.

* No explanation for the fact that two weeks prior to the murder, Damian Garcia had been personally threatened by LAPD officers, who said, "We've just busted the big hero that climbed the Alamo." "How did you get out of Texas alive?" "I'd have thrown you in a bayou." "We may still have a chance...."

* And no explanation for the fact that at an L.A. City Council meeting after the murder, an obvious agent had approached RCP members and supporters to announce, "My people killed the son of a bitch," and gone on to explain that his people were the "housing authority."

There was no explanation for any of this evidence, because it is irrefutable proof that this murder was a police hit-job orchestrated by the highest levels of the U.S. government in their notorious COINTELPRO fashion.

Nevertheless, the bourgeois media, having blacked out any mention of Damian's murder from a couple of days after it occurred until the present, willingly ignored the facts and reported the

police version that this case was now "cleaned up." Meanwhile, the jolt-ridden lieutenant Trent, squirming under the spotlight that the masses have shone on him and his cohorts, admitted that it was "highly unusual" for the LAPD to call a press conference in a homicide case, but that "serious allegations made by the RCP against the LAPD in this matter" had forced them to try to turn the spotlight in another direction. Just how frightened they are was further exposed when the statement made by one of the assailants, "You hate the government, I am the government. Your flag is red, mine is red, white and blue"—a statement that had previously appeared only in the *RW* and the *Statement of Outrage*—was changed by the police. Now they claim that their suspect stated, "I am an American. Your color is red. Mine is red, white and blue." The word "government" was conveniently omitted. Obviously, any reference to the actual source of the murder had become too hot to handle.

Still, the police claim that their conveniently deceased suspect, a 23-year-old named George Arellano, has been identified by eyewitnesses in the housing project as having been involved in the attack on the revolutionaries. Of course, anyone even remotely familiar with police methods realizes that even if this is true, it does not get the pigs off their bloody hook. After the police announcement, the *RW* paid a visit to the Municipal Court Clerk's office to take a look at any possible criminal record Arellano might have had. We discovered that, according to public records, Arellano should have been in the final year of a 3-year probation sentence for assault with a deadly weapon at the time when he was recently arrested for robbery and accessory to robbery—charges which would clearly constitute

a violation of his probation and, under ordinary circumstances, result in jail time. However, in this case, the court set aside the robbery charge, accepted his plea of *nolo contendere* (no contest) to the misdemeanor accessory charge, and placed him on probation "on the strength of the evidence." This "negotiated settlement," as it is legally called, occurred on April 14, eight days before Damian was murdered.

As Arellano is no longer alive, he won't be able to explain these events—seemingly a rather fortunate development for the police. It is certainly not unheard of for a government agency or department to arrange for the elimination of someone who, for one reason or another, might have known too much. And it is rather unusual that a police lieutenant in the Hollenbeck division (which has jurisdiction over the area in which both Damian and Arellano were killed) is able to state with certainty that the 22-year-old man charged with Arellano's murder, Edward Aceves, would be using "mutual combat" as his legal defense in the case.

In light of the already massive and still growing amount of evidence against the police, their renewed prattling that Damian Garcia was a "victim of gang violence" is truly a pitiful and futile exercise. Now, they have added a new twist to this vicious fantasy with a statement, "The RCP perhaps did not understand how quickly it could escalate into violence," as if the vanguard party of the proletariat was suffering from some naiveté about not only who the enemy is, but also its capacity for murder. Obviously, the RCP is well aware that the class that has already been responsible for the murder of millions around the world, and is preparing to incinerate tens of millions more in World War 3, will not hesitate to commit murder against those who are seriously preparing for the day, in the not too distant future, when they can lead the masses to overthrow their rule. In fact, it is the ruling class that has been suffering from a bad case of naiveté. Little did they know that the exposure of their crime—and in particular, their criminal murder of Damian Garcia—would speed up the development of things toward that day.

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Protest Defies Smokescreen At Walla Walla

On Tuesday, June 23rd, U.S. District Court Judge Jack Tanner issued his long-awaited ruling on the lawsuit filed by prisoners at the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla against the prison administration and state officials. Any one who thought that the federal courts were going to bring about any substantial improvement in the conditions faced by Walla Walla prisoners was in for a rude awakening. Tanner's ruling is nothing more than a smokescreen of vague promises of reform, designed to allow prison officials to continue their attempts to terrorize and intimidate Walla Walla prisoners into submission out of public view. The ruling class itself required little except to order the state to submit plans in the next 60 days for improving conditions in the prison, but this was covered by a thick layer of pious praises

about the "illegality" of the prison and how it was "cruel and unusual punishment."

Even state officials, who are supposedly the losers in this case, appeared to be expecting a ruling that would make a few more cosmetic changes in the way the prison is run. "We are not at all dissatisfied with the order," declared the head of the Department of Social and Health Services, the state agency that runs the prison. The significance of the prisoners' lawsuit is that the struggle at Walla Walla had put the authorities on the defensive, forced them to make some promises of reform in the face of the uncompromising stand of the prisoners and the public exposure of prison authorities. But Tanner's ruling and recent events in Walla Walla represent a new round of attacks by the ruling class on prisoners at Walla

Walla.

The repeated rebellions at Walla Walla over the past several years have pressed the wretched conditions and vicious repression inside the prison into public view. As it became obvious that the officials were unable to control the situation, the federal courts hurriedly agreed to hear the prisoners' lawsuit in order to bring the situation back under control and deflect away some of the heat they were getting from the exposure of the Walla Walla prison. While the prisoners brought the exposure of the vicious conditions at the prison into the capitalists' own court, the court's purpose was to convince the prisoners and the masses of people that the courts could "straighten this situation out," as the abuses of the prison officials were just isolated "excesses" that could be handled within the system. With this recent court order the hallowness of Tanner's self-righteous rhetoric and the flimsiness of the entire charade has been laid bare for all to see.

While some Walla Walla prisoners were hoping against hope that the federal court case would bring some improvement in the hellish conditions they are subjected to, many prisoners were clearly not about to fall for the federal charade. Even as Tanner was writing up his ruling, prisoners launched the biggest upsurge in resistance in almost a year. For weeks the prison officials had been intensifying the harassment and intimidation of prisoners, particularly in the Segregation Unit, which has long been the stronghold of the prisoners' struggle. The situation came to a head when a guard stopped and harassed three prisoners. Blatant harassment of these prisoners in full view of hundreds of witnesses, followed by these three men being locked up in the Segregation Unit for "assaulting" the guard, triggered well over a week of rebellion. One prisoner in the Segregation Unit sent the *Revolutionary Worker* the following account:

"Countered by strict rules and antagonistic guards, the prisoners finally got mad enough to strike back. The once-weekly movie was a lousy one and people began to leave. One their way out theree men were stopped and told they couldn't leave by guards.

"The men ignored the guard's harassment and proceeded to leave anyway. The guard told them to stay in for a search and was again ignored. At this time the guard grabbed one man by the shoulder and was told to release him by another friend of the prisoner...

"All three of the prisoners were locked up (Segregation Unit). Monday, June 9, 1980, was to prove to be anything but a normal day at the prison after these men were locked up. The protest began at 8:30 a.m. Three hundred prisoners rallied at the control room and the people's park inside the compound.

"After the demonstrators refused to lock up, the administration agreed to meet with them. Hours of negotiation about the lockup proved to be nothing but their supposed charges of breaking rules, a hearing that was later 'postponed' so that other guards could be found to testify and the 'promise' that tomorrow the hearing would continue!

"No one was going for this arrangement and flatout refused to go into their cells all day. At 5:00 p.m., the riot force came in wielding teargas guns and opened fire. After twenty rounds had been fired, the protesters were forced into the big recreation area. They remain confined there at this time.

"During the demonstration prisoners in the segregation building joined in the action by protesting in segregation. Three decks and approximately sixty guys took part in the action by pounding on the walls and bars and yelling and flooding the unit.

"The unit was immediately placed on lockdown and all movement stopped. No one was let out to shower, exercise or make calls. The toilet and sink water was turned off as well. At noon only half of one tier was fed a meal after a guard was hit with water.

"After the riot squad was ordered in and teargassed the demonstrators, people in Segregation were gassed as well when it spread into Seg through the windows. Five minutes afterward the

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Saintliness is next to . . . Imperialist insanity

"How may I, your humble servant, better serve thee?" Pope John Paul II's inquiring eyes turned upward.

"Well, y'all have been doing a mighty fine job so far," replied Jimmy Carter.

Whether instigating anti-Soviet demonstrations in Poland (the turf of the Soviet imperialists) or putting down revolutionaries in Latin America (the turf of the U.S. imperialists), the Pope never misses a trick.

Last week, after receiving Jimmy, Rosalynn and Amy, the Pope showed that no vexation of the U.S. ruling class is beyond his pontifical concern. With drums beating and feathered war bonnets displayed for the cameraman, JP II received a delegation of several hundred Mohawks for the beatification (the step

before sainthood) of a Mohawk Indian.

Never mind the fact that Kateri Tekakwitha, the "lily of the Mohawks," died in 1680. She'll have to do, because the Mohawks are on the warpath now. Nothing like a new saint to draw press coverage away from the impending police attack on the St. Regis reservation in upstate New York. As a measure of gratitude, Sarah Hassenplug of Liverpool, New York (AKA Little Peacock) presented the great white father with a pile of beaver pelts and a stoloe (a pontifical garment worn around the neck) bearing the images of a wolf, a turtle and a bear.

No, Sarah! Not a bear. How many times have we got to remind you? An eagle! AN EAGLE! □

Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution!

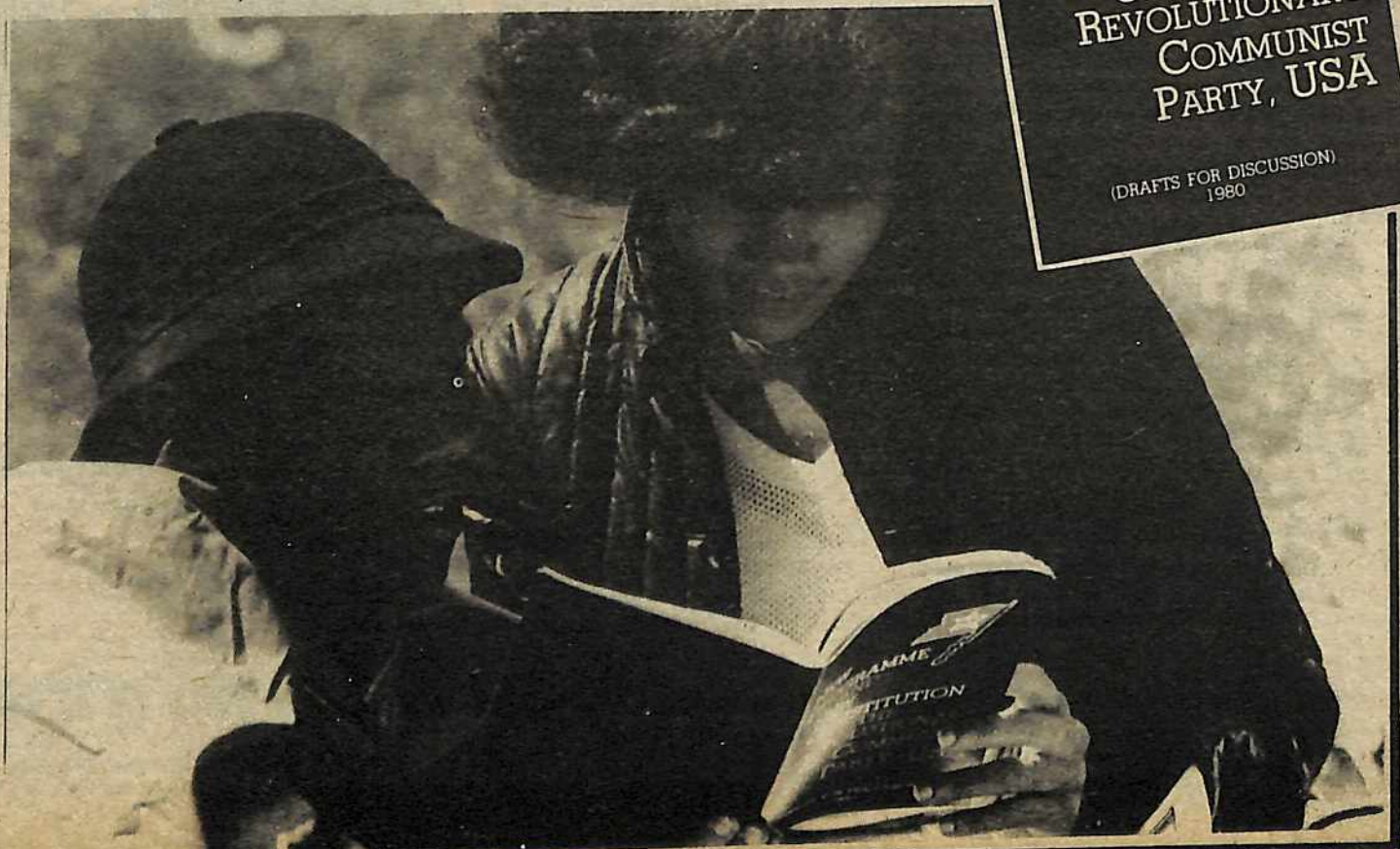
In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity for revolution is there to seize. These moments, particularly in a country such as this, are rare in history and their outcome has a profound influence on history for years, even decades, to come. Those who do understand what is going on and choose not to act are contributing to the prolonging of this destructive and decadent rule of imperialism. This programme is a declaration of war, and at the same time a call to action and a battle plan for destroying the old and creating the new. It must be taken up.

Today the words of Mao Tsetung ring out with full force:

"Seize the Day, Seize the Hour."

New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (Drafts for Discussion).

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Revolutionary Worker

Message of Greeting from the Union of Iranian Communists to the Central Committee of the RCP, USA, on the Occasion of May Day 1980

The RCP, USA recently received the following message from the Union of Iranian Communists as part of an exchange of messages on the occasion of May Day 1980. A briefer message from the UIC to the RCP, USA was printed in the May 1 issue of the Revolutionary Worker. The full message printed

below appeared in the UIC's central organ Haghghat (Truth) along with the May 1st message from the Central Committee of the RCP, USA to the UIC. The RCP's message to the UIC was printed in the May 1st issue of the RW.

On the occasion of May Day, the international workers' day and the day of solidarity of the workers all over the world, we send to you and to the heroic U.S. working class our warmest greetings and we wish you even greater victories. May 1st is the day of renewing the pledges and the determination of the workers all over the world in their struggle against capitalist exploitation and imperialism and all the enemies of the working class. It is the day of reconsolidating the ranks of the camp of the proletariat and the toiling masses against that of the exploiters and capitalists. May Day gives the opportunity to the workers worldwide to assemble and march in millions and see their own awesome power and put fear in the hearts of the enemies. The red flags of the international proletariat fly in solidarity with each other on this historic day, promising the day that the working class is freed all around the globe. On the occasion of this historic day we give our warmest greetings to the U.S. working class and workers all over the world.

This year, the Iranian workers celebrate this historic day a year after the downfall of the reactionary Pahlavi regime. Since the time of the victory over the Pahlavi regime, the Iranian workers have been able to gain significant achievements thanks to their uncompromising and steadfast struggles. Unions and workers councils have been created in many factories and industrial centers. They defend the rights of the workers and act as the workers' anti-imperialist and democratic centers in the great struggles of our nation against U.S. imperialism. The Iranian workers played an important and worthy struggle in the past, and continue to do so at present in our revolution.

In the struggle to overthrow the Pahlavi regime they moved to the forefront of the revolution and shut off the oil pipe lines with their powerful fists. Their continuous and nationwide strikes brought the Shah's regime to its knees, and with their active and heroic participation in the February 1979 uprising, along with the rest of the people, dealt the final blow to the Shah's regime. This struggle of the Iranian working class has heroically offered many martyrs to our revolution, and the history of our country will never forget this bravery. But, although the February uprising overthrew the Pahlavi regime, it did not finalize our anti-imperialist and democratic revolution. And due to the lack of a revolutionary proletarian communist party, the Iranian workers were not able to exert their leadership on this revolution, which consequently led to the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces picking the fruits of this revolution, and the establishment of a government which did not represent the interests of the workers, the peasants and the toiling masses. Therefore, our revolution is not finished and continues. Because the principal goals of this revolution—which are to end imperialist domination, to achieve complete independence and democracy, and to annihilate all comprador capitalists and the big landowners and to establish the rights of the Iranian workers and peasants—are not yet realized, the revolution still continues in that direction. Through the building of its own revolutionary party and through the unity of the workers and peasants, the Iranian working class will surely be able to take this revolution to its final goals. We, and all the true Iranian communists, are determined to use all of our power to do just that.

The Iranian revolution, with the overthrow of the Pahlavi regime, has taken a great stride forward and has dealt a heavy blow to reaction and imperialism. This revolution was able to destroy one of the most important military, political and economic bases of U.S. imperialism in the Persian Gulf region in the Middle East, as well as endangering U.S. imperialism's situation worldwide. That is why the criminal U.S. imperialists are out to offset these losses at whatever cost, with the aim of ultimately imposing another reactionary and dependent regime on our people. Once, in 1953 in a bloody coup, U.S. imperialism returned the throne to the Shah and for over a quarter of a century imposed on our people one of the most criminal and brutal regimes in the world, and plundered our human and natural resources. Our people's revolution destroyed such a regime after over 70,000 people were

martyred and hundreds of thousands wounded. U.S. imperialism is now injured and determined to repeat the past's dark history in our country. To do this, it has plotted against our country and our revolution and is taking into service all the remaining elements of the old regime, such as the Shah and the traitorous fugitive military top brass, the capitalists, the feudals and the SAVAK agents. That the U.S. gave refuge to the Shah and is now taking care of him and his criminal cohorts through another puppet, Sadat in Egypt, and has turned that country into one of its centers of plotting and intrigue against our revolution, are all indications of the U.S.'s interests. But this has not satisfied U.S. imperialism; using its economic, political and military power, it has begun acting directly against our revolution.

Following the takeover of the U.S. imperialist spy nest in Tehran and the CIA agents taken hostage, which gave rise to a great anti-imperialist movement, U.S. imperialism under the guise of "freeing the hostages" and with the aid of its European and Japanese allies has threatened our country with an economic blockade, has committed crimes against our people, is preparing to militarily attack our country, and has stationed a naval fleet at the opening of the Persian Gulf. It has sent its Marine guards to the dependent countries and sheikdoms in the Gulf. U.S. military aggression, which took place under the guise of "hostage rescue," was much greater than just attacking the spy nest, and the information revealed so far indicates a great plot, so far rendered abortive.

The U.S. imperialists thought that our nation would surrender before the onslaught of force and aggression. Evidently they had forgotten the Vietnam experience. If the Vietnamese people, relying on their everlasting power, could defeat the U.S. imperialists' military, our nation is also ready to create another Vietnam and defend its independence and territorial integrity to the last drop of blood.

The workers of the world must know that the entire Western imperialist camp, the U.S., Europe and Japan, have united against our country and want to destroy our revolution. The imperialists are united in defending their common interests and the plunder of the peoples of different countries. The workers of the world must also be united in the struggle against imperialism and capitalism and the defense of their common interests, and they must together smash the imperialists' plots and intrigues. May Day is the day of solidarity of workers around the world, and on this historic day the Iranian workers expect solidarity and backing from their comrades worldwide. The imperialists would like to pretend that our country and our revolution is alone in the world. But the workers and freedom-loving revolutionary people around the globe are our allies and backers of our revolution. May Day is a day of expressing this solidarity.

Today the U.S. military is threatening our country with military aggression, and confronting such an attack puts a heavy load on the shoulders of you American workers and communists. You made history when you defended the heroic Indochinese peoples and with great difficulty were able to wake up the American people to the righteousness of the demands of the Indochinese peoples and bring the American masses to their defense, and show that the people all over the world were in a united front against U.S. imperialism. Our people and our working class expect the same of you in these crucial moments, and they are certain that the American workers will not leave them alone in this great struggle. The U.S. ruling class has been trying to use the issue of the hostages to whip up national chauvinist sentiments among the American people and create a favorable atmosphere in accordance with its aims of attacking Iran as well as politically and militarily gearing up and preparing for another world war. They have told the American people that the Iranians are a bunch of criminal, bloodthirsty, wild animals whose animosity is not against U.S. imperialism, but against the American people. Please convey this solidarity message of the Iranians to the freedom-loving American people and tell them that the conscious Iranian workers, who for years experienced the plunders of U.S. imperialism and the

workings of its puppet regime, understand the pain and agony of American workers and hope to someday celebrate the victory of the American workers over the capitalist regime and, hand in hand, work for a world free from exploitation and plunder. Please give the American people our warmest greetings and congratulations and tell them that we are certain that this national chauvinist propaganda will not weaken the strong solidarity between the Iranian and American peoples. U.S. imperialism is our common enemy, let's together struggle to finish it off.

The world situation has increasingly taken a turn for the worse, and the two superpowers, the U.S. and Soviet social-imperialism, are preparing for another devastating war. The Soviet Union, following this strategy, invaded our brother and neighboring country of Afghanistan a short time ago. Today the freedom-loving people of Afghanistan are engaged in a fierce struggle against this superpower for their freedom and independence. With its military aggression in Afghanistan and the barbaric slaughter of the defenseless people of this country, the Soviet Union once again has shown its real fascist nature and has given a lesson to the workers around the world that, although this country speaks of "socialism," indeed it is nothing but a plundering imperialist power. These two superpowers are taking the world to another world war, and this race has been heightened to a new level with the invasion of Afghanistan and the military build-up in the Indian Ocean at the opening of the Persian Gulf. The people of the world must be ready and vigilant against this war and smash all superpower war moves. This war is a war among the capitalists and the imperialists. But they want to pit the people of the world against one another, and out of this genocide gain a bigger portion of the plunder of the people and divide the world according to their wishes. The people of our country who are being threatened from one side (the north) by the Soviet Union and have stood against the military attack of U.S. imperialism from the other side are determined to hold their fighting front strongly against these two superpowers and not let one replace the other. We know well that our country would be among the first to be preyed on by the superpowers in case world war breaks out, and we know well that we have a hard and arduous struggle ahead of us. We are determined not to submit to the rule of either of these two superpowers at whatever cost. In this struggle, along with the people and workers of the world, we are in one front against the imperialists, the superpowers and their war preparations. We believe in Comrade Mao Tsetung's teaching that "either revolution will prevent world war or world war will give rise to revolution." We believe that by relying on the revolutionary struggle of the masses we will be able to stand against the superpowers and will not allow the revisionist views of the newly risen Chinese traitors, who by betraying Mao Tsetung and his Thought propagate collusion with imperialism and its puppet regimes, get in our way. Let the imperialists and especially the two superpowers attack the people of the world. Revolution will teach them a lesson they will never forget.

Comrades:

As you know, the international communist movement today, after the historic betrayal of the new leaders in China, is in chaos, and its ranks are in disarray. History has put a great test in front of all the communists worldwide and has invited them into a great battle. Our ranks are being threatened from right and "left" deviations. Our principles have been betrayed in China and the Soviet Union, and the parties of these two countries have been usurped by the revisionists, each in a different way, plotting and intriguing against the workers and oppressed people of the world. A great ideological crisis has engulfed our international movement, and its historic achievements as a result of the struggles against opportunism and revisionism are being questioned and doubted. We must do our utmost to bring our ranks to order and eliminate this crisis, and by uniting the now disarrayed ranks of the Iranian communists, along with the unity of parties and organizations around the world, prepare ourselves for this historic test.

U.S. Aggression in Korea

30 Years of Shabby Lies

Last week, the Revolutionary Worker published the first part of a two-part series on the U.S. war of aggression against Korea which began 30 years ago this week. The first article dealt with the outbreak and origins of the war. This week we will review the major events of the war including the entrance of volunteers from China—at that time a socialist country.

Although it was Sunday morning in Korea, it was still Saturday night, June 24, 1950, in Washington when the first cables announcing the outbreak of the war crossed the desk of Dean Rusk. Rusk, the future architect of U.S. aggression in Vietnam, was then Asst. Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs. Immediately, the imperialist machinery, well-greased and long-prepared, went into action.

The State Department first contacted the Secretary General of the UN to demand an emergency meeting of the Security Council. U.S. war preparations had even included writing a UN resolution in advance, as was admitted a year later in congressional hearings. The resolution declared the "Republic of Korea" (South Korea) to be the only government in Korea "based upon a valid expression of the free will of the electorate," and branded North Korea as the aggressor. This resolution was passed by the Security Council 9 to 0, with one abstention, less than 24 hours after the war started.

On Monday, June 26th, President Truman issued sweeping military orders which were not announced publicly until the next day. General MacArthur in Japan was ordered to intervene militarily with U.S. forces in the Korean civil war. The U.S. Seventh Fleet was ordered to the Straits of Taiwan to prevent the liberation of Taiwan Province, where Chiang Kai-shek had fled after the victory of the Chinese Revolution only months earlier. U.S. aid to the French fighting their colonial war in Indochina was ordered increased. And increased military forces were ordered to the Philippines where a large section of Luzon had already been liberated by communist-led guerrillas.

In response to Truman's declaration of war on the people of Asia, Chairman Mao Tsetung delivered a talk to the Council of the People's Government on June 28th. "There are no grounds at all for American intervention in the internal affairs of Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam and other countries," Mao said. "The feelings of the people throughout China, as well as the broad masses of the people throughout the world will be on the side of the subjects of aggression and most certainly not on the side of U.S. imperialism. They will neither be bought by imperialism, nor cowed by it. Imperialism is outwardly strong but feeble within, because it has no support among the people."

And indeed the events on the battlefield were quickly proving Mao's statement correct. The South Korean army, so carefully groomed by 500 American advisers, was smashed within the first 2 days of fighting and on June 27 the army of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK—North Korea) entered Seoul, the capital of South Korea.

Now in a panic, the U.S. rushed into the UN Security Council again and pushed through a second resolution of 7 to 1 with 2 abstentions calling on member nations to render military assistance to South Korea (read: to the U.S.—RW) and on July 7 the ever-compliant Security Council passed a third resolution authorizing the U.S. to "coordinate aid" to South Korea and to appoint a UN military commander, who, under the resolution, was not even required to report to the UN. To the surprise of none, the U.S. appointed the U.S. commander in the Far East, General Douglas MacArthur, to be the UN commander. Henceforth, U.S.

(Top) Dulles in a trench at the 38th parallel on June 18, 1950.



In October 1950, U.S. troops crossed the 38th parallel. Approaching the Yalu River they shelled Chinese villages along the river. (Bottom) Sinuiju, Korea, opposite China's Tantung, engulfed in smoke and flames.

aggression, under the sole direction of Washington, was to be carried out in the name of the United Nations and under the cover of the UN flag.

But UN flag or no, U.S. forces were not faring any better on the battlefield than their South Korean proteges. In fact the first American troops to land in Korea were thoroughly routed and on July 21, the U.S. commander in the field, Major General William F. Dean was captured by DPRK troops as he fled south. By the end of July, the U.S. occupied only a small beachhead around the port city of Pusan at the southeastern tip of Korea.

It was not until mid-September that the U.S. was able to assemble overwhelming force against Korea. An amphibious landing halfway up the peninsula forced DPRK troops in the South to retreat, and MacArthur's forces captured Seoul on September 28th. It was now that the full scope of the U.S. war aims would be revealed. The pretext for U.S. presence in Korea was to "repel aggression from the North." Did that mean that the U.S. would be satisfied with preserving Singman Rhee's regime south of the 38th Parallel? The world got its answer immediately.

On September 28, General Marshall telegraphed General MacArthur: "We want you to feel unhampered tactically and strategically to proceed north of the 38th Parallel." During the first week of October, U.S. troops and their South Korean flunkies poured into North Korea, and on October 7 the U.S. got a resolution through the UN General Assembly (the Soviet Union was now back in the Security Council) endorsing the U.S. war aims and establishing a commission for the "unification and rehabilitation of Korea."

Drunk with temporary success, the U.S. sneered at a warning it received on October 3 through the Indian ambassador to Peking. China warned the U.S. that if it crossed the 38th Parallel, China would be forced to take action.

China had just victoriously emerged from four years of revolutionary civil war against the U.S. puppet Chiang

Kai-shek and before this, years of war against the Japanese imperialist occupation. And now, a call went out across China for volunteers to go to Korea to defeat U.S. imperialism and in one of the greatest historic acts of proletarian internationalism, hundreds of thousands of Chinese people responded.

On October 26th a unit of South Koreans reached the Yalu River which is the border with China, and were promptly wiped out by an overwhelming force of the Chinese People's Volunteers (CPV). The next day, the U.S. Eighth Cavalry regiment was annihilated. Then the Chinese troops broke off contact and seemed to disappear—giving the U.S. government a final chance to think it over. But the U.S. imperialists only interpreted this as weakness and flight. Swollen with arrogance, on November 24 MacArthur began his "final offensive to the Yalu" and announced that the boys would be home for Christmas.

October 26 began one of the proudest moments in the history of the international working class and one of the greatest military defeats in U.S. history. 600,000 Chinese volunteers who had entered Korea undetected, fell on the U.S. Eighth Army and 10th Corps. In several days of sharp fighting the U.S. Army in Korea was thoroughly routed and was in full flight down the Korean peninsula. On December 5, Pyongyang, capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was liberated.

The marines love to sing about the Halls of Montezuma and the shores of Tripoli, but you don't ever hear them singing about the Chanjin Reservoir where the First Marine Division was completely surrounded and almost annihilated. On December 10 the remnants of the 10th Corps 105,000 troops, escaped to the coast and were evacuated by sea in a Dunkirk-like operation leaving their heavy equipment behind. In January, Seoul was liberated and the U.S. Army driven far into South Korea, and the Chinese offensive drew to a halt.

A big lie perpetuated by the bourgeoisie through both the history books and the late-night movies is that the Chinese troops obtained victory through mass human wave attacks; hordes of communist zombies oblivious to the cost to human lives. In reality, the basic infantry tactic used by the Chinese volunteers in Korea was night-time infiltration by small units. When the order for the attack was sounded, squads of Chinese soldiers were already in, among, and behind the U.S. positions.

The U.S. imperialists now had to come to grips with the fact that their aggression in Korea could not succeed. Although with reinforcements they were able to fight their way back up to the 38th Parallel, and even across it in some places, there was no big talk this time of marching to the Yalu. In line with this new policy, General MacArthur was fired as U.S. commander. As Secretary of State Dean Acheson wrote in his memoirs, "The MacArthur aim (read: U.S. aim—RW) of unifying Korea by force entailed costs greater than we were prepared to pay." Blaming MacArthur became the official liberal story about the war. "The devil made me do it." It was all the act of a deranged general. Yet the fact remains that while MacArthur may have a big mouth, every military act he undertook was on orders from Washington.

On June 30, 1951, the U.S. command requested an armistice which was agreed to by the DPRK.

If after one year of fighting, both sides had agreed to an armistice, why did the war continue for two more years? Denied a military victory, the U.S. implemented a propaganda scheme designed to justify its continuing aggression. The U.S. announced that it would not return half of the Chinese and North Korean prisoners because, the U.S. alleged, only 70,000 of the 130,000 wanted to return home. The DPRK and the Chinese insisted that both sides return all prisoners, and the negotiations were broken off.

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Notes on Studying the Draft Programme On:

The Revolutionary Alliance

The Party has solicited comments and criticisms of its new Programme and Constitution drafts. What follows is a response by one comrade—RW.

I. The Strategic Goal of the United Front Under Proletarian Leadership—the Seizure of Power

A united front under proletarian leadership is the strategy for revolution outlined in the draft Programme of the RCP. What does it mean to build this united front today—under the present conditions of the non-revolutionary situation, but a situation where the deepening crisis and the impending imperialist world war raises the prospect of the development of a revolutionary situation in the not too distant future? And in particular, how does the proletariat go about building and consolidating what the new draft Programme defines as “the solid core of the united front”:

“...The solid core of the united front the proletariat must build under its leadership is the revolutionary alliance of the working class movement as a whole with the struggles of the Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Native American and other oppressed peoples against the common enemy—the imperialist system and bourgeois dictatorship. Numbering in the tens of millions and suffering discrimination and other forms of oppression as peoples, while at the same time in their great majority part of the single proletariat in the U.S., concentrated in its most exploited sections, the oppressed peoples in the U.S. are a tremendously powerful force for revolution. Their fight for equality and emancipation is bound by a thousand links to the struggle of the working class for socialism and lends it great strength; it is the main reserve of the workers movement for proletarian revolution in this country.”

It appears to me that in seeking to grasp the fundamental principle upon which this revolutionary alliance can be forged and also to understand how the revolutionary line of our Party makes it possible for the proletariat to unite with other strata, classes, and social forces—the following passage from the draft Programme is important to study:

“...On a world scale, the proletariat in the U.S. has as its closest allies the workers of all countries and the revolu-

tionary movements of the oppressed peoples and nations—and it is of decisive importance for the proletariat, and especially in an imperialist country, to firmly unite and fight side by side with these allies. But it is also of crucial importance to determine which forces within the U.S. itself can be firmly united with, which can be won over or at least neutralized and which must be uncompromisingly struggled against and defeated in the process of proletarian revolution. This requires and depends upon a scientific estimate of the various classes and strata, as well as other significant social forces, within the U.S.—their position and role in this country at this stage, and specifically how they are being and will be effected by the present and deepening crisis—and therefore what will be their attitude toward and relationship to the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and in particular the highest stage of that struggle, the armed contest for power.” (emphasis added)

What does it mean to look at other classes and forces in terms of the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and in particular the struggle to seize power? If unity is determined on this basis, rather than as some “reform coalition,” does it mean that the Party of the proletariat is left with nobody to unite with but itself—or itself plus those special forces with unconditional unity with its program? Actually something quite different is being said here, totally opposed to this type of sectarianism which in practice would leave the proletariat strategically and tactically paralyzed. It seems to me that this ability to unite, stems from this clear-cut revolutionary goal for two reasons. Fundamentally it is because the development of the world, the objective situation, will bring forward the question of the armed seizure of power in a mass way—no matter what anyone wishes, imagines or desires. Second, stemming from this, it is exactly on the basis of being clear and uncompromising about this revolutionary goal on the basis of the revolutionary principles of our Party that the class conscious proletariat is actually able to exercise flexibility and freedom in establishing fighting unity with different social forces, including forces organized under different programs. This is essen-

tial for building and leading the united front and for seizing power from the bourgeoisie. It is precisely this overall revolutionary view, and the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, that far from making us more sectarian, makes us better able to unite, as comrade Bob Avakian pointed out in a document that was reprinted in last week's RW (p. 7). This firm revolutionary view enables the Party and class conscious workers to see the overall forward current of history—and to see how every current of resistance, no matter if it is not a straight-ahead stream, can, through the work of the Party along with the development of the objective situation, contribute to the final revolutionary goal. Mao's point that the outlook of the class conscious proletariat is internationalism, not any kind of nationalism, but that nationalism of the oppressed nationalities can be united with programmatically applies here. A later passage in the draft Programme makes this point very sharply:

“The proletarian revolution in the United States will not be a simple affair. It will involve many complex phenomena and varying social movements, many led, even at the time of the revolution, by different classes mobilized under different programs. This will be true, particularly, though not exclusively, of the oppressed nationalities. There will likely be a number of actual armies in the field and while there is only one overall and fundamental revolutionary solution to the contradictions in society, this solution has many varied aspects, each and many of which will propel different social forces into motion. Upon victory, and in fact in order to achieve victory, the Party will have to lead the class conscious workers in assessing these different forces, establishing principled unity with them whenever possible, struggling with them for the revolutionary program of the proletariat, while seeking to resolve differences non-antagonistically.”

This is a sweeping, revolutionary view of the process of proletarian revolution and the forging of the united front under proletarian leadership. It is also far more down-to-earth and realistic than the often prevailing view that sees unity being the result of some sort of “reform coalition.”

II. Reformism or Revolution: What is more Realistic?

On what basis will national oppression be uprooted? There is no other way than as one part of the overall transformation of society—and of U.S. society's relation to the whole world—that can only be achieved by the proletarian revolution, the armed seizure of power. On this the draft Programme is clear and most concrete.

Those suffering under the illusion that somehow reforms are ultimately more concrete, even more “realistic” than revolutionary transformation need only ponder the experience of the last decade. Have conditions for the masses improved or worsened? Some program of—and unity based on—“reforms pending revolution” is most shakey and even a dangerous illusion.

The draft Programme gives a real taste of a “realistic” path to abolishing national oppression. The following section, while just one example, illustrates this sharply:

“All this, of course, cannot be done in a minute. But much of it can and will be. This is not because of some sort of greater moral determination on the part of the proletariat. The capitalists today have thousands of laws on paper outlawing discrimination, but still discrimination thrives and even worsens. This is because they have a greater law in command—the law of maximizing profit—and under this law all of society is maintained in a twisted state. The proletariat, on the other hand, has no such interest and every interest, in fact, in eliminating all these inequalities which are both leftovers of the old society and festering grounds for overall capitalist restoration. Discrimination, for example, will be immediately and forcefully banned in employment, housing and all other spheres. As part of this general process in society, the army of police which enforces all this through systematic terror in the ghettos and barrios and other areas where oppressed nationalities are concentrated will have been destroyed, just punishment handed out to its hired thugs, and in its place will be armed and organized militia made up of the masses in these neighborhoods and areas.”

III. The Solid Core of the United Front—The Revolutionary Alliance and the Leading Role of the Proletariat

The only class that can lead the united front to victory is the proletariat—without the leadership of the work-

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THE EVIL SYSTEM OF COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM AROSE AND THROVE WITH THE ENSLAVEMENT OF NEGROES AND THE TRADE IN NEGROES, AND IT WILL SURELY COME TO ITS END WITH THE COMPLETE EMANCIPATION OF THE BLACK PEOPLE.

MAO TSE-TUNG



Chinese poster produced during the Cultural Revolution.

Duran/Leonard

AMERICA LOSES A ROUND

It was the fight of the year, truly a dream match. Sugar Ray Leonard and Roberto Duran—pound for pound probably the two best boxers in the world. Even those who couldn't come up with the outrageous sums demanded by the parasitic vultures who run the fight game to see it live on closed circuit TV awaited news of the results with eager participation. And it wasn't just that this was bound to be a "classic confrontation"—the brilliant boxer vs. the punishing puncher—the kind of match that makes promoters drool and the eyes of TV executives light up with dollar signs. As well as being drenched in the sweat of the two combatants, this fight was also drenched with political overtones and undertones. It was in a sense one of those classic confrontations in sports—the God-fearing, right-thinking all-American boy vs. the glowering Panamanian rebel who spit in the eye of the oddsmakers who had the audacity to rate him a 9-5 underdog. And it must be said that a great many—including those who are not particularly thrilled at the sight of two men reduced to beating each other's brains out to make a living—were delighted to hear that the famous *manos de piedra* (hands of stone) had laid waste to America's latest media darling with far more effectiveness than most American boxing pundits cared to admit.

Granted, Sugar Ray Leonard is a good athlete. Cast in the stylistic mold of Muhammad Ali, he is a masterful dancer in the ring with quick hands—undoubtedly one of the best boxers around. But there the resemblance to the early Ali (before he learned to suck up to those he once rebelled against) ends. The bourgeoisie hated Ali in his prime, an Ali who, while charismatic, was also openly and outrageously rebellious. They loved it when Ali—the draft-resisting Black Muslim who said "I ain't got nothing against them Viet Congs, they never called me nigger"—lost his first comeback bid in a controversial decision to Joe Frazier, even though Frazier had to check into a hospital for a few weeks to have his brains unscrambled afterward. But in the case of the Sugar Man, the bourgeoisie is crying in its beer, bewailing the defeat of their American hero out of whom they have already squeezed a great deal of patriotic mileage.

Ever since the bourgeoisie temporarily gave up on finding a "great white hope," they decided to make the best of a situation where in recent years Blacks have totally dominated the American fight game. They are constantly scouting the field for some new prospects who might be coaxed into taking a dive for truth, justice and the American way. Joe Frazier was a possible candidate after his win over Ali—but his awkward style and much mesmerized mug were not exactly the inspirational image for Black youth they were looking for. George Foreman's little flag-waving act at the '72 Olympics showed great promise until Ali chopped him down in Zaire like a skilled woodsman felling a giant oak tree. Then along came Sugar Ray, made to order—a charismatic, skilled and flashy fighter, but with nary an ounce of fight in him when it came to humbly swallowing their tired illusions of baseball, mom and apple pie.

Yes, Leonard was Mr. Clean, and disgustingly so—too clean to be true. After each of his six wins at the '76 Olympics in Montreal, he would fall on his knees gushing heartfelt thanks to God and country. Said Leonard after his Olympics triumph: "I'll always remember the beautiful and wonderful feeling when they played the national anthem and they put that gold medal

around my neck." The papers went nuts over this former choirboy who supposedly grew up reading Superman comics, describing him in such superlatives as "handsome," "honest," "eloquent," "witty," "God-fearing," "family oriented," "endearing," and "self-assured." He has been a frequent lecturer to boys' clubs, churches and civic groups on such subjects as "Good Sportsmanship" and "Staying in School," and lately he has even taken up tap dancing! And Leonard has also been inclined to modestly agree with the media's assessment of him as "Mr. Perfect." Speaking of those who resent his clean-cut im-

age, he remarked: "They just don't want to see me succeed. I guess for some there has to be a flaw, something wrong, something negative!"

But despite the well publicized fact that Sugar Ray "owns 100% of himself," clearly in the process he bargained away his soul. After he signed away his personality to ABC, the media proceeded to turn him into a bottle of pasteurized milk—or more accurately, soda pop. Before long it was "Sugar Ray, movin' on up to Seven-Up" (although he maintains he would have much preferred doing Wheaties commercials). And his best selling point was always that he was so goddam respectable, more than willing to prostitute himself to the media's instant-image mill, a real "acceptable" Black hero—not exactly the type of guy who would be throwing rocks at the pigs in the streets of Miami. In a short time he became one of the most carefully pre-

packaged red, white and blue commodities and he was pushed for all he was worth. The only time he ever stepped out of character was when, in a fit of braggadoccio as the fight with Duran was announced, the Sugar Man blurted out, "When I fight Roberto Duran, I don't just want to beat him, I want to kill him!"

Enter Roberto Duran—in many ways the antithesis of Leonard. The man nicknamed "Cholo" by his friends, shorthand for "one whose hair is hard to comb." Indeed, this disrespectful fellow who wrestles with his 680-lb. pet lion is a figure most *unacceptable* to the image makers, to the *Time* and *Newsweek* editors, and to their employers. He is defiant of the U.S. press, a man arrested for knocking out a cop in a street fight during a carnival in 1971, and, worst of all, Panamanian—representing a people long oppressed and exploited by U.S. imperialism. While both boxers fought their way up from poverty, Leonard in Palmer Park, Md. and Duran in the dirt-poor Chorillo barrio of Panama City, it is their respective attitudes toward the society (U.S. imperialism) that they grew up in that stand out in such sharp contrast. Leonard—always the coop-

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Chicago Police: Brutality For The Whole Family

Chicago. Josie Walker refused to bow her head in submission, when officer Bradley came to their home looking for her oldest son on a bicycle theft rap. She'd lived long enough, Black and working-class in America, to know the police spelled nothing but trouble, and her son alone in the hands of these sadists would face very real danger. "When I told him to wait until my husband came, he started cursing me. I asked him to leave but he wouldn't," said Josie. Bradley went outside the house to wait, gathering up some of the neighborhood kids to "strengthen his case" against the Walker's son. "I'm not gonna leave here empty handed," he openly told neighbors. "I don't care how I break this fucking case."

When Walker did come home the entire family went to the station to make perfectly clear that they did not back down in the face of intimidation. A neighbor and her son followed the Walkers in their car. She later told the *Revolutionary Worker* why she had gone: "Bradley wasn't a bit more concerned about those bikes than the man in the moon. He didn't like the way the Walkers told him to get out." "Yeah," said her son, "don't get too loud, don't walk too proud—he wasn't looking for bikes." When Walker refused to let Bradley take his son in the squad car, Bradley shoved the other kids in, shouting "when I get their parents down to the police station I'm gonna whip their asses."

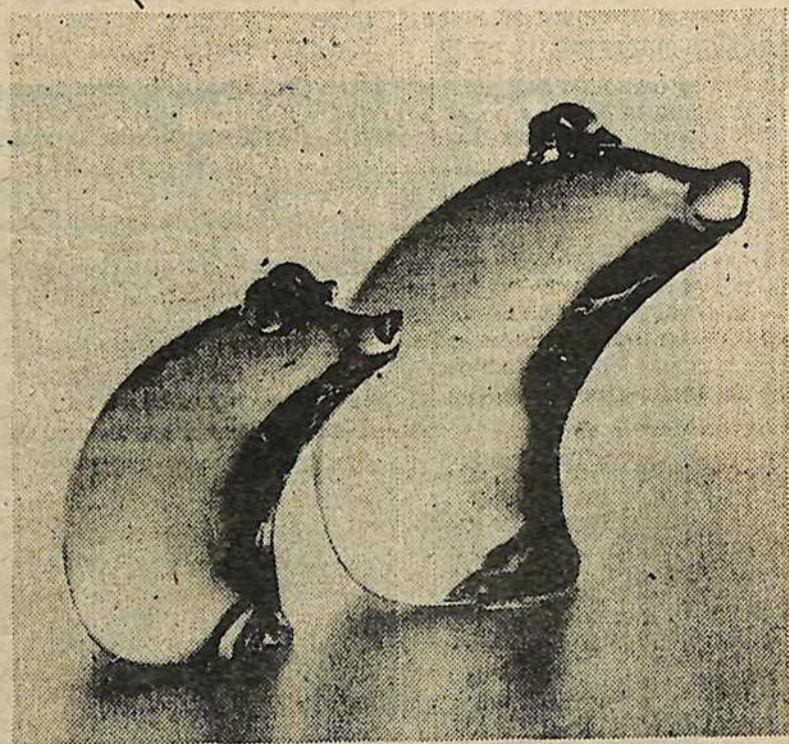
On the ride to the station the other youth were threatened to either point fingers at the chosen culprit or be named the thief themselves. They were piled into an office and the door slammed for the "confession." But Josie Walker would have no part of closed doors. She refused to stand helpless, a door in her face while her son was physically interrogated. "I opened the door and this policeman Bradley knocked me on the floor," she said. "The man turned Gacy, he just plain turned Gacy," said Josie's husband, (referring to John Wayne Gacy—*RW*). Josie was knocked unconscious and Bradley continued to beat her with other pigs joining in until, according to a witness (whose son was accused of stealing the same bicycle) some police standing on the side watching pulled him away.

When Sylvester Walker tried to help his wife he was overpowered. "It was like the man went crazy, turning around and saying, 'who wants some more,'" said Walker. He was handcuffed, and taken to another room where he was brutally beaten. Walker was refused treatment when taken to the hospital. "Jefferson

Park Hospital—they're in cahoots with the police. Everybody who gets hurt by police goes straight there and they don't do nothing. I asked them about my nose and the doctor turned and walked away." Walker was given instruction sheets for a head injury. His own doctor later told him Bradley had aimed his blows to kill, hitting at the temples and directly in the chest at the heart. "It was attempted murder," the doctor said.

Meanwhile, Josie Walker lay unconscious in the police station. "The police woman would not call an ambulance for my wife because she kept saying it was not her job," Walker told the *RW*. She was finally taken to South Chicago Hospital. She is now awaiting surgery from the injury sustained in the beating.

Both Josie and Sylvester Walker were charged with battery. Their son with theft. The Walkers' real crime, however, was that they stood up to the pig enforcers of the rich. They refused to allow themselves to be humiliated and degraded by the police after a lifetime of oppression. For the ruling class and their goons even this cannot be tolerated and requires swift and brutal response from their "criminal justice system". And this is only one of thousands and tens of thousands of similar incidents that are occurring daily and hourly in this country. Amazingly with all of this and everything else life under imperialism means, there are still those who believe that there is some other way than revolution to end this madness once and for all. □



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From a Speech by Bob Avakian

We Don't Have A Country We Live In It But It's Not Ours

Why is patriotism a completely reactionary and decadent outlook in an imperialist, world-dominating country such as the U.S.? These and other questions which we felt were most appropriate to July 4 are spoken to in the following brief excerpts from a speech given by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA at a forum in Seattle, Washington in March 1979.

We're Here, But it Ain't Ours

They say, and they tell us every day, "This is your country. You may not like it." Sometimes they try to say, "My country right or wrong." But that don't make it, that don't get over a lot of times, because people say, well, there's more wrong than right. So then they say, "Well, O.K. Maybe so, but this is your country, you grew up here, you eat hamburgers and you speak the English language. And wouldn't you rather have somebody who speaks English tell you what to do and dictate to you and exploit you every day. This is your country, you grew up here and at least you can understand the Man when he tells you what you got to do to live."

Well, this reminds me of an ad I saw on TV. They had this ad on for Prudential Insurance. They've got all these ads on that expose the system, and this one had this woman, this little old lady who was driving this car, leading some cops on a chase and smashing into everything. And they all pop up and say, "We're covered, I got a piece of the rock."

So the best part of it is when this flunkey, this chauffeur whose Cadillac has been smashed by the fallout from all this mad driving, turns to the boss as he calls up Prudential and says, "Hey boss, we're covered." And I said to myself, *we're covered!* Damn it, all you do is *drive* the thing, you don't own even a hubcap, what do you mean, *we're covered?*

See this is the same kind of thing about "this is our country." What do you mean, "our" country? This reminds me of being in jail in Washington, D.C. Now how do you think people in there would react if the god-damn jailers came around and said "somebody's trying

to invade *our* jail!" Well, I know what they'd say, they'd say, "shit I live in it, but it ain't *mine*." And that's the whole way we've got to understand about this country; we are here but it's not ours. We are the people who don't own anything in this country except our ability to go to work and slave and make these capitalists rich. We are the proletariat, the propertyless class, we don't have a country, we live in it but it's not ours. And it's not going to be our country until we liberate it not just for ourselves, but make revolution and make it a base area and a place of support for the proletariat and all oppressed people internationally, and use it to strengthen not only our own advance but also to make it a base area to strengthen revolution throughout the world. Then it'll belong to us and then we can talk about defending it from imperialists and reactionaries who might try to steal it back.

You know the ruling class has its arguments. They say this is a democracy, we've been through that. They say, you have the highest standard of living here. Where else could a paper boy make more than half the people in the world? And all the rest of this garbage which is nothing but a reflection of the fact that they've been feasting off of people all over the world and giving us a few droppings. Giving us a few droppings off the table and we're supposed to bark in cadence, on command, and think that this is *our* banquet table because we're getting a few droppings, and those are drying up.

Chickens are coming home to roost and shit is coming out in the wash and things are getting clearer to people. You think the Soviet rulers and their apologists, you think they don't have their arguments about how it's better there for the people and for the workers? Oh yes they do. "We don't have any unemployment or much less unemployment here. We've got full free medical benefits for all the workers if they're hurt. Public education is free here and much better. We don't got as much crime, as much prostitution, as much drug addiction," and at this point, because they're a country that's only been capitalist for about 20 years, they don't have as much of those things, although things are de-

generating and going in that direction. They've got their arguments. They've got their arguments to say this is where the trade unions play a big role in the government. Hell, this is a paradise for the working class, they say. They've got all their arguments just like the rulers of this country got their arguments.

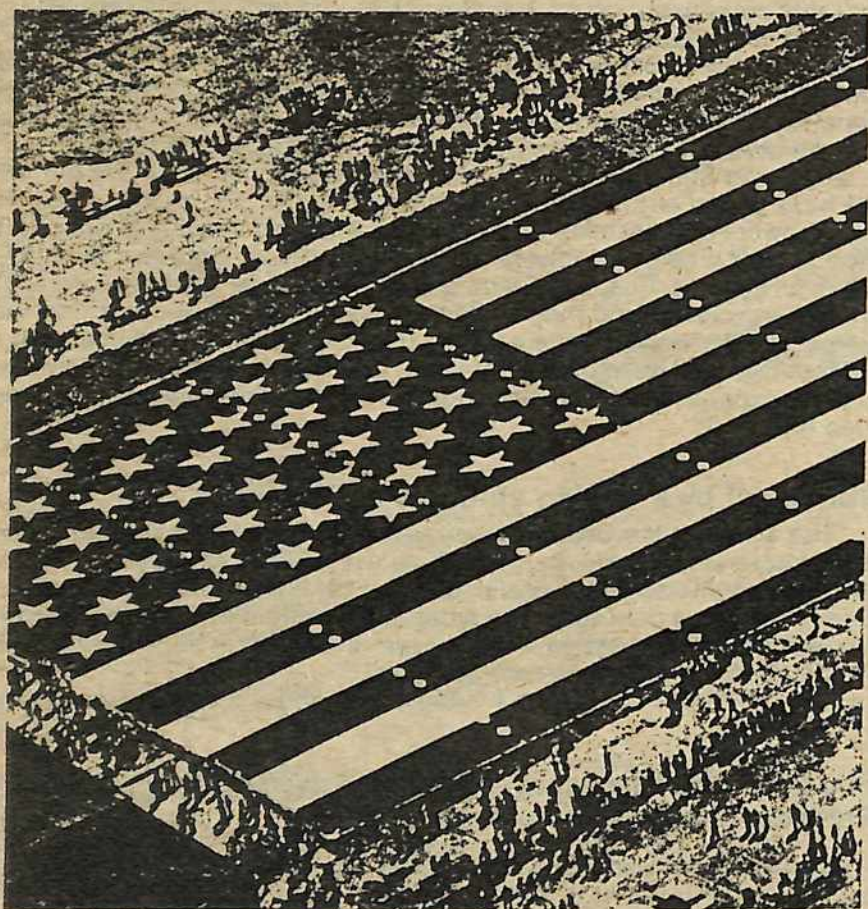
But these are slavemaster arguments. These are arguments between different plantation owners, so to speak, about which one of them those of us that are enslaved in the one or the other country should be cheering on, and not only that but laying down our lives fighting and dying to prolong and to strengthen their own plantation and to make them able to grab up more slaves in the world. This is the argument, this is the essence of their argument and all their blah blah blasé they got about why the one side or the other side is really the better choice or at least the lesser of evils.

Lesser Evil?

They argue, one side or the other has got to win. Common sense, they say. If they go to war, somebody's got to win. That's right, *somebody's* got to win and we're determined that it's going to be the proletariat this time, that we're going to make revolution and win this time. They say, choose the lesser of evils, but we say the only lesser evil is not an evil at all, it's a good thing, it's a great thing, it's an historic advance which is to rise up, take arms in hand and make revolution. And think about it. What a contribution that we can make for the world struggle, for the long historic struggle of oppressed people yearning throughout thousands of years in which society has been divided into classes, yearning and dreaming and longing for a way out of this madness and this misery. Just think what a contribution we could make where the groaning of the people will be replaced by the joyful sound of people rising up and making revolution and cooperating to transform the whole world and storm the heavens and to bring them down and master them. What a contribution we could make to take this powerful, one of the two *most* powerful today, imperialist countries in the world, one of the biggest bloodsuckers, and one of the biggest forces to hold down people all over the world and exploit and oppress and degrade people all over the world—what a contribution we could make by rising up and wiping them out and making revolution, overthrowing them and turning this from a bastion of reaction, from an arm of oppression, from an octopus extending its tentacles and squeezing and attempting to suffocate people all over the world, into an advanced area, into a stronghold of the working class, into a beacon light and a source of support and strength and aid for people all over the world struggling to get out from under it and be free from all this misery and this madness the system brings down daily and dishes out at times in large doses to the people.

And this is our opportunity, but it's also our obligation, because our struggle is and can only be an international struggle. We can't make our revolution guided by the outlook and the philosophy of our enemy. You can't beat a Rockefeller or a Mellon with Rockefeller or Mellon ideology. Some people say they're gonna beat the Man at his own game, but you don't beat him at his

Continued on page 22



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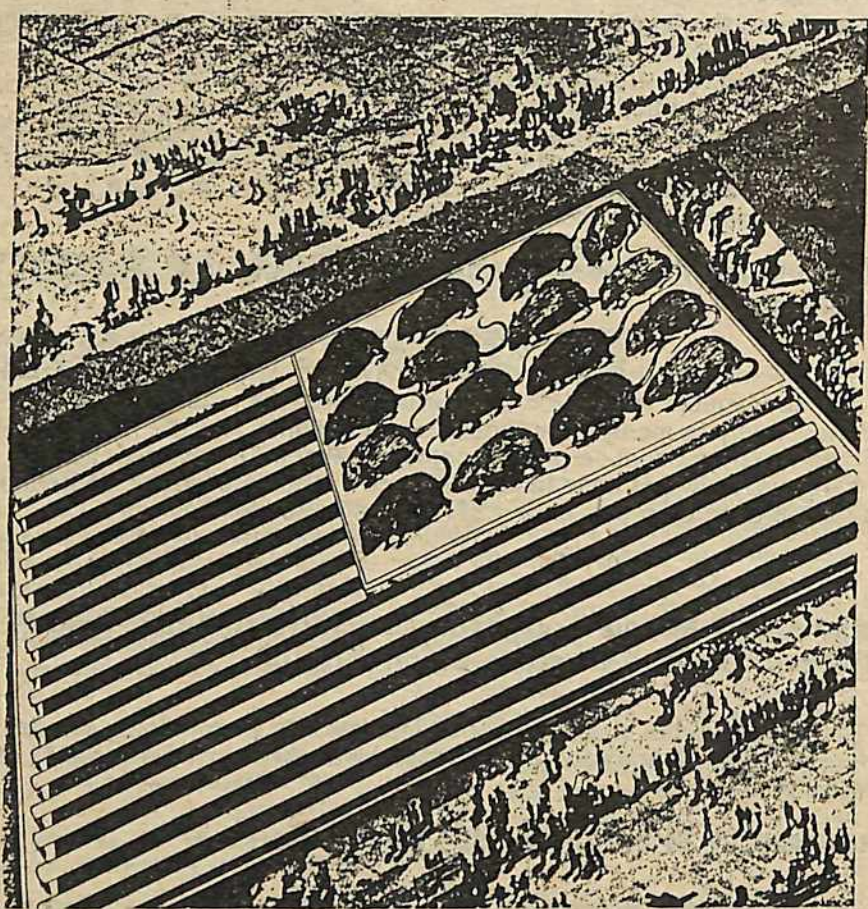
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Broad Support Builds

FREE THE U.N. 2!

Down With U.S.-Soviet War Moves!

Statement by Bertell Ollman, Author and Professor, Political Science Department, New York University (NYU)

I join with those demanding the charges against the UN 2 be dropped. This case has all the marks of a political railroad. This can be seen in the originally high bail of \$100,000 and in the outrageous charges with penalties up to 14 years in jail, in Judge Ward's statement in court that "we've got enough problems with Iran, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union... this case has to be handled in the context of what's going on in the world," and in his collaboration with the prosecution to rephrase the charges to make it easier to get a conviction, and finally in the media's attempts to portray this paint-throwing incident as a terrorist act, and in the government charging Steve Yip and Glenn Gan under laws designed to deal with terrorism. All this smacks of a political trial. Drop the Charges! Free the UN 2!

Statement by Bruce Bentley, Public Defender, Seattle, Washington:

I condemn the felony conviction of the UN 2, Glenn Gan and Steve Yip, and the subsequent revoking of their bail as a clearcut act of political repression. The throwing of red paint on the U.S. and USSR representatives at the UN directly exposed both superpowers' moves towards world war. It further stated the interests of the people of the world not to fall behind one or the other of these two imperialist powers. It is for this act that you have threatened the UN 2 with eight years in prison. I demand that these *political* convictions be dismissed.

Statement by Mark W. Meunster, Public Defender, Seattle, Washington

The federal assault and conspiracy conviction of Glenn Gan and Steve Yip and subsequent revocation of their bail impresses me as an act designed solely to incriminate these two defendants and the members of their organization because of their political beliefs. The overreaction of the government in this case lends credence to the defendants' contention that their prosecution was an act of political repression.

Statement by Margie Robertson, Executive Director, Cincinnati American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU):

The shocking denial of appeal bond makes this a stunningly sad day for due process. Guaranteed due process for all Americans regardless of their political beliefs.

Statement by 14 San Francisco Postal Workers

Fourteen San Francisco Postal workers say: "Damn your war plans! Damn your hide, bourgeoisie! FREE THE UN 2!"

Statement by an older Quaker pacifist in Dayton, Ohio:

I have just been made aware that the UN 2, Glenn Gan and Stephen Yip, have been found guilty. I condemn what I see to be the extreme severity of these charges. What is a little red paint compared to the well-known crimes of the U.S. and Soviet Union and their moves towards World War 3. Surely the time these two young men have spent in jail has been punishment enough. I urge that no further penalty be imposed.

Statement by Felipe Lizana a Chilean poet-in-exile living in Oakland

As a Chilean political exile, I am more than familiar with the vicious repression which a desperate ruling class will unleash against those who rise to denounce and expose it and with the broadest tactics it will employ to prevent any possibility of forces rising to challenge and overthrow its rule.

The two who went to the UN to act so boldly deserve support from all who would stand up against the forces of reaction, war and oppression that are hated and fought by people all over this world. The political railroad trial of the UN 2 is an outrage and will not go unanswered. Drop the Charges! Free the UN 2!

Statement by 10 Elderly Chinese from the Asian Community Center, San Francisco Chinatown (translated from Chinese)

We have known Glenn Gan and Stephen Yip for more than 10 years. They were in the Asian Community Center. The elderly Chinese in San Francisco Chinatown are a product of the exploitation and oppression that this country put on us. Very few of us can read or write English because this capitalist system didn't want us to learn. They only want us to work for their bosses. Glenn and Steve have always helped lead the battles in our community against the attacks by the capitalists—International Hotel, garment workers, etc. They even helped us to translate letters we received in English. They helped us to go see the doctors, etc.

Glenn and Steve are sons of the oppressed people. Their actions at the UN have gotten our full-hearted support. Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R are superpowers and enemies of the people. And now they are preparing for World War 3. The superpowers say we must choose between them to "save and protect" us, but Glenn and Steve's action says we have another choice—revolution and the red flag. All people should support their brave action. We demand that the court of the government drop all charges against them because no matter what, they will face the anger, the hatred, and the experience of long-time fighters against this capitalist system. Free the UN 2!

Statement by 8 Iranian students in Cleveland:

The action at the UN was inspirational for the millions standing up to the superpowers worldwide. The whole world saw a revolutionary force in the heart of this superpower. For this the UN 2 are being held hostage. This latest move only serves to prove who is afraid of who, that these bloody gangsters quake in fear over the revolutionary might of the people. We demand the UN 2 be freed right now!

Signed 8 Iranian students from Cleveland

Statement By Charles A. Meconis, Program Director, Seattle Religious Peace Action Coalition

The indictment and conviction of the UN 2 on conspiracy charges in connection with the April 30th paint-tossing incident is a moral and political outrage. The behavior of Judge Ward in the courtroom ranging from denial of reasonable motions for postponement to refusal to set bail to making what appears to be an obscene gesture at the defendants makes it clear that the government is engaged in a campaign of political repression aimed at anyone who would make dramatic statements of political protest. Moreover in light of the fact that neither of the ambassadors in question was injured, the conviction of the UN 2 on assault charges is also highly questionable. While I do not approve of their specific form of protest, the UN 2 in some way represent all of us who are appalled at the current nuclear brinkmanship of the two superpowers. They deserve support.

Statement By the Afghan Support Committee

At a time when the imperialist powers are preparing for the third world war, waves of revolution are spreading all over the world. During this great battle in which the imperialists are pushing war, people are trying to prevent this war by revolution. This confrontation of war vs. revolution and imperialism vs. people requires all revolutionary forces to step out in the forefront and wage an epic-making struggle against all war-mongering.

It is now the second year the people of Afghanistan have been fighting Soviet social-imperialism. The heroic armed struggle of the people of Afghanistan has certainly taught bitter lessons to Russian imperialism. Also the resistance of the Iranian people has dealt strong blows to the decaying body of U.S. imperialism.

In the midst of this turmoil, the American people have increasingly awakened to take history into their hands. May Day 1980, when thousands marched under the banner of the Revolutionary Communist Party, was a symbol of the American people's hatred of imperialism. Damian Garcia, who gave his life to make this historic event happen in the USA, glorified American working-class internationalism. Also, the UN 2, exposed the representatives of the 2 superpowers, expressed the American people's opposition to world hegemonism and their own [the 2 superpowers'] war-mongering policies. Therefore, the Afghan Support Committee, on behalf of the people of Afghanistan, decisively defends the UN 2 in their anti-imperialist struggle and condemns any struggle against them.

Long Live the Solidarity of the People of the World!
Down With U.S. Imperialism and Soviet Social-Imperialism!
Victory to the Struggle of the Afghani People!

—Afghan Support Committee

Statement By Member of SHAD Alliance

On May 1st, 1980, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan were held responsible for spilling red (water-based) paint on representatives of the United States and Soviet embassy. This action was done in an attempt to draw attention to mutually agreed-upon foreign policies, regarding the escalation of nuclear armaments, which if implemented, could mean greater danger to both countries and the rest of the world as well.

The action of the "UN 2" in no way showed any intent to seriously harm either of these diplomats, nor is there any reason to believe that this action represents any long-term plan to harass any UN representatives. Therefore, I urge that any consideration of charging either Steve Yip or Glenn Gan with intent to conspire, or of sentencing them to a term of 14 years in jail, be carefully reviewed for any potential violations of their constitutional rights and civil liberties.

Statement by 16 Members of CARD (Coalition Against Registration and the Draft)

The contention between the USSR and the U.S. is moving rapidly towards world war. We see that this imperialist war is not in the interest of the masses of the people of the U.S. or the world. The action taken by the UN 2 of throwing red paint on the U.S. and Soviet ambassadors targeted both superpowers equally as the enemies of the world's people. It is in the interests of the world's people to unite to oppose both superpowers and their drive for world domination. The outrageous conspiracy charges brought against the UN 2 only expose more the fear and desperation of the two superpowers to stop the building consciousness and unity among the world's people in opposition to the domination of both superpowers and World War 3. Down with U.S. and Soviet War Moves! Drop All Charges! Free the UN 2!

Signed by 16 members of CARD (Coalition Against Registration and the Draft)

Statement by the July 4th Coalition to Demonstrate at the USS Coral Sea Against War Preparations, San Francisco Bay Area

We, the July 4th Coalition to Demonstrate at the USS Coral Sea Against War Preparations, demand that you free Glenn Gan and Stephen Yip, the UN 2. We condemn the political railroad that was carried out in high gear, non-stop. We the Coalition are holding a demonstration at the USS Coral Sea on July 4th to demand "Oppose U.S. and U.S.S.R. War Preparations and Hands Off Iran and South Korea!" The conviction and jailing of the UN 2 is an outrage, and we will never forget the courageous and inspiring action at the UN and never forgive their frameup. Free the UN 2!

Statement by Los Angeles Lawyers & Legal Workers

We the undersigned condemn yesterday's railroad of the UN 2, two revolutionaries accused of splashing red paint on the U.S. and Soviet Ambassadors. These revolutionaries were convicted of one count of conspiracy and one count of assault. It was evident from the beginning that this was to be a kangaroo trial. Judge Ward, the trial judge, made the following statements in court: "We've got enough problems in Iran, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. . . this case has to be handled in the context of what is going on in the world." After the defense made a motion for a trial postponement, he said, "I'm not going to give you time to conduct a public opinion poll in the community," and after a second request was denied, he blurted out, "I can't imagine what legal defense you could possibly have." The judge referred continuously to the defendants as vandals, referring to spray painting that had appeared on the court house walls, even though the judge admitted that the defendants had not done it. When the jury brought in its verdict, he revoked the defendants' bail until sentencing in August. He referred to the revolutionaries as convicted felons, facing 8 years in prison, clearly signalling his intentions to railroad the defendants into jail for the maximum sentence. We, the undersigned, demand that the bail be reinstated and that the conviction be overturned.

Signed,
Thomas Stanley, Lawyer
Alfred Ybarra, Legal Worker
Barb Riesner, Legal Worker
Gary Bock, Legal Worker
Bernadette Everman, Legal Worker

Statement by the Moody Park 3 in Houston

Comrades:

The verdict against the UN 2 is the act of a criminal system whose hideous face has been exposed—a hopeless attempt to snuff out the inspiration that millions felt seeing the blood-red paint stick on the face of the enemy. But this desperate attack is as futile as it is outrageous. The vision of the bright future that your brilliant revolutionary actions etched in the minds and the hearts of the world's oppressed will not be erased. At the festival of the oppressed in Moody Park the masses got a little taste of freedom, and the seed of revolution was planted, something which the enemy cannot stomp out. Neither can it stomp out the red banner you raised. Just as their attempts to jail the Moody Park 3 spread the flames of that rebellion coast to coast, just as their vicious murder of Damian Garcia gave birth to thousands more awakening to revolution and carrying forward the red flag, so did the conviction of the UN 2 expose even further their vulnerability and so many more will step forward as they are already doing today, with greater determination to bring that future into being. The *New Draft Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party* says that revolution in the U.S. "will be an event whose magnitude will be completely unprecedented in world history. . . literally hundreds of millions worldwide will rejoice and will step up their armed struggle for emancipation." The action of the UN 2 has raised up that future for millions, and for that you are cherished by the international proletariat.

Signed,
Travis Morales
Tom Hirschi
Mara Youngdahl

Statement by 9 people attending an anti-draft coalition meeting in Washington, D.C.

Today's conviction of the UN 2 on two felony counts is outrageous, but more importantly it is a sign of desperation on the part of the gangsters in the U.S. who would pose as peacemakers as they rush towards war against their godfather counterparts in the Soviet Union. Today they are trying to register 18 and 19-year-old men, but their sights are on much more. The D.A. stated in court that the action of the UN 2 had brought the world closer to the brink of World War 3, but we know very well it is the imperialists who are the source of war, and it is they who are being driven to press-gang millions into their filthy cause. It is the very people who they must use as cannonfodder who spell big trouble for the U.S., and whose force they so fear in the upcoming storms.

Statement by Alice K. LaBarre, Veteran Activist since 1935,

While not condoning violence in any form, I protest the length and severity of the proposed sentence for Glenn Gan and Stephen Yip. Their action was a symbolic gesture in the spirit of the Boston Tea Party, to remind people everywhere of the imminent danger of a nuclear holocaust. Hysterical words and actions of the leaders of both the U.S. and Russia will surely lead to World War 3 if not checked.

Statement by a sailor stationed aboard the USS Tripoli, 32nd Street Naval Base, San Diego

I feel that Yip and Gan are wrongfully convicted for a crime that they did not really do, due to the fact that they were truly serving 200 million people and that those people are us, the American people.

Statement by 2 Ethiopian students:

The action of the two revolutionaries, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan, concretely symbolizes the choice of the people of the world not to fight and die for either the U.S. or the USSR imperialists but to oppose their war preparations and fight against them. With this railroad the U.S. ruling class is trying to intimidate the people and tell us that we have no choice but to go along with them and slaughter our brothers and sisters from other countries.

We are two Ethiopian students and we as well as millions across the world were inspired by their actions, and we are outraged at the reaction of the ruling class. In the whole of Africa, and in the Horn in particular, the 2 superpowers are contending for supremacy and they are attempting to crush the strength of the peoples there and to set the people against each other. Ethiopia itself has experienced the rule of their nation by both superpowers at different times, but that has not stopped the struggle of the people or fooled them. We can say for sure that this latest act of political repression on the part of the U.S. ruling class will only serve to redouble our efforts and determination to fight against both superpowers and their cohorts to win the freedom of people all over the world.

Free the UN 2! Down With Superpower War Moves!

Statement by 5 Italian students in the Bay Area (California)

The sight of the red paint splashed all over the representatives of the 2 superpowers who are getting ready for the mass slaughter of workers and oppressed in World War 3 has made millions of people all over the world leap with joy and inspiration. We are a group of Italian students being treated to our daily doses of "I Love Lucy" and "Columbo." Even in our own country, we were led to believe that the American people would never oppose the U.S. government, but the UN 2 has very vividly proven to the contrary. More and more, the imperialists are facing revolutionary upsurges from South Korea to South Africa to Miami, so out of their weakness and isolation they huff and they puff, trying to look mighty, but only to encounter the increasing resistance of the people. This is precisely what has happened with the railroad of the UN 2—no matter how hard they try to beat into our heads there is no alternative but to knuckle down to one imperialist or another, they cannot wipe out the red paint—those red splashes will continue to shine ever so brightly, spelling out both their end and the bright future of the people of the world.
Free the UN 2! Down With Superpower War Moves!

U.N. 2

Continued from page 1

arm gesture to the supporters.

Judge Ward's actions were particularly revealing throughout the trial. In his efforts to railroad the UN 2 to jail at the earliest possible time, he behaved like a petty tyrant, while at times he posed as someone quite concerned about the issues of world war, the draft and so on, and even sympathetic to the two and their supporters. "I may be in judge's robes," he confided at one point to the supporters when the jury was out, "but I wasn't born in them. I oppose many of these things too. But you have to go about it in the right way." He took several opportunities to urge the supporters back in the courtroom to work within the system and to appreciate the liberties bestowed upon Americans. But when the crunch hit, off came the mask and down came the gavel—hard. But while Ward himself claims to have two personalities—one in robes and one out of robes—we understand that it is quite consistent for the bourgeoisie, or at least certain of their representatives, to pose as "concerned" and "peaceloving"—and to act like perfect fascists when their interests are at stake. They are just different expressions of the same face.

In fact, this was part of the political tack taken by the bourgeoisie in its trial strategy. On the one hand, behind the scenes the judge did everything possible to legally rig the trial to give the UN 2 the worst possible framework to deal with. To take just one glaring example, the judge forbade any possible lowering of the charges from the felony level. Then, when it came time to read the legal charges to the jury, fearing that they would refuse to convict on the actual indictment whose wording emphasized the acts of "striking, wounding or doing bodily harm" as in the act of assault, the judge rewrote it to sound like a petty misdemeanor assault—while keeping the penalties up at the felony level!

"No One Here Wants to Drink Blood" Said the Vampire

But throughout the trial the bourgeoisie also ran a very concentrated political line, and a hypocritical and poisonous one it was, too. Seeing that they would have to speak politically to the questions raised by the April 30 action—the impending showdown between the superpowers, and the necessity for the masses to forge a road of their own against the imperialist war—the bourgeoisie claimed in this trial to be the true lovers and protectors of peace, protecting it, in fact, from actions like those taken by... the UN 2! To begin with the judge, for instance, we find him interrupting the defense cross-examination of star prosecution witness William vanden Heuvel, the paint-splattered deputy U.S. Ambassador to the UN, to ask: "Putting aside April 30th, have you ever seen any acts of terrorism?" When the defense asked vanden Heuvel if in fact he didn't expect to be confronted with political demonstrations as a matter of course, the judge blurted in front of the jury: "But no one expects to get red paint thrown in their face!"

But it is vanden Heuvel who played the Dr. Jekyll role to the max. "I spent 30 years of my career working for peace," he piously told the jury. Of course, only days before the paint was thrown in his face, the U.S. had attempted an ill-fated military action against Iran about which not a word was ever said in the sacred chambers of the Security Council. Strange peace that. And as for his lengthy career, there is also the "peace" he enforced while running the New York City Correctional System in 1970, when the Tombs prison riot was brutally suppressed.

But back to vanden Heuvel's interesting fantasies on the witness stand. Once he recovered from the shock of the attack, he claimed, the first concern was to run to assure Soviet Ambassador Troyanovski that this action in no way represented the U.S. government. In fact, nothing of the kind ever happened, and Troyanovski undoubtedly

knew that anyway. Vanden Heuvel's lies were for the benefit of jury and press, to paint the fantastic picture of the concerned man of peace trying to prevent a disastrous possible misunderstanding caused by revolutionaries.

In fact, what vanden Heuvel actually did far more reflects where things are at. Trying to make the best of a very bad thing from his class's point of view, vanden Heuvel tried at the time to turn the attack against the Soviets. In an impromptu press conference five minutes after the incident, vanden Heuvel said, "When they hit me, I thought they were for war. But when they hit Oleg, I thought they were against war"—implying here that the U.S. equals peace, and the Soviets war. Even humiliated and soaked with paint, this representative of the bourgeoisie tried to get one up on his rival!

But this had conveniently faded from memory by the time of the trial. Questioned on the stand, vanden Heuvel adamantly maintained not once but several times that he had not said "war" but "detente," the idea being to portray the politics of the action as somehow directed against what the bourgeoisie sometimes likes to portray as its delicate and tenuous efforts to preserve a "fragile structure of peace." Only when confronted with his actual videotaped remarks did this reptile back down and admit to what he really said.

Vanden Heuvel adopted the pose of someone quite fragile and recently traumatized in order to invoke sympathy, and the judge in turn acted like a very protective mother of a sensitive and scarred little boy. At one point the defense tried to expose some of vanden Heuvel's love for peace. "Are you aware of the contingency plans for nuclear war?" began one defense attorney. And the objection was barely out of the prosecutor's mouth before the judge bellowed, "Sustained!"

And the prosecutor himself also tried his bit as a lover of peace. "Your honor, we're all concerned with war," he said at one point, objecting to some testimony of a defendant. But he really got down in his closing remarks. "The UN may not be much but it's all we have." Ah, yes, all that they have to drape the bloody aggression of the U.S. in the mantle of "world peace." The UN emblem has flown over the one million deaths in the Korean War fought by the "UN peacekeeping force" (literally U.S. troops under the aegis of the UN), over the oppressive Palestinian refugee camps, over the troops that put down the Congolese rebellion of 1960 and murdered Congolese revolutionary Patrice Lumumba. And today that same emblem gives the stamp of approval to the hypocritical posturing of the U.S. as it demands resolutions against Soviet aggression in Afghanistan and over the equally hypocritical actions of the Soviets as they piously line up to vote and make speeches against the aggression of their rivals whenever possible. As Glenn Gan, one of the UN 2, said in his testimony, "Here is where the U.S. attempts to portray the Soviets as the aggressors and the Soviets do the same to the U.S."

The prosecutor continued in the same vein. "What if everyone took it upon themselves to run into the UN and throw red paint at people? How would that help peace?" Leaving aside that entertaining picture for a minute, what he was really asking—and opposing—was, what if the masses actually tried to decide their own fate, to rip it out of the hands of their exploiters and dominators? And in the next sentence, exposing the fact that fear of the masses taking matters into their own hands was precisely at the heart of this whole railroad, he said, "This is a serious question. It could have been more serious... you cannot excuse them by approving their action."

Yes, it is serious, and you showed it by your viciousness and hypocrisy and deceit, Herr Prosecutor, Judge and Ambassador. The idea! Here the representatives of a class that is cold-bloodedly calculating how many scores of millions to be sacrificed in the impending war, a class that today carries out crimes against people all over the world, including many right in the very federal courthouse in New York City,

trying to point the finger at the very revolutionaries who exposed those crimes and work to unite the masses to prevent this war the only way possible—by making revolution.

The UN 2 themselves, when finally allowed to state their views after much resistance by the government and struggle from the defense, put it very well. As Glenn Gan said, "We made a political statement. We doused them with red paint as a symbolic statement and that was important because of the U.S. and Soviet war moves. The U.S. says, 'Look at the Soviet Union in Afghanistan,' but it's not very different from the U.S. in Vietnam. We wanted to make that a very clearer point—that there's no difference between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, except that the Soviets use a red cover. We can understand that we don't have to go down like passive spectators... They're planning to put millions of people in green uniforms, give them guns and send them halfway around the world to fight and kill oppressed people in other countries who are just like them."

Support for UN 2 Grows

Across the country a number of militant and bold actions were taken in support of the UN 2 revolutionaries during the trial. The Red Flag was held high in these support actions. Statements in support of the UN 2 and in opposition to the outrageous verdict are coming in from all over the country. The ranks of those in support of the fight to free these two revolutionary fighters are growing rapidly, and the imperialists are paying a dear price for their actions so far.

The UN 2 raised the banner of the proletariat right in the enemy's face, declaring that not only do the masses have no interest in siding with either superpower in the developing showdown, but that "we've got other plans." And the bourgeoisie then has shown through their vicious counterattack just how raw is the nerve struck by the UN 2.

The battle has continued all through

the weeks following the UN action and reached an intense peak during the days of the trial in and out of the courtroom. But the battle is hardly over. Steve Yip and Glenn Gan are in jail. Protests of the verdict must be sent to the judge. Money must be raised for bail and legal expenses for appeal. The statement of support must be circulated even more intensely, all in preparation for their sentencing, now set for July 15.

The clenched fist must answer the obscene gestures of the bourgeoisie loud and clear: Free the UN 2! Down with U.S.-Soviet War Moves! Long Live the First of May! □

COMMUNISTS ARE REBELS

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

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

Order from:
Revolutionary Communist Youth
P.O. Box A 3836
Chicago, IL 60690 50¢

Rough Seas in Venice

Continued from page 1

were played up by the U.S. media to feed chauvinism in the U.S.—"even our closest allies are spineless and ungrateful!" However, the Summit did not go as smoothly or as far as the U.S. imperialists would have liked. It brought the obstacles to forging this war bloc and the weaknesses within it into sharper relief. These are factors that become heavier and more serious at the same time that the motion towards consolidation increases.

The first of these Summits was held in France in 1975. The U.S. bloc was reeling from their most serious post-war contraction. It became apparent that more coordinated activity on the monetary, fiscal and trade fronts was necessary to the survival of the bloc. The U.S. had taken the lead in pushing for and adopting expansive policies to stimulate recovery. Pledges were made at successive summits to lift employment and growth and targets were set. At first, it was the U.S. and then it was to be a "locomotive" of the U.S., West Germany and Japan that was to pull the bloc out of its doldrums. Yet the recovery that ensued was spotty and fragmentary. In Europe, capital investment never gained momentum between 1975 and 1978. Only in the U.S. was there any substantial recovery. And by 1979 when the European and Japanese economies began to grow more rapidly, the U.S. was slowing down.

The price paid for the post-'74 stimulus was unprecedented currency upheavals and financial instability bringing the international monetary system close to collapse. This forced a reversal of previous policies: the "new orthodoxy" required budgetary and monetary restraint. The chief policy preoccupation has become precisely how to avoid a collapse of the financial structure whether it be brought on by a run on the dollar, bank failures or countries going into default. This is not simply a matter of riding out an inflationary storm or living with "slow

growth"; more specifically, it is a question of stabilizing the monetary order so that the bloc will be in the strongest possible position to square off against the Soviet Union. A stable monetary order is not a pre-condition to go to war nor are credit and monetary activities in and of themselves more important than the sphere of production; in fact, the former rests on the latter in the final analysis. However, the monetary system is the key link because the bloc is stitched together by and through it.

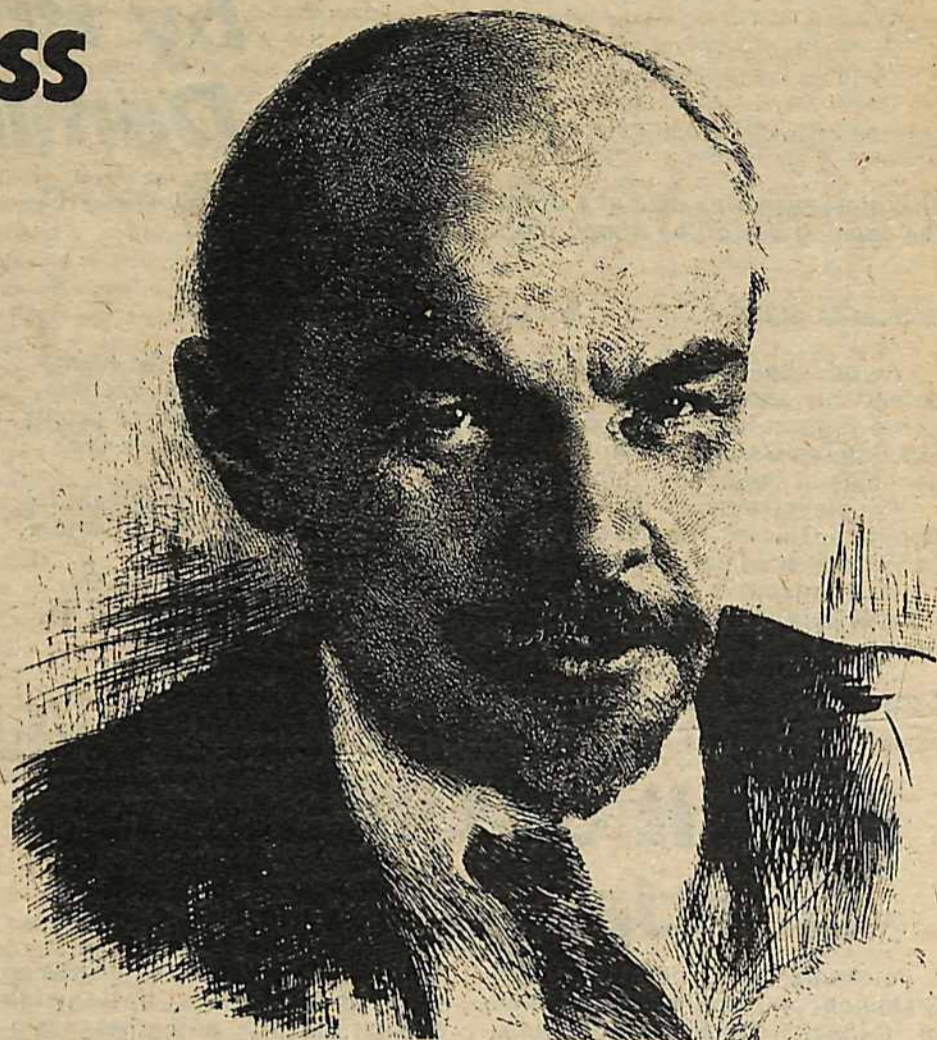
Under these circumstances, short-term economic stimulation becomes dangerously destabilizing and long-term economic restructuring looms as an impractical option. The austerity theme was underscored in the final communique of the Summit which identified inflation as the number one problem facing the bloc—thus marking a retreat from the push for growth that characterized the previous 5 Summits. The allies also agreed to cut oil imports and use more coal. This merely represents a continuation of policies agreed upon and adopted at the last two summits. The significance of these energy proposals is principally a logistical and strategic one. It is a question of building up stockpiles and reserves as well as developing back-up energy systems to wage war.

But if there was general consensus on the state of the economy—which really amounted to an admission that there wasn't all that much they could do—why the wrangling and discord? To be sure, the severity of the 1974-75 crisis, the failure of any substantive recovery to materialize and intensifying superpower rivalry has impressed upon all members of the bloc the seriousness of the international situation and the need to carry through with more comprehensive war preparations. The current international framework is too constricting for an... major... catalyst

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The Amateurishness of the Economists and an Organization of Revolutionaries

Excerpts from What Is To Be Done?



V. I. Lenin.

Why must there be a revolutionary party? What are the organizational principles of such a party that correspond to a revolutionary political line? Who should be a member of this Party, and what must members be trained to do? These are some of the crucial questions touched on by the Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin in the following excerpts from a chapter in one of his greatest works, *What Is To Be Done?* In this chapter (Chapter IV, "The Amateurishness of the Economists and The Organization of Revolutionaries"), Lenin shows how a non-revolutionary political line leads to a non-revolutionary organizational line. Although this book was written by Lenin at a time before a revolutionary party had actually been founded in Russia, the political principles he laid down here are very relevant today to the further building of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

This is the second and concluding part of the excerpts from this chapter.

The Scope of Organizational Work

The fact of the matter is that society advances very many persons fit for "work," but we are unable to make use of them all. The critical, transitional state of our movement in this respect may be formulated as follows: *there are no people—yet there is a mass of people.* There is a mass of people, because the working class and ever more diverse strata of society, year after year, advance from their ranks an increasing number of discontented people who desire to protest, who are ready to render all the assistance they can in the fight against absolutism, the intolerableness of which is not yet recognized by all, but is nevertheless more and more acutely sensed by increasing masses of the people. At the same time we have no people, because we have no leaders, no political leaders, no talented organizers capable of arranging extensive and at the same time uniform and harmonious work that would employ all forces, even the most inconsiderable.

There is hardly a single practical worker who will doubt that the Social-Democrats could distribute the thousand and one minute functions of their organizational work among the different representatives of the most varied classes. Lack of specialization is one of the most serious defects of our technique, about which B—v justly and bitterly

complains. The smaller each separate "operation" in our common cause, the more people can we find capable of carrying out such operations (people who, in the majority of cases, are absolutely not capable of becoming professional revolutionaries) the more difficult will it be for the police to "net" all these "detail workers," and the more difficult will it be for them to frame up, out of an arrest for some petty affair, a "case" that would justify the government's expenditure on the "secret service." As for the number ready to help us, we have already referred in the previous chapter to the gigantic change that has taken place in this respect in the last five years or so. On the other hand, in order to unite all these tiny fractions into one whole, in order not to break up the movement while breaking up its functions, and in order to imbue the people who carry out the minute functions with the conviction that their work is necessary and important, without which conviction they will never do the work,* it is necessary to have a strong organization of tried revolutionaries. The more secret such an organization is, the stronger and more widespread will be the confidence in the Party, and as we know, in time of war, it is of the utmost importance to imbue not only one's own army with confidence in its strength, but it is important also to convince the enemy and all neutral elements of this strength; friendly neutrality may sometimes decide the issue. If such an organization existed, one built up on a firm theoretical foundation and possessing a Social-Democratic journal, we would have no reason to fear that the movement might be diverted from its path by

*I recall what a comrade related to me of a factory inspector, who desiring to help, and while in fact helping, the Social-Democrats, bitterly complained that he did not know whether his "information" reached the proper revolutionary centre, how much his help was really required, and what possibilities there were for utilizing his small and petty services. Every practical worker can, of course, cite many similar cases of our amateurishness depriving us of allies. And these services, each "small" in itself, but invaluable when taken in the mass, could and would be rendered to us by office employees and officials not only in factories, but in the postal service, on the railways, in the Customs, among the nobility, the clergy and in every

the numerous "outside" elements that are attracted to it. (On the contrary, it is precisely at the present time, with amateurishness prevalent, that we see many Social-Democrats leaning towards the *Credo* [an economist manifesto—RW], and only imagining that they are Social-Democrats.) In a word, specialization necessarily presupposes centralization, and in its turn imperatively calls for it.

This fact proves that our very first and most imperative duty is to help to train working-class revolutionaries who will be on the same level in regard to Party activity as the revolutionaries from amongst the intellectuals (we emphasize the words "in regard to Party activity, because although necessary, it is neither so easy nor so imperative to bring the workers up to the level of intellectuals in other respects). Therefore, attention must be devoted principally to raising the workers to the level of revolutionaries; it is not at all our task to descend to the level of the "working masses" as the Economists wish to do, or to the level of the "average worker," as the *Svoboda* desires to do (which thus ascends to the second grade of Economist "pedagogics"). I am far from denying the necessity for popular literature for the workers, and especially popular (but, of course, not vulgar) literature for the especially backward workers. But what annoys me is this constant confusion of pedagogics with questions of politics and organization. You, gentlemen, who are so much concerned about the "average worker," as a matter of fact, rather insult the workers by your desire to talk down to them when discussing working-class politics and working-class

organization. Talk about serious things in a serious manner; leave pedagogics to the pedagogues, and not to the politicians, nor to organizers!

You must realize that these questions about "politics" and "organization" are so serious in themselves that they cannot be discussed in any other but a very serious way. We can and must educate workers (and university and high-school students) so as to be able to discuss these questions with them; but once you do bring up these questions, you must give real replies to them, do not fall back on the "average," or on the "masses"; do not try to get off by resorting to empty phrasemongering.**

In order to be fully prepared for his task, the worker-revolutionary must also become a professional revolutionary. Hence B—v is wrong when he says that since the worker spends eleven and a half hours in the factory, the brunt of all other revolutionary functions (apart from agitation) "must necessarily fall mainly upon the shoulders of an extremely small force of intellectuals." But this is not out of sheer "necessity." It is so because we are backward, because we do not recognize our duty to assist every capable worker to become a professional agitator, organizer, propagandist, literature distributor, etc., etc. In this respect, we waste our strength in a positively shameful manner; we lack the ability to husband that which should be tended and reared with special care. Look at the Germans: they have a hundred times more forces than we have. But they understand perfectly well that the "average" does not too

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other walk of life, including even the police and the Court! Had we a real party, a real militant organization of revolutionaries, we would not make undue demands on every one of these "assistants," we would not hasten always and invariably to bring them right into the heart of our "illegality," but, on the contrary, we would husband them very carefully and would even train people especially for such functions, bearing in mind the fact that many students could be of much greater service to the Party as "assistants" holding some official post than as "short-term" revolutionaries. But, I repeat again, only an organization that is already established and has no lack of active forces would have the right to apply such tactics.

***Svoboda*, No. 1, p. 66, in the article "Organization": "The heavy tread of the army of workers will reinforce all the demands that will be advanced on behalf of Russian Labour"—Labour with a capital L, of course. And this very author exclaims: "I am not in the least hostile towards the intelligentsia, but" (this is the very word, but, that Shchedrin translated as meaning: the ears never grow higher than the forehead, never!) but it always frightfully annoys me when a man comes to me, utters beautiful and charming words and demands that they be accepted for their (his?) beauty and other virtues." (P. 62). Yes. This "always frightfully annoys" me too.

Statement by Prisoners on Damian Garcia

This statement was read at a press conference in Seattle on June 17th, the opening day of the Alamo trials.

Comrades of the R.C.P. and Working Class People:

As prisoners of the Washington State Prison we address the Alamo defendants and supporters of Damian Garcia. We express our unconditional support for the Alamo defendants, and all other oppressed people like Damian Garcia in their struggle against national oppression and genocide at the hands of the imperialists.

People have asked us why are you signing the support statement for Comrade Garcia? The answer to that question is not too difficult actually. For the most part people in prison are not wealthy.

Most prisoners are victims of the same system that murdered Damian Garcia. We suffered the oppression and exploitation while on the outside because of our class.

For the biggest part prisoners are from the working class and because of that knew poverty and national oppression as Damian

himself did. No one would argue that there are a disproportionate number of oppressed minorities in capitalist prisons and that racism on a national scale is by and large responsible for that fact.

The fact that our "justice" system is racially unjust and unequal is nothing new.

As poor and oppressed people we felt the brunt of capitalist oppression, exploitation and repression outside and rebelled. Now we suffer even more intense repression in prison but have not lost sight of our identity completely.

Whether we're inside or outside we suffer from poverty and national oppression and continue to fight against the state police lackeys and their capitalist employers who are responsible for the state of our lives.

As class conscious prisoners we can distinguish our friends from our enemies and know the police and the capitalist system they protect both killed and are railroading Damian Garcia and the Alamo defendants.

As poor and oppressed prisoners we do not support the police and once again express solidarity with Damian and the Alamo defendants.

Prisoners at Walla Walla, Washington,
and Brushy Mountain, Tennessee.

Spirit of Damian Garcia Carries On

Following the publication of the *Statement of Outrage at the Murder of Damian Garcia* in the Los Angeles Times, the San Antonio Light, and La Opinión, the National May Day Committee received numerous responses. Of course, reactionary fools couldn't resist writing such intelligent comebacks as "your article appeared in today's San Antonio Light and I found it rather sickening. Your partial list of endorsers was so impressive, it makes me want to throw up. Garcia and his kind got what they deserved. Signed, A Loyal Flag Waver."

The following excerpts crystallize the overwhelming sentiments of the other letters:

"Please send me more information regarding your organization. I am very interested in this Damian Garcia case. This is the first I've heard of it. I did read where they took over the Alamo but this is the first thing I've heard regarding Garcia's death. Any information you could provide would be greatly appreciated. I am a Vietnam veteran. Thank you very much for informing the people about Garcia. Unidos Venceremos."—Oxnard, California

"It is my understanding that the capitalistic system is not working to the benefit of the working class. The Revolutionary Communist Party is at a definite advantage in this age of confusion and world turmoil. I believe that it is the duty of the Revolutionary Communist Party in the USA to destroy capitalism and set an example for the rest of the world. Please send me the draft Constitution so that I can study, defend and inform my friends about it."—Austin, Texas

The next letter came from a revolutionary prisoner:

"Greetings, Brothers and Sisters. A friend of mine cut out your statement of outrage concerning the brutal murder of Damian Garcia. Reading this statement, and remembering Damian's participation in the takeover and raising of the red flag at the Alamo, then his murder in the streets of L.A., the statement brought back fresh waves of anger and sadness. Sadness at the loss of a true revolutionary brother, anger at the brutal premeditated action taken by his Imperialist Executors.

"I have nothing but the deepest feelings of solidarity, belief, and even love for the RCP, its members, their revolutionary consciousness, their goals and accomplishments.

"To have read and heard of Damian Garcia's death, then followed by the brutal attack on RCP mar-

chers, May Day in L.A. combined with the attacks nationwide against the RCP and other revolutionaries, is a stark realism to all of the extremes that this oppressive government will go to, to protect such a corrupt system. A lesson to all, of things to come, the attacks on revolutionary people in this country in the past year are a sign of the ushering in of an era of brutal persecutions that has not been seen since McCarthy days.

"I worked for five months with members of the RCP, building for the demonstration in Philly in 1976, which my wife and I participated in.

Was then in the midst of learning more, educating myself, and considered joining the RCP. Prior educational commitments to four several struggling countries kept me from obtaining membership.

"I am now serving... (a)... term in... prison...."

"I am not a member of the RCP, and only have the short involvement that I have mentioned, but that affiliation has inspired me of doing a longer sentence, and is so noted in my central file. Just a simple affiliation has so clouded the minds of the staff's recommendation to the parole board that I chose to waive my parole hearings. To submit myself to the humiliating views from the panel of racist, imperialist employees, to give them the satisfaction of telling me in person—no parole—just because of

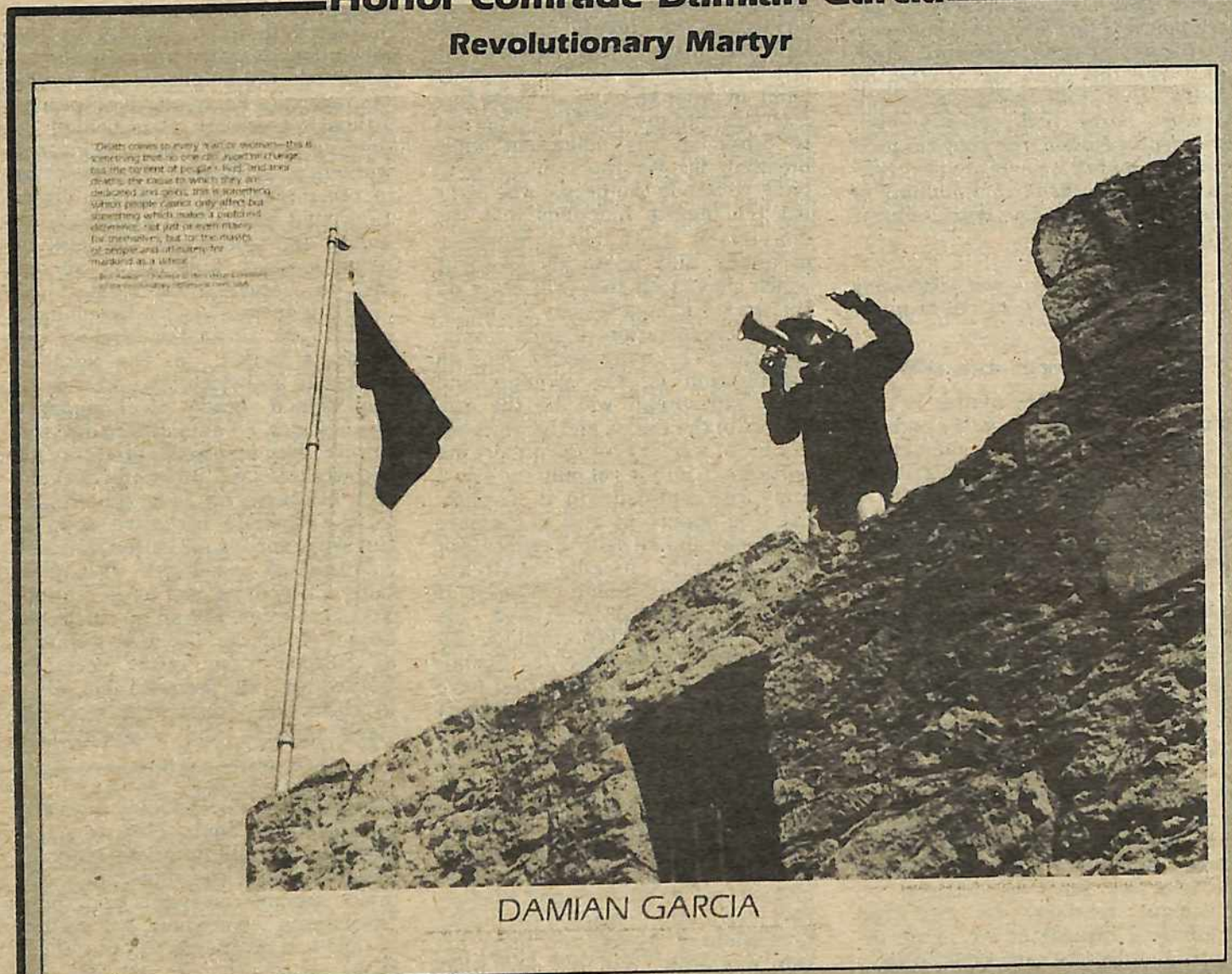
my political beliefs, to give them that opportunity I cannot do. I only hope it offers them a small example of revolutionary consciousness they will never beat.

"The brutal, deadly, oppressive attacks you are dealing with, and facing on the outside, are the first stage of an all-out war being carried on in an ever-increasing role by this government, as brothers and sisters of revolutionary consciousness are thrown into these prisons.

"I didn't mean to include my problems in this letter. But was just trying to show an example of the lengths that are being gone to, to persecute all involved with the RCP. Please send me a copy of the statement issued by the May Day Committee concerning Damian Garcia's murder...."

Honor Comrade Damian Garcia

Revolutionary Martyr



DAMIAN GARCIA

Beautiful 4 color poster depicts Comrade Garcia raising the Red Flag over the Alamo, March 20, 1980. Inscription by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA reads: "Death comes to every man or woman—this is something that no one can avoid or change, but the content of people's lives, and

their deaths, the cause to which they are dedicated and given, this is something which people cannot only affect but something which makes a profound difference, not just or even mainly for themselves, but for the masses of people and ultimately for mankind as a whole."

Four-color print, 18 in. x 24 in.
Five Dollars. Proceeds to the National May Day Committee.

Order from: National May Day '80 Committee
Box 12039, Detroit, MI 48212

Alamo Trial Backfires— Bourgeoisie Exposed

On April 22, 1980, Damian Garcia—a member of the RCP, USA—was brutally murdered by police agents for raising the red flag on top of the Alamo in a devastating exposure of this symbol of the national oppression of the Chicano and Mexican people. From the ramparts of this imperialist fortress, Damian and others had called on the people to take history into their hands on May 1st and take a giant step forward toward the elimination of this and all oppression once and for all. It was an action that sent shockwaves reverberating to every corner of this country and indeed the world.

RCP Chairman Bob Avakian said in a statement issued right after Damian's murder, this vile act was perpetrated "with the aim of stopping the gathering momentum for May Day, on which the work and efforts of Comrade Garcia and thousands of others have been concentrated as a crucial battle to make a leap toward the goal of proletarian revolution in this bastion of oppression and reaction, the USA. It is no accident that this murder was carried out only slightly more than a week before this historic event is to take place. But this only shows that the rulers of this country and their assassins, in and out of uniform, are not only cowardly but desperate—desperate to prevent the awakening and the class-conscious action of a section of the working class right in the U.S., at the head of other oppressed masses, here in the stronghold of their tyrannical worldwide empire. And in fact, this only shows more clearly that it is the imperialists and reactionaries who fear the people, especially the thousands who are preparing to step onto history's stage on May First and the millions and millions of others who are beginning to raise their heads, of which Comrade Garcia was a representative and for whom he was a front-line fighter. And if these desperate criminals thought, or hoped, that by carrying out such a cold-blooded murder they would cause the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA to lay down the banner of revolution and retreat, to run in fear from the arduous task of building May Day, preparing for revolution; if they thought beyond that they would intimidate those who have already stepped forward to join this historic struggle and scare away those on the verge of doing so in the final days before May First, they will find out that the exposure of their bloody hand in this action will have just the opposite effect—it will deepen a hundred-fold the determination of those already involved to carry forward the fight for which Comrade Garcia gave his life, and will inspire hundreds, indeed thousands more to step forward and become part of that same great battle."

The truth of these words has been borne out in the events of the trial of the five remaining Alamo defendants which concluded last week in San Antonio. In the kangaroo court of Judge Samples all were convicted on misdemeanor charges stemming from the takeover and sentenced to the maximum fine. The authorities had hoped and prayed that they would be able to keep this trial under wraps, to punish those responsible for defiling their wretched little shrine without paying a political price. But by the time the four-day trial was over they had paid dearly—their bloody hands had been held out in the light of day and many had been inspired to become part of the battle against them. In the words of one Black man in San Antonio who picked up the red flag and joined this struggle and has been hounded daily by the police, "It makes me even more determined to carry things forward."

The first thing dispensed with by the defense was the shabby pretense that the defendants were being tried for "making an offensive gesture in such a

way as to cause a breach of the peace." As the red flag hung over the jury rail—draped there by the prosecutor as a reminder to the jury of what the bourgeoisie was actually trying these people for—the defense put it to a cop on the stand: "If there had been three guys in coonskin caps, a little drunk, celebrating the victory of Texas over Mexico, would you have found this offensive?" "Of course not," snapped the cop who naturally found nothing the least bit offensive about the U.S. plunder of Mexico and 150 years of oppression of the Chicano people. Hayden Fisher, one of the defendants, ripped into the political nature of what is and is not offensive to the capitalists: "In the Vietnam War I committed many acts that were considered offensive by millions of people around the world. But I've never been charged with making an offensive gesture or breaching the peace for any of this."

It was clear early on that the prosecution was not going to be able to present any evidence that the gesture so offensive to them had actually caused a breach of the peace. They produced no offended citizens as witnesses, no evidence of an alleged "angry mob" infuriated at the sight of the red flag. They presented only the perjured testimony of the police. But just how seriously the bourgeoisie views the "crime" committed by the defendants was rather openly revealed in the fact that no less than three of these cops testified that "They should stand trial for treason!" And when these swine weren't attacking the revolutionaries on the stand, they were snorting through the aisles blatantly gloating over Damian Garcia's death, threatening people with little remarks like "I wonder who's going to be next?" and motioning across their throats.

These, however, were threats born of desperation as skillful questioning by the defense attorney inexorably dragged the blood-soaked claws of those responsible for Damian's murder out into the courtroom for examination as the faces of cops, judge and prosecutor went white with the look of thieves caught red-handed. Under threat of being found in contempt of court James Callahan, another of the defendants, testified that during the arrest one pig, Sgt. Baker, had told them: "By doing what you did you have lowered yourself to the level of an Iranian, the lowest form of human life. We are going to go to your homes, find your addresses and kill every one of you." And as the judge banged his gavel like a man possessed, defendant Gail Bayer also testified that "Damian Garcia was told at the L.A. police station, 'You are the big hero who put the red flag on the Alamo. How the hell did you make it out of Texas alive? Maybe it's not too late.' Two weeks later Damian was murdered in East L.A."

The defense also made it crystal clear to all who were listening just why Damian Garcia had been murdered for raising the red flag. Defense: "Why did you put the red flag on the Alamo? What did this mean?" Defendant: "It is the flag of revolution. It's red because it stands for the blood of the oppressed people, the slaves who have shed their blood to be free. It is also red for the blood of the oppressor, for the blood he has been forced to shed." When the judge yelled that the defense attorney was being too partial to his clients, one of whom was obviously not there in person, he retorted that of course he was partial, declaring he was proud of them and what they did. Exasperated the prosecutor asked Gail Bayer, "Are you proud of what you did?" she broke out in a broad smile and said, "Just like Damian was proud, I am proud!" And when the cops referred to the red flag as a "rag", Bayer calmly replied, "No that's the flag of revolution internationally" and point-

ing to the Texas and American flags in the front of the courtroom she exclaimed, "Now those, those are rags."


However much they tried to avoid it, the reason Damian Garcia and the other defendants had picked the Alamo on which to raise the red flag was unfolding right in the middle of the capitalists' own turf. In the words of James Callahan from the stand: "Jim Bowie, Davy Crockett, Colonel William Travis and the rest of them were slave-traders, murderers, rapists and thieves." The judge went into convulsions when Gail Bayer testified to what was behind the battle for the Texas Republic and said, "They were fighting to expand their slave empire, to put Black people on plantations with the whip of the slavemaster on their back." From that point on, Judge Samples, who is Black, slammed his gavel to the bench in a knee-jerk reaction every time the word "whip" was mentioned. Bayer turned, looking Samples right in the eye and pointedly explained that one of the people who had died defending the Alamo was a man listed only as "John, a Negro, William Travis' houseboy."

All this took place in the face of heavy intimidation by the pigs. One bailiff crouched inches in back of the defendants' table waiting like a dog on a leash to leap out and grab anyone who might be cited for contempt. Gail Bayer testified that the cops had threatened to throw them off the roof of the Alamo "just like Joe Torres, only there won't be any water." Asked by the defense if this was true, one officer Buskie admitted it was. When the lawyer asked him to explain how the defendants had been trussed up to be lowered from the Alamo walls, this oinker got up and moved toward him with a menacing look on his face and threatened, "You want me to show you?" Meanwhile the prosecution tried its best to use the trial to conduct a witchhunt on the RCP. Two defendants were grilled repeatedly; "Who ordered you to go on the Alamo on March 20? Where do you get your money? Who was at the meetings when you plotted this takeover?"

Desperate to counter the fact that this kangaroo trial has only backfired on them the authorities lashed out to smother the shockwaves spreading from the very center of their court-

room. After 30 residents at the Alazan Apache Courts housing project (where the red flag flew for three days during the trial) signed the Statement of Outrage at the Murder of Damian Garcia and were listed in the ad published in major newspapers, suddenly a little news item headlined DUPED BY COMMUNISTS appeared in the *San Antonio Light*. In it project manager Holberto Alvarado claimed that residents who signed the document "were unaware it was to be listed as a newspaper ad and interpreted as support for the RCP" because he didn't know about it. Meanwhile this flunkey went around to these "duped" residents, threatening them with eviction if they bought the *Revolutionary Worker* and organized some snitches and backward elements to try and drive a wedge between these residents and the revolutionaries. This has sparked a conflagration of struggle and debate, with a number of people coming forward to denounce this fool. When eight cop cars screeched up at a busy intersection in the West End barrio, turning up their radios to drown out people selling the *RW*, they were forced to back off when some people came out of restaurants and houses at the call of the revolutionaries to stand up to this intimidation. And even at the scene of their very trial the pigs have been unable to squelch the support of the masses. Throughout the trial when the defendants and supporters have left the courthouse, they have been greeted by cheering inmates incarcerated in the county jail across the street, giving fists of solidarity and waving a red shirt through the prison bars!

It is little wonder that police surrounded the jury box when the verdict in this railroad was announced. Supporters in the courtroom stood up as one and filed out defiantly, giving the fist. The appeal is scheduled for a month from now, and the city fathers of this formerly sleepy little Alamo town know damn well that things will never be the same. The warning signs are all around them. When one older man stepped forward to support the defendants on a picket line, a reporter cynically asked him, "Who paid you to pick up the red flag?" "I've paid," the brother shot back angrily, "With 50 years of slavery!"



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The Revolutionary Alliance

Continued from page 7

ing class, there won't be revolution in the USA. Now some people spontaneously, when they hear this, take a look around at the working class today and say, "Well if that's the case we might as well give up. These people are backward." Well, it's true—the working class in the imperialist U.S. today is generally backward, heavily under the influence of the imperialists' ideology, and this has been true for the last several decades, given the objective conditions in the U.S. as a result of U.S. imperialism's worldwide domination. So what does this mean? It doesn't mean "give up"—nor does it mean looking around for some other class to lead the revolution. And finally it does not mean adopting the position made so infamous by Progressive Labor Party in the 1960s, waving the banner of so-called "working class leadership" and using the general level of backwardness in the working class as a kind of club to try to beat back the generally non-proletarian struggles which were more politically advanced at the time. No, building working class leadership under these conditions means having a grasp on dialectics. It means clearly understanding the fact that the working class is not one undifferentiated mass, a monolithic bloc. It is made up of advanced, intermediate and backward elements (and this is why the draft Programme generally uses the term "class conscious proletariat" instead of simply "proletariat"). It is made up of various forces—oppressed nationalities, veterans, youth—many with deep-going political experience. Grasping dialectics means turning these "divisions" into strengths for the proletarian revolutionary movement as a whole. Building proletarian leadership also means grasping dialectics (and materialism) in this regard: that the working class is going to have to go through some very heavy political changes—and the basis is there for this to happen because of the deteriorating situation of U.S. imperialism, the working class's objective position as wage slaves. The question of building the revolutionary alliance between the working class movement and the struggles of the oppressed nationalities isn't divorced from the movement of the working class itself—because the oppressed nationalities in this country are themselves overwhelmingly workers.

The objective basis for revolutionary unity in the revolutionary alliance exists; but this unity has not yet been achieved on a broad scale. Why not? Again, some tend to look at this and conclude that because it has not yet been achieved, it can never be achieved. The apparent basis for revolutionary unity is held to be an illusion, or mainly an illusion; the current divisions and backwardness are held up as eternal laws. This is a big mistake. It ignores the specific objective conditions which gave rise to the situation, and it ignores that these objective conditions have been changing and are changing at an accelerated pace, and that in the very near future these conditions will change drastically and qualitatively. One form of this big mistake is to see racism and national divisions as some kind of absolute. In fact, as the draft Programme stresses, this chauvinism is not some sort of "eternal idea", but is closely linked to the overall conditions—economic and political—of the working class. "Historical and continuing national oppression and sharp conditions of inequality, along with the constant ideological barrage of white chauvinism, has led to real national divisions in the working class. This has been especially marked during the period when the U.S. working class has been politically backward overall, but this question—including not only actual discrimination but the corresponding ideas, which assume a relatively independent life in the form of racism—has its own particularities."

To me this section is pointing out something very important—that racism is not some "special, incurable disease," but occurs in the context of a period of general political backwardness in the proletariat in the U.S. around many questions, here and internationally—backwardness whose material basis

is being eroded. Failure to grasp this leads to static thinking, or even hopelessness. Grasping it opens many new possibilities for advance. Comrade Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, hits this general point hard in a recent talk reprinted in the *RW*:

"What people are missing in this, what they fail to do, of course, is first of all and most fundamentally, they fail to apply materialist dialectics: They look at the situation at any given point in terms of what it is on the surface or in terms of what it has been, and they don't see that things can undergo rapid and dramatic changes, sudden upheavals with millions of people suddenly being thrown into a situation far different from the one they are accustomed to in the so-called normal and ordinary times in this system—especially the so-called normal but ordinary times of this system in the last 30 or 40 years stemming from its position in the world, its top dog position among the various imperialist bandits..."

The present political backwardness of the working class as a whole—and for that matter, a relative backwardness of the masses as a whole, including the masses of the oppressed nationalities—is the result of specific historical conditions, temporary conditions which are fast eroding and are about to blow up in the face of the imperialists. The fact of the 1960s and early 70s saw a tremendous high tide of struggle among the oppressed nationalities and students, while the working class as a whole remained relatively quiet, is analyzed by Comrade Avakian in relationship to these present and future developments, and some very enlightening points are made:

"Of course, if you look at things metaphysically—statically without any internal contradiction and with everything absolutely isolated from everything else—then you won't and can't recognize this revolutionary potential..."

"... When you think about it, it's inconceivable that there could be deeper crisis and even world war and only some minor adjustments in people's lives. It's not going to happen this time like it did in Vietnam. Then, even with all the upheaval that this country, even in the military, there were many in the working class whose heads were so damn hard and so pragmatic that they look at the fact that their wages went up in the 1960s and that overruled everything else that was happening in the world. So even when their own kids came back and told them, 'Listen, Vietnam is not a glorious cause for American democracy and freedom, it's a goddamn bloody enterprise of plunder, and murder and pillage,' a lot of them didn't even want to listen. But more to the point, in a certain sense they did not have to listen—exactly because their conditions were not drastically changed for the worse, and despite the upheaval of that time, the whole society was not in thoroughgoing crisis, the ruling class did not have everything on the line and was not stretched to the limit as it will be in the upcoming world war..." This would apply as well to the majority of white workers' views toward the movements of the oppressed nationalities.

In fact, to look at the '60s and to say that this proves the working class can never move and can never lead the revolution is to miss the whole point. For one thing, the fact that the working class, in that situation, did not move into motion—and in fact move into a position of leadership in the struggle—was the fundamental reason why that movement finally ebbed and died instead of actually developing into a far deeper, social and political crisis for the imperialists. And there were powerful objective reasons why it was not possible for this to happen at that time. Secondly, and this also hits at the point of analyzing things narrowly and in isolation from the historical development as a whole, Chairman Avakian points out that:

"... There is a reason why the proletariat—on the whole, leaving aside the class-conscious minority—is not the most radical segment in society or the

most politically active at this point. In fact, it's rarely the case that the industrial proletariat is the first section of society to act. And that's basically for 2 reasons: One, its daily conditions of life make it more difficult for it to enter the political arena on a regular, daily basis; but second and more fundamentally, when it comes to the situation where the industrial proletariat is already politically active in its masses and ideologically in a mood to act in a revolutionary way, that means you've got a crisis that is throwing everything up for grabs... When the industrial proletariat finds its conditions one of extreme hardship and desperate conditions that means the crisis has reached a very basic heart of the whole society. Therefore, for those reasons, we shouldn't expect the industrial proletariat, in its millions, is going to act from the beginning as a vanguard of the revolution."

But the conclusion that Chairman Avakian points out must be drawn from this is not that the oppressed nationalities or anyone else should sit around and wait for the industrial proletariat in its millions to finally get up off its ass. Instead, "it is crucial to bring forward the class-conscious proletariat as the vanguard force right now..."

"I think a lot of what the advanced section of the proletariat is now are people who for reasons other than simply being members of the proletariat are somewhat more politically advanced. People who went through the experience of the '60s in one way or the other; people from the oppressed nationalities; people who were veterans of the Vietnam war; women who don't accept being in their place, some immigrants, especially from those countries where there's a relatively strong anti-imperialist struggle, and so on. And a crucial question for the Party is how to give all this a class-conscious expression and help spread it to broader sections of the working class as well as exerting an influence on other forces in society, broader sections of the people. I'm not saying that we should not make that an absolute and go around looking for different strata within the working class and making them into separate compartments. Just the opposite—we have to look for those ways that different streams of social and political expression and movement are an influence within the working class that can be a big lever to move a class conscious section forward and to influence much broader masses..."

This approach is quite the opposite of the SWP-style coalition of interest groups approach. Such an approach is at bottom reformist, caters to petty bourgeois nationalist currents, among others, and ultimately is unable to unite broad social forces in revolutionary struggle against the imperialists. The draft Programme, too, stress giving all this class-conscious expression and building the unity of the proletariat of all nationalities as the basic unity. It is not a question, as this draft makes clear, of each "fighting for his own." Instead the unity of the working class, and its overall leadership in a united front, will be mainly forged through the all-around education and all-around activity of the class conscious section of the proletariat, which is composed of workers of every nationality.

On combatting national oppression, in particular, the draft Programme states, "The class-conscious proletariat must do this by working at it from 2 sides: It must unite with the struggles of the oppressed nationalities, fight for the line and outlook of the revolutionary proletariat and bring forward the most resolute of the fighters in these struggles, training them in this line and outlook—developing them into revolutionary fighters for all. On the other hand, there is the even more fundamental task in bringing forward the class conscious proletariat of all nationalities to the front ranks of the fight against all oppression, including especially the fight against national oppression. All this is a decisive part of building the unity of the working class together with its allies."

This process, however, will not proceed evenly or in a straight line. The Pro-

gramme emphasizes that the united front strategy "... must be applied in a living way in accordance with the development of the objective situation and the class struggle in order to actually make revolution... as more and more people do awaken to political life and are propelled into struggle, not only will there be different class forces involved but among the working class itself, as well as among the present and potential allies, there will be advanced, intermediate and backward. Opposing class outlooks will contend within mass struggles, organizations, and even individuals. Through all this the role of the class conscious proletariat and the leadership of the Party together with the work of the Party itself will be of crucial importance."

It is, in fact, the revolutionary line of the Party—and the strategic goal of the proletarian-led united front itself, to unite "against the common enemy—the imperialist system and bourgeois dictatorship" that make possible what is in fact essential, seeking and developing principled unity in the struggle with other political and social forces whose class base and program differs from that of the proletariat. It is also certainly key to winning revolutionary fighters from all strata to the full programme and outlook of the proletariat and the RCP. The basis for forging this unity among various social and class forces both at present and as the imperialist crisis continues to intensify, cannot be clearly understood unless it is studied in relationship to this crisis—and specifically in relationship to the stand of all forces on the coming imperialist world war.

IV. Revolutionary defeatism, the revolutionary alliance and the right of self-determination.

It is becoming increasingly clear that it is impossible to discuss the strategy and direction of the revolutionary struggle in the U.S. apart from the developments in the world situation. This was true in the '60s and will be so in a qualitatively greater way in the '80s. In particular, the ripening of the international imperialist economic crisis and the consequent preparations of the two imperialist superpowers for a new world war are already having a powerful impact on the domestic political development in the U.S. This is finding sharp expression in the movements of the oppressed nationalities as well as throughout society. Every party and political force has had to address itself, or is rapidly being forced to address itself, to these developments. But for the revolutionary forces of the U.S. the implications of the crisis and the coming war for the prospects of revolution assume tremendous importance. The stand that is taken on these life and death questions—and whether or not the tremendous potential opportunities for the working class and the oppressed peoples are grasped and seized—will have historic and far-reaching consequences.

Basically, things boil down to one of two choices in this country: stand with "our own" imperialist slavemasters in their vicious, predatory and imperialist conflict with their equally predatory imperialist rival the Soviet Union—or openly call and work for the defeat of "our own" U.S. imperialists in the war as our part, our internationalist duty in alliance with the workers and oppressed peoples of the world, and in order to hasten the opportunity for overthrowing imperialism altogether. The standpoint of revolutionary defeatism is the only position which corresponds to the interests of the masses of people in this country and the people of the world in their struggle for emancipation and liberation.

The implications of this for the revolutionary alliance between the movement of the proletariat as a whole and the struggle of the oppressed nationalities is striking. With the strategic goal of the united front in mind, and applying the principle of uniting to weaken our common enemy, the imperialists and the bourgeois dictatorship, it becomes clear that the stand taken on this question will not only be a key dividing line, it also shows the objective basis for the class conscious proletariat while upholding its independent interests, to establish fighting unity against the enemy with other organizations and

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"RCP DAY" in S.F. Court

"2:00 is RCP time," rasped San Francisco Judge Olcomendy, referring to the fact that on Thursday, June 19 at 2:00, 67 defendants, members and supporters of the RCP, were scheduled to appear in the San Francisco Hall of Justice at one time. The entire roster for courtroom No. 10 was a list of these defendants who were all arrested while building for May 1st, 1980. Nine different cases, charges ranging from "erecting a barricade," a traffic code violation, and "putting a banner on a lamp post" to felony battery on a police officer and rescuing prisoners, were combined by the state into one court appearance. Where in some cities, May Day defendants have been denied combining their cases because it would expose the arrests as political arrests in the first place, here the state tried to pull a switcheroo.

During the previous weeks the DA had repeated over and over again the litany of "just leave politics out of these cases, you violated some codes and you're being prosecuted, that's that." Meanwhile the DA dropped a number of cases involving masses who stepped forward in the San Francisco Mission District (where the police viciously attempted to stop the word of revolutionary May Day from getting out), trying to separate the masses from the "hard core" revolutionaries. Now the bourgeoisie wanted a circus, a "line-up" of revolutionaries surrounded by police to try to intimidate and break people, to demoralize the revolutionary-minded masses and make sure that their reactionary social base caught the evening news with the message—"See, we've got these revolutionaries under control." But their courtroom tactics only further exposed that the reason these people were arrested was that they were building for May 1st, and further demonstrated that the ruling class is compelled to try to wipe out the impact of May 1st and the influence of the Party among the broad masses.

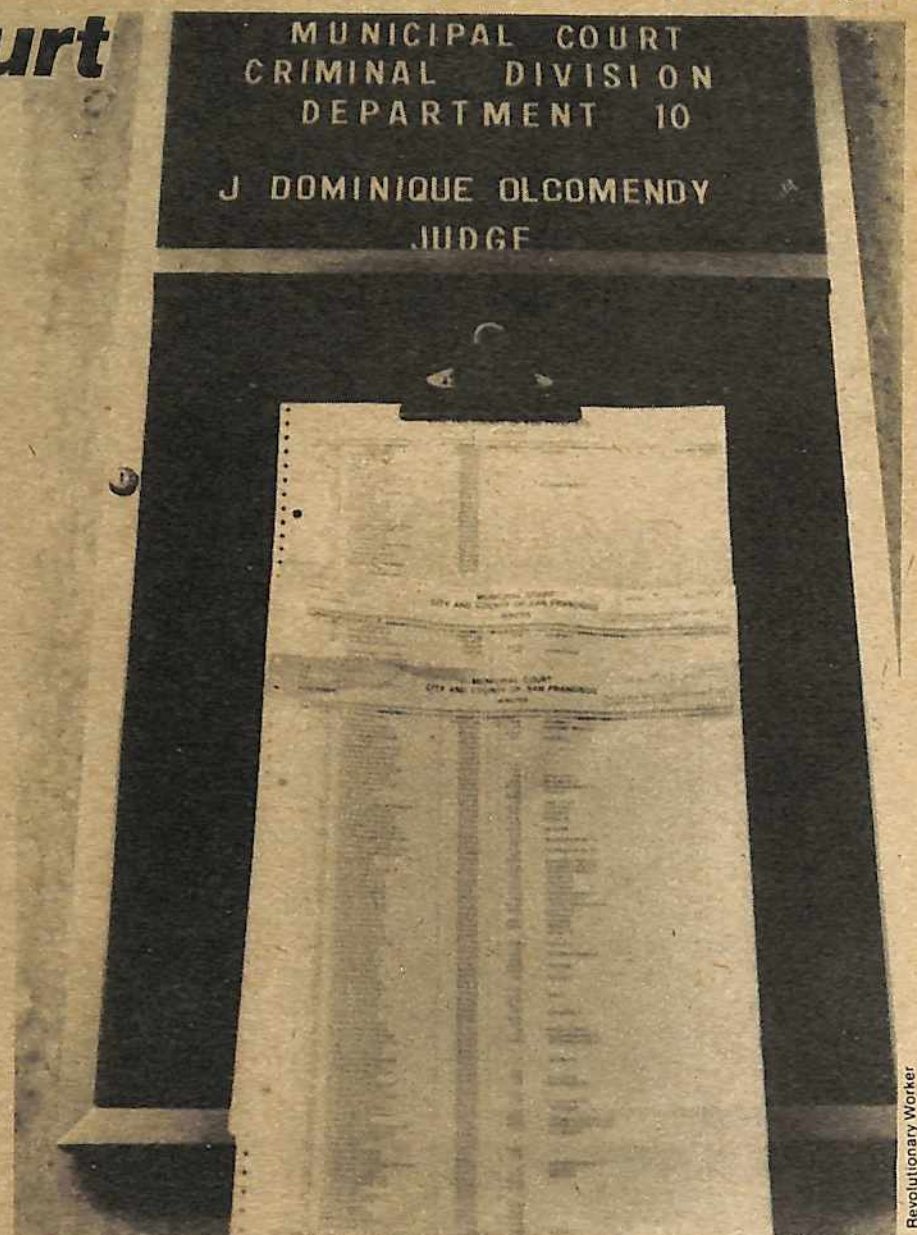
Police photographers clicked their cameras furiously as dozens of defendants and supporters marched up to the picket line and press conference on the steps of the courthouse. Two youths

visiting from an island off the coast of Newfoundland were so outraged that they wrote up a statement of solidarity on the spot and delivered it in French. As the people moved to enter the courthouse, the police threatened, "You can't take those flags and signs in here. Take off the armbands or you don't go in." *RW*'s went up in front of people's faces as cops with cameras tottered on chairs trying to get everyone as they went in. But what people saw on the 11:00 news was revolutionaries smiling as they passed through metal detectors pulling out red flags and putting their armbands back on.

Upstairs, sheriffs blocked the courtroom door so no one could enter until their name was called. As the defendants started going in, the Internationale reverberated in the courthouse. The judge blustered, "If you don't stop singing before I count to 10, you'll all be arrested." The Internationale came to a victorious end on "7." "8, 9, 10," intoned the judge. One defense lawyer turned to another and said, "Aren't you glad you're not in Russia?" "Yeah," the other lawyer responded, "in Russia you might've only gotten a count of '8!'" The courtroom looked like an armed camp—two solid rows of red squad pigs, at least a dozen sheriffs in the courtroom and 30 tac squad lined up outside in riot gear.

When one defendant told the judge in no uncertain terms that no one was going to crawl, the police dragged him past the bench into a holding tank. Another revolutionary who was representing himself was carried out of the courtroom while making legal objections to the proceedings. A member of the May Day brigade was jumped outside the courtroom, dragged into court and beaten in front of the judge, all the while waving the red flag in the judge's face.

The fact that the point of all this was to intimidate people was not lost on members of the press, who revealed their reactionary and petty mentality. When a Black defendant pleaded "no contest" to a traffic violation of parking in a bus zone, a reporter for the *San Francisco Chronicle* crowed, "Well, he's admitting it, he's giving in." This



Court roster—all May Day defendants.

grasping at straws by the reporter, obviously demoralized by the way that the defendants were standing up in court, only further revealed that their circus had indeed failed. The response from the supporters, defendants and lawyers was the opposite of what they had hoped for.

During the hearing both public defenders and court-appointed lawyers were shocked and made strong statements against the political harassment and police presence, and attorneys not involved in any of the cases came up wanting to defend some of the revolu-

tionaries. At least five of the nine cases are currently being forced onto the same legal schedule, where the authorities apparently hope to continue their attacks. That they have been forced to make this a political trial and to resort to open counterrevolutionary violence in their courtroom in these cases is a fine self-exposure. They have torn the mask off their "bourgeois legality" and the class-conscious forces will be only too glad to further expose the systemic disease which accounts for their ugly bourgeois face. □



The Red Squad.



First of two TAC squads called into the court.

Walla Walla

Continued from page 4

guards tried to serve food the tear gas had settled on and were run off the deck. No one was fed again.

"The entire prison remained on lockdown status throughout the day while officials discussed the gravity of the uprising..."

For over a week following these ac-

tions prisoners gathered every day outside the Segregation Unit to protest the situation. Meanwhile the situation inside Segregation intensified into open warfare. The prison administration had retaliated against Segregation prisoners by keeping them locked up in their cells, preventing them from getting showers or calling anyone on the outside and by arbitrarily refusing to feed prisoners. The prisoners have only become more determined as a result, striking back by pelting guards with anything available. Guards have been threatening prisoners in Segregation, telling them they'll send the riot squad into Segregation to beat the prisoners into submission if the protest continues.

Meanwhile the press has imposed a virtual blackout around this latest up-

surge of struggle, trying to keep the general public attention's focused on the amorphous promises of reform coming out of the federal courthouse. But it is becoming increasingly difficult to cover up the actual situation inside the prison and even the bourgeois press is beginning to speculate that there could be a long, hot summer at Walla Walla.

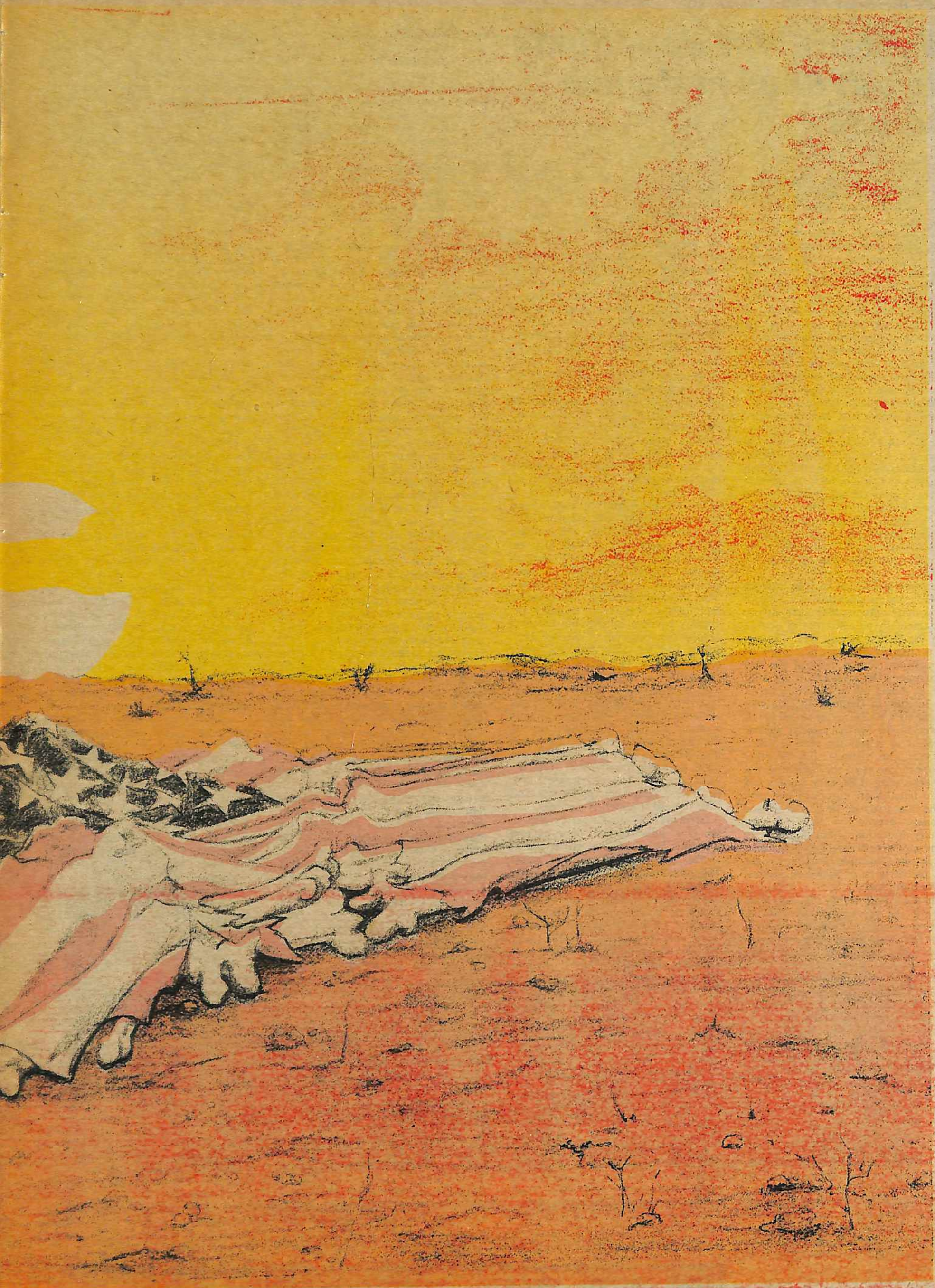
The ruling class has repeatedly singled out the prisoners in the Segregation Unit for particular attack, because this is where they have locked up many leaders of the struggle. But their attempts in the past to stifle resistance by sending some of the most active prisoners out of state have failed, as the struggle continues to produce new leaders. Prisoners in Segregation have

remained defiant, despite the most vicious repression. Nor is the defiance limited to the immediate battle with the prison administration. Many prisoners, impelled by the fierce struggle inside the prison and the sharpening situation in the world overall today have taken up the study of revolutionary theory and become politically involved. In the midst of this recent struggle, for example, 26 prisoners in Walla Walla Segregation Unit signed the Statement of Outrage at the Murder of Damian Garcia, circulating the statement under very difficult conditions. All the investigations and hearings and terror tactics at the bourgeoisie's disposal will not be able to stop this process. In fact, they will only impel more toward becoming revolutionaries.



Revolutionary Worker

"Flag Bones"



"Huesos de Bandera"

Western War Boat Finds Rough Seas in Venice Canals

Continued from page 12

countries. For the U.S. bloc, no less than for the Soviet bloc, this framework has to be completely recast.

Nevertheless, there is disagreement over the scope of these preparations and perhaps over what stage things are at in the global rivalry; there is struggle over how the economic burden of these preparations will be distributed; and, very importantly, each imperialist within the bloc has its own interest in seeing this war shape up in a certain way, that is, where and when it breaks out and how it unfolds. The imperialists have no fixed loyalty to each other and will strive to maximize their options. By their very nature they are continually at each other's throats, each country each financial empire and each imperialist scrambling to get the best of the other. This accounts for moves by the Europeans both to strengthen their independent military capabilities and freedom of action and to talk with the Soviets. However, given the alignment of power in the world at this time, the European and Japanese imperialists can only pursue their interests in the context of the U.S. alliance and the competition will remain subordinate to superpower rivalry.

In other words, the dispute between the U.S. and its allies does not concern the viability of their alliance nor does it fundamentally pit a strategy of detente with the Soviets against war. There is not a radically different perception of the collision course between the two blocs among the members of the U.S. bloc. It should not be forgotten that it was Schmidt of Germany in 1978 who was the first NATO leader to call for an answer to the Soviet regional nuclear threat. And it was the same Schmidt this year who basically sold the other European leaders on the stationing of a new generation of Pershing missiles and cruise missiles on European territory. In the final analysis, the Europeans and Japanese depend on the U.S. for military protection; although American economic strength is declining, no other power can substitute for it within the U.S. bloc in terms of its overall political and military role.

The dissension within the U.S. bloc, then, is the product of two factors. First, the economic instability wracking it has led to intensified competition and driven some members of the bloc to go their own way. This is something which is perhaps most evident in French and Japanese dealings with the Arab countries. They have entered into investment and trade agreements and more directly challenged U.S. economic interests. Being much more dependent on OPEC countries for oil, they have also pushed for broader PLO participation in the Middle-East talks and carved out an independent political position on these and other questions. The Europeans have also formed the European Monetary System a regional currency bloc based on the German Mark, to protect their currencies from the violent fluctuations of the dollar which has been an instrument of U.S. hegemony. But this is not a monolithic bloc either. The Common Market and Japan are feuding over Japanese exports into the European market and the British and French have had flaps over agricultural policies.

Since the European and Japanese economies are much more export-oriented than that of the U.S., they have also increased their trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, especially since the 1974-75 downturn. West Germany is now the leading Western trade partner of every East European country. Of the 28 major contracts signed during the last 5 years between the Soviet Union and the U.S. bloc, 26 have gone to Europe and Japan. The Soviets, for their part, have tried to draw these countries into a web of financial and trade deals hoping this will create a stake in a stable relation-

ship, as well as supplying them with much needed hardware for their war machine. The Soviet bloc is now \$68 billion in debt to the West. Moreover, the Soviets have tried to increase Western dependency on them for vital raw materials. West Germany, for instance, receives 14% of its natural gas from the Soviet Union and the Soviets are also its leading supplier of enriched uranium.

But all of these developments are double-edged. The European dealings with the PLO strengthen the pro-Western elements within it; the European Monetary System has served to take some of the pressure off the dollar, even as the Europeans have sought to strengthen their competitive hand; the trade ties between the two blocs have been used by the U.S. to increase its leverage over Soviet client states. For example Poland in 1979 agreed to submit its national budget to Western bankers for review in exchange for additional loans.

The second source of friction, and closely related, involves European relations with the Soviets and military policy in general. In 1977 the U.S. exacted a pledge from its allies to increase defense spending by 3% a year. Throughout the decade of the 1970s the allies have been criticized for not doing their part in helping to shoulder the military burden. Initially this revolved around the financing of overseas U.S. forces and activities, but it is more directly linked with increased military expenditure. The problem is that this kind of spending is difficult to undertake with tight money policies and austerity budgets which are already creating political difficulties. Among the Europeans themselves there has been bickering over how much each is really spending for defense. Over the years the U.S. has encouraged European wide armaments production and tried to keep it under its umbrella.

Germany and Japan are pivotal to the U.S. alliance; their location and economic muscle place them very much at the center of U.S. strategic plans. The industrial might of these countries becomes a great advantage to the U.S. imperialists insofar as it can be given over to military production. The Japanese have stepped up their spending and engaged in more joint maneuvers with the U.S. But the U.S. is pushing harder; in fact, former Undersecretary of State George Ball at a March meeting of the Tri-Lateral Commission "shocked the Japanese delegates" by presenting a proposal that the Japanese build two aircraft carriers for the U.S. The U.S. has used Japanese dependence on Middle-Eastern oil as a club to knock it into line. German troops are the mainstay of NATO's conventional forces and Germany plays an important role in the International Monetary Fund and in strengthening the alliance's Turkish and Greek flanks. But Germany is facing potential economic trouble; its current accounts balance is now in deficit, the export markets on which it has so greatly depended are drying up and internal difficulties are cropping up in the auto and construction industries.

The specificity of the situation facing

the Europeans (and Japan to a somewhat lesser extent) is that they live next door, so to speak, to the Soviets. This creates a dual problem; they need protection from the Soviets for whom they are no match, but they don't want to become sacrificial lambs. Because the U.S. in the case of Europe, in particular, uses this same proximity as a pressure point to apply to the Soviets in the global chess game played by the two superpowers. For example, the U.S. may respond to Soviet moves in Afghanistan by putting more heat on the Soviets in Europe. And it works the other way as well.

There is also the concern among the Europeans that the U.S. imperialists will indiscriminately use their weapons, that U.S. control over these weapons will invite a Soviet nuclear counter-attack whose main blow they will have to absorb. For example, the U.S. has recently deployed a new generation of Pershing missiles and the all new Cruise missiles in Europe and the U.S. has complete control over these weapons systems. Strictly speaking these are "tactical" nuclear weapons designed for use in Europe. But actually these "tactical" missiles are aimed at Soviet strategic missiles targeted for the U.S., thus giving the U.S. a decided advantage while putting Europe more on the hot seat. This has been a factor in European calls for more consultation and shared responsibility over these weapons systems. The French, for their part, have developed an independent military force both to pursue their own interests and increase their leverage within the bloc by being outside the NATO command structure.

It is European vulnerability that requires them to maintain certain lines of communication with the Soviets. European and Japanese discussions with the Soviets are dictated by their objective position, not by illusions about the Soviets, still less by any responsiveness to the masses' wishes for peace. All these European imperialist powers have colonies and have the same vicious appetite for slaughter and plunder as the U.S. and the USSR, it's just that they are smaller fish and are less able to fulfill their vile dreams. The French made this perfectly clear when they airlifted Moroccan troops to Zaire to repel Soviet-backed mercenaries. And the French have also just announced that they have just added the neutron bomb to their own nuclear arsenal. In the '60's and early '70s some European leaders may have thought they could be brokers between the superpowers and ideally they would like to see the U.S. and Soviets fight it out in Asia, Africa, Moscow and New York—anywhere but Paris or Bonn, but this is not likely and they will be in this war from the beginning. But even when war breaks out the Soviet connection will be pursued; maybe to deflect a Soviet thrust away from France when Germany is invaded, maybe to sue for a separate peace. The possibilities are many and difficult to predict, but it is not predetermined how the war will turn out, who will win it, what new alliances will form and who will be the most weakened among the winners and the losers. The U.S. imperialists, though perhaps not as immediately susceptible to an initial attack as the Europeans or Japan stand the most to lose. It is their global empire built on the basis of the outcome of World War 2, and which forms the material foundation of their bloc, which is on the line and which must be expanded. They would not allow a Germany or Japan to be overrun and if, through some turn of events the ruling

classes of these countries sought some deal with the Soviets, the U.S. would force them to fight, through a coup or other means. That such a turn of events could happen is by no means unlikely in the case of Japan in particular. Should China desert the U.S. bloc and go over to the Soviets, Japan would be under extreme pressure to seek accommodation with the USSR as well. Of course, there is another factor here which would change the whole situation dramatically and which the imperialists have a fundamental difficulty in taking into account—and that is the strong possibility of revolution breaking on any one or several of these fronts.

The point again is that the imperialist powers within the U.S. bloc are clearly positioning themselves in a way that will be most advantageous to their individual interests even as they unite more strongly against the Soviets. The imperialists are quite experienced at this sort of thing. The U.S. and Britain were vying with each other throughout the Second World War. The U.S. for its part pursued detente with the Soviet Union for a period when neither was strong enough to overwhelm the other and when it was absolutely necessary to throw the gauntlet down. The framework of peaceful contention is basically shattered and the discussions that take place are window dressing and probing operations. It is not the talks between the Europeans and the Soviets as such that have annoyed the U.S. imperialists, but the fact that they are not directly calling the shots.

The U.S. imperialists have stepped up their war preparations dramatically in the past year, especially in the wake of Afghanistan. Chairman Bob Avakian in his Talk on the International Situation earlier this year analyzed that World War 3 "is actually most likely to start when the U.S. bourgeoisie militarily, politically, economically, ideologically, etc. feels that they have it together and decide to go down against whatever the latest move by the Soviets is in opposition to whatever the U.S. moves are. In other words an Afghanistan may very well be the thing that'll actually start the war." The U.S. imperialists, then, are most likely to launch the war in response to some Soviet initiative.

This analysis has been strikingly confirmed in a number of articles appearing in *Foreign Affairs* and elsewhere along with major pronouncements by bourgeois military experts. Their reading of the situation is that the Soviets will enjoy their greatest military and political advantage over the next few years and will attempt to reap the rewards of this unless the U.S. stops them in their tracks, i.e., unleashes a pre-emptive attack. Henry Kissinger in an important speech in April explained that "we face a period of maximum danger in the next five years... It is within our power to close off the avenue of adventurism, but the time is growing short."

But where exactly to draw the line and how far down the line will be a question of struggle within the bloc. What theater the war breaks out in and how quickly it might spread to others is something the two superpowers and the lesser imperialists will try to influence and squabble over. On top of this, the rapidly disintegrating economic situation of the U.S. bloc and the political turmoil within it will continue. This is a major contradiction. If the Venice Summit showed anything, it was that the only way for the U.S. to overcome the divisions within its bloc is precisely by going to war. □

BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, USA!

If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs.

—“Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression”
Mao Tsetung

The Amateurishness of the Economists and an Organization of Revolutionaries

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frequently promote really capable agitators, etc., from its ranks. That is why they immediately try to place every capable workingman in such conditions as will enable him to develop and apply his abilities to the utmost; he is made a professional agitator, he is encouraged to widen the field of his activity, to spread it from one factory to the whole of the industry, from one locality to the whole country. He acquires experience and dexterity in his profession, he broadens his outlook and increases his knowledge, he observes at close quarters the prominent political leaders from other localities and of other parties, he strives to rise to their level and combine within himself the knowledge of working-class environment and freshness of socialist convictions with professional skill, without which the proletariat cannot wage a stubborn struggle against its excellently trained enemies. In this way and in this way alone does the mass of workers produce men like Bebel and Auer. But what in a politically free country takes place very largely automatically must in Russia be done deliberately and systematically by our organizations. A worker-agitator who is at all talented and "promising" must not be left to work eleven hours a day in a factory. We must arrange that he be maintained by the Party, that he may go underground in good time, that he change the place of his activity, otherwise he

will not enlarge his experience, he will not widen his outlook, and will not be able to hold out for at least a few years in the fight against the gendarmes. As the spontaneous rise of the working-class masses becomes wider and deeper, they promote from their ranks not only an increasing number of talented agitators, but also talented organizers, propagandists and "practical workers" in the best sense of the term (of whom there are so few among our intelligentsia who, for the most part, in the Russian manner, are somewhat careless and sluggish in their habits). When we have detachments of specially trained worker-revolutionaries who have gone through extensive preparation (and, of course, revolutionaries "of all arms"), no political police in the world will then be able to contend against them, for these detachments of men absolutely devoted to the revolution will themselves enjoy the absolute confidence of the widest masses of the workers. And we are directly to blame for doing too little to "stimulate" the workers to take this path, common to them and to the "intellectuals," of professional revolutionary training, and that we too frequently drag them back by our silly speeches about what "can be understood" by the masses of the workers, by the "average workers," etc.

In this, as in other respects, the narrow scope of our organizational work is without a doubt directly due

to the fact (although the overwhelming majority of the "Economists" and the novices in practical work do not appreciate it) that we restrict our theories and our political tasks to a narrow field. Worship of spontaneity seems to inspire a fear of taking even one step away from what "can be understood" by the masses, a fear of rising too high above mere subservience to the immediate and direct requirements of the masses. Have no fear, gentlemen! Remember that we stand so low on the plane of organization that the very idea that we could rise too high is absurd!

A "Conspiratorial" Organization and "Democracy"

...many misunderstand the polemics that Social-Democrats have always waged against the "conspiratorial" view of the political struggle. We have always protested, and will, of course, continue to protest against confining the political struggle to a conspiracy. But this does not, of course, mean that we deny the need for a strong revolutionary organization. And, for example, in the pamphlet mentioned in the preceding footnote, after the polemics against reducing the political struggle to a conspiracy, a description is given (as a Social-Democratic ideal) of an organization so strong as to be able to "resort to rebellion" and to every "other form of attack," in order to "deliver a smashing blow against absolutism. In form such a strong revolutionary organization in an autocratic country may also be described as a "conspiratorial" organization, because the French word "conspiration" is tantamount to the Russian word "zagovor" ("conspiracy"), and we must have the utmost secrecy for an organization of that kind. Secrecy is such a necessary condition for this kind of organization that all the other conditions (number and selection of members, functions, etc.) must be made to conform to it. It

would be extremely naive indeed, therefore, to fear the accusation that we Social-Democrats desire to create a conspiratorial organization. Such an accusation should be as flattering to every opponent of Economism as the accusation of being followers of Narodnaya Volya [an adventurist organization from an earlier period in Russia—RW].

The objection may be raised: such a powerful and strictly secret organization, which concentrates in its hands all the threads of secret activities, an organization which of necessity is centralized, may too easily rush into a premature attack, may thoughtlessly intensify the movement before the growth of political discontent, the intensity of the ferment and anger of the working class, etc., have made such an attack possible and necessary. To this we reply: speaking abstractly, it cannot be denied, of course, that a militant organization may thoughtlessly commence a battle, which may end in defeat, that might have been avoided under other circumstances. But we cannot confine ourselves to abstract reasoning on such a question, because every battle bears within itself the abstract possibility of defeat, and there is no other way of reducing this possibility than by organized preparation for battle. If, however, we proceed from the concrete conditions at present prevailing in Russia, we must come to the positive conclusion that a strong revolutionary organization is absolutely necessary precisely for the purpose of giving firmness to the movement, and of safeguarding it against the possibility of making premature attacks.

Only a centralized, militant organization that consistently carries out a Social-Democratic policy, that satisfies, so to speak, all revolutionary instincts and strivings, can safeguard the movement against making thoughtless attacks and prepare attacks that hold out the promise of success.

The Revolutionary Alliance

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forces representing the revolutionary nationalist trend among the oppressed nationalities—including forces who have important programmatic differences with the proletariat and its Party, but who also see the weakening and the overthrow of the imperialists as essential to the task of national liberation—even some who are not fighting for proletarian revolution as a whole and with whom the Party may have many sharp differences. Even while struggling for its own independent line and programme, the Party must also fight for this broader unity, where possible. As was stressed earlier and bears repeating, "the proletarian revolution in the U.S. will not be a simple affair... there will likely be a number of actual armies in the field and while there is only one overall fundamental revolutionary solution to the contradictions in society, this solution has many varied aspects, each or many of which will propel different social forces into motion."

At the present time, there are significant forces in the movements of the oppressed nationalities acting in support of liberation movements around the world which weaken the U.S. imperialists—with the Iranian revolution as one outstanding example of this—and conducting propaganda and activity against imperialist war preparations and taking, or moving towards taking, a position of all out opposition to imperialist world war and active struggle against it. The mass movement of the oppressed nationalities itself is showing unmistakable signs of a resurgence, and this is coming at a time that is extremely damaging for the U.S. imperialists. The Miami rebellion is especially significant in this light. At the very time when the ruling class was attempting to whip up the population in hysteria against the Iranian masses and their revolution—and at the very time that the draft is being reinstated and the country was moving towards "war footing" follow-

ing the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan—this massive rebellion dealt a hard blow to the whole charade of national unity in the myth that people of all nationalities, "despite this countries' problems" believe in and will fight and die for, the "American way." How fine indeed from the viewpoint of the international proletariat, is the impact of rebellions like Miami on the masses of Black youth currently in the U.S. armed forces—not to mention the millions more whom the imperialists intend to stuff into uniforms to serve as cannon-fodder for them in their fight for survival. And the rebellion's political effects were not confined to the masses of Black people or the oppressed nationalities generally either, the shockwaves resounded in the working class and throughout every corner of society.

It should be noted here also that the work of the Party and the class-conscious proletariat in immediately popularizing the lessons of the rebellion—including especially its internationalist significance—and mobilizing support for it among the workers and broadly—work and support which is reflected and summed up in the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker*, as well as in a number of emergency leaflets issued at the time and immediately following—serve as an important example of how the revolutionary alliance is being dealt with in practice and struggle.

This whole question of "weakening the enemy" and revolutionary defeatism in general as the dividing line and as a decisive basis for building revolutionary unity is illuminated considerably when you look at it in relationship to the question of the right of Black people to self-determination. It is interesting to note, for example, that while such social chauvinist forces such as the Communist Party-MI make loud noise about upholding the right of Black people to secede in the Black Belt area of the South, make this the center of their program around the national question and

push nationalism generally, their whole line is based on doing everything possible to buttress and strengthen the U.S. imperialists under the banner of "defense of the fatherland" against Soviet aggression. This makes it quite obvious that they will in the future as they do today surely oppose anything that weakens the enemy and this would certainly include a secessionist movement, as well as any powerful movement based on revolutionary struggle against the U.S. imperialists aimed at achieving it. In this context, the position of the RCP on this question outlined in the draft *Programme* is worthy of study, both because its clear revolutionary principles stand out so sharply, and also because its dialectical approach to the question make clear the method and basis upon which unity is maintained and differences resolved with its allies in the united front:

"The question of land is an important one in the history of a number of oppressed peoples in this country. While this question is not today the central question for most of them, it is one that is continuing to give rise to struggle and will certainly do so in the future, particularly in the context of civil war. The aim of the proletariat is not for secession and small separate states. Instead it will be important to strive for a country united under a single proletarian state. But for this unity to be real, not forced, and for the legitimate rights of various oppressed peoples to be honored, the proletarian state will also seek to establish various forms of autonomy in areas of sizeable historic concentrations of these peoples.

"For the Black people, who are historically oppressed as a nation in the Black Belt South, there continues to be the right of self-determination there, up to and including secession, but again the proletariat does not favor this under now foreseeable circumstances. Upon achieving power, or in the armed struggle to win it, if there are indeed significant forces based among Black people

raising this demand, the proletariat will have to take this into account, in the light of the overall situation and the principle of weakening the enemy and strengthening the proletarian revolutionary forces. Whether to support a particular move for a separate state among Black people or to oppose it will depend upon all this, but the proletarian state—and the proletarian forces nearing power—cannot rely on force against the people to resolve this question, but must rely on the masses, especially in this case the masses of Black people, and work to resolve the question non-antagonistically."

The programme of the proletariat on the national question, then, is based on taking all necessary measures to deal with the special forms of national oppression and its whole historical basis, at the same time as it struggles for the greatest possible unity with all the various forces in the united front in the struggle to safeguard and advance the overall interests of the revolution. And the draft *Programme* emphasizes that it is not at all the case that "the masses of minority nationalities will be only or mainly concerned with ending their own oppression. In fact, they are overwhelmingly workers, part of the single multinational working class and many will be in the front ranks of the overall struggle to revolutionize society." The proletariat must lead the struggle against national oppression in the course of the general overall revolutionary struggle against the common enemy: the imperialist ruling class. But this also means correctly uniting with various forces in the national movement who are part of the revolutionary struggle and resolving programmatic differences, non-antagonistically, in accordance with the overall goal in achieving and consolidating proletarian state power. It seems to me that examining the question of self-determination in the light of, and in relationship to, the line of the Party and other forces on the coming war and the question of revolutionary defeatism, serves to yield a higher understanding of how the unity achieved in the revolu-

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Shabby Lies

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When the word filtered into the prisoner of war camps in the South that the U.S. would not return all prisoners, revolts broke out in the prison compounds. A particularly bitter issue was the attempt by the U.S. to segregate the prisoners in the camps into 2 groups, those who would be sent back and those supposedly refusing repatriation. On May 7, 1952, the Central Committee of the Prisoners in POW Camp No. 1 requested a meeting with the camp commander Brigadier General Francis T. Dodd. When General Dodd entered the compound he was promptly taken prisoner and not released until several days later when General Dodd's replacement, General Charles Colson agreed to the prisoners' demands to the end to separating of prisoners and recognizing their right to maintain their own organization in the camp. But as usual the U.S. broke their agreement and attacked the camp on June 10 kill-

ing 31 prisoners.

While this was going on the U.S. Air Force announced a campaign to level every structure in North Korea, claiming that its bombing campaign was "humanitarian" because the targets were announced in advance. What was not announced was use of germ warfare during the first half of 1952 by the U.S. Plague, anthrax and cholera were used against targets in both North Korea and Manchuria (the part of China which borders Korea). An international scientific commission composed of biological scientists from Sweden, France, England, Italy, Brazil and the Soviet Union investigated the charges of germ warfare and issued a report in August of 1952 which contained a unanimous verdict: "The peoples of Korea and China have indeed been the objective of bacteriological weapons." In the course of the investigation a large number of U.S. officers shot down over Korea provided detailed testimony of

America Loses A Round

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erative foil for a fawning Howard Co-sell—didn't, for example, let out much of a whimper right after the Montreal Olympics as the fickle media slapped him in the face with front-page slanders about SUGAR RAY'S PATERNITY SUIT, when his wife-to-be Juanita was forced to go through this degrading procedure to meet the state's red-tape requirements to be eligible for welfare payments. Duran's attitude, on the other hand, may be ascertained from the image of him greeting an American reporter by irreverently blowing snot onto the carpet of his hotel.

As the fight approached, it was clear Duran was being set up as the villain by the majority of American sports mouthpieces. First, they denigrated his fighting talents, portraying him as an aging "mauler" when, in fact, Duran is a boxer of incredibly well-balanced skills—the best all-round pro fighter in the world, as his amazing record of 71-1 attests to. But the real motivation behind all this foolishness was soon revealed as the pre-fight commentaries began to reek with the stench of the lowest forms of American chauvinism. Listen to syndicated (and well known) L.A. Times columnist Jim Murray's comments, for example: "I always thought Roberto Duran, whatever it is, should never be allowed to fight anything that talked, ate with a fork or couldn't bite... Rumor had it that they found Duran in a tree, crouched on a limb with his ears pinned back, about to pounce on a passing deer... you shouldn't fight Roberto Duran, you should hunt him... For Roberto Duran a long speech was a snarl. Between fights he slept in a cave..."

It was also widely speculated in the press that Duran could have become a media star like Muhammad Ali if only he had learned to speak English. Why on earth, they wondered, would this unruly Panamanian outright refuse to learn the language of the oppressor?

No wonder, after the Stone Hands had performed their devastating work

(causing Leonard's wife to faint dead away in the 8th round), that many of these same sportscasters yelled that the fight had been "too close to call," and a number whined that Leonard "had been robbed." But as the accounts of the fight began to leak out, it was evident that if anyone had been robbed it was Duran, since his unanimous victory had been erroneously announced in the ring as a "split decision"! To cooler heads it was perfectly clear that Duran had been the aggressor throughout the fight and had emphatically dominated the majority of rounds even on the UPI and AP cards.

But what sticks in the craw of these America-firsters is that it would not be stretching it too far to say that Leonard's loss is a reflection of U.S. imperialism's decline, not only in its traditional domination of sports but in its traditional domination of the entire world. And what really kills them is that Duran not only took their invincible hero apart, but that he did so while thumbing his nose at the US of A in a way that reached into the hearts of the oppressed. In Montreal, supposedly Leonard's city, three of Duran's handlers unfurled a Quebec flag in recognition of the struggle of French Canadians against the Canadian government. The crowd positively went wild. And when Roberto was greeted by a *huit million people* upon his return to Panama, he took off the championship belt and instead of declaring, "I am the greatest," held it high and proclaimed loudly: "This belongs to the Panamanian people!" The joy that exploded in response was undoubtedly a reflection of the burning hatred of the people of Panama for U.S. imperialism and of the fact that, as far as the welterweight championship was concerned, the bully had indisputably taken a stiff one right on the chin.

We Don't Have A Country

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own game, you've got to get rid of his game. And you've got to get rid of his ideology. You can't make revolution by saying, let's overthrow this system and let everybody that's been on the bottom go for themselves. Or, let's make revolution but let's keep everything the same except to put some new faces in there. We can't say, let's keep some people discriminated against. Let's keep some people down. Let's keep the people divided. Or let's all of us enjoy everything in this country and to hell with everybody else in the world. We've suffered

too. Now let's enjoy everything and forget about them. If they're suffering under the rule of exploiters and oppressors, that's their problem. We made revolution. Let them do the same. We can't succeed in our revolution if that's the way we approach it, because it'll be corrupted, it'll be rotted from inside and more than that we'll be crushed by the combined strength of our internal and external enemies. Because while revolution proceeds country by country, it has to be advancing on a world scale. If we're not supporting and advancing revolution, if we say, that's o.k., we'll have the United States and the capitalists can have the rest of the world, that's not going to work.

It's not even going to work here, because they're not going to be satisfied with the rest of the world, they're going to do the same thing to us and they're going to try to grab this back too. And more than that we're trying to advance to a whole new stage of history, we're trying to wipe out and we are going to wipe out inevitably and with the force of history and with the force of the masses rising up and seizing history in their hands—we're going to wipe out these distinctions that now seem so commonplace, but which people have dreamed

bacteriological bombing missions.

During the late 1950s and '60s it was a standard feature of U.S. propaganda to mock the "fanaticism of the Red Chinese" for the mass campaigns in China to exterminate flies, rodents and sparrows. These campaigns, initiated during the Korean War, were in fact mass civil defense campaigns to destroy those animals which acted as hosts for bacteria employed in the U.S. germ warfare.

On June 23, 1952, the U.S. publicly announced the bombing of the hydroelectric plants on the Yalu River which supplied power to both China and the USSR. Throughout the war, the U.S. had tried to explain away its defeats by asserting that the "enemy" enjoyed a sanctuary in Manchuria which the U.S. forces were prohibited from bombing. Of course the U.S. conveniently failed to mention its own sanctuary, the airfields of Japan. In reality, of course, the U.S. did carry out bombing raids in Manchuria and at one point even attacked an airfield 100 kilometers inside the Soviet Union.

Undaunted by U.S. threats that they would not be exchanged, Korean and Chinese prisoners continued to display the highest level of proletarian discipline and morale. In December the U.S. ordered the prisoners at Pougando to stop conducting military drills inside the camp. When the prisoners refused, the camp was attacked and 85 prisoners killed.

People throughout the world opposed the U.S. intervention in Korea from the beginning. Demonstrations of support for the Korean people occurred worldwide. As a sign of the contradictions faced by the U.S. imperialists Eisenhower was forced to run for President in 1952 pledging to end the war in Korea, but still the U.S. continued to obstruct the truce negotiations by refusing to return the prisoners. In the spring of 1953 the Chinese launched another military offensive which recaptured Pork Chop and Old Baldy Hills. In the

Revolutionary Alliance

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tionary alliance is not and will not be either unity based on an absolute coincidence of views and programs on every question—in fact important differences will exist—but neither is this unity simply based on an opportunist, short-term "marriage of convenience," but on consistent revolutionary principles. Not only is this the only kind of unity worth striving for it is the only kind of unity that will stand the test of the struggle for revolution.

As Lenin pointed out, and as the draft *Programme* of our Party emphasizes, proletarian revolution is not a matter simply of one army lining up with the Red flag and another army lining up under the white flag, two pure armies with nothing but a no man's land in between. There will, in fact, be many armies in the field on both sides. The revolutionary alliance and the united front the proletariat must build under its leadership has as its strategic goal the seizure of power and the establishment of proletarian rule. Proceeding from this, it is possible and necessary to unite with other political forces—to a greater or to a lesser degree, in a changing and turbulent situation—up to and beyond the actual seizure of power. The leading

first week of June both sides agreed to a formulation that would require all prisoners to be brought to the border and allowed to choose under international supervision whether they wanted to return to their homeland.

But to obstruct this agreement, Syngman Rhee began "releasing" prisoners which the South Koreans claimed did not wish repatriation. Immediately the full weight of the Chinese People's Volunteers fell upon South Korean positions and Syngman Rhee did a quick about face. The armistice was signed on July 27, 1953.

In the end the U.S. was able to bribe and cajole 12% of the prisoners it held into refusing repatriation. And their great hopes for a propaganda victory blew up in their face when 22 Americans, one Briton and hundreds of South Korean prisoners refused repatriation. The fact that 22 Americans would choose to live under socialism rather than return to the joys of capitalist America was particularly galling. One of the 22 made the mistake of changing his mind after a couple of days and returned. He was immediately arrested and court-martialed.

In 1956 the last of the Chinese People's Volunteers withdrew from Korea (where U.S. troops remain today). Social conditions in Korea continued to deteriorate and after fraudulent elections in 1960 in which Syngman Rhee claimed to win 90% of the vote, student-led riots broke out throughout the country. Rhee was forced to resign and he retired to his home in Hawaii where he had lived for 30 years before being installed in Korea by the U.S.

The U.S. defeat in Korea was followed the next year by the defeat of France in Indochina. Korea was a portent of the future years. It vividly demonstrated that despite U.S. attempts to dominate the post World War 2 world unopposed, the imperialists were met by continual resistance and revolutionary struggles by the people.

role of the proletariat in the united front is essential to this whole process, and its leadership must be fought for in the course of waging the revolutionary struggle itself. Absolutely crucial to accomplishing this is the vanguard role of the Party of the proletariat, the RCP—and its chief weapon in waging this political struggle as well as its chief weapon overall, is its voice, the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.

Upon the stage provided by today's objective situation, the class-conscious proletariat, led by its Party, must play its conscious historic role in serving as the leader of all the oppressed masses struggling for liberation and a revolution. Only the Party, and chiefly through its newspaper, can train the proletariat and the masses in society as a whole in the ability to distinguish friend from foe and enable it to build the great revolutionary alliance that will serve as the solid core capable of leading the united front to victory—to view each class, strata, and social and political force in terms of "what will be their attitude toward and relationship to the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and in particular the highest stage of that struggle, the armed contest for power."

of wiping out, these distinctions between people who sit in offices and scribble with a pen and people who work and bend their backs producing the wealth of society. We're going to develop people to where people are both administrators and thinkers and philosophers and workers at the same time, where people are both politically conscious and also productive members in society. This is a world that lies for us to conquer and for us to remake with our own hands and our own minds, overcoming step by step and through our ever more conscious struggle the divisions and inequalities that this system will leave to us even after we've overthrown it. And can anyone imagine an historic task like this which waits for us to carry out and will be carried out because until it's carried out this madness, this destruction, this crisis, these wars will continue to be brought down on people and people will find society plunged into this again and again until we do finally become conscious, overcome the obstacles, learn from our setbacks and reversals and go forward and finally advance to a society where class differences and inequalities and social inequalities have been eliminated.