

The carpenter looked at his final check-it would have to last for awhile. He smiled again to himself, thinking of the foreman who couldn't understand why someone would guit such a "good job" with unemployment so high. Fun- him, he once said-to fight for them, ny. a few months ago he'd never heard of May Day. Now he was going poured into making wood take shape of campaign, to fight against them. under his hand into making history happen. He snapped the tool case shut, put it on the shelf and went outside ...

She looked hard at her three kids, all sleeping. She wouldn't see them for at least three months-the longest she had ever been gone. The oldest one was getting into trouble and she hadn't liked the last argument with her husband, but from a powerful idea into an even more she put it out the way it was and he'd have to see it-"If I don't do this, that will spend the next three months nobody's kid or anyone else is going to have a future worth looking to ...

The combat boots and fatigue jacket were familiar but strange too. Familiar from all the years he'd worn them-first in the army and then, after that, working. They'd given him these fatiguesthe only thing they'd ever really given the beginning of what promises to be

and he kept them on to work for them too. What was strange was that now he'd be wearing them in a different kind

\*

\*

Brigades

These are some of the ones who rode through the February darkness from different corners of the country last week into Detroit and Los Angeles to join up with the May Day brigades and set about making May Day 1980 move powerful reality. These are the brigades rolling through the country, flying squads that will be talking to tens of thousands and, throwing down the gauntlet as they shake the cynicism and despair out of their brothers and sisters' bones, finally, damn it, do it-join the struggle in earnest against the rulers at

the most tumultuous decade in America's history.

nUpfor

The brigades are an electrifying sign that May Day is taking shape. They are a critical part of an overall plan to win a victory on May Day with thousands of class conscious workers in the streets. Local committees as well are moving into full swing, finding new ways to tear up the streets in each city and draw forward revolutionary minded workers in a way never before seen in this country.

One important way new forces are already taking up May Day is in preparing for the arrival of the brigades. This



has come out through pledging money, donating food, volunteering to cook, opening up their homes. Beyond that, and more significantly, by organizing others so that thousands are watching for the brigades. But not waiting for them, since there is not time to wait to build the local foundation for May Day in every area.

And precisely because the brigaders are believers, ready to stake it all and go for the future, daring to use their heads and hands to fight the degradation and the system that causes it, in order to create something really new-exactly because they are a living, driving force Continued on page 16



For some time, prisoners had written their families that things would soon blow sky high at the New Mexico State Penitentiary in Santa Fe. Then at 2:00 a.m. on Saturday morning, February 2, a call was heard: "Get the guard, Get the guard." The prisoners knew what was beginning to happen.

Prisoners were freed from their cells. They poured through the halls, breaking through one and a half inch windows. The newly built Control Center was seized, giving the prisoners control of the whole prison. They took the kitchen, then the hospital. The entire prison was taken over-everything that represented the hell-hole life forced on these men, all symbols of the oppressors heel-ground into the necks of the prisoners for so long, was put to the torch and destroyed. The only area of the prison which remained untouched was the library; every book was on the shelf, and every table and chair in place. Continued on page 13

Families of prisoners demand information about their relatives.

#### Page 2—Revolutionary Worker—February 8, 1980

### **Strangeloves Cross Paths in** India, Pakistan The recent trip of Carter's top na-

tional security adviser to Pakistan marked an important step in the strategic preparations of the United States for war with the Soviet Union.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, the director of the U.S. National Security Council, made little effort to conceal this; in fact, he took pains to stress it. Brzezinski brought along his chief military adviser, Col. William E. Odom, pointedly referred to in a rare New York Times profile as "Brzezinski's Brzezinski," a "blue ribbon hawk" who has labored in the shadow of obscurity but whose "extreme" views are now "getting a hearing." Brzezins! : had always had a reputation for bei et..ing like a cross between a hawk and a cold fish. But he was acting more like a bloodcrazed mountain goat as he frisked about in the chilly heights of the Khyber Pass just four miles from the border with Afghanistan. The Pakistani general accompanying the Brzezinski entourage handed him a pair of field glasses, so Z-Big could make out the Soviet tanks lurking on the other side of the border. He posed for pictures glaring down the sights of a machine gun. He gathered the American press around him (and the general too) and insisted that photos be taken. "It'll be an historic photo. Three weeks before the march on Kabul." Everybody laughed at his "joke."

The war fever public relations gimmicks serve their purpose. But Brzezinski didn't scale these heights to crack jokes. His mission was to cement a military alliance with the shaky regime of Gen. Mohammad Zia Ul-Haq of Pakistan. The country is now seen by western imperialist strategists-and advertised by the eager Gen. Zia himself-as the front line state in the developing conflict with the Soviets in southwest Asia. It is strategically situated as a base to "defend" from Soviet attack an area that Carter has declared belongs to the U.S.: the Persian Gulf.

When, on Jan. 12, the United States first floated the idea of providing Pakistan with some \$400 million in emergency military assistance, Gen. Zia sniffed at the offer as mere "peanuts"-a jibe that must have driven Jimmy Carter into a rage. But since that announcement, U.S. strategic thinking regarding the Persian Gulf and Pakistan's relationship to it has been more thoroughly developed as part of a new "Carter Doctrine." Brzezinski, interviewed on Jan. 15 in the Wall Street Journal, stated that "the situation that the Soviet action (in Afghanistan-RW) has produced, whatever its motivations... has widespread strategic significance." Brzezinski held that, due to the threat posed by the Soviets to the Persian Gulf, southwest Asia now comprised a third "strategic zone" in which the United States held vital interest. In other words, a Soviet move in the direction of the Persian Gulf would be



Looking like a combination Nazi Field Marshall and Mafia Don, Zbigniew Brzezinski arrives with entourage in Pakistan.

The following week, Henry Kissinger took his turn in the pages of the Wall Street Journal and in a number of other forums, going his colleagues from the Rockefeller think tanks one better. Kissinger proposed that the United States itself should establish military bases in Pakistan, in order that the Soviets would be clear that an attack on Pakistan would mean war.

President Carter's Jan. 24 State of the Union address did not go quite so far, but he did elevate the general doctrine outlined by Brzezinski to formal policy, with his statement that "any attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States. It will be repelled by use of any means necessary, including military force." Though a Soviet thrust into Pakistan could easily be seen as the beginning of such an attempt, the section of Carter's speech dealing with Pakistan was more "moderate," saying only that "the United States will take action-consistent with our own laws-to assist Pakistan in meeting any outside aggression. I am asking the Congress specifically to reaffirm this commitment. I am also working, along with other nations, to provide additional economic and military aid for Pakistan."

However, the speech represented a major strategic shift-a shift Brzezinski had been privately advocating since he assumed his post as director of the National Security Council. And it laid a favorable basis for Brzezinski's Pakistan trip. He blew into Islamabad on the heels of the conference of Moslem countries, which had just sharply condemned t' Soviet invasion

January. Led by Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, the conservative and prowestern Moslem nations have been able to capitalize on the general opposition to the Soviet invasion to quell domestic struggle against their own reactionary regimes as well as tone down criticism of the U.S. imperialists on the Palestinian issue. In addition, many delegates criticized Iran's continued detention of the hostages at the U.S. embassy in Tehran. Zia's role in this raised his "prestige" in the eyes of the U.S. imperialists on the eve of Brzezinski's visit. From the marked change in Gen. Zia's mood after reading President Carter's personal letter conveyed to him by Brzezinski, it quickly became clear that the U.S. was talking about more than just the one shot bag of peanuts. "It is heartening to see that our traditional ally, a country Pakistanis loved and respected, is giving us the impression of finding a lost Asian ally," Zia intoned in his toast to Brzezinski upon his arrival. For his part, Brzezinski stressed the U.S. desire for a firm alliance with Pakistan, "even at the risk of confronting serious dangers together.'

Brzezinski, in brief, told Gen. Zia that the \$400 million in emergency aid was only one part of a consortium aid package to be put together. The United States would deliver anti-tank, antiaircraft, and infantry weapons. West Germany was willing to deliver 300 advance tanks equipped with infrared tracking. China would provide small arms, MiG fighters, and assistance to the Afghan rebels. Great Britain had promised radar and night vision equipment. Saudi Arabia, the next stop on Brzezinski's itinerary, would be asked to provide substantial economic assistance.

At the same time, Pakistan was pressured to abandon its plans to produce its own nuclear devices, plans which were a factor in the cutoff of U.S. military and economic assistance in April 1979. And Pakistan's desire for a new, NATO-style treaty with the U.S. to replace the looser 1959 agreement was rejected. This is due mainly to the U.S. policy tightrope walk in the region, between consolidating ties with Pakistan and not alienating neighboring India, a bitter enemy of Pakistan with ties to the Soviet Union. The United States wants to steer clear of a treaty which would bind it to come to Pakistan's aid in the event of a war with India, a treaty which would be seen by India as a hostile act. However, Pakistan's strategic location (bordering on both Iran and Afghanistan, and to the south on the Arabian Sea with access to the Persian Gulf) means that in the eyes of U.S. strategists, a Soviet attack on Pakistan would be tantamount to "an attempt to control the Persian Gulf."

Needless to say, the conversion of Pakistan into a U.S. military staging ground, coupled with the other military initiatives the U.S. is undertaking in the area, will serve equally well should the United States decide to seize the "initiative" in the coming worldwide showdown and beat the Soviets to the punch.

While Brzezinski and Zia were draining toasts in Islamabad, another presidential envoy was explaining the new U.S. policy to Indira Gandhi in neighboring India. In a new sanguinary outburst clearly intended to coincide with the developments in Pakistan, Clark Clifford raved at a press conference that "the message is: they (the Soviets-RW) must know that if part of their plan is to move toward the Persian Gulf, that means war."

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regarded by the United States as the equivalent of an attack on Europe, or on U.S. allies in the Far East.

of Afghanistan in language considerably stronger than the United Nations resolution passed earlier in

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ADDE & MENTER

# A Talk with Bob Avakian on the Current World Scene

Recently we had a conversation with comrade Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. He talked about some features of the current world situation in the light of events in Iran and Afghanistan. An edited text of his remarks follows.

Things have been developing very rapidly. There are some basic points that really need to be emphasized both in our own understanding and out among the masses broadly. Obviously our analysis of the objective situation and particularly the development toward war is being remarkably and acceleratingly borne out in the events going on around Afghanistan on top of the whole way in which the U.S. government is using the Iran situation to carry out war preparations.

The U.S. imperialists have seized on the opportunity of the hostage situation and are utilizing it to do a lot of public opinion work and try to make a qualitative change in people's outlooks on the question of war. We should not fall into the trap of saying that the Iranian people are playing into the hands of the U.S. imperialists or something. In fact they're doing just the opposite. But still the U.S. is trying to capitalize off the situation.

I just happened to overhear a conversation on the street among some politically unenlightened, unaware, uninvolved basic masses, talking about how they're very, very concerned about the question of world war. On the one hand they kind of blamed it singly on the Russians for being the ones who would start it, but on the other hand they sort of understood that it's going to be a real shootout between the superpowers. I heard one of them say to the other, "Well, that's just going to be the end, that's all there's going to be to it," and the other one's saying, "Yeah, the Russians got everything America's got." In other words people understand that fighting the Russians is not like fighting Vietnam.

I think that the development of events and the necessity of the bourgeoisie are causing people to think politically. I heard one of these people say to the other one that they stay up all night all the time, worrying about this, which I think is not a unique phenomenon among the masses of people. It is an increasing one that reflects real developments and also the way the masses see it and the way it's presented by the ruling class in this country; this superficial appearance of things presents us with a certain necessity and difficulty which we have to transform into freedom. Now you take Carter's speech of early January when he laid out the plan to cut off some wheat and major technology sales, in addition to the Olympic boycott, etc. The tone of that speech was not by any means entirely fabricated or simply for public consumption but, to a certain degree at least, it showed real concern on the part of the ruling class. They are worried about the situation-from a completely different standpoint than the masses are, of course. The U.S. bourgeoisie's response around Afghanistan represented a certain qualitative leap. It also brought out some features of the situation that, like I said, are going to present some political difficulties for us.

revolutionary guard came there and dispersed the people—unlike at the American embassy. The reason given in the U.S. press was that, "The Soviets, they don't take that kind of shit." And there is this kind of feeling among the U.S. bourgeoisie, they do feel this frustration. Partly it's feigned for war preparations and partly it's a real feeling of being like a helpless giant, that they can't just do what they want to do. And precisely this *increases* the necessity for them to go to war. Because that's the way they get it together to overcome those problems that they have.

And there is-in the short run, without falling into the Chinese theorythere is, I think, a certain tactical advantage that state capitalism affords you over this anarchy where the farmers say, "Why don't we take some other steps instead of cutting off the grain sales?" You know, "What about me and my market?" Not that there aren't tremendous centrifugal forces in the social-imperialist, state-capitalist class, but in the short run they do have a certain advantage in terms of things being centralized and controlled. So I think that what that points to is precisely that one of the ways to deal with that is to go to war. Besides the imperialist necessity for redividing the world, it's also the fact that the tactical disadvantages of these capitalists get overcome when they do rationalize on a higher level which they can do under capitalism-in a temporary and partial, limited way.

#### War and Aggression

So the bourgeoisie says, "The U.S. had its Vietnam, now the Soviet Union will have its Afghanistan, and then there'll be World War 3 and the Russians will be to blame." Even the better, well intentioned people will tend to follow the pragmatism and metaphysics of "Russia's at fault for the war because they had Afghanistan *after* the United States had Vietnam." This is that kind of metaphysical, pragmatic view of chopping up events, one from the other; it's the kind of view that says there's no laws operating.

So you can see a lot more clearly why it's so important to the U.S. bourgeoisie to "put Vietnam behind us." They don't want people to see it like the Revolutionary Worker headline after the Soviet invasion put it, "U.S. Im-perialists Cry 'Imperialism.' " If the people understand that this war is exactly the outcome of the fact that the U.S. does its Vietnams and other things and the Soviets do Afghanistan and other things, and that both of them are responsible for propelling things in the direction of war; if people understand that the character of the war stems out of all that, then people's attitude toward it will be qualitatively different. It won't be like "Vietnam, that was a mistake we made that's over and done with. Afghanistan, that stems from the nature of the Soviet Union and therefore we're right in this world war." That's the obvious progression they're trying to set up there. And of course, it has a very strong pull on the American masses because of national chauvinism, pragmatism and metaphysics and all the other things that we have going against us. We can see how important it is to emphasize what Lenin has emphasized: Opposition to and exposure of the bourgeois logical view that when a war starts, everything that happened before it and led up to it somehow should be set aside and considered to be irrelevant, and the war changes everything. What we have to emphasize in opposition to that is the famous axiom that war is the continuation of politics by other means. As Lenin pointed out in his book, *Imperialism*, imperialist war is precisely the outgrowth of imperialist economics and imperialist politics. It's been covered over by 40 or 50 years of a lot of talk about aggression abstractly and without class content. We have to hammer again and again at this point. We have to go up against it among the masses and even among communists the content of "aggression."

And you see, that's where Iran becomes important again, because another one of Lenin's points is very much brought out there, which is: Who gives a damn who fired the first shot, you know, who cares if in this particular round of events the Iranians started it by taking some hostages, what has that got to do with anything? The point is, what class interests are involved here and what does all this flow from, what's the fundamental cause of all this and how you gonna move beyond it? These are the questions we really got to get at. Points like that cannot be stated too many times. If we had a box in the RWevery week that said "Remember" and rammed this point home again and again, I wouldn't consider it to be overdone: war is an outgrowth of imperialist politics and economics. Obviously it would be a little ineffectual after a while and a little bit mechanical, but every week from a different angle we should always get to the same basic point. It's more and more not a question of, "Is there going to be a war?", but rather, "Can anything be done about it, what do we do about it, how do we view it, who's responsible and what's the solution?" We have to hammer again and again and again, you know, to get it through the thick skulls of a lot of people whose skulls have been encrusted with a lot of this chauvinism and pragmatism, metaphysics, idealism and so on. The question here is, what is this an outgrowth of?

#### Starting It, Finishing It

The other point that goes along with that from Lenin is that only a bourgeois thinks a war that starts between governments has to end as a war between governments. In other words, that's going to be very important too, that just because they start it doesn't mean they're the only ones that can finish it. That point cannot be too much overdone. Agitation, exposure around it, concretely as well as by continually coming back to a few basic themes like this have got to be really sharpened up because, like I say, the "man and woman in the street" are speaking to this; they're aware of this; they're very much concerned. Continued on page 17



#### Overcoming "Helplessness" With War

Read some of these bourgeois authorities talking about what happened in Iran when the Soviet embassy was briefly taken over and how Khomeini's





#### Guatemala

Guatemalan police burned to death 32 Indian peasants including women and children, as well as a nun, 2 ex-Guatemalan government officials and 5 staff members of the Spanish Embassy in Guatemala City, Jan. 31.

The Indian peasants came to Guatemala City from Quiche province Jan. 28 to publicize and seek support for their fight against a terrorist anti-insurgency campaign government troops are carrying out in the north. At the very minimum, between 2,000 and 3,000 people have been murdered or "disappeared" in the last 18 months as the troops try to halt protest and resistance to the "land reform" program in the oil-rich north that is driving out the peasants.

The Indians took over four high schools and several radio stations. They went to the Spanish embassy to ask the ambassador to mediate with the government for them. He agreed. Suddenly the embassy was surrounded by police, who attacked the doors and windows with axes and sledge hammers and threw incendiary bombs. According to eyewitness reports on the Mexican news program "24 Horas", police allowed no one to escape the flames except the ambassador, who managed to jump out a back window. President Lucas, fascist dictator of Guatemala, characterized the Indian actions as "a suicide mission."

On Feb. 2, 5,000 Indians and university students started to carry 32 coffins to the cemetery. Police attacked, killing two university leaders and kidnapping another student. The marchers refused to disperse and their ranks grew to 50,000. They took over the streets, shouting anti-government slogans and painting them on walls as they went along. Attacks and counter-attacks continued as people from all over the city joined the protest. On Feb. 5, the battle continued as street fighting broke out in Guatemala City. The people burned buses and put up barricades.

The U.S. government's official statement said that it "deplores the embassy takeover (sic) and the reportedly unauthorized police assault." What, of course, the U.S. didn't mention is that it is training Guatemalan troops in Vietnam-style counter-insurgency against the peasants or that a 1954 CIA coup put the first string of military dictators in power there. Not without reason, Lucas' U.S. backed government is nervously looking over its shoulders, in the wake of the recent uprising. This is shown vividly when the Guatemalan ambassador in México, purple-faced and shaky, said on TV Feb. 4, "We don't want to go to Miami! Miami is full of people, Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, Cubans...you've got to realize what happened in Nicaragua, Cuba and is starting to happen in El Salvador can also happen in Guatemala!"



Chile

The strike by copper miners at Chile's giant "El Teniente" mining complex is dealing a real blow to the fascist military junta.

After a long lull in the mass movement in that country following the U.S. orchestrated coup and bloodbath of 1973, the Chilean working class is once again emerging as the main protagonist in the struggle against the junta, a process which began with a previous copper strike and was sharpened especially by the illegal May Day marches and actions of the past several years. This latest strike in particular is aimed at General Pinochet's attempts to "institutionalize" the junta's rule by creating structures which supposedly represent the people—such as the fascist unions. This struggle is, in fact, a serious obstacle to the junta's plans to try to return the country to what they consider "normalcy"—the "normalcy" of the grave. It is also a real slap in the face for the U.S. imperialists, whose business magazines lately have been full of articles about how well the junta is "working."

The following is an article supplied by ANCHA, the Chilean Antifascist News Agency.

After more than six years of fascist dictatorship in Chile, 5454 workers from the "El Teniente" copper mine went out on strike Saturday, January 19, rejecting the wage agreement between Guillermo Medina, the sellout "leader" chosen by Pinochet to represent the workers, and the 9% wage increase offered by the fascist junta.

96.5% of the copper workers voted in favor of the strike in the unions located in Sewel, Mina and Caletones, paralyzing some of the biggest mines in Chile.

In this way, the workers are demanding a 33% wage increase, better job security, better living conditions and the return to work of workers and leaders who have been arrested or fired.

With this courageous act, the Chilean workers are openly challenging the repressive measures put into practice by the dictatorship to try to stop the struggle and unity of the Chilean working class. We call upon the workers of the world and Latin American political exiles to be on the alert in the face of the repressive maneuvers of the dictatorship which are meant to drown this just struggle of the copper miners in blood and fire.

We call on all unions, media, political parties, to give all their support and solidarity to this just struggle of the Chilean working class.

In this way the Chilean workers are affirming once again their clear class sentiment and their unquenchable spirit of struggle.





Bruce Williamson and Muhammed Asaad defend the revolutionary actions of the militant students in Iran at a debate on the hostage question.

The state of Florida has not remained outside the boundaries of the continuing offensive against the Revolutionary Communist Party. University of South Florida professor Bruce Williamson, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade and RCP has been the object of a reactionary public opinion campaign for the last few months in Tampa. Williamson began to get quite a bit of publicity after he played a prominent role in demonstrations called by the RCYB on the USF campus last November to support the revolutionary upsurge in Iran.

At that time the *Tampa Tribune* ran an editorial calling for Williamson's firing, then unleashed a so-called "public debate" in the commentary page consisting of a barrage of letters, mainly of the neanderthal type, yelling about how Williamson should "Love it or leave it" and "go back to Russia," etc., etc. But not long after the government temporarily dismissed the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, the *Tribune*'s diatribe against Williamson began to assume a noticeably different tone.

In another editorial it was suddenly emphasized that "One professor is insignificant. But he is part of a national radical group''-a group which "plant-ed agitators in the coal mine unions," etc. and could "cause crippling damage in a time of national emergency." Now it was not just Williamson, the individual, but the RCP that was being painted with the Tribune's yellow brush as being "dangerous and menacing." While managing to whip up a little reactionary public opinion against Williamson, the media blitz fell short of the desired result. (In fact, it even created some dissension in the newsroom of the Tribune itself as a number of reporters penciled notes objecting to the Tribune's editorial next to where it was posted. Later a copy of the RW was seen posted in the newsroom on the very same bulletin board.)

Meanwhile, the KKK surfaced openly in Tampa for the first time in 10 years to hold a pathetic anti-Iranian rally during which they verbally attacked Williamson. The Tribune, of course, did not print one word about the fact that these robed idiots were slithering back into town. Instead, the day before the rally they devoted a full page to Bruce Williamson complete with a large picture in a transparent attempt to draw a bullseye on him and declare open season on the RCP. Following this, fraudulent letters with Williamson's forged signature were received at the offices of the Tribune and at the Oracle, the USF student newspaper. One letter contained a threat to blow up the Tribune building while another threatened to kill presidential candidates. Of course, the bourgeoisie is getting well seasoned in such tactics against the RCP-using a fraudulent quotation in the Los Angeles Times last summer as the so-called basis for a current Secret Service investigation against Bob Avakian.

When Williamson was suddenly in-Continued on page 8

# Greensboro: Thousands Defy Cops, Klan

Greensboro, North Carolina—On February 2, over 7000 peòple, half of them Black, half white and other nationalities, hit the streets of Greensboro to march against the Klan/Nazi massacre of five demonstrators last November.

People poured off the buses from all over the East Coast—from Detroit, Dayton, Boston and New York, to name a few, as well as from all over the South—from places like Birmingham, Tupelo, and Decatur; and a large group of people came from the fight to expose the lynching of Mickey Poag in Chester, South Carolina.

These thousands were living testimony to the outrage of the people of this country at the Greensboro massacre, and the determination to take a stand against it in the face of tremendous intimidation and a last-ditch effort to prevent people from a number of places from even getting here. Mysteriously, both Trailways and Greyhound bus companies, working with the FBI, ran out of buses to charter. In many cases they were finally forced to change their mind when pressure was brought to bear on them, including picket lines at their offices. (See box on page 18)

The demonstration stretched for blocks and drew in more people as it went. A hundred students from A&T University, a Black college, crossed the street to join the march as it went by, and one man ran several miles to join the march when he heard on the news that it had already begun.

These thousands defied the threat of Klan and police terror to make a statement against the massacre. But many forces in leadership of the march, most notably the national leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) like Joseph Lowry, worked overtime to keep the march within the very narrow bounds acceptable to those they so dutifully serve. They did their best to blunt the blow of the march from being aimed squarely at the Klan/Nazis and the ruling class whose dirty work they are doing, and to sidetrack the righteous anger of the masses, trying to turn the march into a harmless (for the ruling class) old-time civil rights gathering.

While the Klan was allowed to murder in broad daylight and is about to be let off, while in plain view the ruling class is declaring open season on Blacks and revolutionaries, the role of Lowry and other bourgeois "Black leaders" was to pour cold water on the struggle, try to stamp out any sparks of militancy, and try to isolate revolutionaries. They joined the bourgeoisie in implying that the massacre was provoked by communists, and used this as a cowardly excuse to turn the demonstration away from even taking up the question of the massacre, other than to touch on it as a terrible thing and gloss over the fact that the ruling class intends to use it to unleash even more reaction. One of these "Black leaders" openly attacked revolutionaries on national television after the demonstration, chiming right in with the bourgeois press that the Greensboro march was a nice civil. rights march except for the unwanted presence of communists (referring both to the collection of opportunist political groups of every stripe at the march, many purporting to be "communists" and "socialists," as well as to genuine communists).

However, these "leaders" had some trouble jamming this unity with the ruling class down the throats even of the members of their own organizations. Many of the people on the march took up the chant, "Down with the Nazis, down with the Klan, down with the rich who rule this land!" at various points. And when Lowry made a jingoist remark in his speech at the rally about **Continued on page 18** 

# **IDABEL NOT BACK TO "NORMAL"**

Idabel, Oklahoma. Three weeks following the armed uprising of the Black community in this small Oklahoma town of 11,000, the authorities have been scrambling to get Idabel "back to normal." "The whole inci-dent was started by a series of totally worthless rumors," explained Al Seisel, assistant district attorney. To clear up these rumors, an army of state troopers, county and local cops from surrounding towns, the Oklahoma Bureau of Investigation and the FBI were sent in, armed to the teeth. It was no rumor that 15-year old Henry Lee Johnson had been brutally beaten, shot in the head and hung up on a fence near the Black Hat Club-a whites only private club. And it was no rumor that to the authorities in Idabel, the death of this Black youth was about as important as a dog getting hit by a car. A member of Henry Lee's family told the RW, "You can put so much weight on a bridge and then it's going to break. We've put up with a lot over the years but this is too much. He was just a young boy." Unsolved (but not mysterious) murders of Blacks is the normal course in Idabel. Each time the cops have had "better" things to do than investigate the cause of "one more dead nigger.' About one third of Idabel is Black. Up until World War II most Blacks worked in the cotton fields as tenant farmers and hired laborers. Drought, the boll weevil, depletion of the soil and the introduction of large scale mechanized agriculture throughout the south destroyed the small town and for a number of years most Blacks and poor whites were out of work and on "welfare" in Idabel. In the 1970s Weyerhauser Paper bought up the county's main lumber industry and injected 250 million into the lagging economy. Now, timber and agriculture are the county's main businesses. Discrimination is the rule and many Blacks are forced to work in very low paying jobs in egg processing plants and other small industries, moving from job to job when work can be found.

And like many other towns in the region, the other side of the tracks is reserved for Black people, another sickening slave-tradition leftover-the "quarters" of the field hands. In this town it's the west side of the tracks where the best place to live is the federal housing project. Until the integration of schools in 1968, Black kids were kept in a building so rundown that the city abandoned it rather than sending white kids to school there. Unemployment, especially among Black youth, is exceptionally high, while wages are commonly below minimum wage. There are practically no Black owned businesses; the most property a Black would own is a small farm.

that. On the night of the rebellion, one section of the town was controlled by the people. Barricades were set up. A firetruck was driven out of the area by gunfire. One cop was killed in a shootout between the people and state troopers. One resident described it as, "This whole thing was between us and the cops. We had guns and we didn't bother to fire warning shots. There was nothing between us and them but air and opportunity."

But all that was weeks ago and the "city fathers" along with community leaders and various state and federal trouble-shooters are doing their best to get things back to normal. This has been hard to do since the Black people have been openly carrying weapons as they patrol their neighborhoods. The state's investigative bureau has admitted it is afraid to send agents into the community since they might not come back alive. When the KKK's imperial lizard Bill Wilkinson announced he was coming to town, it was played up in the local press

for all it was worth. Front page headlines for nearly a week taunted the Black community while trying to entice the poor whites to come out and rally behind the Klan's reactionary program of preparing for a racial war. The mayor who warned RW reporters that if they showed their faces in town they would leave on a slab, said about Wilkinson's visit, "This is a free country and I guess he can come here if he wants." In spite of this heavy promotion, people refused to respond to the Klan visit the way they were supposed to. A group of Choctaw Indians put signs on their pickups which said, "Oklahoma's Indian Territory-KKK Take Your Hatred to Hell." On Saturday the Klan man came. And went. Only a brief press conference separated these two events. He was obviously in a hurry to leave. There was no rally, no recruiting-no support at all except for the police and the press who hung on his every word.

Before the rebellion, even in the '60s, these conditions were not seriously challenged. January 1980 changed all

While the Klan and other forms of in-Continued on page 16



# MAY DAY 1912:

The year was 1912. May Day, international day of the working class was approaching. And for the Russian proletariat and its Party led by V.I. Lenin, the urgency of seizing every opportunity to strengthen the revolutionary movement and head into the developing situation of imperialist war with the revolutionary banner flying was great. War was coming. Only ten months prior to May 1, 1912, the world had heard the British Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George, deliver a speech protesting the German imperialist threat on French colonies in Morocco, which spelled out clearly that the British were preparing to go down to hang onto their bloody empire:

'I believe it is essential in the highest interests not merely of this country, but of the world, that Britain should at all hazards maintain her place and her prestige among the Great Powers of the world. Her potent influence has many a time been in the past, and may yet be in the future, invaluable to the cause of human liberty... I would make great sacrifices to preserve peace...But if a situation were to be forced upon us in which peace could only be preserved by the surrender of the great and beneficent position Britain has won by centuries of heroism and achievement, by allowing Britain to be treated where her interests were vitally affected as if she were of no account in the Cabinet of Nations, than I say emphatically that peace at that price would be a humiliation intolerable for a great country like ours to endure."

The Russian ruling classes, unable to compete on the same level with old bandits like Britain and Germany, allied with Britain and France and were pursuing their own imperialist aims in the Near East. Six months before May Day the Russian imperialists invaded Persia (now Iran), nosing out American imperialist advisors and other foreign advisors to the Persian government, despite protests by the British who were afraid to break their understanding with the Tsarist government and too occupied with crises in Morocco and the war between Turkey and Italy. Germany and Britain were racing to build up their navies. Secret treaties flowered, as the imperialist powers got ready to

redivide the world, and if someone had whispered in the imperial ear of one of these gangsters that when the smoke cleared, the proletariat would be in power in Russia, they probably would have said, "Impossible! Hogwash! Never!"

In Russia, the capitalists were allied with the Tsarist autocracy whose armies provided the muscle needed by the bourgeoisie to clear the way for new markets. The sharpening situation in the world intensified the desire of the Russian rulers to crush the revolutionary movement at home and keep down the masses of workers and peasants. The last thing these guys wanted to see were red flags flying on May Day, 1912, or any other year for that matter.

But in Tsarist Russia on May 1st 1912, 400,000 workers took part in revolutionary mass strikes, raising the slogans formulated by the Bolshevik Party at the All-Russia Conference in January 1912. May Day 1912 signalled a powerful new upsurge in the revolutionary movement throughout Russia-a qualitative leap in the twisting, turning process which would lead to revolution five years later.

The part played by the advanced section of the Russian workers in the May Day actions was decisive. In St. Petersburg, the Bolshevik Committee had been arrested, and the scattered groups, "nuclei," of revolutionary communist workers had to pull together May Day under very difficult circumstances. They issued a leaflet which not only put out the slogans calling for a constituent assembly, an eight-hour working day, and the confiscation of the landed estates, which had been formulated by the Bolsheviks as the immediate slogans but also put out the call: "Down with the tsarist government! Down with the autocratic Constitution of June 3! Long live the democratic republic! Long live socialism!" Writing in June of 1912, Lenin calls this leaflet, "a most important document":

'The work started long before the last Conference by revolutionary Social-Democrats (communists), calling on the proletariat to assume the role of leader of the people's revolution, has borne fruit despite all police persecution, despite the reckless pre-May Day arrests and hounding of revolutionaries, despite the torrent of lies and abuse from the liberal and liquidationist (Menshevik) press.

"Hundreds of thousands of St. Petersburg proletarians followed by workers throughout Russia, resorted to strikes and street demonstrations not as one of the separate classes of bourgeois society, not with "their own" merely economic slogans, but as the leader raising aloft the banner for the revolution for the whole people, on behalf of the whole people, and with the aim of awakening and drawing into the struggle all classes who need freedom and are capable of striving for it... The proletariat set up its own 'May Day committees' and went into action with a revolutionary platform worthy of the class which is destined to free mankind from wage slavery."

#### The Ice Breaks

The May Day demonstrations marked the arrival of a new period of revolutionary upswing in Russia. Only seven years before, the insurrection of 1905 had been ruthlessly crushed by the Tsar's troops. This attempted revolution had been defeated not because it "went too far" as some liberals whined, but as Lenin pointed out, because it did not go far enough: the necessity of the insurrection had not been firmly grasped and widespread enough by workers, peasants and soldiers. With a reactionary coup d'etat in 1907, the iron rule of the Tsar was firmed up in alliance with the Duma (parliament) of the Black Hundred landlords and the Russian industrialists. The three years following the coup d'etat were a dismal time: the proletariat was in the pits, faced with a storm of vicious counterrevolutionary reaction.

Under the direction of the archhangman Stolypin, a campaign of terror was launched against the people's revolutionary leadership. Thousands of worker revolutionaries were rounded up. The leading organs of the Bolshevik Party were shattered by arrests. In the countryside, brutal reprisals were taken against the peasants by reactionary gangs organized by the landlords and the government. Famine swept the country, millions were suffering from

hunger and disease-"People eating carrion for which they fight dogs, or bread mixed with ashes and manure." The exploitation of the workers was intensified and the number of strikers dropped to nearly what it was before the 1905 upsurge.

But at the end of 1910 things began to stir again. Demonstrations in connection with the deaths of a noted liberal and the author Leo Tolstoy, as well as a rise in the student movement indicated that the mood of the masses had taken a turn. Lenin noted that the year 1911 saw workers gradually beginning to take the offensive and that, "Signs from various quarters indicate that the weariness and stupor brought about by the triumph of the counter-revolution are passing away, that once again there is an urge for revolution."

Then in April 1912, government troops shot down striking workers at the Lena gold fields and the hatred of the Russian proletariat for the Tsarist regime poured out all over Russia. The gold fields were owned by British capitalists and their partners were Russian capitalists, members of the Tsar's family and Tsarist dignitaries. Led by a Bolshevik group formed in the fall of 1911, the workers went on strike in March 1912, demanding among other things an 8-hour day, improvement in their food and a wage increase. The Lena Gold Mining Company rejected these demands and decided to fire the strikers and evict them from their quarters, which amounted to dooming the strikers to starvation. But the strikers held their ground and resisted the eviction attempts. The Tsarist authorities decided to intimidate all the workers of Russia by using arms against the strikers. When 3000 workers marched to the Hadezhda Mine to protest the arrest of some of the strike leaders, the captain of the troops ordered his men to open fire-270 workers were killed and 250 injured.

In response to a statement condemning the massacre at Lena made by the Bolshevik deputies in the Duma (parliament) the Tsar's minister replied, "So it was, so it will be!" This was like pour-ing gas on a fire. A letter from the workers in one group of factories said of the Lena massacre: "We were so

### Youngstown May Day Comes to Shut-down City

As we go to press, ten volunteers from the May Day brigades sit in the Youngstown, Ohio jail with \$41,500 bail, or rather ransom, on their heads. The charge? Daring to sound the call to May Day 1980 to the workers of this stagnating steel town.

the fight is echoing off the walls of Youngstown's jail in the agitation and singing of the ten imprisoned fighters!

The Revolutionary May Day Brigade swept into Youngstown Wednesday morning, and while some began to fan out among the unemployed at two offices in surrounding townships, others boldly marched onto the campus of Youngstown State University, prime soil for up and coming executive pencilpushers of the U.S. Steel and Jones and Laughlin. Penetrating into this area, a community ripe with the recent struggle of steelworkers rising to take over the offices of U.S. Steel, the brigaders found few standing on the side of the local bloodsuckers. In one employment office the agitation of the brigaders spoke to the particular struggle in Youngstown (see RW 39) and how it is linked by a thousand threads to the call for Revolutionary May Day 1980. Unemployment office guards set upon the agitators in undisguised fury and the workers on the line stepped to the forefront of the struggle. It was then that the guards seized 8 members of the brigade, took them to a holding shack and called in the local oinkers. The struggle picked up speed. Some in the unemployment office took one step back, but many boldly moved out to buy the Revolutionary Worker newspaper and take up the issues at hand. One woman, coming out of the office, hesitated to buy an RW because of the confrontation inside. Her husband angrily whipped out

his quarter, grabbed the paper and held it up in the faces of the cops. One and a half hours after the arrest, another member was picked up on the streets, hauled before the same judge and slapped with \$1,000 bail for selling the Revolutionary Worker.

raged between the brigade, the reactionaries and 80-100 students who had gathered around. University personnel shouldered their way through the crowd in an attempt to "escort" the revolutionaries from campus. The locals were called in for reinforcement, threatening the brigaders with arrest. Upon hearing that there was still more revolutionaries in the cafeteria, the cops hauled off three of the revolutionaries there, detained them, but were eventually forced to release them. The events of Youngstown signify only the opening round of what will most definitely be an extremely intense struggle, but what will just as definitely end in political victory for the working class. Each side has now made very much clearer exactly how high the stakes of Revolutionary May Day really are. As the May Day Manifesto put it: "They will try to stop us, any way they can. But they will not contain us on May 1. We will face all repercussions knowing that our action will have a tremendous impact on countless more who hate this sytem but wait for the right moment to act. They will be able to see the opposing forces lining up and many will recognize their true interests, support our action, defend it and themselves take up the banner we will be raising."

The brigade members had been agitating at the local unemployment office on Wednesday morning when they were hauled in. The next morning the judge raised their bail from \$625 to a whopping \$4,500 each-and this for three misdemeanors, in most cases.

With this action, this initial reply to the opening vollies of the working class around May Day, the capitalists have made quite clear not only their intent to kill the struggle for May Day in its cradle, but even more important have revealed their fear of the possibility that the working class's intense questions and angers-today largely unfocusedwill be galvanized into a living, driving force by the plan to carry off Revolutionary May Day 1980.

But in the face of this attack, the equally clear intention of the class conscious workers to "make May Day happen" became visible in the carloads rolling up Ohio's interstates to come to the aid of their imprisoned brothers and sisters and carry through their mission among the Youngstown working class and oppressed. And meanwhile donations and messages of support poured in from everywhere.

The first major battle of May Day 1980 has been joined-and the joy of

The brigade immediately called a press conference at the U.S. Steel Ohio Works—one of the number of plants in this city, set to be closed by spring. A brigade speaker stated that this only shows "how scared they are to see the righteous anger of the workers here connected with Revolutionary May Day." That statement took on a new life as an older worker, one of the first leaving the plant, snatched a leaflet, held it up and shouted, "Long live the revolution."

There was a heavy show of press and an equally revealing show of local police. In the midst of tremendous intimidation, the workers leaving U.S. Steel took Revolutionary Workers and leaflets, many taking stacks of leaflets back inside. A worker coming on to the afternoon shift walked up to the brigade. His wife had been at the unemployment office and saw what came down. He offered his name saying, "You're my kind of people. I want to get in with you!"

At Youngstown State University, two actions simultaneously took place. A small number of students and administrative personnel rabidly attacked the brigaders, yelling to "get out." Diving headlong into the struggle, debate

Youngstown, Ohio. Not that much different than Anywhere, USA...swept into motion today preparing for a whirlwhind tomorrow. 

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dazed and shocked that we could not at once find words to express our feelings. Whatever protest we made would be but a pale reflection of the anger that seethed in the hearts of us all. Nothing can help us, neither tears nor protests, but an organized mass struggle." Within weeks strikes broke out all over Russia, and the number of workers protesting the Lena massacre rose to 300,000. Lenin wrote, "The Lena shootings led to the revolutionary temper of the masses developing into a revolutionary upswing of the masses." The ice had broken.

#### May Day 1912

These were the conditions that set the stage on which the curtain would rise for May Day. The crisis of impending world war, the brutality of life under the Tsar, punctuated by the sound of gunfire at Lena had driven home the futility of attempting to negotiate "peace" with the oppressors. But as Lenin pointed out: "Neither the oppression of the lower classes nor a crisis among the upper classes can cause a revolution; they can only cause the decay of a country, unless that country has a revolutionary class capable of transforming the passive state of oppression into an active state of revolt and insurrection." The character of the revolutionary upswing and the development of the Lena events into the mass strikes on May Day, involving even greater numbers of workers, had everything to do with the role of the Russian proletariat, particularly the classconscious revolutionary workers.

The underground networks among the workers built by the Bolsheviks through the distribution of the revolutionary newspapers, pamphlets by Lenin, smuggled into the country and other literature, produced and distributed under the harsh conditions of the Stolypin reaction were to prove decisive in this period. Lenin points out the significance of the St. Petersburg workers raising the Bolshevik slogans in a situation where one group of workers influenced another ideologically because the organizational structure of the Party had been destroyed. In this situation it quickly became clear which ideas the workers had taken as their own and which politics they supported. Only through the revolutionary agitation and propaganda was it possible for the separate "nuclei" of workers throughout Russia to be consistently armed with the political line to be able to assess the situation and act. The Bolsheviks published a weekly newspaper in St. Petersburg called Zvezda for the advanced workers which played an important role at the time of the Lena events. And on April 22, 1912, according to Lenin's instructions, the daily newspaper Pravda, a mass working Continued on page 18



May Day 1912 played a crucial part in preparing the Russian working class so that they entered the period of imperialist war with the revolutionary banner up.

Above: July 1913. The workers of St. Petersburg fight the Czar's police from behind barricades just one week before Russia entered World War I. Below: A mass meeting at the Puhlov arms factory during the revolution.



### **Workers Salute May Day Brigades**

The following statements were read at a recent dinner in Los Angeles given for the May Day Brigade. The first is from farmworkers in California's Imperial Valley. They are lettuce workers from both sides of the border who are presently on strike and have organized fundraising meetings for the Brigade's trip. The second statement read at the dinner was written by a young Mexican worker who has been in this country five months.

Comrades of the May Day Brigade: We are aware of the necessity to make revolution in this country, the United States, and we are also in contact with you through the RCP. USA.

May the struggle of the factory workers and the farmworkers continue until victory.

Sincerely, Supporters from Imperial Valley who stand with you all

The international importance of the Brigade is based on the fact that we have absolutely no other road to take, to make revolution and exterminate our rulers. We have to do it not with the aid of some other imperialist superpower such as the Soviet Union, but rather fighting shoulder to shoulder with all exploited people in this country and around the world. It's not important to us what race or color they are, what's really important is that we have common class interests and one principal characteristic: we are oppressed and exploited by imperialism. Based on this, what must stand out about the May Day Brigade is proletarian internationalism, because only in this way, by destroying the divisions imposed by the ruling class and seeing who is the real cause of our misery, our real enemy, only in this way can we win our victory.

This May Day the super-vampires of the U.S. will tremble when they see exploited peoples of all nationalities marching together, recognizing that we are one class, without borders, and raising our protests and our fists against their goddamned criminal system.

So we have to make this May Day a reality, putting all our efforts and will to fight into achieving it. And we must continue on beyond this day of the working class, until we achieve our goal, our true and longed-for goal, the extinction of classes. With this celebration of Revolutionary May Day we are going to demonstrate to our rulers that the U.S. proletariat are not suppressed and conformist slaves who they can manipulate at will, and with all their filthy propaganda of nationalism drag off to war to defend their empire. We are going to break with this negative image of the U.S. working class, and show the millions of oppressed both here and around the world who hate this imperialist system, that right here in the guts of this monster there is a revolutionary movement, led by the RCP and its Chairman Bob Avakian. Really this is very important, because I myself, before I came here, never imagined that right here in this blood-soaked beast there could be serious people determined to make revolution; and what surprise and joy when I found what I had been looking for—a genuine Communist Party, preparing to bury this system once and for all. There are millions just like me who must know about this.

# Congressional Corruption? so what else is new?

They announced the news—eight Congressmen nabbed in FBI sting. One senator, seven representatives and a few New Jersey state and city officials were caught, on film, taking some very large cash bribes in exchange for their favors.

The whole thing started when the FBI, disguised as Arab businessmen, operating from rented houses in Long Island and Washington, D.C. as well as places like the Playboy Club in Great Gorge, New Jersey, put out the word that they had hundreds of thousands of dollars to grease some palms with. The news spread quickly and within a short period of time various members of Congress were lining up to get their share. Each boasted of how powerful he is in an attempt to up his value. Everything was going fine, until last weekend when the news came out about the whole operation.

Senate and House leaders have cried for days about how "discouraged, disappointed and shocked" they are. Undoubtedly they are-from the sounds of things, a very lucrative scheme has been shut down. Representative John Murphy of Staten Island, a long time friend of the Shah and Somoza of Nicaragua and one of those caught in the act, issued a terse statement, "It's a lousy law." Representative Richard Kelly of Florida held a press conference to deny his guilt. There was only one condition attached to the type of questions asked-he would not answer any questions about "the technical aspects of the investigation." When a reporter questioned him about how he could deny his guilt when he was filmed frantically stuffing \$50,000 into his coat and trouser

pockets, Kelly refused to answer, stating, "That's a question on the technical aspects of the investigation." One question Kelly did answer was in regard to why he got involved and why he took the money. Kelly stated that he had been "confident it was crooked" and he wanted to conduct his own private investigation. He took the money and started spending it "to fool the crooks." Kelly also stated, "the FBI blew my case. When they blew the cover on their case, they blew the cover on mine." They certainly did, Richie.

The other congressmen who were filmed in various stages of bribery, including one who was fighting with an aide over who was going to carry a briefcase full of money, continue to plead their innocence. But not everyone in Congress is on the defensive; Adlai Stevenson has gone on the offensive and called for "an investigation of the FBI investigation," stating that it's a clear case of entrapment. However, FBI Director Webster remained unshaken, maintaining that before the FBI ever embarks on a sting operation, it makes sure that the results will stand up in court! Besides, noted Attorney General Benjamin Civoletti noted, it couldn't be entrapment since "no innocent people were involved."

Thank you, Ben! Truer words were never spoken. And that this equally applies to the Justice Department is indicated by the stance of the U.S. Attorney in New Jersey, Robert Del Tufo. Del Tufo suggested that one of the cornered crooks, Sen. Williams of New Jersey, not be prosecuted because of a lack of evidence. It just so happens that Williams recommended Del Tufo for





Congressman John Jenrette of So. Carolina explaining how innocent he is.

#### his job.

Politicians accepting bribes? Truly a shocking event—at least to the respected representatives who got nabbed. It isn't really news to most normal people. In fact, the question the world is asking isn't—"How widespread is this corruption in the U.S. Congress?"—but rather—"Who set up Congress's latest fall guys, and why?" Unfortunately, the face of the crooks who blew the whistle on the crooks may not be submitted to the light of day for the time being. And while little consolation is to be found for the American people as Congress sings yet another chorus of that belabored hymn, "Let's put this scandal behind us," nevertheless, the episode provides the opportunity for a few good laughs.

# Florida Prof.

#### **Continued from page 8**

vited on scant two days' notice to speak on a local talk show on Jan. 20, things began to smell even fouler. Just before his TV appearance, the commentary page of the Tribune exploded with hysterical letters claiming, "The RCP is a terrorist organization." To these let-ters the *Tribune* innocently added its own suggestive headlines like, "Get Rid of Terrorists in Education" and "Professor Uses Words as Bombs." On the TV show itself, Williamson was repeatedly asked questions like, "Are you infiltrating government agencies?" and "Are you stockpiling guns?" while his efforts to explain the political line of the RCP were sidestepped and ignored. The coverage of the interview on the 6 o'clock news, not surprisingly,

member got a similar visit from men who tried to extract information about Williamson.

"Get Williamson!" has been cried from the editorial offices of the *Tribune* to the radio receivers of local government agents' late model Chevys. And indeed, with political fervor once again alive on the USF campus and others, the suppression of revolutionary ideas and politics is certainly a task cut out for the authorities.

But more, their need to go after Williamson is unquestionably linked with the general situation developing in this country today. The hatred of large numbers of people for this system and the beginning political awakening of many more has set the stage for the increasingly frantic attacks on the RCP and its Chairman, Bob Avakian. Not coincidental to the smear campaign on the RCP in Tampa (as well as other cities) is the specific attack on Comrade Avakian, now being refined in the appelate court of Washington D.C. As Williamson remarked: "What started out here as a local newspaper being upset about a local communist at USF has now been clearly tied in to the attempts by the government to portray members of the RCP, including myself, as terrorists either through the courts or through the use of the newspapers. It's a none-too-slick way of building a case against Bob Avakian and ultimately trying to railroad him and destroy the RCP in the face of the conditions this country's rulers are up against, intensifying crisis and approaching world war."

### **Lincoln Memorial:**

### **Dedication to Segregation**

The Lincoln Memorial was built in the early 1900s. The whole structure from top to bottom is intended to promote the lie that Lincoln was the "great emancipator," that he "freed the slaves" out of pure benevolence and high ideals. The building, pattern of after an ancient temple, shelters a towering statue of Lincoln in saintly atmost free, with words from his "noble speeches" inscribed in the walls.

That the abolition of slavery was not motivated by some new-found love or concern for the rights of Black people was made quite clear at the very dedication ceremony for the monument. Dr. Robert Moten, president of the Tuskegee Institute (a Black college), was slated to speak, no doubt to preach the "great opportunities" now open to Black people in the U.S. But Moten was forced to sit on the other side of the road from the main ceremony in a "coloreds only" section! consisted of a re-run of the segment showing Williamson being grilled about "weapóns."

Later that *same* evening, two goons in three piece suits showed up at Williamson's home and started banging on his door. A friend answered, telling them Williamson was not there. He requested that they identify themselves and although they refused, the visit had all the earmarks of the methods of the FBI and Secret Service. Williamson's friend told them in no uncertain terms that he knew damn well who they were and with this, the two suited thugs slammed him against a wall, shoved him around and warned, "We'll be back." The next week, an RCYB



# **Guards Take Aim in Seattle Courtroom**

Seattle, WA., Jan. 30—A shot rings out in Courtroom No. 1051, King County Superior Court, fired by a courtroom guard directly at the defendant. The defendant crouches in front of the witness chair, forced to his hands and knees by one guard while another holds a gun to his head. The witness who had been in the chair is on top of the judges' bench. The judge has already made a beeline for the safety of his chambers.

Jurors and spectators are ordered out of the courtroom at gunpoint. Guard reinforcements are running down the halls with guns drawn. And the defense attorney is led away in handcuffs, under arrest for refusing to leave his client. Upon release from jail he said he thought the guard was definitely out to get his client. "Somebody said 'I don't know how I missed him.' I assume the officer shot at George Simmons intentionally."

You can say that again! The guard was trying to speed up the execution of George's sentencing a little—the death penalty for him and others like him who dare to fight their oppression.

George Simmons is an inmate at Washington State Penitentiary in-Walla Walla, charged with the stabbing death of Sgt. William Cross, a guard at the prison. George and his brother James, who is also charged with Cross' death and will be tried later this month, are Muckleshoot Indians from the Seattle/Tacoma area.

Simmons has had to listen to anti-Indian slurs throughout the trial. On this particular day an old friend (turned snitch), Clayton Iron Necklace, was testifying against George. In a burst of frustration and anger he leaped toward Iron Necklace and was immediately shot at by a guard from the King County Department of Rehabilitative Services.

It has been open season on inmates, in particular Native American inmates, at Walla Walla prison for quite some time now. A lockdown began on June 15 in retaliation for the death of Cross, who was killed when he went to assist another guard trying to shakedown a group of Indian inmates outside the prison mess hall. His death was immediately pinned on the Indian club in the prison that Simmons belongs to. Seven Indian prisoners were cuffed, beaten and taken to the hole. Then the guards proceeded to rampage in E Tier (or Indian Tier), calling themselves the "Cross Revenge Squad."

Since then, the guards have run amok

almost continuously. As they run around doing their ugly dirty work of beating, macing, etc., guards have been heard to say such things as: "I always wanted to kill me an Indian. Just to see how good it would feel to kill one. And that way I could pay you Indians back for killing my friend Cross." "Sgt. Cross is here." "Do you feel Cross now?" "Sgt. Cross lives through us." It seems that the "revenge squad" has now carried its activity into the hallowed halls of the Seattle courthouse and provided a very graphic illustration of what is really going on in the courtroom behind all the legal mumbo-jumbo and "dignified" court proceedings. The black-robed gentlemen of the court have George Simmons and the other Walla Walla brothers in their sights just as surely as Sgt. Cross' fellow guards.

# A Call to Foreign Born: What Will U.S. May Day Mean to You?

The Revolutionary Worker, together with the National May Day 1980 Committee, is issuing a call to foreign born workers, students and others who now live in the United States, to submit for publication in the newspaper statements about Revolutionary May Day, 1980—about what such a demonstration and a movement in the U.S.A. will mean to others oppressed around the world. You, the foreign born, have a particularly significant role to play in the struggle to build Revolutionary May Day in the United States into the historic event it must be. Whether you are from the Far East or Africa, Europe or South America, the Pacific Islands, the Middle East or Mexico, people of your native countries have life-long experiences which testify a thousand times over to the murderous and criminal nature of U.S. imperialism. You have seen and felt directly the oppressive tentacles of this system as it stretches around the world.

The imperialist system has been able to maintain illusions among many workers in this country—illusions about the system they live under and illusions about their stake in it. And many have been kept ignorant of the role of U.S. imperialism in oppressing people worldwide—for which they are supposed to be "grateful." All advanced, class-conscious forces who gather around May Day 1980 have a key task—shaking the people of this country loose of the lies they have been fed and awakening them to the situation that exists around the world. Your statements will have a profound impact on this.

Native born workers must understand what a young woman from El Salvador recently told the *Revolutionary Worker*: "If Central America is free from imperialism, that would be a big step for all of Latin America imagine, a free Latin America. And if you make revolution here in the U.S. —Damn! With these things, imagine what the people, what humanity, could do...."

Our struggle is international. The May Day Manifesto is being posted across this country in many different languages. Your answer to this call will heavily influence the international character of May Day 1980.

And in turn, May Day 1980 will have a tremendous impact in forging an international bond between workers in the U.S. and those in other countries. Imagine the response of people around the world when thousands in the U.S. march on May Day openly under the revolutionary banner of the international working class! Imagine the response when people around the world get even a glimmer that a revolutionary movement is growing



right in the heart of this monster!

You, who have been driven to this country; you, who are victims of imperialist domination and crisis in your home lands; you, who know first hand the ugly face of the imperialist enemy: Bring the experience and the knowledge you possess to bear in forging an international bond which will be decisive as the world enters the storms of the 1980s.

### A Handsome Pin Cast in Silver

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#### Proceeds to the Million Dollar Fund Drive

Prepay Orders to: RCP Publications P.O. Box 3486 Chicago, IL 60654 40,000 people "demonstrated" last month in what "March for Life" organizers claimed was proof of the genuine grassroots groundswell against abortion. What they didn't mention was that the overwhelming majority of the 40,000 people were forced to be there. They were kids who go to Catholic schools in the D.C./Baltimore area. All these schools shut down for the day and bused the kids to the bogus demonstration. Thousands of American flags added a patriotic touch to the festivities.

For the Catholic Church, these forced marches are dying gasps, and expensive ones at that. Ever since the church took it upon itself to man the outposts of the anti-abortion movement for God and country, it has sunk enormous sums of money into the cause. In 1973, when women's groups took the church to court and got a look at the Big Book (the church's account books), it was found that the church spent \$4 million on lobbying Congress against abortion in that year alone. The church spent an additional \$17 million in Congress on other issues that year. None of that \$21 million includes any money the church spent on the state or parish level.

Also deeply involved in the anti-abortion "groundswell" are other well known life-lovers—from reactionary politicians like Barry Goldwater to past and present members and leaders of the Young Americans for Freedom. And evidently some anti-abortion activists are not only ready to march for life but to kill for it as well.

For the past few years there have been numerous attacks on abortion clinics and women's health centers. These attacks have included physical assaults on patients and fire bombings during operating hours. One of these attacks took place in Cincinnati in February 1978. A chemical bomb was thrown through the window of a women's center, forcing it to close for extensive renovation. The bomb contained an acid on the government's list of chemical warfare agents. Dr. Carolyn Gerster, then the newly elected president of the National Right to Life Committee (a group set up by the Catholic Church), said of these attacks that she "had sympathetic feelings for those who strike out in violence."

### NFL vs. Tatum Book Assassin Makers Jump on "Assassin"

"It is a war in every sense of the word, and I am a warrior." This is the message that Oakland Raider Jack Tatum details repeatedly in his new autobiography, *They Call Me Assassin* (Everest House, New York). The book isn't worth its \$10 price, unless you like rambling stories about what a great man Woody Hayes (Tatum's college coach) is, and uninteresting tales about how Tatum personally lifted himself up by his own bootstraps, Horatio Alger style, to become "the hardest hitting free safety in football," to quote the jacket cover hype.

What's caused such a big uproar around this relatively dull book is that They Call Me Assassin rather bluntly describes the kill-or-be-killed mentality of pro football that Tatum has become a master of. "I make them believe that my best hits border on felonious assault," he writes, as he described how he and teammate George Atkinson competed to see who would rack up the most "knock-outs" in a season. (Two points for prone bodies, one point for limp-offs.) He reveals the tricks he learned so well, like "the hook," a legal headlock designed to "strip the receiver of the ball, his helmet, his head and his courage.'

Tatum has played this kind of football nine years and the NFL has always been grateful for it. Like the gory pictures of plane crash victims that the press is always eager for, the NFL front office figures that broken bones add zip to the game. But now Tatum finds himself in hot water. With the Moses of pro football, Commissioner Pete Rozelle, leading the charge to defend the faith, Tatum himself has become the target of a character assassination campaign for putting in print what everybody connected with the game knows but is not supposed to say.

What especially galls the NFL elders is that this is the guy who broke Baltimore Colt receiver Darryl Stingley's neck in an exhibition game a year and a half ago. At the time, there was much loud and public weeping over the "tragedy" and questions raised about Tatum's motives. Back then Tatum invoked some official ire by telling Rozelle, "I plead guilty only to ag-gressive play." Now with the publication of his book, the NFL front office is screaming for investigation and possible expulsion, sports editorials are calling him "a football creep" and suck-asses like Jack Lambert (a notoriously dirty player himself for the Pittsburgh Steelers) are whining about how they never tried to hurt anybody!! Tatum is even being attacked for using his notoriety to cash in with his book-as if the NFL didn't make its millions exactly by exploiting the notorious talents of the likes of their Jack Tatums. This is what makes all the efforts to

place the biggest possible distance be-tween "the game," and how Jack Tatum plays it, so ludicrous, Tatum plays the game exactly as he was trained to. He reveals how just before the start of the '78 season, Raider owner Al Davis told him, "I was paid to be a warhead, and anyone who came near me should get knocked to hell." Just like any mercenary soldier, Tatum was just carrying out his job of paid assassin with enthusiasm. In recounting how he became one of pro football's premier defensive players, he explains, "The Raiders had invested in me and I had to produce. Professional football is vicious and brutal, there is no time for sentiment, I was being paid well for a service; if I didn't deliver, they'd go out and find somebody else that would.'

It will be interesting to see if Tatum is still playing football next season, in light of what happened to Oakland's Fred Belitnikoff and a couple of others who were blackballed for appearing in the movie, "North Dallas Forty." (See RW, 9-13-79) From his own backward point of view, Tatum has unwittingly exposed what ex-Cowboy Peter Ghent shed some light on when he wrote the book the movie was based on. In one scene, his main character, referring to the owner, says, "Hell, they're the team, we're just the equipment. They just depreciate us and throw us away. This point cuts to the core of the capitalists' relations to those who work for them, even in the high-paid world of pro football, and these modern day slavemasters are very touchy when their real nature is revealed.

Even if Tatum is happy to be a highpriced hitman for Al Davis, the owner of the Raiders, he stepped over the line by putting it out the way it really is. Pro football players are supposed to be glorified the same way Sgt. Barry Sadler did the Green Berets years ago. "Tough, mean Americans who love puppies and little children." Tatum forgot a basic rule that his owner and his owner's class live by: "Do it, but don't admit it!"

The bottom line is that the mentality that develops among most pro football players puts the owners in a rather unflattering light. They don't give a damn about the "example the players set for America's youth" or any of that garbage-they're worried about themselves. They don't want their cynical exploitation of "their boys" to get out into the light of day. Jack Tatum's problem is that he is so out of it that he doesn't even know that they have something to hide. He was just trying to earn himself some more spending cash-but he blundered into the middle of the storm, putting his future in doubt. Just like in the CIA, assassins who hit and tell end up in the sights themselves.



Jack Tatum hitting Darryl Stingley, leaving Stingley paralyzed for life.

# UCLA Rag Attacks Chairman Avakian

The Daily Bruin, the UCLA student newspaper, has for about a month now been running a scandalous series of articles attacking the RCP and Chairman Bob Avakian. These attacks have ranged from degenerate "humor" such as a piece on the "Meow Defendants...17 cats and one dog... (who) now face the gas chamber and the hand of the Washington department of Animal Regulation..." to joining in on the Secret Service campaign with a story referring to government charges that Bob Avakian was "threatening to kill President Carter and Senator Ted Kennedy." The Bruin was forced to retract this last outright lie and this appears to have cramped their style a bit in their efforts to paint the RCP as a bunch of crazy terrorists. This however did not plug up the fountain of imperialistminded "creativity" on the staff of the Bruin.

On Feb 6, the Daily Bruin published its Satyr section as a "special Russian invasion" issue, a slick 4-page piece of imperialist war propaganda and anticommunist stereotyping about a hypothetical Soviet takeover of the UCLA campus. It is really quite fitting that the name of this section is the Satyr (which is supposed to be a take-off on the word satire) because a satyr turns out to be a mythical creature which is part man and part goat. Well, if the shoe fits, wear it. And we might add that with this latest little piece the Bruin has left no doubt that the principal ment of the Soviets and how communist dictators will turn all UCLA into robots (of course there aren't any robots on the *Bruin* staff now!), there is the following: "Bob Avakian, UCLA chancellor, announced the first annual tractor and agricultural fair in Pauley Pavillion."

Now we assume that somebody on the Bruin staff can read, since the daily stream of published words indicates that they write. And anyone who has ever read, or heard anything Bob Avakian or any article in the RCP press would know that the stand of the RCP is that the Soviet Union is an imperialist superpower, not a socialist country, and that the line of the Party is to seize every opportunity to make revolution in this country and in the event that world war breaks out before revolution to turn the imperialist war into a revolutionary civil war. Perhaps these learned reporters might try reading a book such as Red Papers 7, How Capitalism Was Restored in the Soviet Union and What It Means For the World Struggle, published in 1974 by the Revolutionary Union, forerunner of the RCP. But we won't belabor the point since facts do not seem to interest the junior G-men on the Bruin.

We would suggest to anyone on the Bruin staff who even gives a damn about printing the truth that they check out the ads for the CIA that they've been running in their paper. It appears that a number of positions may have already been filled at the UCLA journalism department.

aspect is goal.

In the midst of their humorous little piece about Carter's supposed appease-

### San Francisco Police Attack Salvadoran Support Demo

San Francisco, CA.—On February 2, a march of 400 people in San Francisco's Mission District, supporting the Salvadoran peoples' struggle against U.S. imperialism and the U.S.-backed junta, was viciously attacked by the cops. Residents from this Latino community poured into the streets as pigs used their clubs and mace on demonstrators. Six activists of the Salvadoran community were singled out for arrests, charged with inciting to riot and conspiring to riot. Demonstrators marched to the police station a block away, demanding their release.

Since Nicaragua erupted less than a year ago, demonstrations supporting the revolutionary struggles of Central American people have taken over the streets in the Mission District almost weekly. The hatred against U.S. imperialism is definitely growing to a high point. Before February 2 these demonstrators were by and large left alone. But the U.S. rulers, now forced to try to line people up for war behind their flag, can't afford to have people constantly in the streets like they've been in San Francisco, arousing others to stand with struggles worldwide against U.S. imperialism.

But keeping people in line in the Mission or anywhere else is not going to be so simple. After the arrests, even more people came out of the shops and homes. Hundreds filled Martí Square (named by the people in honor of Faribundo Mártí, a Salvadoran revolutionary), refusing to be intimidated by police ringing the area.

### \$1,000,000 Fund Drive A Success

The RCP's Million Dollar Fund Drive, launched last spring and concluded this January 29, was a success. Thousands gave, many workers and others who are oppressed by U.S. imperialism made great personal sacrifices to aid the Party in winning this battle. Others from the middle classes, some who don't agree with the whole program of the RCP, contributed because they see the Party as the only force uncompromisingly opposed to the ruling class, capable of offering the masses another road. Some gave because they hate the vicious government attacks against Bob Avakian and the RCP. Still others were moved to contribute because of the potential strength of the multinational working class, and seeing a Party beginning to prepare that class to mount the political stage, particularly on May Day 1980.

The success of the fund drive still depends, to an important degree, on pledges which are still outstanding. So it is necessary, in the next two weeks, to really conclude this final stretch by collecting all the pledges still outstanding.

The major effort to finish the Million Dollar Fund Drive is over. However, the importance of supporting the Party has not lessened. New, urgent, immediate tasks confront the working class, its Party and the masses. These tasks will continue to multiply as the situation heats up towards world war and the real prospect of revolution in the U.S. Fundralsing remains an essential element in meeting the challenges that lie before us. SUPPORT THE RCP! CHICAGO SCHOOLS SHUT DOWN

Chicago-As we go to press, 26,000 Chicago public school teachers are still on strike, with the third largest school system in the country virtually shut down. The teachers refused to work on January 28 after being paid late for almost two months and still being short two weeks pay plus retroactive pay raises from last fall. As reported in RW No. 36, on January 5 a "coalition of government, business and labor hacks" had patched together a "rescue plan" which they claimed would "bail out the Chicago schools." The plan included the sale of some \$200 million in shortterm notes, the slashing of \$60 million immediately from the school budget, and another \$106 million next fall. In spite of this, by the end of January the teachers still hadn't been paid.

The lack of pay merely added insult to injury, though, as the cuts built into the "rescue plan" were revealed. Just the most glaring details are that 1600 teachers will be fired, 34 schools closed (with 20 to 30 more recommended for closing later), and many special school programs reduced or eliminated.

The seriousness of this wasn't lost on the teachers, who, even though they finally got paid on Friday, February 1, turned around and made their walkout an official strike the following Monday. In defiance of a restraining order and now a court injunction (unbelievably requiring them to return to work without pay!), the teachers are staying out. Even the time-worn tactic of forcing the substitute teachers to scab hasn't worked; substitute and regular teachers are both walking the picket lines.

The "rescue plan" is nothing but a quick fix to keep the school system from totally collapsing for the immediate period at the expense of severe cutbacks in the school budget, while the underlying crisis only gets worse. Look at this "rescue plan" and its effect. The Chicago schools, like schools in most large cities, are plagued by overcrowding and teacher shortages, with the worst schools in the Black and Latino communities. In deteriorating buildings, with next to no facilities, where programs like physical education and bilingual education have been dwindling, one-third of the kids in the eighth grade can't even read at the sixth-grade level. Of the 34 schools that were first slated for closing in the plan, 30 are majority Black and Latino (the Chicago public school system is 80% Black and other minorities). In addition to firing 800 regular classroom teachers, the plan eliminates the jobs of 290 teachers in "Access to Excellence,' the school board's token desegregation program, plus hundreds of teacher bilingual programs and teachers of the handicapped. The Chicago public school system's official motto is "Think Children," and the media in the city have made a big show of "concern" for the students' education. School officials and politicians are lining up to proclaim their commitment to decent education for the "kids." This is the height of hypocrisy. Since when do these people give a damn about educating poor and working-class youth? As far as they are concerned, the only education these "kids" need is just enough for the army, the factory or the unemployment line. The capitalists' main concern is to prevent the heavy political and social consequences they would face if the schools shut down entirely. They want mainly to keep the kids off the streets, locked up in prison-like schools, and to cool out the anger of their parents. Their cries of "We're doing it for our kids" don't quite get over with their viciously cutting back on teachers and even closing almost 50 schools.

jobs, if you want to get paid." Robert Healey, president of the Chicago Teachers Union, endorsed the "rescue plan" and joined the chorus of voices to "get the cuts through." Of course now the anger of the teachers has forced him to stand with them even in the face of the court injunction, but he was speaking to who his real friends are when he said of the bankers who bought the city's notes, "I've called them bloodsuckers and I've called them sharks, but that doesn't mean I don't like them. They circle and they take big bites, (but) you've got to have them."

The \$200-plus million junkie fix that the "rescue plan" allows for by authorizing the sale of short-term bonds is similar to the "rescue" measures taken in 1976, the last time the schools almost went under financially. Finance capitalists-banks-bought these bonds in '76 at juicy interest rates. The bond sale meant the schools could meet their operating budget for one more year (with severe cuts then too), but like a junkie, the paying off of the interest forced the school system back to these parasites again and again as the economy continued on its downward spiral, and the operating costs of the schools shot up with inflation. This will be true, only more so, with this latest shot in the arm. So it's easy to see that this "rescue plan" isn't a rescue at all, but is more like the desperate act of a man with gangrene all through his arm, hacking off his fingers one by one to try to stop its spread.

All the handwringing by Mayor Jane Byrne and the city's financial leaders, the school board and the bankers, is a good indication of how drastic their dilemma is. They can't even find a "fall guy" yet to take the rap for the financial crisis in the schools. There is a lot of mudslinging going on, though. Time magazine was very upset as they reported in their February 11 issue: "On a local television show, the mayor, the president of the school board, the city's top financial adviser, the head of the teachers' union and a key city councilman-all of whom must cooperate to lead the school system out of financial chaos-engaged in a shouting match punctuated with name calling and charges of lying. The performance threatened to undermine further the credibility of the city's leaders in the



eyes of the financiers whose help is so desperately needed." *Time* voices the fear of the capitalist class in general that crises like the one in the Chicago schools, insoluble to them, are going to expose their true face more and more to the masses of people, and bring thousands more into motion as their system falls deeper and deeper into decay.

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After being expected to work without pay for weeks, the teachers are being told, "Help us figure out where to cut

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Revolution is the organ of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party. It is published as a monthly magazine, featuring articles that give a deep and many-sided analysis of major social questions and problems facing the revolutionary movement.

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# Letter from Pontiac Brothers

January 27, 1980

#### **Dear Comrades:**

...As you may know, conditions in the state prison are inhumane, and sadistic brutalities go on in here as a routine. When the rebellion occurred, it did not really take the administration by surprise. The administration was already waiting for something like this to happen a year earlier. After the rebellion, the department of law enforcement took over the prison and did with it as it pleased. They bribe prisoners, promising them to change them to another prison, 90 days good time immediately, 90 more days good time after they testified in court and a good recommendation letter on their parole files. It was the only way they could get testimonies—which are all lies—and the only way they will have a legal way for the biggest lynching in U.S. history.

That is what they call law: to get a hold of another person and program them to do and say what they want them to say, to say that it was all part of a gang plot, that everything was all right until the gangs took control, that the gang's chief gave us orders to kill, to destroy, when in reality, it was all the contrary, the overcrowding, the poor food, the harassment and physical abuse when we refuse to comply with their ridiculous so-called rules and regulations; that's what the capitalist media has failed to say in their papers.

The Chicago Sun-Times, the Daily News and all the rest, they all talk about three officers got killed by a bunch of animals, they say that more than four million dollars of materials, machinery and buildings were destroyed by a bunch of uncivilized savages; machinery which didn't work, material that was more than fifteen years old, buildings that were already falling apart from age—more than fifty years old. All this and more the capitalist media has failed to say.

It is clear, my comrades, clear as water, the D.O.C. (Department of Corrections) is using the Pontiac rebellion to make up for their mistakes, their abuses. How come the capitalist media doesn't put in their newspapers that prisoners are being abused? How come they don't say that we can't see a doctor when we're sick? How come they don't say nothing every time these Klan/Nazi enforcers hit us? How about every time fifteen or twenty Klan/Nazi enforcers come in our cells and handcuff us and then jump on us, leaving us almost unconscious? Why doesn't the capitalist media say nothing about that? They claim to be the victims, when in reality, we are the victims of a frame-up system.

One of my Brothers gave me a letter to write to you, and it reads as follows: "We the Brothers of Pontiac, that are victims of a very crude system; we view great interest in your article that was recently printed. One of our Latino Brothers has kept us in touch with your movement. We the 14 Brothers are very aware of the great difficulty we have in receiving any chance of winning our cases. The stage set by the system has put us in a very difficult situation; I need not mention the fact that everyone is aware that their system gave us five different judges from this 97% white rural area. The most harmful thing that could have happened to the 14 Brothers was that we were denied a change of venue to Cook County, where we would have had the chance to pick a jury of our own peers.

Before I go any further, we the Pontiac 14 want to bring to the world's attention the very difficult situation that our 17 Brothers are facing by the threatening of the system, that the system feels that their lives belong to them, and that they want them, all of them, to fry. That is a very hard and depressing situation, regardless of your strength and faith. We, the 14 Brothers, realize that we have been legally separated for very plain reasons, reasons set forth by the system. It is very obvious to us, the 14 Brothers. ... But we, the 31 Brothers, remain very concerned about each other and we have a very strong relationship, regardless of the situation that the system has presented us with.... WE STAND STRONG IN OUR STRUGGLE."

> Brother XXXX Victim of the system frame-up

As you can see by this letter, it is not only the way he feels, but the way we all, the 14 Brothers, feel. This is what we believe in.

Last night we got the news about our other two Brothers in Bloomington County. The jury found them guilty, there is no telling how much time they will get for this frame-up. ... The struggle has just begun. We want the entire world to know how the capitalist/imperialist system works. This is their law, a law which our people were not allowed to participate in, laws that our people had no say so, laws that will only be convenient to the capitalist, not the working class. It is sad to say, how many people have sold themselves for so little to defend this system, it is even more sad to think of how many of our own have betrayed us to the capitalist power. Nevertheless, we the Pontiac 31 will remain stronger than ever, we will struggle harder than before, twice as hard to smash not only which frame up that this system which oppresses us the working class. Send the Revolutionary Message of the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party Crashing through the Prison Walls.

There are thousands of brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class; who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker*.

MARKUTE

This weapon of revolution continues to pass through the hands of many times the number of prisoners who subscribe to it at present. These prisoners are fast becoming a part of the *Revolutionary Worker* Network Conspiracy behind the prison walls—growing numbers of prisoners who are writing to us requesting subscriptions to the *Revolutionary Worker*. If you are planning a subscription to

If you are planning a subscription to the *Revolutionary Worker* for yourself or a friend, donate the cost of a second one-year subscription to a prisoner and receive an 8-page supplement "The Thunder...and the Storm Begins," featuring scenes of the February insurrection in Iran that swept the Shah from his Peacock Throne.

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# Hunting Season— On Black People

The sickening news story just broke in the northern California town of Oroville, after having been kept from the public for a year. On January 13, 1979, two young white men along with a girlfriend went out to poach deer. murderers, the judge placed a gag order on the case, preventing the details from leaking out even to the victim's mother, because he feared a response from the Black community. Of course, if the story had been that two Blacks had gun-

this frame-up, but this system which oppresses us the working class.... We will struggle until we see the end of this capitalist system.... FREE THE PONTIAC 31, PUT THE STATE ON TRIAL, SMASH THE FRAME-UP.

BUILT TO WIN, In Solidarity; Signed, 6 Pontiac Brothers

Pamphlet from the Revolutionary Worker

#### NOW IN SECOND PRINTING price: 25¢

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

Conservation and the second second

After drinking, failing to find a deer, or, as they put it, "even a cow," they turned to human prey—hunting for Black people. After driving down to Chico's Black community, they spotted 22-yearold Jimmy Campbell as he walked along the railroad tracks. Laughing, Jimmy McCarter aimed and fired, and Campbell was dead.

As they sped back to Oroville he aimed at three other Blacks, but the gun jammed. The other man, Dean Noor, then took the rifle and shot at a Black woman who, while only being grazed, fell and pretended to be dead, escaping further attack. They then went home, bragging and joking, too exhausted for more.

The two men were arrested within a day, because, so infatuated with their success, they bragged about it everywhere they went. The police chief, virtually admitting they wouldn't spend much time investigating the shooting of Blacks, said, "They'd have never been caught except they couldn't keep their mouths shut about the killings." When questioned about this, however, he insisted race had nothing to do with this view, since he had "had Black friends" all his life.

During the trial of these deranged

ned down a white man, that would have been on page 1 all across the country, trumpeting a "wave of racist killings by Blacks."

The two pleaded guilty to first-degree murder charges after plea bargaining with the D.A., and with luck they could be out in 17 years. Thousands of Blacks are in prison with longer sentences on minor charges or on total frame-ups. And of course, lawyers for the two are demanding special protection for them in prison since "they'll need to be shielded from attacks of Black prisoners." When the D.A. was called out by Campbell's enraged mother for letting the two plea bargain, he claimed she was drunk.

With all of this, it would seem quite obvious that much more is being protected and preserved in this case than these two demented killers. And these Oroville hunters in actual fact only made one mistake—in the heat of the moment, they forgot to get a hunting license—the one that the pigs wear on their chest. As far as the ruling class is concerned, Black people are fair game, and more and more it's open season where even these Oroville "poachers" and their ilk can have a go.

and so is present to se do the

# Frame-up Continues: First **Pontiac Prisoners Convicted**

Bloomington, Illinois. Manuel Santiago and Luis Perez, the first two Pontiac Brothers to face trial on charges stemming from the Pontiac Prison Rebellion of July 1978, were convicted of mob action and battery on January 25. These brothers now face up to ten additional years in the hell-hole known as Pontiac Prison for supposedly beating another inmate during the rebellion where over 1000 inmates rose up against the inhuman conditions at the 100-year-old maximum security prison (see RW No.35).

Two groups of prisoners now face charges in retaliation for the uprising. Seventeen inmates were charged with 15 counts of murder each for the death of three guards, and the state is hoping to dust off the Illinois electric chair for these brothers when they go to trial in March in Chicago. Santiago and Perez are part of a second group of 14 facing lesser charges. The state has pulled out all the stops to secure convictions of all those in this second group, not only to get these brothers but to lay the best possible basis to give the Pontiac 17 the max. The trial was originally scheduled to be heard in Pontiac, but defense lawyers won a change of venue motion hoping to have the trial moved to Chicago, only to find it moved instead to the small, 95% white, rural town of Bloomington, in McLean County, 35 miles south of Pontiac. A survey taken by the local newspaper just before the trial began revealed that 82% of the residents thought the accused were "probably guilty." An extensive media campaign of lies and slander has been waged, much of it characterizing the prisoners as "vicious people...human animals...the worst of society...they don't have to have a cause to kill." The state was virtually assured of getting the stacked jury they needed for a sure conviction.

The prosecution's case rested heavily on the testimony of a string of witnesses from the prison who had been bribed and threatened into turning state's evidence as well as a motley crew of Ill. Dept. of Law Enforcement (IDLE) agents who had conducted the "investigation" at the prison during the 8 month lockdown following the rebellion. The prisoner whom Perez and Santiago were accused of beating, revealed he had been transferred to a medium, then a minimum security prison shortly after he "identified" Perez to authorities (with the help of some photographs). Another witness who had been threatened with loss of "good time" and contempt of court

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when he had second thoughts about testifying for the state, also testified that prosecutor John Beyer, who himself had assisted with the "investigation", had promised to "shift the weight" on to him (prosecute him-RW if he backed down.

Charles Mitchell, a Pontiac prisoner who had changed his mind several times about appearing as a witness for the prosecution, finally took the stand for the defense during a pre-trial hearing to testify that the state promised to make him a deal if he identified Perez as one of the attackers. The prosecution was so uptight about this "betrayal" that they sent 5 IDLE flunkies to the stand to discredit his testimony. In a very suspicious incident, Mitchell and another prisoner were arrested the day the trial began for allegedly stabbing two guards while shackled hand and foot as they were being brought to the Pontiac courthouse for a hearing on an apparently unrelated incident.

An article headlined, "Guards stabbed outside courthouse" appeared the next day in the Bloomington newspaper, relating the first-hand accounts of "terrified bystanders." Another article followed describing a meeting between local residents and law enforcement officials where one woman

prisoners in Santa Fe staged a sitdown strike, refusing to eat or work. The prison broke into open rebellion after officials refused to negotiate their 120 demands. Again in June of 1976 and June of 1977 mass resistance broke out. Legal suit after legal suit has been filed and the prisoners have even received a lesson in the end results of such "proper legal channels." In 1972, Roman Silva was beaten by guards and found dead in his cell only days before he was scheduled to testify against the conditions at Santa Fe.

"Animals, Savages." The stomach turning hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie continues to date. And their cries are even more disgusting when it is understood that what they seek to create in their "penal system" is precisely a mirror image of capitalist society as a whole. The dog-eat-dog outlook that's the hallmark of this animalistic system is well reflected in the snitch system. The authorities were "shocked" when a tour of the prison revealed drug usage during the rebellion-but drugs are commonplace in the prison and a long standing practice of these same authorities has been

suggested "hanging prisoners who don't want to cooperate." In the courtroom the next day, when Luis Perez rose to take the witness stand, a county sheriff jumped up and moved into position to "guard" the jury from these "dangerous prisoners who might do anything." And when the defense attorney motioned for a mistrial on the grounds that the jury had been blatantly and intentionally prejudiced, the pro-secutor shot back, "Look, we had a stabbing yesterday. We have to take precautions." Motion denied! The message had come through to the jury loud and clear: These guys aren't just a threat to each other, they're a threat to you.

Manual Santiago and Luis Perez were convicted three days later by the Bloomington kangaroo court. The length to which the bourgeoisie is going to secure convictions in these Pontiac trials is a clear indication of just how terrified they are of the potential explosive power of those they have locked up in their dungeons. They are sitting on a powder keg and desperately trying to keep a lid on it through the most vicious and insidious repression.

to readily supply informants and, no doubt, drug rebellious prisoners. The press was "shocked" when it was learned that some prisoners inside during the rebellion may have been the victim of homosexual attacks-but the prison also supplied cooperative inmates with homosexual partners, delivered directly to their cells. And should anyone be shocked if some random killings did occur on the basis of race, then there will be little relief for them anywhere in this country-a prison much larger than Santa Fe, but also one with the oppression of nationalities as its hallmark. And when the authorities shriek "savages" at these prisoners it is to serve only one purpose-to justify and create public opinion for reinforcing their truly savage system, including its ugly repressive apparatus.

As attempts are made to contain the hatred which exploded on February 2 in Santa Fe, the rebellion at the New Mexico State Penitentiary has thrust one unmistakable conclusion before the eyes of anyone who cares to observe: the real savages and animals in this story are not inside, but outside the cell door bars.

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

# **Prison Rebellion**

#### Continued from page 1

During the 36 hour rebellion, 11 guards were held hostage while others managed to escape. The guards were released one by one in exchange for the demand that the press be allowed into the prison to hear the grievances and demands of the prisoners. The last three hostages were released after the Chief of Corrections agreed not to massacre the prisoners. A heavily armed force of 500, consisting of National Guard, State and local police, took control of the prison on Sunday afternoon. 32 are known to have been killed during the rebellion.

"Animals!" bellowed the high and mighty in the hail of blood and guts headlines from coast to coast. "Savages!" cried the officials, the politicians, the police. While the smoke over the New Mexico State Penitentiary cleared, these reactionary hysterics of bourgeois spokespersons in all quarters only grew louder. The Santa Fe uprising was "shocking."

A bloody rebellion? Yes, it was. And those killed-were they merely innocent inmates? Most were not. The main target of the prisoners was the hated informants-snitches and spies from within the ranks of the prisoners who were part of a network on which the prison guards and authorities heavily relied-even more than in most prisons. This network of informants has been key to prison officials in keeping strict control over the prisoners. The 22 guards that usually manned each shift could in no way do all the dirty work to keep the almost 1,200 prisoners in their places. Waves of beatings could be traced back to the mouths of these informants. On merely the word of a snitch, prisoners were thrown into isolation or held in lockup. And these backstabbers were directly responsible for the extension of years on prisoners' sentences. In return for their services, the informants received special favors-drugs, better living quarters, better food. Those that had become exposed and had outlived their usefulness to prison officials, were separated from the general prison population. Cell Blocks three and four in protective segregation became the final resting place for many of these traitors. One report said prisoners quickly broke into the file drawer identifying the snitches and went to get them.

spontaneous, with many involved out to get revenge. In the confusion of the moment, it is entirely possible, as some reports have indicated, that some of the killings were not of informants, but instead, racially motivated. There are, of course, national divisions in this and all prisons. These divisions are deliberately fostered in the offices of the prison officials themselves-a well-known trick, intent on setting one nationality against the other all in the interest of maintaining "order." Even organized prisoner reactionaries-organized, that is, by the authorities-may have jumped into the killings.

From all indications, the Santa Fe rebellion didn't assume the consciousness or organization evident in a number of other prison revolts-notably Attica-and in this sense, doesn't represent the kind of very advanced prison actions already taken in this country.

But what is very familiar is the conditions the Santa Fe prisoners rebelled against. In the New Mexico State Penitentiary, men are thrown together in little cages, one cell, six by nine feet, for two and sometimes three men. One man sleeps on the floor, the other on a

Many of the details surrounding the takeover of the prison remain sketchy. The rebellion appeared to be quite

steel bunk. Their feet nearly touch the bars, their heads almost in the toilet. The food is so disgusting that some men go for five to six days without eating. When they can afford food from the prison store, they must buy it cold and try to heat it by building a fire in the toilet in their cells. A favorite trick of the prison officials is lockup-depriving prisoners of any recreation by leaving them locked up in their cells. One prisoner wrote to his mother right before the rebellion, "I guess I should be used to it by now, as they have been locking me up since I first got to prison. I've been in the lock-up for three out of four years... It looks like they just don't like some of us and every time they get a chance to lock us up, they keep us locked up for as long as they can..." An ex-convict and RCP supporter wrote in a statement which was read in front of the prison walls "They shed our blood, they treat us like dogs and then they got the balls to have churches for us to go into to ask for forgiveness."

There have been repeated outbreaks and struggle against the criminal conditions in the New Mexico State Penitentiary. Sitdown strikes and revolts date back to the '50s. Right after the Attica prison rebellion in 1971, half of the

### Revolution



From speeches delivered at International Women's Day, 1979. And a solidarity message from the

League of Fighting Women of Iran.

**RCP** Publications Box 3486 Merchandise Mart Chicago, IL 60654 \$1.00



They broke into armories and emerged waving newly liberated M-16s, weapons which only a short while before had been the instruments of their oppression. They layed seige to police stations, army bases and SAVAK headquarters, bloody torture chambers which no longer commanded fear. They danced in the streets and drove joyously through the cities, piled 5 deep on the sides of captured tanks. They had launched an insurrection and won! Their struggle rekindled the dream of revolution in the hearts of millions of people around the world.

In the year since the insurrection in Iran the revolution that was begun in those days of fire and fury has continued through twists and turns. Mighty forces long hidden beneath the surface of society burst forth and locked in struggle to decide the direction of the revolution now that the Shah was gone. The new Islamic government with Khomeini at its head and the Iranian capitalist class supported and benefitted from the overthrow of the Shah, but opposed the continuing struggles of the masses to kick U.S. imperialism, feudalism and exploitation out of Iran for good.

Women, despite heavy feudal bonds of home and hearth, had joined the insurrection guns in hand to fight beside their husbands and brothers, playing a key role in the struggle. Tradition's chains began to crumble, as revolutionary women's organizations began to draw ever more women into active political struggle to further develop the revolution. Attempts of the Islamic government to keep women off the political stage have gone down to defeat.

Workers, many who had slaved for U.S. corporations, refused to return to "business as usual" preventing the return of foreign managers and forming their own councils and trade unions. Increasingly inspired by revolutionary ideology, brought to them largely by the students, the workers have become a political force felt in every struggle, from opposition to the press censorship laws to support for the Embassy seizure. On May Day this past year 2 million workers openly raised the red flag of the international working class in the skies of Iran for the first time in nearly thirty years. Peasants, especially in Kurdistan, armed themselves, formed peasant councils and unions and began to throw out the feudal landlords who represented generations of bloody exploitation. Again the Islamic government, hoping to block the course of the revolution, attacked, sending troops to try to smash the Kurdish people's struggle. It was soon clear that a politically aroused and armed people are a ferocious force that is not easily crushed. The revolutionary left flowered. The masses of people began to crave political knowledge. Sidewalk bookstores and political posters flourished. Unable to consolidate a stable situation for itself, and faced with the growing struggle of the people to press forward the revolution, the government moved to close down newspapers and offices of the Left, driving them underground, hoping to isolate the people from revolutionary ideas and leadership. Still further twists and turns unfolded. Students seized the U.S. embassy, generating an outpouring of struggle stronger then anything seen since the days of the insurrection, temporarily forcing the government to go along or suffer grave consequences. The revolution cannot remain halfway. The superpowers are clawing away at the entire region in fierce contention with each other. The U.S. has been wheeling and dealing with the Islamic government, now headed by Bani Sadr, and there is obviously new treachery afoot as the Iranian upper classes seek to crawl back under the wing of U.S. imperialism. Now Bani Sadr has launched an open challenge to the students occupying the Embassy and to the masses who support them. With millions of people politically mobilized, declaring their intention to not be enslaved by either superpower the question of which class interests will rule in Iran is most certainly not a settled question.



The revolutionary aspirations of the Iranian people have yet to be fulfilled, but the basis for them to take their own future into their hands is firm. One year since the insurrection, and what have they got? A country in the throes of revolution. **Oil workers** 

# Iran from "Island of Stability" to Sea of Revolution

When Jimmy Carter visited Tehran in December of 1977, he was able to feast in the Shah's huge palace, and boastingly declared that Iran was "an island of stability in a troubled world." Outside those marble walls in the narrow alleys that are the heart of the city there were rumblings: economic and political crises were ripening; students were demonstrating against the regime; "human rights" poetry readings attracted thousands; and peasants, driven from their villages, were fighting for the right to build make-shift shacks on unoccupied land.

But these stirrings were isolated and scattered two short years ago. The regime, among the most heavily armed and U.S.-supplied in the world, seemed to be handling them. "When the Shah was on TV, I turned it off," Alli cursed. "But on the streets I said nothing." Who could know who you were talking to?" "I wasn't happy," another remarked, "but I didn't really think about it so much. My father would beat me if he ever even caught me with political literature.'

Small groups of a dozen or so revolutionaries met in secret cells discussing plans, writing and copying a few hundred leaflets to secretly stuff into library books or leave in student cafeterias. Years of persistent workspreading newspapers, preparing, braving arrests and torture.

Then barely one week after Carter left, several thousand demonstrated in the city of Qom, some hundred miles south of Tehran, raising slogans for a return to democracy and against an insult to Ayatollah Khomeini which had appeared in the government press. The Shah's troops opened fire on the demonstrators-no cracks could be tolerated in this dictatorship. Over two hundred were massacred.

Political posters and leaflets (YGET HW)

Demonstrations marking the fortyday period for the dead were called across Iran. Religious circles passed out thousands of leaflets, and leftist students, often wearing masks for protection, marched and leafleted in working-class neighborhoods, chanting, "Down with the Shah, Down with U.S. Imperialism!" "Saturday is the general uprising in commemoration of the martyrs of Qom," appeared on walls throughout the northern city of Tabriz. The nation was in shock, waiting to see what would happen. Somebody had to do something. One Iranian remembered: "We knew there would be demonstrations in Tabriz, but we didn't know how many people there would be-or how much hatred they would have."

#### Tabriz-An Electric Shock

On February 19, 1978 the morning streets of Tabriz were quiet, but quickly, group after group, neighborhood after neighborhood poured into the streets, congregating at several rallying points. Still more thousands came. Someone was shot and killed by the police, and the demonstrating began. But this was to be no ordinary demonstration, no orderly march: 200,000 rampaged through the streets of Tabriz, exploding with years of pentup anger and hatred at the daily brutal oppression they had lived. Anything that smacked of the Shah's regime or its imperialist masters was destroyedover 72 foreign banks in one day.

Slogans initiated by leftist students, of "Down with the Shah! Down with U.S. Imperialism!" echoed throughout burnt-out buildings. These slogans, capturing the feelings of the people, reverberated throughout Tabriz, giving the uprising a much more revolutionary character than anything seen before in Iran. Workers, while not yet entering the struggle under their own class banner, were in the streets in large numbers, reinforcing and adding to the revolutionary sentiments that were bursting forth.

Now in control of the city, the masses surged through the streets, heading toward the central square that held their destination, the headquarters of the Shah's fascist Rastakhiz Party. Two hundred thousand people streamed into the square from all corners of Tabriz and reduced the headquarters of the only legal party in Iran to smoldering ashes. For a day and a half the people controlled Tabriz.

Tabriz sent an electric shock throughout Iran. Looking back, another Iranian said, "When Qom happened we didn't know what to believe, but they couldn't hide Tabriz. On TV we saw the 2 banks, the cars and the government buildings. We saw the Rastakhiz building. We saw a fighting city. We knew the revolution had started." The actions of the people of Tabriz were a turning point for the whole country.

Tabriz taught the masses that there were thousands like themselves who longed for the chance to lash out in fury against the Shah. Tabriz taught millions what the targets of their hatred should be, and what slogans crystallized that hatred. Tabriz proved to the masses that in their thousands they could deal heavy blows to the supposedly almighty Shah. "After Tabriz I thought the people could win, because all the Shah had was the army. We had the people.'

From that spark; demonstrations, rebellions and uprisings spiralled throughout 1978. Every time the regime resorted to murder, more saw its true nature and, enraged, were drawn into the streets. When the regime, while still firing bullets, tried to cover itself in the language of reform, the people were emboldened by the regime's fright and were disgusted by its transparent attempts to deceive them. The movement developed through the summer, leaping ahead even after the Shah massacred hundreds in August in the Abadan theater fire and 10,000 more in September, 1978 on Bloody Friday. Iran was thrown into total turmoil as millions of workers shut down the country and the streets filled with burning barricades.

#### **A Year's Transformation**

In one short year, 1978, Iran was transformed from a country where people were afraid even to talk about politics, to a nation where one bourgeois commentator was forced to complain that people talked about nothing but politics; from a dictatorship where people were arrested for possession of a single political sheet of paper, to a nation bursting with hunger for revolutionary literature-printing millions of books in the space of weeks, with books, newspapers and cassettes lining the streets; from the workers toiling daily in the grind of the oil wells and factories, to the workers coming out in their masses, not yet leading the revolution but radically changing its character; from the tense angry life of daily routine, to being drawn into political struggle-ready to lay down their lives for the cause.

In January of 1978 the newspapers droned on boringly about the normal bourgeois state of affairs, with perhaps one small article, buried in the paper, about a dozen or so anti-regime protesters. One year later, in January 1979, the newspapers were bursting with news of "millions in the streets," of strike waves "spreading by the hour" and "mobs running wild."

New parties were formed daily and new programmes and declarations spewed forth. With the government announcing yet another plan to bring order to the

nation and change its evil ways, another group of officials resigned, and yet another joined the chorus of criticism. "Three premiers in one day," the papers proclaimed. "Khomeini and the Na-tional Front have agreed"-but the next day it was off as the opposition groups shifted, compromised and maneuvered to keep up with the masses and fight for the leadership of the movement.

Revolutionary leftist groups who once could not even meet with each other, now openly commanded followings of hundreds of thousands, and their influence was spreading by the hour. The contradictions had accumulated, hidden from the naked eye-only to burst forth with volcanic intensity. And once this Pandora's box was opened, a whole new dynamic of struggle and learning, of being forced by the glaringly sharp contradictions to take sides and join the struggle, were set in motion. The scattered protests of hundreds of thousands were turned into a nationwide uprising of tens of millions.

Jimmy Carter's 1978 New Year's visit was hailed as a good omen by the Shah. One year later, 1979, millions around the world hailed the Shah's downfall as a truly good omen-and the world was in turmoil. 

orship.



## Brigades

#### **Continued** from page 1

of class conscious workers and others-they will leave behind in their wake hundreds of thousands deeply affected by seeing the embryo of May Day take shape. And much more concretely they will also leave behind Revolutionary Worker networks, with many in them very committed to building for May First 1980-May Day organizers in the communities and plants.

#### A typical day:

Brigade squads hit the streets at 5 a.m. Groups ranging from 10 to 20 turn up at the gates and parking lots of the biggest, and most volatile plants in the city, cutting the early morning darkness with a powerful sound system and selling the Revolutionary Worker.

Later in the morning, a van pulls up to an unemployment center and a dozen volunteers pour into the office, marching and chanting. Challenging agitation goes on, papers change hands and by the time the van rolls out-eluding the then arriving local cops-an angry

young Black woman has joined the squad for the day, stepping forward to agitate and sell the Revolutionary Worker right off the line.

She leads the squad through the city to a crowded welfare office and a check cashing operation, and again and again pushes out the May Day message, either standing up boldly and linking May Day right up to the most intense concerns of the people, or going deeply one on one.

The afternoon goes on and the brigade passes by a key strike in the city -a bitter battle over wage cuts. Four or five brigaders pour out at every gate, giving short speeches on May Day, selling papers and getting names. "Who's to say you guys are any different?" says a striker. Struggle jumps off, focused on the content of articles in the Revolutionary Worker and the plans for May Day, and how any leadership has to be judged by whether or not it is arming the masses to consciously understand the world and bringing them forward to change it on that basis. An older Black worker makes the point that he's a World War II vet, but he won't fight again-or see his kids fight-to defend the Shah or his puppet masters. "Why don't you listen to these guys?" he says

aided by the antics of the so-called

As we go to press, ten volunteers from the Revolutionary May Day Brigades are locked up in Youngstown, Ohio (see story, page 6). They are being held on \$4,500 bail each. Funds are urgently needed! Send contributions to:

> National May Day Committee 3136 E. Davison Detroit, Michigan 48212

to a buddy, and then turns to a brigader to apologize for not being vocal enough -though he's already proven when it comes to taking sides he'll not only choose the right one, but will fight to win others to it.

All through the day the volunteers struggle to sum up to understand more deeply the battle for May Day, and moods and aspirations of the people, and how to more effectively link the two to tap the proletariat's strengths and draw forth its enthusiasm. "Your little rap at the gate was pretty dry," says one to another-"What do you think is holding it back?" Struggle. "Hey, how come we didn't give that guy more than a dozen newspapers?"

However, in spite of all the attempts of the ruling class and their agents to sabotage this march, the huge demonstration making its way through Greensboro had a big effect, not just on those who came, but on the people of Greensboro as a whole, who, in one way or another, had their eyes on what would happen that day. The demonstration made a political statement the authorities did not want in the streets of Greensboro. This tears a hole in the bourgeoisie's plans for what should happen after the massacre-which included only silence, with no opposition from the masses. And it makes it more difficult to carry through their legal whitewash of the massacre in the secrecy they want. 

# DAB

#### Continued from page 5

timidation have not brought things back to normal, the velvet glove approach of petty reforms has not been too successful either. The first meeting which was called to open up communication between the leaders and the people ended up with the people shouting down the mayor and every other politician. Although it was held in a church to try to keep things quiet, some mighty sacrilegious things were said that night. Numerous other meetings have been held since then, attended by such reformist heavies as a Justice Department conciliator, a national official of NAACP, and the head of Oklahoma'a Human Rights Commission. Attendance at these meetings has been one-

Now a grievance committee of four

More struggle. So on through the afternoon.

The brigade, broken down into teams of two or three, dispersed in houses and apartments around the city, exchanges experience and ideas with long time fighters and people who just gave their names, adds people daily to the ranks of the May Day army as they learn better how the call for Revolutionary May Day 1980 relates to the material reality of this country.

Get ready...there's a May Day twister right around the bend that's about to pick you up in your city, shake the hell our of your rut and routine, and leave a trail of righteous proletarian chaos in its wake.

### Greensboro

#### **Continued from page 5**

the "oppression" of the American hostages at the hands of the Iranians, he was nearly booed off the stage by virtually everyone in the audience. Andy Young, who was scheduled to speak, decided it would be better not to show his face.

While thousands came to Greensboro from up and down the east coast, the ruling class's campaign of intimidation prior to and during the march did have some effect on the turnout, especially from Greensboro itself. This campaign included attempts to block a permit from being issued; a thinly veiled invitation to the Klan to attack, made by the police chief, who said, "We are sure someone is going to attack"; and reams of speculation in the newspaper about whether there would be another "shootout" between the Klan and the leftists.

The bourgeoisie and the police were

**NOW IN SECOND PRINTING** New Pamphlet from the **Revolutionary Worker** 

#### "Communist" Workers Party. Their behavior had a bit of credibility since 5 of their members had been viciously gunned down in the massacre by the Klan and Nazis last November. But in this demonstration, after consistently putting forward the most narrow and reformist politics in building for the march (such as making a big deal about their demand for a congressional investigation of the massacre), the CWP suddenly announced three days before the march that they planned to come armed. This little flip over to provocative posturing couldn't have been timed better to coincide perfectly with the bourgeoisie's attempts to scare people away for fear that some crazy "communists" were going to give the police the excuse to attack the march-and anything might happen. The police were offered a perfect setup if they wanted to harass and attack the march, and Governor Hunt used it as a pretext for putting the national guard on alert and declaring a partial state of emergency in Greensboro.

By Bob Avaklan

by Dob Avarian, Chairman of the Central Committee, Revolutionary

Party, USA



### **Bus Driver Disappoints FBI**

After being told that the Greyhound bus to Greensboro was not running that day, a group of people on their way to Greensboro march from one area managed to force the company to back down. As their bus approached Greensboro the driver told people that it had been prearranged for him to meet two FBI agents who tailed the bus into town. After dropping people off at the rally site, the FBI agents escorted the driver to a motel room where they asked him a bunch of questions. He told them that "this was the nicest group of people I've ever driven." He was then "offered" an escort out of town after the rally. However, he declined their offer saying that he didn't need any protection since he had all the people on the bus to protect him if anything happened.

The following letter from a very concerned citizen appeared in a recent issue of the Honolulu Star Bulletin in Hawaii:

#### Dear Sir,

It is discouraging that we stand by while communist slogans are pasted throughout our beautiful city.

Great care has been taken to paint and decorate and design our buildings, walls and bus shelters-in a minute they are defaced by thoughtless amorals.

First printing Nov. 29, 1979-10,000 Second printing Dec. 6, 1979-15,000

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

Uncle Toms is writing up a list of "legitimate complaints" which has taken the rage of the masses and tried to pasteurize it into harmless reforms. Among the list of demands is better qualified police (perhaps they have in mind the caliber of Houston or Philadelphia cops!). Another demand was jobs for youth, but with the stipulation that youth must prepare for the jobs and stop causing trouble in the streets. Reverend White, the head of the committee, made it perfectly clear-"We want to bring about solutions that are of a non-violent nature. I believe the persons of this panel stress the importance of non-violence.'

In the face of the brutal lynch murder of Henry Lee Johnson, the good reverend's sermons about non-violence stand as living proof of his role and what line of thinking his type promotes in the struggle in Idabel. The authorities have shown very well what their stand is on violence-one-way violence, reactionary violence that keeps the Black people down is fine with them. As one woman told the RW (Vol. 1, No. 38,

Each poster is fastly glued so it is very difficult to remove.

I was in San Salvador, Central America last November and there is not one wall or building free of ugly painted slogans-even marble facades! The people there are fearful of removing them. How long before we too are too afraid?

Are there no laws concerning defacing public (and private) property? If we let them put a thousand this month it will be two thousand next time. The address attached to each poster is the National Manifesto Committee, 3136 East Davison, Detroit, Michigan. Such defiance of local law and dignity!

Jan. 25, 1980) "Yes, there's been enough violence, but yet there hasn't been enough." Despite all the schemes of the powers that be, the masses have no interest in "getting back to normal." The bridge has broken—it's tired of being walked on.

#### - Notice-

The fourth and final part of our series on The Science of Revolution does not appear this week. This concluding article—covering the basic line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA—will appear in next week's issue.

## A Talk with Bob Avakian

#### **Continued from page 3**

If a year ago they would tell us we were crazy when we pointed to the prospect of war, if a lot of these same masses told us we were crazy three years ago, they will not spontaneously turn towards us for an explanation for why it's happening now that it actually is much clearer that it's happening. But that's the way it is and that's why we have to do this work.

Certain things happen because the U.S. is in the top dog spot, you know, the one that came out of the last war with the division of the world in its favor, then saw that go up for grabs and the other imperialism be the one—the newcomer at the banquet needing more spoils and so on, certain things happen when that goes on. U.S. imperialism did have their Vietnam and they cannot do any more what they did in Vietnam, both because they're weakened and also because there aren't going to be any more Vietnams that are just like Vietnam was.

#### The Start of the War

And how is the war most likely to start? It 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. This way is most likely and I think we have to prepare for it now and do preparatory work among the masses for it. If it goes down that way, the phenomenal appearance will be that the Soviets are the "aggressors."

How did it start in World War 2? Hitler went into Czechoslovakia, Hitler went into Austria, you know, Hitler went here and there and then, finally in Poland, the other imperialists had it together and said, "That's it," and then they had a war. The Comintern (Communist International at that time-RW) went from one bourgeois logical position to its opposite pole: first of all it was "Nazi, Nazi, Nazi." Then all of a sudden there was even a little bit more or less like "Britain actually started the war"-after the Nazis and Soviets had signed a pact. They really did disarm the masses. It was like they went right along with the bourgeois logical reasoning.

Precisely the point that's proved by that is that you can argue either way. Say it started over Afghanistan. You could argue that the U.S. started it because they started it: the Soviets just went into Afghanistan; the U.S. went back in knowing it was going to make everything go up, and there it went. So, "The U.S. is to blame." Or you can say, "Well clearly the Soviets started it; they went into Afghanistan. All the people of good will in the civilized world had no choice but to stand up against it, and that made the war." So there you are. And the masses in each country (except for the class-conscious ones) will go for the bourgeois logical pole that happens to be the one being put out by their bourgeoisie, by and large. At the beginning that's the way it will be. We have a lot of work to do, understanding that we're not going to be able to win most people over to this understanding until they awaken to political life. And probably we'll have to win them through the back door. Not that many are going to respond to our beckoning and come in through the front door. They're going to be beckoned in by the enemy and then we'll lead them back out. They're going to go a roundabout way to get a correct understanding no matter how much work we do. Just like around Iran, they're going to be whipped up by the bourgeoisie, but they're going to raise their heads; they're going to think politically; the war's going to go on and I think that what this "man from the street" said was basically not too unastute, you know, "Hey, the Russians got everything the Americans got." In other words, basically, what they're saying is that there's no

guarantee at all that the U.S. is going to win this war.

We have to arm the advanced particularly, and influence the broad masses as much as possible now, to understand this point about "who fired the first shot"-that that's not the question. First of all, like I just indicated, it can be argued either way anyway, and in a certain sense it is impossible to tell because you can ask, "First shot in what round?" And anybody can argue that it started the week before they fired the shot that you say was the one that started everything. And similarly, you know, you can go around and around on aggression. Who's aggressing here and there-each one of the imperialists can point to the crimes of the others and they always do and always will, to rally the masses to their banner. But again, the masses in each country will tend to gravitate spontaneously towards the particular logic of their own bourgeoisie. It's true so I'll say it again, we've got to arm the advanced to combat this line by bringing home concretely and in a living way over and over again that that is not the issue, and the issue is the class interests involved on both sides and, opposed to that, the class interests of the proletariat in opposition to both these imperialist blocs.

#### **Right to Speak**

We have very important work to do, to continue to expose U.S. exploitation, plunder, oppression, interference, aggression (in the sense of military attacks) upon peoples and countries around the world. That's very important, for us to continue to expose that U.S. imperialism is doing these things *right now*.

To expose their hypocrisy, I think the point should unabashedly be made that in this country we are the only ones with any right to condemn the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. And we do. But nobody else can say a goddamn thing, I mean, when I say "we" I'm talking about the proletariat and the progressive masses, I'm not talking about just the RCP. But the bourgeoisie has no right to speak. "Shut up, you can't say a goddamn thing about it, you know, because you're doing the same thing right now." Just listen to you-"Isn't it remarkable, you know, the Soviets actually have the nerve to say that they were invited in by the government when everybody knows that they set up the government and told that government to invite them in. Can you imagine those Soviets?" Who has a right to point that out? The proletariat and the progressive people have a right to point it out, but the bourgeoisie has no right to speak. The U.S. bourgeoisie did and is doing every bit of this junk itself. We have, we do and we will expose and oppose this kind of stuff on the part of the Soviet socialimperialists, but we are the only ones (in that collective broad sense) who have a right to speak on this. And the masses should deny the bourgeoisie any hearing, any right to speak on this-I mean politically, of course; you cannot do it yet literally, but politically they should be denied the right to speak on this. And I think this kind of exposure, that the U.S. is still doing all this themselves, and simply the fact that they've gone a little bloated, flabby and decaying from having their temporary strength turned into its opposite, does not bring us to have any sympathy for them nor cause us to forget their nature or even what they're doing right now. And that was a good point made in the RW article, that when the U.S. called on the Iranian people to "wake up" and recognize the "difference in natures" between the "benign U.S." and the "aggressive Soviet Union," it was a good point when the RW pointed out that the U.S. thereby omitted the little minor factor of the strength of the masses in Iran who prevented the U.S. from taking any of these military adventures and attacks and so on against Iran. I think that these points have got to be hammered at again and again through the RW, people have really got

to sharpen their ability to do agitation around this, and this has got to be specifically focused, in my opinion, toward May Day. This banner of the proletariat on war and every other question has got to be raised up, goddammit. There is an answer to this viewpoint that nothing can be done. May Day is a concentrated focus of it right now. The only way there's going to be that answer is if we step out onto the stage of history. Only in this way will we be prepared to seize the opportunity, not throw it away, if it ripens-to make revolution and prevent war, or to make revolution during war.

We have to make clear again this point about only a bourgeois thinks that a war that starts between governments has to end between governments. Concrete examples can be used on this too, like the Afghani masses. Certainly, as the RW pointed out, there are contradictory forces among the Afghani rebels opposed to the Soviet Union —some of them downright reactionary. But clearly that's not the main thrust of what's going on there.

It is kind of interesting, you know, the Soviet invasion goes down in Afghanistan, and the Iranian masses, here they come again. They're really quite fine, those Iranian masses. They come up there and really cause trouble for those Soviets, and there is a little tactical matter that the Soviet Union is on Iran's border. On the part of the masses in particular in Iran, there's been a tremendous showing there, and it does provide us with material (as well as Afghanistan) to argue against the Chinese revisionists and the U.S. imperialists and all the rest of them that you basically choose "which one of us superpowers you want" and that "we're much better." And the song line-the proletariat's view that "we've got other plans" is not just an abstract dream. It's a living reality in Afghanistan, where even if they're taking some tactical aid from the U.S. there are, I'm sure and I've read, genuine revolutionaries who are basically self-reliant. And there are certainly on the streets of Iran people who are not toning down their struggle against U.S. imperialism while they are also fighting against Soviet social-imperialism and its role in Afghanistan.

So those are concrete points of education for the masses in this country. You say that it's unrealistic to say that there's some other choice? Well, look at Afghanistan, look at those Iranian masses. They didn't feel that because they were dealing with the U.S. embassy they couldn't condemn the Soviet Union. Or they didn't feel that because the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan they had to release all the hostages. So what do you think about that? I think that kind of concrete thing is real powerful, and once again, the masses of people internationally and right now in Iran are not only providing some rich material strength and support, but also politically and ideologically they're providing a lot of material for us to educate the masses. Obviously that's not to

cover for and was accompanied by all kinds of gross abandonment and violation of basic principles.

#### May Day

Specifically on the question of May Day. This May Day has got to be grasped by us and it's also got to be taken out to the advanced in particular and to the broad masses of people. That New Year's article makes the point several times that it's very wrong to underestimate the importance of the active and advanced even when they're a relative handful. We've got to really go out and struggle with the advanced people while also pointing out broadly, "Don't sit there and say that the whole world is going to end if this war is happening; and don't sit there and say there's no choice but to line up with one or the other without taking responsibility for the fact that you're contributing to that. By you saying that, you are contributing to that. By you taking that kind of stand you are making it more true. You are leaving the masses no alternative." It's not a question of guilt-tripping or trying to hype people. It's a question of trying to focus it sharply in that kind of way and throw down the gauntlet in that kind of way to make people realize the importance of, the significance of the kind of May Day we're calling for.

We have to deal with the contradiction that arises out of the fact that our country has been the top dog and has taken some lumps and really won't be able to come firing out with all systems go or as close to that as they can get until they actually go to world war. And the other side hasn't had a Vietnam. It would be wonderful to go into this period as they prepare to fight World War 3 with the Soviet Union having gotten the same kind of ass kicking in Afghanistan as the U.S. bourgeoisie had gotten in Vietnam. It would put the people of the world in a much stronger position to turn the war into the kind of thing we want-revolutionary war and victory.

Because of the U.S. "top dog" position there is a phenomenal and superficial appearance that "they're the ones -the Soviets started it." That's the spontaneous view, especially in this country. After all, some people can actually believe that the important issue around this whole thing in Iran is the fact that 50 hostages are being held, and that all the 26 and more years of history that went on before that is irrelevant now, "Let's just talk about today." It's such a clear cut case when we actually get to the issues, the reactionaries don't even want to talk about it because their position is so indefensible. But if people can spontaneously do that, they can certainly spontaneously believe it about somebody who has no justice on their side, namely, the Soviet socialimperialists. Whatever they did yesterday in response to which the U.S. imperialists and the Soviet socialimperialists went to World War 3, let's say, assuming that's the way it actually goes down, they can certainly believe that everything that went before that doesn't count. You can see, therefore, what the importance of Iran is. That's why it occupied such a central place in that New Year's article. It does concentrate so many of these things. In a certain way the U.S. imperialists are shifting gears, and Iran is being overshadowed by Afghanistan right now. But it still concentrates a lot of this kind of stuff that the masses are going to have to go through and learn and that we're going to have to lead them in learning-of breaking with national chauvinism. We have to hit it from different angles and basically the pamphlet, "It's Not Our Embassy," brings out the class stand on it with some sharp agitation. And the articles we've had in the RW about why the Iranian people hate U.S. imperialism and why we should too, the little map of some places U.S. imperialism committed these crimes; the article on patriotism and imperialism-all these were for the purpose of and I think on the whole did a pretty good job of-and we need more of this-striking directly at the mental shackles on the masses. We have to recognize the situation for what it is. It both bears out our analysis and also accelerates and underscores the urgency of things.

is to be preterious of the estimated as

gloss over contradictions and struggle within the situation inside Iran either, but looking at its principal aspect, I think it's true.

The urgency of the situation in general is accelerating. We write about the urgency on New Year's Day and even within a few weeks after that it's behind; it has to be the "urgency squared" from what it was in the New Year's article. What that article says is borne out in such a way that it almost renders it not quite powerful enough. Not in its basic message or what it basically lays down, but even the urgency it stresses is not enough urgency.

Another point is that opportunities as well as necessity open up for us even more. In the last several decades it wasn't just the masses who threw away this kind of class analysis, it was also the communists who threw it out, not only in this country but to a great extent internationally. They did it for various reasons and went to one or another form of bourgeois logic based on bourgeois democracy, social chauvinism or what have you. Even if you say, as we do, that it's correct to have tactically adjusted the class struggle internationally to defend the then-socialist Soviet Union, this certainly provided a

### Pakistan

#### **Continued from page 2**

"We also want to get the message to them that if there is any temptation on their part to move over into Pakistan, that will mean also grave difficulties.'

Referring to India's displeasure over U.S. arming of Pakistan, Clifford bellowed, "We know that is not a popular move with the Indian government. Yet the gravity of the threat is such that we believe that it is an appropriate policy for us to follow."

Clifford's remarks brought a slap on the wrist from the State Dept. Cyrus Vance said that he "preferred" Carter's slightly blander formulation in the State of the Union address. But the outburst was no accident. The 73-year-old Clifford, handpicked by Carter for the New Delhi mission, has a background peculiarly suited to bellicose annunciations of the "Carter Doctrine."

Clifford "drafted the 1947 National Security Act and position papers for the Truman Doctrine to aid Greece and Turkey," according to political profiles. He served as the chairman of the foreign intelligence advisory board under Kennedy, and won a reputation as an ultra-hawk in developing U.S. strategy in Vietnam under Johnsonbefore doing an about-face as Johnson's Secretary of Defense following the 1968 Tet offensive. Clifford, who serve higher authorities than mere presidents, then was given the job of "persuading" Johnson not to run

for reelection. The popping up of this old warhorse in southwest Asia was itself a clear sign that big fireworks were expected-even before he opened his mouth.

While emphasizing to India that the U.S. had made up its mind on Pakistan, Clifford attempted to coat the pill by offering Gandhi highly sophisticated and expensive electronic military equipment that the Soviets were unable to provide. The newly restored Gandhi regime in India continues to oppose the new U.S. ties with Pakistan, at the same time perfunctorily calling for the withdrawal of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. But the high pressure U.S. activity in the region, and the threat of vast impending conflict, are having an effect. Indian leaders, including Gandhi, have recently sought to emphasize that "we are not pro-Soviet, we are not pro-U.S., we are only pro-India." Gandhi is clearly hoping, at least for the present, to avoid being drawn irrevocably into either war bloc. The United States is pressuring both Pakistan and India to resolve their differences, in order to grease the path, if possible, for bringing India aboard ship or at least to ensure a friendlier neutrality.

The Soviet Union, having already made its major move, is reinforcing its military positions in Afghanistan, while protesting that it has no designs at all on Pakistan, the Persian Gulf, or anywhere else. Brezhnev even spoke wistfully recently of the possibility of "salvaging the good things" of detente.

In fact, it is unlikely that the Soviet Union would mount a direct military offensive on Pakistan in the very near future. However, there is a powerful secessionist movement in Baluchistan, a province of Pakistan inhabited by the brutally oppressed Baluchi people-and Baluchistan is in southwest Pakistan, in the most sensitive area bordering Iran and Afghanistan. In addition, there are Baluchi populations in both Iran and Afghanistan. In 1977, Pakistan suppressed widespread rebellions in Baluchistan with U.S. helicopter gunships provided by Iran, slaughtering thousands and succeeding only in further provoking the flames of resistance.

One of the first proclamations of the Soviet puppet Barbak Kamal after he was installed as president of Pakistan contained a veiled reference to the "right of the fraternal Pushtun and Baluchi people to express their will: these peoples must decide themselves about their destiny." The Soviets are presently maneuvering to extend their influence over the Baluchi secessionist movement, in order to subjugate it to their imperialist designs; and the western imperialist analysts are already using this as a pretext to lay the basis for helping Zia to crush the rebellion on the grounds that it is all a "Soviet plot to control the Persian Gulf."

The instability of Zia's rule is one of the chief worries of the U.S. ruling class. Pakistan was listed as one of the chief abusers of "human rights" in a recent State Dept. report on that subject. This is just a code word for "about to go the same way as the Shah and Somoza." Indeed, Zia's internal base of support is not much broader than either of those two deposed butchers. His fascist dictatorship is unable to

quell the secessionist movement or the wave of strikes and riots that periodically rock the country. The only political party which supports the regime is a fascist group, Jamaat-I-Islami (Party of Islam), which is heavily funded by Saudi Arabia. Most universities are closed due to student riots and anti-government activity. There have been a number of slaughters of striking workers, including the 1977 massacre in which over 100 strikers were gunned down. Pakistan's main foreign patron in recent years has been the revisionist Chinese leadership. Gen. Zia understandably looks at his heightened strategic significance to the U.S. imperialists as a godsend through which he can save his own neck.

But though the U.S. imperialists shudder to think what would happen should Pakistan become another Iran, the policy consensus is that there is no choice but to shore up the Zia regime and to rely on it as a key element in their military preparations against the Soviets. Preparations for war are now approaching a frenzied pace on both sides; and both superpowers are dealing with puppet dictators-in Afghanistan, India, Pakistan, and Saudi Arabiawho are loathed by their entire people, and whose rule may disintegrate at any time.

As for the revolutionary masses, who are being drawn ever more swiftly into motion-well, turn up the music, Brzezinski, and drink another toast to the health of General Zia. Surely something will drown out the riots raging beyond those palace walls.

## 1912:

#### **Continued from page 7**

class paper was published to coincide with the new mass upsurge. For the revolutionary workers who had been trained politically through the Party press, the Lena events and the approach of May Day would be a tremendous test on the battlefield of Russia's streets.

And as usual, the field was cluttered with reformists and opportunists of various stripes who attempted to push their interpretation of these events and their bourgeois programs onto the workers. There were those who insisted on interpreting the Lena events as a trade union struggle and a movement for "rights" such as freedom of association. These were the very same liberals and Mensheviks who had recently been expelled from the Party and who in 1905, on the eve of insurrection, in the words of one Bolshevik, Cecilia Bobrovskaya, "never tired at mass meetings of discussing minor questions like the provision of aprons, mits, etc., by the employers, without touching on the real significance of the strike. As a result, the more backward workers left these meetings without being enlightened as to the true nature of the struggle and went away determined to fight only for mits and aprons." Lenin blasted these reformists for their attempts to harness the revolutionary struggle once again in 1912. "Nothing could be more false," wrote Lenin, "than the liberal intervention, which Trotsky repeats in the Vienna Pravda after the liquidators, that 'the struggle for freedom of association is the basis of the Lena tragedy and the powerful response to it in the country.' Freedom of association was neither the specific nor the principal demand in the Lena strike. It was not lack of freedom of association that the Lena shootings revealed, but lack of freedom from provocation, lack of rights in general, lack of freedom from wholesale tyranny...It is this general lack of rights typical of Russian life, this hopelessness and impossibility of fighting for particular rights, and this incorrigibility of the tsarist monarchy and of its entire regime, that stood out so distinctly against the background of the Lena events as to fire the masses with revolutionary ardour." In this situation of mass outrage at the Lena massacre, the action of the St. Petersburg workers stands out all the more sharply. The counter-revolution had stirred up bitter hatred for the Tsar's regime in tens of millions of peo-

ple, and had given them a basic and beginning understanding of the part played by the monarchy, and now the slogans raised by the foremost workers of the capital crystallized the revolutionary interests of the masses and spread this revolutionary line throughout Russia, into the most backward corners and the outlying provinces.

With the political police rampaging through the industrial districts, hunting for Bolsheviks, the workers of the capital produced, at great risk, simple leaflets which were smuggled from hand to hand as the workers debated over what direction the May Day actions would take. With the St. Petersburg workers in the lead, the May Day strikes spread to other cities.

One report of the situation in Moscow tells how the strikes protesting the Lena events developed into a broad political strike for May Day in the Lefortovo district of Moscow. This district was relatively backward in 1905 and was one of the last areas of the city to go to the barricades during the insurrection. But the seeds that had been planted in 1905 pushed up again as several thousand workers from Lefortovo joined the 1912 May Day, shutting down metal factories, mills and other smaller industries. In retaliation on May 2, the society of factory and plant owners of the Moscow industrial region, the active leading body of the bourgeoisie, decreed: "All workers who on May 1 did not come to work or who walked out during work, will be fired." As one worker wrote, "The society of factory and plant owners correctly supposed that the strikes on May Day had an organized character and were the beginning of a new strengthened battle of the workers for their own class interests.' Not only did the May Day strikes begun by the class-conscious workers draw more backward sections of the class into struggle, they also fired other sections of the people, diverting their struggle, as well, from the dead-end street for reforms, into the revolutionary struggle against the Tsarist government. The peasants were inspired by the Russian workers and rebelled against the landlords, destroying the manor houses and seizing the large farms. Revolutionary outbreaks also exploded among the ranks of the armed forces. In 1912 there was an armed revolt of troops in Turkestan and mutiny was brewing in the Baltic fleet and in Sevastopol.

revived the revolutionary energy of the Russian people, as mass strikes continued to sweep the country defying the regime. The following year in St. Petersburg, only one year before the outbreak of World War I, once again the revolutionary workers of St. Petersburg took to the streets on May Day, and in Lenin's words, "rent the dim dreary atmosphere like a thunderbolt .... Everywhere in and around the capital crowds of workers singing revolutionary songs, calling loudly for

revolution and carrying red flags fought for several hours against the police and security forces frantically mobilized by the government.... The two million inhabitants of St. Petersburg see and hear these appeals for revolution which go to the hearts of all the toiling and oppressed sections of the people. All St. Petersburg sees from a real, mass scale example what is the real way out and what is lying liberal talk about reforms...



The May Day action by the advanced section of the Russian proletariat had

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