



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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Sección en Español



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Inside the Revolutionary War in Kurdistan

First-Hand Report from Iran
See Special Section



Street barricade in Sanandaj—scene of intense fighting recently between Kurdish revolutionaries and government forces.

The International Unity of the Proletariat: What it is and How to Fight for it

This is the first of two parts of an article which appears in the current (July) issue of our Party's magazine, *Revolution*, (Vol. 5 No. 4). It is being printed here as well as because of the urgent importance in today's world of forging the international unity of Marxist-Leninists around a revolutionary line.

I. INTRODUCTION

Communism has always meant internationalism, ever since Marx himself helped found the first international organization of the working class, replacing the utopian slogan "All Men Are Brothers" with the watchword, "Working Men of All Countries, Unite!" based on the revolutionary interests arising from the material position of the working class in society.

Although the revolutionary bourgeois democrats of the 19th century who waged war on feudalism and absolutism often supported each other from country to country, the whole development of capitalism is inextricably tied to the development of nations and countries, of national states and national markets. No

matter how international capital has become in its appetites, the fact that the means of production are held by one or another country. For the propertyless proletariat, on the other hand, which represents the other aspect of the contradiction between private accumulation and socialized production, internationalism corresponds to its class position and revolutionary interests.

As the RCP draft *Programme* explains, "So long as capitalism and exploitation exist in any country, this will be a base for the bourgeoisie in its attempts to defeat the working class and restore capitalism everywhere. And wherever capitalism rules and maintains backwardness, it stands as a great barrier to the peoples of all countries in developing the rational use of the world's resources and productive forces. The international working class can emancipate itself only by emancipating all of humanity; it can achieve communism only by eliminating the rule of capital and the chains of exploitation and the remnants of class-divided society everywhere."

This is why the RCP's draft *Constitution* begins by declaring that our Party is "a part of the communist movement internationally, just as the working class in the U.S. is one part of the revolutionary movement of

the international proletariat." Although the proletarian revolution takes place country by country, since it means the overthrow of bourgeois governments, and develops unevenly from country to country, still, taken as a historical process, the proletarian revolution is most definitely international, with both its victories and defeats marking the development of a world-wide war between the old order and the new which will go on until capitalism and its remnants have been eliminated entirely—which will mean the complete disappearance of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and consequently of the state as well. Such development—from one epoch of world history to the next—is necessarily long and complex. The Paris Commune, the October Revolution in Russia, the revolution in China—especially the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—were each new and higher points in the tortuous, spiral-like process of world revolution, and each in turn had a tremendous impact in raising the level of the whole movement everywhere.

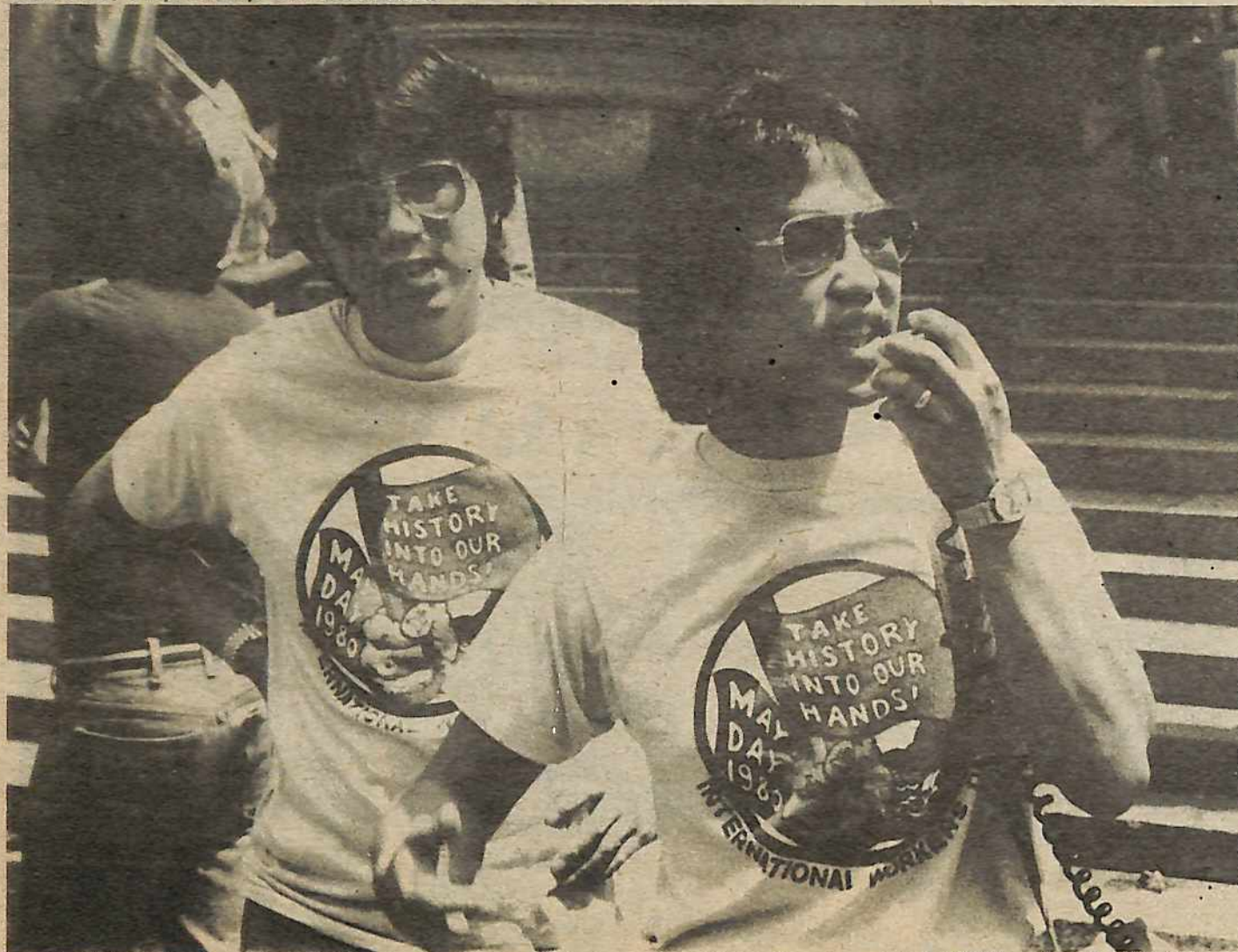
This dialectical relationship between the proletarian revolution in each country and on a world level means that the proletariat needs international organization in order to unite the detachments of the

Continued on page 4

Support the UN 2

Wear a Red Armband on July 15

The UN 2, Stephen Yip and Glenn Gan.



On July 15th, six days before draft registration starts, the UN 2 are set to be sentenced in the court of Judge Robert Ward on 2 felony convictions handed down on June 25 after an outrageous and openly political railroad. The two revolutionaries, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan, each face a maximum of 8 years and \$15,000 fines from an enraged ruling class bitterly stung by the bold actions in the UN security council chambers dousing both the U.S. and Soviet envoys with red paint and raising the red flag high. Their shouts of Down with U.S./Soviet War Moves ring all the more loudly at this time as rapid developments toward war, including the reinstatement of the draft are beginning to awaken millions and opposition to the imperialists' war plans continues to grow. A steadfast and determined response to this criminal verdict is absolutely necessary and preparations are underway to insure that this happens focusing on activities on the day of the sentencing. And regardless of the sentence, plans to appeal the verdict are already underway.

The demands, Free the UN 2—Down with U.S./Soviet War Moves will echo across this country and even around the world.

Immediately upon their release on bail, the judge had initially refused to release them unless they agreed to remove red painted slogans from the courthouse wall, which they of course refused to do, the UN 2 set out around the country to speak about revolutionary opposition to the two superpowers and their case. Glenn Gan was cheered loudly as he spoke to a demonstration of 300 in the San Francisco Bay Area at a rally on July 4, at the site where the aircraft carrier Coral Sea was docked, preparing for its next mission. The following night, several hundred dollars were raised at a fundraising dinner. At the dinner a woman who has seen many years of class struggle, grabbed Glenn and embraced him. Later as she spoke to those attending the dinner she recounted how she had jumped to her feet applauding when she saw the action of the UN 2 on TV. Quickly telephoning a friend of hers she

asked, "Did you see that? Is that a party or is that a Party?" this is the kind of impact the action at the UN has had on people all over the country and around the world. On July 4th the demand to Free the UN 2 was taken into the teeth of patriotic rallies across the country as well as to anti-draft rallies. Letters and statements of support and outrage are continuing to come in from a broad cross section of people (see page 5).

Clearly all the growing support for the UN 2 is putting it to the bourgeoisie.

In West Virginia, Western Union (which has already held up the wiring of bail money to New York) has now refused to send telegrams of support from people in the coalfields under the excuse that the telegrams don't have the zip codes on them. People have been sending a telegram a day, numbering up to 30, with hundreds mostly coal miners signing their names to the statement of support.

Plans are already underway to print an ad featuring many letters and statements of support in the July 15th morning edition of the *New York Times*. Also money is now being raised to publish a similar ad in a major international newspaper with worldwide circulation. On the same day a demonstration of broad forces will be held in front of the courtroom where Steve Yip and Glenn Gan are to be sentenced, as red armbands are worn in support in factories, on military bases, in prisons, and in schools across the country. Judge Ward's desk will be jammed with telegrams and letters. The battle will be taken up with the same spirit and the same purpose of the bold action taken by Yip and Gan at the UN, to ruthlessly expose the enemy and their cold and calculated moves toward war and build the movement to overthrow their rule. The *Revolutionary Worker* calls on all those who have been inspired by the actions of the UN 2 and who have been outraged by the response of the government to join in stepping up this battle. Funds are urgently needed, letters and statements of support are also requested. They can be sent to: The Committee to Free the UN 2, c/o Revolution Books, 16 E. 18th Street, New York City, New York 10003.

Barrage Judge Ward with telegrams addressing them to: Judge Ward, U.S. Court, 40 Center Street, Foley Square, New York City, New York.

Wear a Red Armband on July 15th. Come to the Demonstration in New York Free the UN 2! Down with U.S./Soviet War Moves!

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The Draft—Portent of War and Revolution

Last month, Congress passed legislation requiring four million 19 and 20-year-old men to register for the military draft. Failure to register will be a felony, punishable by five years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. President Carter delayed signing the bill into law until the eve of the Fourth of July, in order that the signing ceremony could have the maximum "symbolic" impact: What better "timing" than the U.S. imperialists' biggest holiday to order four million youth to get ready to sacrifice and die for their masters? At the ceremony itself, while it was intentionally quite clear that this was a major step in open preparation for World War 3, Carter also tried to keep up the pious pose that compulsory registration was "merely a precautionary measure" and that he remained "firmly opposed to a peacetime draft." As if it was "peacetime" that is looming ahead in this decade—or as if the government intends to wait until a formal declaration of war with the Soviet Union to begin drafting its army.

The ink had not yet dried on the new conscription law before the next steps toward forced induction were taken.

On the Fourth of July, a four-star general in the Air Force and a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff issued a public demand for an immediate draft, stating that the so-called volunteer army (the present system, in which economic necessity rather than legal compulsion forces youth into the service) was, to quote his "Pentagonese," "operating in a failure mode." The *Washington Post* was careful to add that the general's demands "were known to reflect the private views of the military establishment as a whole." The restriction on registration to 19 and 20-year-old men is itself only a very temporary restriction, designed as a "transitional step" towards full military mobilization. This step, it was hoped, would create as few waves as possible. In World War 2, all men up to the age of 45 were subject to the draft; even in the Vietnam War, the draft extended to age 26. Already today, there is serious talk of drafting veterans up to the age of 30—in order to insure an adequate supply of superior, technically trained troops to make the military machine function and to train the young recruits.

And of course, forcing women into military service is already the subject of a massive propaganda campaign designed to prepare public opinion to "grant" women the right to slaughter and be slaughtered alongside the men "in service to their country." Of course, if women do not care to be pressganged into enjoying this right, they will also enjoy the right of felony conviction and five years "just like the men." The build-up and preparation for this move is not only coming directly from the government and Madison Avenue ad campaigns featuring women models sporting "the combat look of the '80s," The American Civil Liberties Union is pushing a court suit against the registration law—on the basis of sexual discrimination!

These various moves in the direction of military mobilization are not all merely bluff, nor only intended as "political signals" to the Soviets of "U.S. resolve." The cold truth is that the U.S. imperialists must field a massive military force which must be largely functional and "in place" before fullscale fighting begins. This force must be large enough to engage in

the various military operations for "half war" which may precede all-out world war. It must have enough trained reserves to insure swift replacement of tens or even hundreds of thousands of casualties in the initial fighting. Due to the nature of modern imperialist military warfare, which requires a huge rear service and support organization to back up the troops engaged in actual combat, millions of men—and most probably, women—will have to be forcefully dragged into military service. The strong likelihood that the coming war will feature nuclear weapons does not lessen, but aggravates, the need for a huge supply of raw manpower to make up for the high rate of combat attrition. Further, it is essential to note that the coming war, unlike either World War 1 or World War 2, will quite probably be fought, at least in part, directly on U.S. soil—whether through nuclear attack, or Soviet invasion, or both. And this means that not only will the U.S. imperialists have to field large armies overseas, but they will have to have a huge military organization "on the home front" as well, both to deal with "the enemy" and to enforce discipline and suppress rebellions and uprisings among the civilian population.

All this is a symptom and a further indictment of the imperialist system that spawns war. Each successive world war has been more global, more destructive. Such "progress" is the product of a truly moribund system.

Forces Beyond Their Control

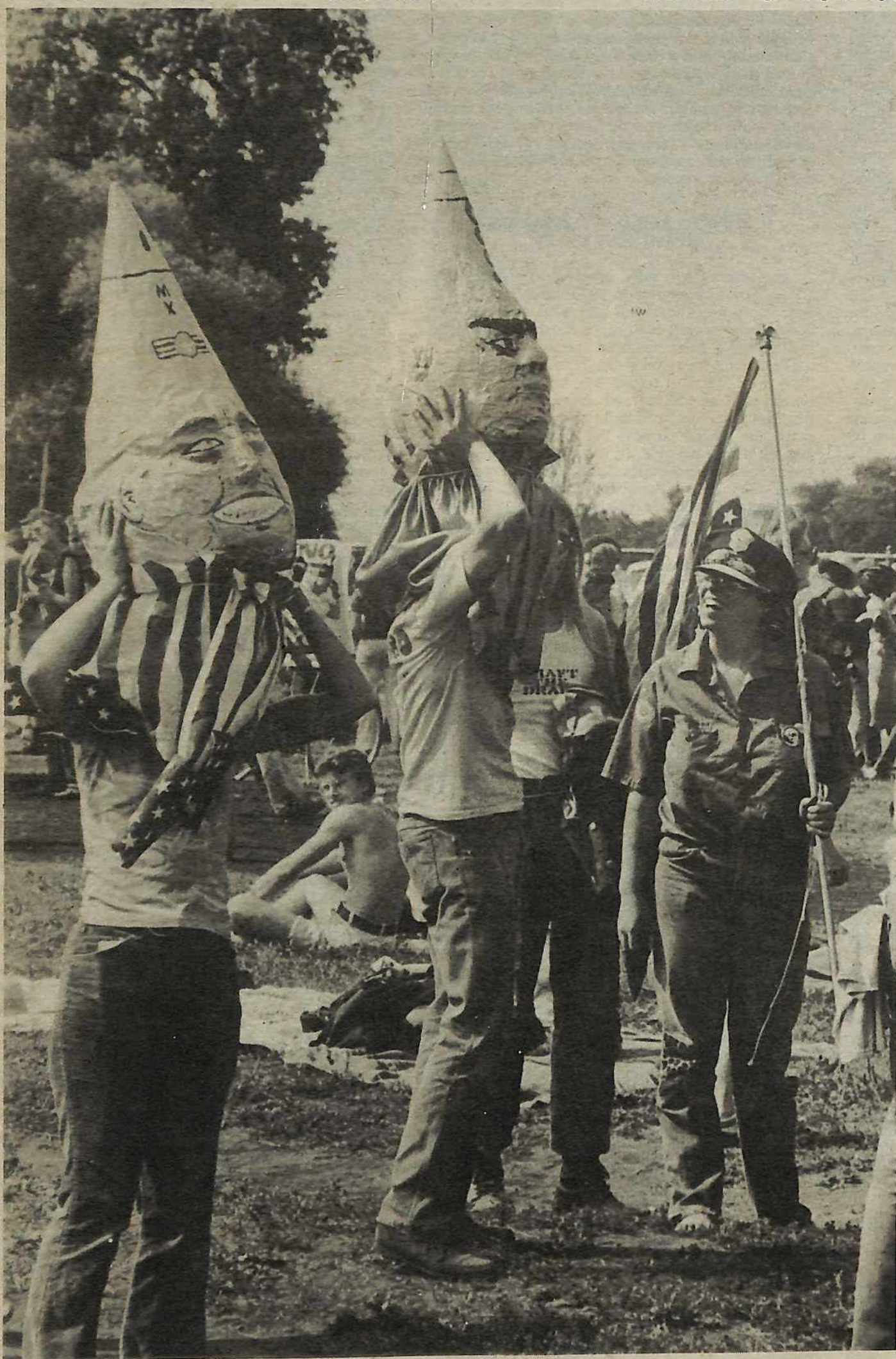
Analyzing the so-called "liberal" arguments in favor of a draft reveals quite a bit about the dire necessity compelling the imperialists to make these moves, as well as their nightmarish fears about the "reliability" of the troops as they get ready to "go down" with the Soviets. The attempt to push the drafting of women under the banner of "equal rights" is in fact a glaring exposure of the large-scale bloodbath being actively charted and planned right now by the U.S. and their Soviet challengers.

There was no parallel to this in the Vietnam War—but in World War 2, when it was necessary to put millions of men in uniform, an all-out propaganda campaign was waged to lay the basis for women to take over the men's jobs in the factories, mills and shipyards. A special character, "Rosie the Riveter," was invented, and the emphasis was on the theme of "American women are tough, they can do the hardest and dirtiest job as well as any man." Women were described as "soldiers in America's industrial army, frontline fighters on the home front."

Many women also served in the military, in the WACS and WAVES and in various clerical, medical and support functions. Women were not actually drafted in World War 2, but this was fundamentally determined not by "the attitudes of society towards women" but by the needs of the U.S. in that war. The Germans, on the other hand, whose official Nazi ideology stated that women's role was to breed male offspring for the glory of the Third Reich, were by 1944 drafting not only women but 12-year-old boys and 60-year-old men. By the end of the war, when Allied sailors boarded captured German submarines, they found them "manned" by entire crews of 14-year-olds, with a 17-year-old captain.

Another revealing (and hypocritical) argument is that the draft should be reinstated because "the present volunteer army is unfair and racist," because it inevitably attracts mainly poor and minority youth who can't find a job anywhere else. What isn't mentioned here, of course, is that it is a whole system founded on exploitation of workers of all nationalities and the vicious oppression of minority nationalities that forces minority youth into the military in search of a regular job, food, and a mythical chance to learn some kind of a skill or trade. But you don't have to go very deep into this argument to find that it is itself shot through and through with racism. The following from the *Time* magazine June

Continued on page 17



Participant in Chicago anti-draft demonstration meets the warheads.

The International Unity of the Proletariat: What it is and How to Fight for it.

worldwide proletariat, strengthen existing ones and form new vanguard organizations where they do not exist, and concentrate and bring to a higher level the experiences and understanding gained in the different countries, thereby immensely strengthening the battle in each country politically and ideologically, as well as providing mutual material support.

The First International, which lasted from 1864 to 1872, served to propagate revolutionary Marxism across Europe and, even though Marx's line never really achieved hegemony within it. It was followed by the Second (Marxist) International (1899-1914), which brought about the growth of Marxism into a mighty mass movement of the working class, but which, during the long, comparatively "peaceful" period of its development—that is, "peaceful" in terms of the absence of wars and revolutionary situations in the advanced capitalist countries where the workers were then organized—was increasingly infected by economism and reformism, by a clutching at the crumbs thrown out by developing imperialism to a certain section of the workers and the petty bourgeoisie, until it fell apart with the outbreak of World War I, when most of its leadership sided with their own national bourgeoisie. Out of this collapse of the old forces of socialism came a new wave, headed by V.I. Lenin, who led in founding the Third (Communist) International, also known as the Comintern.

With the first imperialist war over the division of the world and the establishment of the socialist Soviet Union, revolution led by the proletariat became a possibility and a necessity in the whole world, including those countries which first had to pass through an anti-colonial, anti-feudal stage before going over to socialism. Communism became a truly worldwide movement. From its founding amidst the revolutionary storms sweeping Europe and Asia in 1919 to its formal dissolution in 1943 (to be replaced later by the Communist Information Bureau, the Cominform, from 1947-1956), this International united every communist party in the world (being instrumental in pulling together such parties in many countries in the first place) and enabled the slogan "Workers and oppressed people of the world, unite!" to take on concrete meaning in the highest level of thought and action yet achieved by the international proletariat.

The history of the Comintern is extremely rich in lessons—negative and positive—which must be very thoroughly studied, in terms of the struggle to found it, the lines it adopted in leading the world revolution, and the question of its organizational form, as well as some other questions relating to its dissolution. But although we have dealt with some aspects of these questions, a really profound summary of the political and organizational line of the Comintern is not a task which can be accomplished by a single party working in isolation, "but through the unified efforts of as many such forces as possible, who are able to unite and actually do unite on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles and clear lines of demarcation marking off the main questions of principle in the situation today."

This is a quote from a previously unpublished section of the RCP's 1979 Central Committee report, presented by its Chairman, Bob Avakian.⁴ The report goes on to make the following remarks, also previously unpublished except in part, which are at this time of the greatest relevance:

"One point can and must be taken up by our Party right now as a point of departure—and of self-criticism to a significant degree. And that is the erroneous tendency, spontaneously if unofficially encouraged in our ranks, of negating the need for international communist unity—specifically on an organizational level—on the basis of negative experience of the Comintern. This negative experience is real enough and should be thoroughly summed up and the appropriate lessons drawn, but one of these lessons is not that international communist organization is wrong in principle or bound to harm rather than help the struggle in each country and world-wide.

"A question: can the arguments usually advanced—including within our own ranks (and in my own thinking in the past in particular)—against such organization—and specifically that it will be dominated by the narrow interests of the most powerful/prestigious force within it—be maintained on the basis of and stand up to Marxist-Leninist analysis? Think of what such arguments are and see if they can't also be applied as arguments against a democratic centralist organization (Party) in a single country?

"This is a point we must discuss seriously—and urgently. To forge such international communist unity, ideologically and politically and on that basis organizationally, is indeed a difficult process, a process of struggle. But it is a struggle that can and must be taken up and advanced to the greatest degree possible in the shortest time possible. Of course, if we were

not able to achieve principled unity with a single force internationally, that would not mean that it would be impossible for us (or others) to make revolution (in this country or others). But we are proletarian internationalists, the working class in this country is in fact one part of the international army of the world proletariat, and we should in no way raise the primitiveness and present low level of concrete unity among Marxist-Leninists to a principle nor fail to recognize that the forging and further development of such unity will greatly enhance the revolutionary struggle in each country and internationally."

An extremely important point that should be underlined here is that whether or not the revolutionary communists in each country really fight as a detachment of the international proletariat and as part of this to actually build the international unity of the proletariat as far as possible, is in turn tightly connected with the political line these forces are carrying out to make revolution in their countries. If we're not fighting in this way on an international level, then how can it be that we are carrying out the revolutionary struggles within the various countries on anything but a nationalist basis, a basis that will prevent revolution or lead to its degeneration into its opposite. The statement made by Chairman Avakian—"who else can prepare and then lead the masses in seizing the opportunity—and who else, for that matter, can throw away that opportunity"—applies sharply to the responsibility faced by the communists not only within our country but also on a world level.

II. HOW TO BUILD INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST UNITY

For several years now, especially since the RCP, USA's Second Congress in 1978 which consolidated the victory over those who sought to drag the Party down the revisionist road represented by Teng & Co. in China, our Party has been carrying out efforts to make contact, carry on struggle and build principled unity with Marxist-Leninist forces in other countries on the basis of drawing and upholding clear lines of demarcation, in order to build unity not only of viewpoint and general purpose but also of action to the greatest degree possible. In this we have been guided by the following principles, first laid out in a paper entitled "Thoughts on Points for Discussion," presented to a Central Committee meeting in late 1978 by Chairman Avakian, which have been widely circulated and discussed internationally:

"Opposition to and exposure of China as revisionist, and as a key part of this its revisionist international line and its specific form now in the 'three worlds' strategy, while at the same time upholding China under Mao as a socialist stronghold of the international working class, upholding the achievements and lessons of the Cultural Revolution, and upholding Mao's contributions and enrichment and development of Marxism-Leninism; the necessity to continue to thoroughly expose Soviet revisionism and social-imperialism and its international line and role; the determination that the two superpowers are equally the main enemies of the people of the world and are both, through their contention, pushing things toward world war in accordance with the laws of imperialism; that preparations for such a war and particular acts of aggression by both superpowers and others in both imperialist blocs must be exposed and fought against now; that, under all conditions, support must be given to all genuine struggles for national liberation against imperialism, and in general support must be built for all struggles, in every country, to achieve socialism and defend it wherever it exists or is established; and that, should such a war break out, it must be fought against as an imperialist war, that all belligerents in it—that is, all imperialists and those belonging to one camp or the other in the war—must be exposed and, in the imperialist countries in particular, the main fire must be directed against 'one's own' bourgeoisie with the aim of and constant work toward turning this imperialist war into a revolutionary war. The general guiding principle is that set forth by Lenin: 'There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, and *only this*, line, in every country without exception.'⁵

This is not a call for the formation of a new international at this point, for such a development could only emerge through a complex process. But in our view, there already exist the necessary conditions for a qualitative leap. The very development of the underlying objective conditions, pregnant with revolutionary situations in which the future of countries and whole

areas of the world will be up for grabs and the outcome will depend on the capabilities of the revolutionary forces, demands that whatever steps are possible at this time be taken with the greatest urgency.

At this historical juncture so full of promise, the international communist movement is at a crossroads, and which road will be followed is a question starkly posed for every party and organization in the world.

The People's Republic of China, a quarter of humanity and under the leadership of Mao Tsetung a lighthouse of world revolution, has been seized by bourgeois renegades from within the Communist Party who have capitulated to imperialism. Many of the forces internationally which at one time seemed revolutionary are following them. Compounding this, the Party of Labor of Albania and other forces formerly united in the international communist movement have split with China not on the basis of upholding the revolution in China that has been temporarily defeated, but of denouncing everything that was revolutionary in China just as bitterly as China's new revisionist rulers, differing with them mainly on the basis of competing nationalisms.

Out of this fragmentation of what was once the international communist movement, clear trends have appeared. Imperialist rivalry and the coming of world war—which is pulling on the whole world to line up with one side or the other, and which comes together with the heightening of all the world's contradictions—has led to mounting pressures to capitulate; and capitulation today means capitulating to imperialism and joining up with one superpower war bloc or the other. This capitulation has had its theoretical expression in the form of virulent attacks on the key advances of Marxism formulated by Mao Tsetung, especially the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the practice of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

Attacking Mao's line, especially on this key point, can only mean repudiating the bitter lessons of capitalist restoration in the USSR; it can only result, sooner or later, in turning the proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship when the working class seizes power, and coming to terms with the bourgeoisie where the working class has not yet seized power. In countries like China and Albania, where the forces of production are still relatively backward, this leads ultimately to degenerating into a comprador bourgeoisie and capitulating to foreign imperialism; while in the imperialist countries themselves it leads to capitulating to one's "own" bourgeoisie, although there is the phenomenon of those within the Western imperialist bloc who look to Soviet social-imperialism, and vice versa.

Mao Tsetung Thought is not something different from Marxism-Leninism, it is not the Marxism of a new era the way Leninism was (after the emergence of the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution). It is the enrichment and development of Marxism-Leninism on many fronts (revolution in colonial countries, revolutionary war and military line, political economy and socialist construction, philosophy, culture and the superstructure, and most especially, continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat), and is the theoretical concentration of the experience of the proletarian revolution since Lenin. There is and can be no "returning" to a Marxism minus these advances, since Marxism is a living science. The inevitable and very visible result of trying to overturn these advances is the unraveling of the whole fabric of Marxism and the championing of a revisionist line on every major question—a common feature of all the trends that have arisen today in opposition to Marxism.

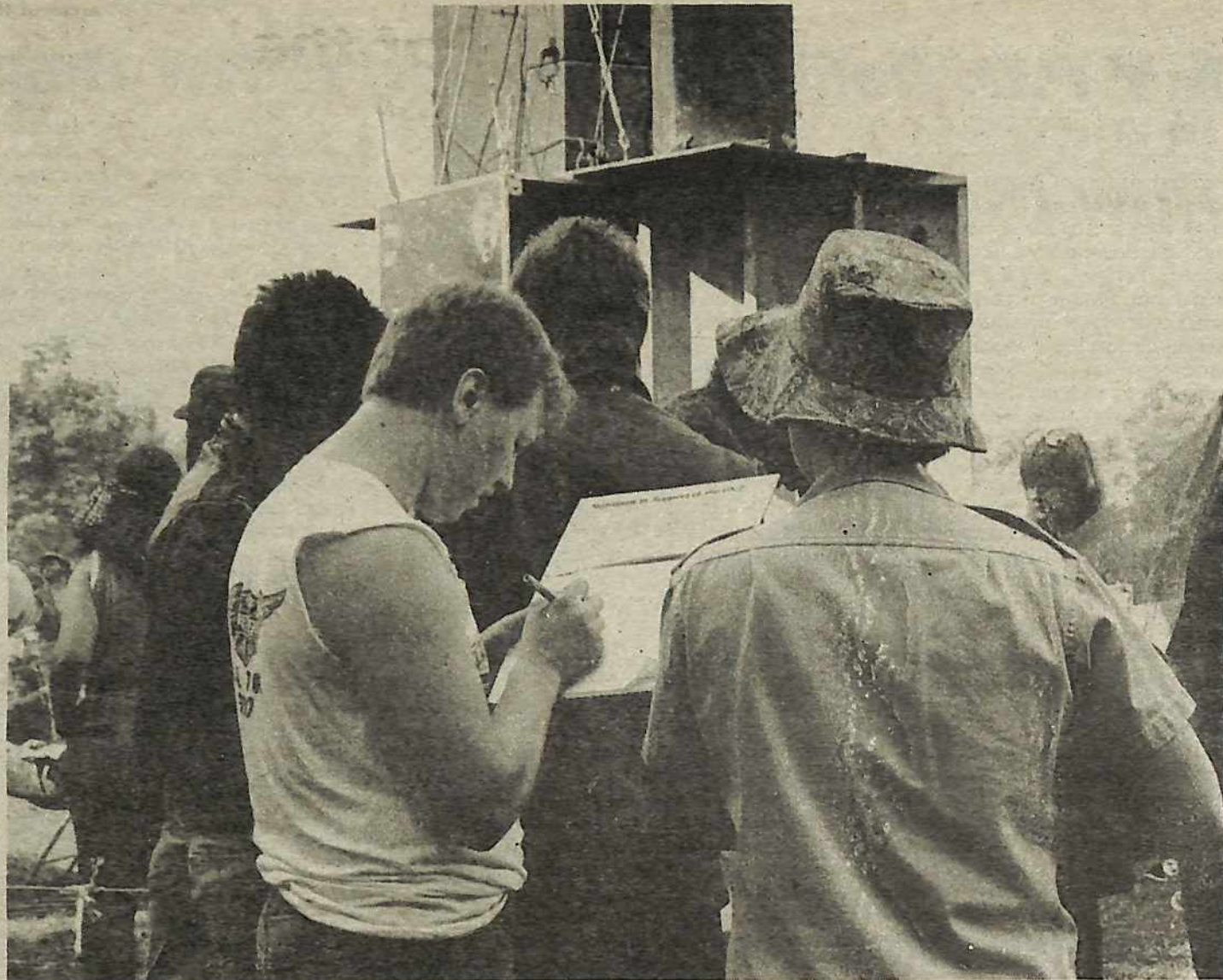
This is why the question of Mao stands at the center of today's controversy. It was Mao who led in criticizing the "three peacefuls" (peaceful transition, peaceful competition and peaceful coexistence) with which Khrushchev advocated capitulation; and it was Mao who led in criticizing the theory of the productive forces which in its fully developed form had become the theoretical foundation for Khrushchev's treason. Even more, it was Mao who led in summing up the overall experience of what had happened in the Soviet Union and unleashing the Cultural Revolution, a mass political movement without equal in breadth and depth in history, which in providing the answer to capitalist restoration brought Marxism to new heights and restored and expanded its prestige around the world in a way that hadn't happened since Lenin rescued Marxism from the opportunism that had all but suffocated it.

All this is what is under attack today. The revisionists who overthrew Mao's successors have overturned the verdicts on Mao's struggle against revisionism within China and have even rehabilitated "China's Khrushchev" (Liu Shiao-chi, the principal target of the Cultural Revolution); they are doing the same with Mao's international struggle and may very well end up in the clutches of Khrushchev's successors, with whom they are already flirting. In denouncing Mao's line and contributions, Enver Hoxha has also reversed the verdicts on the struggle against revisionism, although Hoxha, who has less to peddle than the Chinese revisionists, has so far done his best to maintain a "Marxist" cover and his leadership over whatever will follow him in various countries.

His criticisms of the current rulers in China—mainly based on the "three worlds" strategy—come down to the fact that they sold out to the U.S. and left him in the lurch. Such a shallow analysis is inevitable, since Hoxha attacks Mao's theory of the class struggle

Continued on page 16

Free the UN 2



Signing statement in support of the UN-2.

According to what I have read of the case of Steven Yip and Glenn Gan they have been charged with felonious assault for throwing red paint on American and Soviet officials at the UN. The action against them seems monstrously out of proportion to what they did, and therefore, is an act of political vindictiveness. The charges should be dropped!

Howard Zinn
Professor, Boston University
Boston, Mass.

Dear Judge,
Who do you think you're fooling?

Paul Kreuger
Director of People's Power Radio, WAIF
Cincinnati, Ohio

The artists Yip and Gan, with their can of red paint have replaced Sherwin Williams. Some actions indeed "cover the earth."

Daniel Thompson
Poet
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Judge Ward,

The American working class has been conned into Vietnam, Korea, and two world wars in order to expand the American Empire. Never mind the trumped up reasons we've been given for this madness. We now know the truth about imperialist war. We also know our rulers are preparing to drag us into another one. The UN 2 were only rightfully exposing this crime. Free the UN 2! Down with Superpower War Moves!

Michael Nutter
former Peace Corps volunteer
Chicago, Illinois

My husband was killed in the coal mines—killed for the profit of a handful. Now *that* handful wants our young people to go off and fight and die to defend their empire. No way! Working people will fight all right—but not for them—against them! Free the UN 2.

Fredia Evans
A miner's widow

We demand the charges against the UN 2 be dropped. The sentencing does not mask U.S.-U.S.S.R. imperialism.

Women's Health Center
Portland, Oregon

I endorse the statement in support of the UN 2. The spirit of brothers Steven Yip and Glenn Gan is the spirit of the oppressed. Stop the trial! No conviction can stop that spirit from growing.

Nyewusi Askari
Black journalist
Portland, Oregon

We thoroughly condemn your court's railroad of the UN 2, who have taken a stand exposing the Soviet-U.S. moves toward world war. With so much money allocated for MX missiles, passage of the draft, the attempted invasion of Iran, the contention between the U.S. and USSR in Africa, Latin America and Europe, who can deny that the U.S. is moving toward world war? A war of unprecedented destruction, a war not in our interests—we will not allow this to be our future. We stand with the UN 2 condemning the future the imperialists hold in store for us. We also condemn the U.S. government's obvious attempts to squash any dissention by the people and any revolutionary leadership in this country that opposes U.S.-Soviet war plans.

12 workers and parents
from a childcare center
in the Chinese Community
San Francisco, California

To Judge Robert Ward:

Protestors who prevent World War 3 may save the human race from extinction. Glenn Gan and Steven Yip care about the survival of their fellow man. They cared enough to splash paint on the UN ambassadors from the USSR and the U.S., to make a dramatic political statement which was heard around the world! Theirs was not an act of terrorism but an act of love for the family of man who wish to live, not kill and be killed by the greedy and irresponsible governments of the world. Many of us in America would like to throw a little paint where it might do the most good, the important status of the splashed ambassadors does not make the paint more harmful. It just made the event more newsworthy. We should thank these men for what they did, not sentence them.

Clare Grossman
Hawaii

On April 30, a thunderous blow ripped through the guts of the two super-gangsters of the world, the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In swift retaliation, the U.S. government tried and convicted the UN 2 for the crimes of exposing their war moves and raising the bright prospect for revolution. We condemn the railroad of Glenn Gan and Steven Yip as a stark example of the vicious dictatorship our rulers have the gall to call "democracy." We are putting the ruling class on notice: Try as you may, you will never silence the revolutionary voice of the people. Far from intimidating us, your latest attacks will only serve to enable us to further expose you and bring thousands into action against you. Free the UN 2!

5 Active duty GI's at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii
The Arizona Memorial 3
P.L., a student from India
25 residents of Hawaii
RCYB Hawaii chapter

New York Coalition Against Registration and the Draft calls for dropping all charges against the UN 2. We believe they are being victimized because of their political views, including their opposition to the draft. We do not necessarily agree with those views nor with the tactics used to express them. Passed unanimously on July 7, 1980.

New York, New York

DEMONSTRATE! July 15, U.S. Federal Court

40 Center St.
Foley Sq.
New York City
(time to be
announced)



N.Y.P.D. Delivers Message to RW Reporter

The message was delivered by typewriter. It was not, however, the conventional sort of typewritten stuff. It was not *pica* or *elite*. The message was hammered out by the cloven hoof of a pig: "the police do not like the *Revolutionary Worker*... get it." It was hammered out on the typewriter of RW writer Jim Ransom, who opened the case to his machine, which he had just retrieved from the New York City police, along with the rest of his property, only to find the typewriter destroyed. This was not a case of having to "read between the lines," it was only the latest in a series of events which have exposed a plot to vamp on and intimidate this writer and threaten the *Revolutionary Worker*.

On June 10, Ransom came home to his Brooklyn, New York apartment to find police rummaging through the place. Ransom was thrown up against the wall, searched and handcuffed, and told he was under arrest on charges of illegal possession of a shotgun and a pistol. He was also told, as incidental afterthoughts, that marshalls were carting away everything under an *eviction order*!

Down at the 70th precinct stationhouse, Ransom was interrogated by a detective about possession of the weapons; when he refused to answer

questions, he was told that unless he talked, his wife would be arrested and his three year-old boy would be "taken to a shelter."

But the police didn't tip their real hand until Ransom was transferred to central booking. There, after mug shots were taken, Ransom was "escorted" into a private office in handcuffs where he was subjected to a thorough political interrogation in which the weapons charge wasn't even mentioned. The interrogator produced one of Ransom's notebooks and rumbled through it, pointing to various notes demanding to know what they signified. On one page filled with notes in a black pen, the initials "F.A.L.N." were printed across the page in yellow magic marker; the interrogator asked repeatedly "What can you tell me about this FALN?" According to Ransom's own account,

"He asked me a number of questions relating to FALN. He told me, 'Jim, you can be a very important man. You can be a big help to us. Why did you write this down? What does this mean?!... After about nine questions along this line, he said, 'Don't you want to answer any questions at all?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'Why not? Are you afraid? Nobody's going to hurt you. I'm not going to hurt you.' Then he continued to ask questions in another

vein: 'Are you a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party?... Have you ever been in prison?' the interrogation ranged into my ethnic background: 'Are you of Irish descent?' and various insinuations and subtle threats. Finally, the interrogation was concluded only when it became clear that I wasn't going to say a word."

But the police weren't quite through yet. The next day, in a holding cell adjacent to the courtroom where Ransom and other prisoners were awaiting arraignment, a "fellow prisoner" came up out of the blue and tried to strike up a conversation about William Morales, an FALN member who escaped from prison. Although Ransom, conscious of the possibility of police plants and informers among the prisoners, had said nothing political to *anyone*, this obvious informer tried to imply some connection between Ransom and the FALN, saying, "You know, it's funny I should be in the same cell with you, man. Because, you know, I was in prison awhile back with that guy who got his hands blown off, you know..."

Since Ransom was released, still further evidence has come to light to show that what actually took place was a political raid by the police on the home of an RW reporter with the clear aim of fabricating "criminal" charges to at-

tack the RW and the Revolutionary Communist Party. For one thing, the so-called "eviction" was completely illegal. Not only was no notice or warning ever issued or posted on Ransom's apartment door, which is the law in New York City, (along with the right to appear in court to appeal an eviction) but lawyers working on the case have confirmed that the necessary legal papers were *never even drawn up*. Further, the superintendent in Ransom's building, the landlord, and the city marshal have all separately told Ransom's attorney that the police said, "There were guns and pipe bombs in the apartment." Whether this was just more murder-mouthing from the pigs or they were originally planning to actually plant "bombs" in Ransom's apartment and charge him with that, too, the "pipe bombs" are absent from the indictment.

But perhaps the clearest evidence of the government's intentions in this episode came when Ransom reclaimed possession of his property from the city. What was left of his property, that is. Much of it was smashed beyond repair—book shelves, lampshades, and so on. A lot more was just missing—living room chairs, all of Ransom's son's clothes, every dish and piece of silver-

Continued on page 12

Coral Sea Docks In Bay Area

300 SLAM WAR MOVES

After a long tour of duty, the U.S.S. *Coral Sea* recently returned home to the San Francisco Bay. The aircraft carrier had been off the coast of Iran at the time of the abortive "rescue mission" and, in fact, had served as the back-up for the U.S.S. *Nimitz*—the ship launching the helicopters which eventually ended up in Iranian mud. The *Coral Sea* already had broken the U.S. Navy's record for the longest time spent at sea without returning to port and on its way back from Iran was ordered to back track on an emergency run to Korea. Its services were required in the event of direct U.S. intervention in suppression of the massive revolt which was sweeping that country.

Naturally the media in the Bay Area took the opportunity of the *Coral Sea*'s return to blow the war horns a little louder—painting a picture of the sailors just chomping at the bit to go after the Iranian people. But its voyage—and return—signaled something far different than the strength and immutability of U.S. world domination which the media portrayed as well. As the big bad boat sailed under the Oakland-Bay Bridge—its coning tower nearly touching with the bottom of the steel structure—it was instead symbolic of a tottering giant, a decrepit ruling class stretched to the limit, straining to keep the lid on its exploding empire, and forced to take ever more desperate steps toward world war 3.

On July 4, the Navy held an open house at the Alameda Naval Air Station, where the big boat was docked. Featured was an air show and a guided tour of the *Coral Sea* itself. But this war party—what one sailor called, "an attempt to suck people in and set them up for war"—was crashed. A crowd of 300 people had gathered on the main road into the base to demonstrate and denounce the war moves of the imperialists so vividly illustrated by the *Coral Sea*'s voyage. Oppose All War Preparations of the U.S. and USSR, Hands Off Iran and Korea, were the slogans of the demonstration.

The different political movements and organizations that were represented by speakers at the rally showed a common determination to resist the superpowers'

Continued on page 18



Veterans' contingent at Coral Sea demo.



Billboard allegedly erected by wives of Coral Sea sailors. Probably the lifers and officers' wives.

ON SAVIORS & HORSE RACES

And Other Items From The Capitalist Election Trick Bag



In 1976, during the last Presidential election campaign, Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, made a speaking tour of a number of major cities where he spoke on this question. Since the same old shell game is now starting up again—only this time while the stakes in the class struggle are even higher as the moves toward world war step up—it's important to look at the past to learn something about these old re-run tricks. Excerpts from the first part of the speech given in Los Angeles are printed below.

Thank you. My name is Bob Avakian and I'm not running for president. And that's not because we don't think politics is important. It's because we, in our Party, and more and more workers recognize that politics is not this two-ring circus that they run out every four years with a couple of clowns out there, but politics really consists of the class struggle here and internationally.

Let's look at the political situation that surrounds these elections. The fact is that the rulers of this country are getting more and more desperate all the time, that's why we talk about their desperate deceit. That's why they're dusting off old tricks and coming up with new tricks all the time to try to convince us that after all, as many people are beginning to see that we have no stake in this system, that after all maybe we do and that this economic system and political system which oppresses and exploits us every day, loots the world and threatens it with war is after all something which can provide us with an end to our oppression and exploitation. So they're working overtime to try to get us drawn into this whole election thing. And they're much more desperate than they have been and we have debates for the first time in sixteen years, even though they're Sominex specials. Still they've got people up there trying to create interest in the elections. To me it's like a man, a barker standing out in front of a gambling house and as we go by, yelling out to us, "Hey, come on in. I know you've been in here before, we've ripped you off every other time, picked your pockets, took everything you had, and our promises were no good anytime before—but come on in, give it one more try, you're bound to come out a winner this time." And this is what they're trying to do with this

election thing...

The Savior

So they're pretty desperate. And what have they been doing? Well, we had this whole build-up of Jimmy Carter. Here comes along another savior for us. And it's very interesting—they're always telling us that these politicians are going to be our saviors. Franklin D. Roosevelt, he was a savior; John F. Kennedy, he was a savior. We got to ask a question: If all these people saved us, how come we have to keep on being saved over and over again? At least in religion, you've only got to get saved once. And by the very fact of their having to do this time and time again, what they're admitting is that the problems haven't been solved and things keep getting worse and they let slip through a little bit of the truth of what life is like under this system—that they can't solve the problems, that they can't provide a good life or any kind of bright future no matter all their promises and their lies.

So they trotted out Jimmy Carter. He's even got the right initials to be a savior—J.C. Here's a man that you can believe in. Here's a man who can restore faith in the political system and in the workings of this system. And they're very much concerned and worried about this. Think back, I remember watching the Democratic Convention (you didn't have much choice, there wasn't much else on, all three networks carried it, whether you wanted it or not). But an interesting thing happened which they had to comment on the second night of the Democratic Convention. In New York City where the convention was being held, and one of the speakers pointed out very sorrowfully, half the people in New York City, even though the convention was on all three networks, were watching an old Humphrey Bogart movie on a UHF channel. So this is what they're worried about, it's a sign of what concerns them. That people are not buying this whole shuck. They're worried about the low turnout and the fact that the non-voter may be the winner in this election. So they're building up Jimmy Carter, here's the man that they've packaged and brought out before us, shown his smiling face from every different angle, subjected us to this hideous display. They have subjected us to everything from having to watch his little daughter with her lemonade stand to seeing probably the worst and most disgusting part of it all which is Walter Cronkite, the dean of the newsmen, the silver-tongued, silver-haired sage of the media, at the Democratic Convention slobbering all over Jimmy Carter's mother—"Miss Lillian" this and "Miss Lillian" that. And then Carter emerged, swept himself onto the stage to give his acceptance speech, and everything was programmed, even the angle of the cameras as they shot from the ground, heavenwards up through the faces of people, tears streaking down their faces. And people, some of whom were at least sincere, thought he's going to give us jobs, he's going to heal our wounds, he's going to bring back America to what it was before, blah, blah, blah. And all of this was programmed and packaged to give us the sense that here finally is someone we can have faith in and who can restore people's belief in this system.

The Horserace

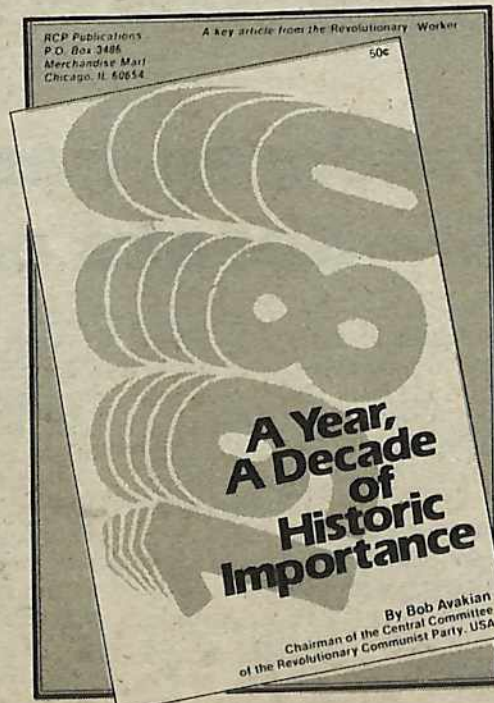
And then something very interesting happened, which is also part of the program. As the Democratic Party Convention concluded the polls said that Jimmy Carter has the biggest lead, it's going to be a landslide, the biggest lead in the polls that any candidate's had since Johnson over Goldwater, maybe even bigger than that. Twenty points or more and a new dictionary came out, published before the Republican Convention, printed under C, "Jimmy Carter, 39th President of the United States." It was all decided. Carter was going to be president. Then what happened? The Republican Convention came along. The polls started narrowing. It was down to 10%. Gerald Ford's image began to change. No longer was he always stumbling and mumbling. If he banged his head or fell down the stairs the camera turned away and the sound was shut off. Once again Walter Cronkite came out and said, "I've never seen Gerald Ford so tough." Talking of

his acceptance speech Cronkite said, "that's the best speech he's ever given," which ain't saying much. But still, the polls began to narrow and now we've got down to the point where "It's a dead heat, it's too close to call." Or as Howard K. Smith said on the news the other night, "It's a horse race. And the American people, if there's one thing they love more than football, it's a horse race." So all this is programmed. You see, first they threw out the bait, here's a man you can believe in, here's somebody you can have faith in. And now it's, he's in danger, we got to get out and vote or else this savior may get nailed to the cross and all our hopes will go down with him. We've got to be sure that everybody's vote counts. You can't afford to sit home and not vote."

And then they run this thing about how Rockefeller may control billions. He may be super rich and we may be one step away from the poor house if we ain't in it yet. But nevertheless when you go into that polling booth—there is the great equalizer, our great American democracy's the great equalizer, when you step into that polling booth your vote is worth just as much as Rockefeller's. And that's right. Because neither one of them means a damn thing. That's what we have got to understand. Because decisions don't get made in that polling booth. And which ever one of these candidates wins the election, Rockefeller, who's been grooming Carter while also supporting Ford, and the whole class of Rockefellers who put their money generally behind both of them, maybe sometimes a little bit more behind one or the other, which ever way the election comes out in terms of who gets more votes and takes the White House, the Rockefellers and the class of Rockefellers is going to come out ahead and if we go along with this game and get sucked into it and get set up for an ambush, we're going to come out behind—the losers, whichever candidate wins.

The Real Candidate

So what we have to understand here in this election, although it's always true, that the real candidate is not Ford or Carter, the real candidate is their so-called free enterprise system. That's what they like to call it. They always say please don't call it capitalism. Call it free enterprise, democracy, individualism, the rights and the initiative of the individual. Say anything you want but please don't call it capitalism—let alone imperialism. Why not? That's what the hell it is. They're always ashamed. They don't want to be called capitalists or most of all imperialists. Don't talk about that. You're stirring up class hatred. But what do you think? Do we have to stir up class hatred? Hell, it already exists. How can you help but hate your exploiter and oppressor? Nobody has to go around stirring up hatred of a slave for their slavemaster. What we're trying to do is give it some direction and focus, so that energy and hatred can be directed in a way that can move things forward, and lay the basis for ending this whole system of exploitation and slavery. And that's why they don't want us to talk about it... □



Pope Goes Slumming

Saving Brazil— For U.S. Imperialism

Not since the Crusades sought to wrest control of the Mediterranean Sea from the Arabs has the Western powers had such a spiritual champion of their worldly interests. In yet another of his crusades for U.S. imperialism, Pope John Paul II last week completed a twelve-day campaign in Brazil. Since his election in 1978, spearheaded by a coalition of U.S. and West German cardinals, JP II has conducted overtly political tours to Mexico, Poland, Ireland, the U.S., France and Africa, and is reportedly planning a trip to the Soviet Union.

For the U.S., Brazil is of crucial importance, in its struggle with Soviet social-imperialism over redivision of the world. Brazil, a country the size of the U.S. with a population of 120 million, occupies half the land mass of South America. Brazil has one of the largest concentrations of U.S. investments outside of Europe. The CIA organized the overthrow of the mildly reformist Goulard government 20 years ago and a military clique has ruled with U.S. support since 1964. Like many countries subjected to

neo-colonialism, Brazil is controlled by a ruling elite of great landholders, compradors and the military. A few big cities have concentrations of modern industry owned by foreign capital. But the bulk of the population consists of impoverished peasants in the countryside and marginally employed urban slum dwellers. And like most countries in Latin America, the Catholic clergy is bitterly divided between conservatives supporting the government, so-called moderates urging reform on the government to prevent revolution, and a section of radicalized elements siding with the revolutionary masses.

As is his custom, JP II tumbled off the plane, kissed a specially cleaned patch of ground (funny how he never kisses the ground in the slums!) and embarked on a whirlwind tour, riding in his open "popemobile" and making two or three speeches a day. Deliberately meeting with all sectors of society the pope met with government leaders, spoke to a soccer stadium full of workers and activist priests, met with assembled bishops of Latin America,

spoke to a meeting of 50,000 priests and seminarians, toured slums and said mass at an air force base.

While his messages were tailored to their various audiences, the central theme was one thoroughly compatible with U.S. imperialism: there can be a certain amount of cosmetic reform, particularly at the expense of feudal elements, in order to forestall revolution; the church should play the role of social mediator, supposedly standing above class but protecting the "legitimate interests" of private property; and priests must stay out of politics (read: revolutionary politics.)

Speaking to a meeting of industrialists, businessmen and politicians in a stadium in Salvador, the pope laid it on the line: "Any society that does not wish to be destroyed from within must establish a just social order," he said. "Each of you must make a choice in this historic hour." But lest anyone get the wrong idea, the pope continued, "This appeal is not a justification for the class struggle—for the class struggle only leads to sterility and destruction—but it is an appeal for the noble struggle for social justice throughout society." For the pope, society is rightfully divided into those who rule and those who are ruled. Sounding like Confucius lecturing the Emperor of China on the virtues of benevolent rule, the pope told an assembly of government leaders in the capital Brazilia, "Those who are responsible for the common good, particularly those who consider themselves Christian, must seek in time the reforms" needed to prevent revolution. Appearing on a balcony with Brazilian dictator Figueiro, who shouted to the crowd, "Long Live John Paul II," the pope quickly responded, "Long Live the President."

Among the masses of peasants and workers, the pope engaged in unbridled demagoguery, filling the air with pious sounding proclamations about the rights of the poor, but carefully tempering each with a warning against using those methods which could actually gain these rights. Speaking to a stadium of workers in Sao Paulo, where a 41-day strike of metalworkers had just been brutally crushed by army troops, the church had everyone wave *white* handkerchiefs. The pope specifically endorsed the right of workers to form unions and strike, thus making him at least as radical as the last seven presidents of the United States. But he pointedly remarked that the church does not condone "the clash between classes." In case this left any of the workers who had just seen their leaders arrested and their union halls occupied wondering how this miraculous justice was to be brought about, the pope solemnly declared, that it is "the duty of all, principally of those who hold power" to "acquire the spirit of the poor" and undertake reforms. Oh, sure.

In Brazil, where millions live in abject poverty, where 10 million are infected with "chagas" (worms), and the infant mortality rate is 110 per thousand, the holy father explained to his children that this was part of God's great plan. "Overcome the temptation of the so-called consumer society. Strive for austerity and frugality. Otherwise you will flip around like bub-

bles of soap."

The pope also assembled the rebellious Brazilian clergy and read the riot act to them. Warning a meeting of bishops against Marxism, the pope stated that it would lead to "total politicization of Christian existence and the disappearance of the language of faith." The proper role of the church, he continued was to "denounce injustice" but not to "provoke or deepen dissension to worsen conflicts or become involved in them." (Take the pope, for example, *he* certainly doesn't get mixed up in politics!) Instead, the church's role is to "invite people and groups into dialogue... in certain circumstances, *it will even come to be a mediator.*" (Emphasis ours) So here the true hypocrisy of the bishop of Rome is revealed. Rank and file priests who live day to day with the masses are forbidden to join them in their just struggle, but the church hierarchy, pretending to stand above the partisan interests, will strive to place the church in leadership of the mass movement on the basis of demagoguery and vague statements on the rights of the poor, then use that influence to deliver the masses back into the hands of the ruling class who will promise pious reform in return.

But the church itself has become bitterly split over its subservience to imperialism. Hardly had JP II arrived when he was handed a letter signed by 1,150 priests denouncing his order banning priests from politics. "People in Latin America are not poor because of some natural destiny," the letter read. "Their cause is essentially political: They want the return of what has been stolen from them... by a minority that is sustained by enormous political and economic power." The letter protested the genocide of Indians in Latin America and the murders of priests by right-wing paramilitary groups. Those murdered include six priests and a bishop in El Salvador, twelve priests and a bishop in Argentina, three priests in Chile and in Mexico, and two priests each in Brazil, Guatemala and Bolivia. In a stinging indictment of the pope's complicity, the letter stated "the Latin American people find it repulsive that their assassins invoke their 'Christianity' to justify their killing, and that not a few bishops and even papal nuncios are their accomplices, at least in their passivity." A committee of the dissident priests released the text of the letter in Mexico City, but withheld the actual signature list from the pope so as not to give him a "hit list" to go after.

Driving quickly between the lines of troops and armored personnel carriers, the pope made his ritual tour of a slum in Rio de Janeiro. Dissidents had already been picked up by the police but an occasional sign like "We drink sewer water" popped up in the crowd. "Deeply moved" by the poverty in what newsmen said was far from being the worst slum in Rio, the pope pulled off his fat gold ring and presented it as a gift to the slum parish. Setting aside the fact that there wasn't any parish there, a chapel having been hastily constructed after the pope's visit was decided on, church officials in Rome quickly pointed out that the pope's gesture was purely symbolic and that rather than being sold for the benefit of the poor, the ring would be preserved there as a memento of the pope's visit. □



The Pope, by travelling through Latin America, hopes to clamp down on the significant section of radicalized priests who have been siding with the revolutionary masses in their countries. Above is one example, known as the "Guerrilla Priest" Garcia in Nicaragua (shown here checking rifles) who was killed last year in battle with Somoza's troops.

Salvadoran Fascist—"Banned" in U.S.—Speaks on Capitol Hill

While thirteen refugees from El Salvador were dying of thirst in the desert of Arizona, the survivors jailed by the Immigration and Naturalization Service ("La Migra"), another Salvadoran was having no trouble at all entering the United States. Major Robert D'Aubruissson, a leader of the right-wing paramilitary arm of the Salvadoran ruling junta, the so-called Broad National Front, last week held a press conference on Capitol Hill. Nothing unusual about that. Happens all the time. Except for one little fact. D'Aubruissson's U.S. visa was cancelled and his name put on La Migra's "lookout

list" at all points of entry as ineligible to enter the U.S. after his organization had threatened the life of the U.S. ambassador in El Salvador in a dispute over how, when and how much to use terror against the revolutionary masses.

D'Aubruissson's press conference was well advertised over the wire services. Sponsored by the American Legion and the American Security Council, it was attended by at least one congressman, Representative Larry MacDonald (D-Ga.), and a flock of newsmen. But the raiders from La Migra, who are so adept at kicking in the door of suspected undocumented workers from

Mexico, were nowhere to be seen. These fine gentlemen, so skilled at surrounding factories and seizing workers right off the assembly line, didn't even have the place staked out.

Questioned by the bourgeois press—after the press conference—INS officials expressed "surprise" that D'Aubruissson was in the country. "If we had received the information at the field office, we would have acted immediately," said District INS Director Kellogg Whittack. Whittack admitted having heard "rumors" and claimed they had checked the Hyatt Regency Hotel where D'Aubruissson usually stays but said he

wasn't registered. Yet reporters contacted him with ease at the Hyatt Regency and D'Aubruissson even had lunch with one reporter across the street from the White House.

D'Aubruissson's well organized trip to Washington, D.C. was to whip up support for increasing military aid to the Salvadoran army and the unleashing of broader terror now that the right-wing junta installed in a U.S.-backed coup last November is rapidly losing all credibility as a "moderate" force independent of the ruling military clique. Still pondering their setback in Nicaragua, the U.S. ruling class has been increasingly caught up in contradictions and infighting over how to deal with Latin America as a whole, and right now, El Salvador in particular. While the administration still

Continued on page 10

Report from the Western War Front of Afghanistan

The following report is from the western front of Herat in western Afghanistan, based on an interview with a member of the General Union of Afghan Students (GUAfS), and the commandant of the front. This article was published in the GUAfS newspaper, The 23 of Sour, and was translated from Farsi by a member of the Afghan Support Committee.

The day was full of revolutionary enthusiasm and excitement. Myself and ...* were crossing the wide deserts and hot sands. We were heading toward our courageous comrades who were operating in the heart of huge mountains in western Herat, on the lookout for fascist government forces.

Echoes of shooting and the reflection of red bullets in the blue sky were signs that we were getting closer and closer to the barricades of armed comrades. The towering mountains and extensive deserts framed the flaming explosions and sporadic sprays of red bullets.

After a long walk, still full of anxiety, we approached the barricade. Inside, the comrades gave us a warm welcome. Shortly after our greeting I looked around the barricade which consisted of four large stone walls. This was the time and place where revolutionary romance was coming true. Stacks of ammunition and different weapons including the Russian-made Kalashnikov drew my eyes. My hand unconsciously stretched toward one of the Kalashnikovs which was liberated from the fascist government forces. A warm tingling sensation flowed through my body as I asked the first question: "Is there an operation planned for tonight?" One of the militants anxiously answered, "Yes!" The answer came so quickly I realized he had been thinking about the operation before I spoke.

The night had begun to spread its dark protective screen. It was time for the comrades to get prepared. The militant in charge of the operation was busy looking at the map when one comrade said: "My machine gun is not working smoothly." The leader of the group quickly grabbed the weapon and began fixing it. Some militants entered the barricade with recent news and information. The group listened attentively and an intense discussion followed but was cut short, for the time of departure had come.

The operation for the night was to destroy the enemy station in western Herat. As we struck out I saw it was going to be a long journey. The militants were passing over cliffs on pathways winding through steep mountains. It was a spectacular scene and I was reminded of words to a revolutionary song from the General Union of Afghan Students (GUAfS): "We will moisten the outskirts of our country with our blood. We will then see red tulips blossom in the deserts..." While I was humming this tune to myself the militants joined in wholeheartedly. The song was full of revolutionary emotion and it seemed the pitch black sky pierced by mountain peaks accompanied us in protest of social-fascism (the phony "socialist" government of Afghanistan controlled by the Soviet imperialists—RW). It was the sacred love for the country and oppressed masses of people, to whom the country belonged, which made the song more meaningful than ever.

The night was growing late and we were in the vicinity of the operation when an armed comrade shouted, "We are close enough!"

You could see the station clearly with the aid of binoculars. This was the station where heavy clashes had previously occurred between the revolutionary and fascist forces. The lights were on inside the station and the fascist troops were on duty. The militants were instructed to fan out instantly and take their posts. Not much time elapsed before mines were securely placed around the site all

set for ignition. The main fuse was lit. The explosion shattered within the blue haze of smoke. The operation had succeeded and the militants quickly regrouped for the march back to the focal (guerrilla base—RW).

Upon arrival I took the opportunity to approach the commandant of the group and ask him questions I had on my mind. While his agile hands were skillfully repairing a weapon, I introduced myself as a member of GUAfS and explained our activities to him in hopes of starting a discussion. He did not mind my interruption and welcomed the conversation. I told him of GUAfS's role in exposing the social-fascist government and I found that he had heard about the Union. My first question was:

Q. What prospects do you see for this war?

A. I see this war as a protracted war. At the same time the social-fascist government and their Russian masters are terrified that the leadership of resistance will eventually be in the hands of vanguard forces. The government too sees the future as one of protracted war against the vanguard forces, for all forces do not possess the ideology and class base to insure their consistent and thorough resistance. The nature of revolutionary development is not only effective in the struggle against the Russians but isolates internal reactionary forces as well.

Q. May I ask, what kind of operation, rather in what stage is the war and what is the strategic organizational form of the revolutionary forces?

A. Since all the revolutionary forces are fighting in a sporadic manner without a single united headquarters, the impact on our own organizational form is inevitable. Lack of a wholistic strategic program necessitates independent group offensives as opposed to attacks as a coordinated front. But, we are consistently seeking to prepare ourselves for organization as part of a front for future use. By attracting more progressive forces it is possible to eliminate these shortcomings which hinder the formation of an organized front in the war. Our present organization in groups takes the form of offensive attacks on military headquarters of the government such as planting dynamite at enemy stations. Collective operations are also practiced when required.

Q. Which of your operations do you consider of most significance?

A. The uprising of the Herat Division has been among the most important operations. Myself and several other comrades had the leadership of that uprising which failed due to the lack of a more widespread organizational base. This was a very significant lesson.

Q. I hope you will excuse me in asking information about your operation sites; where are the most suitable sites geographically? In other words, in what areas are your operations carried out?

A. Establishing focals and organizing groups where the fascist government forces do not have easy access is in our favor. Therefore, our operations are often near ...* where supplies and reinforcements are convenient for our front.

Q. How is the provision of arms and supplies which play a crucial role, made possible?

A. As you see, all the arms we are using are bearing the mark of the social-fascist government of Afghanistan. We supply ourselves with arms and supplies by attacking the enemy and taking their weapons. Despite this, we are facing very many problems due to a shortage of weapons, medicine, means of transportation, lack of military expertise, etc. which can only be solved through the joint effort of all progressive forces.

Q. My final question is to know your opinion about the situation of the puppet government.

A. The government is suffering from



Afghan guerrillas stand on captured Soviet tank near Herat.

total economic and political chaos. Complete isolation from the masses is their main threat. On the other hand, the ultimate solution to our problem is to organize all progressive and genuinely patriotic forces who are anti-imperialist toward the Soviet social-imperialist, U.S. imperialists, and any other imperialist powers. The war must be fought to the finish.

Our discussion was coming to an end and we once again became aware of the

barricade embracing the high revolutionary morale of the many other militants gathered nearby. It was dawn when a number of comrades fell asleep with guns by their sides. I began reflecting on the nature of war from the different class points of view with another comrade. Daylight had arrived and we were anxiously awaiting for night to fall as a shelter for the next operation. |

* Specific names and places have been omitted as a protective measure.

Letter from an Afghan Revolutionary

July 1, 1980

Dear Comrades,

Many thanks for your letter. I read it again and again; especially, the package of your revolutionary literature made me very happy. I thought that I am not alone, tears came in my eyes silently. Where I am, I carry some of them with me, day and night I am busy with reading. Because I think these are the true and scientific materials of scientific socialism.

I am very sorry that I was not able to bring with me the necessary literature from the Afghan Revolutionary Youth Organization (ARYO). ARYO has a painful history; it is full of twists and turns. It was formed in 1965; for the first time in the revolutionary movement of the Afghan people they published a weekly newspaper under the name of *Shola Jaweed* or *Eternal Flame* in 1967. *Eternal Flame* was the only theoretical paper for New Democracy. This paper published 11 issues, and was then

closed down by the fascist regime of Zahir monarchy in 15th June 1967.

Comrade Akram Yari was the leader and the founder of the ARYO and the chairman of the Organ of the *Eternal Flame* for the new democratic movement in Afghanistan, which defended wholeheartedly Mao Tsetung Thought and continued the struggle against Russian Social Imperialism in Afghanistan.

Comrade Akram Yari was born in Jaghori or Hazarajat in the central part of Afghanistan in 1940. Because he was from a middle class family, he was educated very well, and was graduated from the Kabul University Faculty of Science as a mathematician and physicist in 1963. He organized the party branches in all provinces. At that time he was a teacher in one of the Kabul high schools. In the 2nd congress of the Afghan Revolutionary Youth Organization, Comrade Yari attacked economism and opportunism and encouraged some petty-bourgeois

Continued on page 10

Movie Portrays Blacks as Loving Slavery

NBC PRESENTS: SATURDAY NIGHT ON THE PLANTATION

Prime time TV has long been fertile ground for the bourgeoisie's blatant promotion of its racist ideology. But an effort which surpasses even those Amos and Andy updates, pimps, hustlers and loyal Black pigs that have flooded the airwaves in recent years is currently in the making. In fact, this one just might be more valuable than their national news coverage of every gathering of more than 2 Klansmen. It's a \$10 million production called "Beulah Land," a highly fictionalized account of a plantation in the old South that supposedly spans the years 1827-72, that is scheduled to be shown in three two-hour installments on NBC in the fall.

Consider this scene from the script. The kindly slave-mistress of the plantation has just died and in her will she gives Ezra, her faithful old blacksmith, and his family their freedom. Old Ezra sadly asks, "Freedom? Does that mean we gots to leave Beulah Land? Beulah Land is our home." His wife is downright angry. "I already was my own! I've been my own all my life! How come she try to make me less than I am by giving me back to myself? I'm never gonna forgive her."

This is only the beginning. In a later scene, Ezra's son Floyd, along with Leon, the master's son, are seen sitting around in the area of the slave quarters, eating a watermelon. Suddenly, Ezra comes up and slaps the melon out of Floyd's hand. "Mah own son! Hepin' the young marsa do bad! Shame on you, Floyd! An' shame on you, Leon! 'Specially you! Yo' mamma waitin' for you to greet the guests like a young genaman an' you here in this mud hole like a hawg! You gwine de marsa! You start actin' like the marsa, you hear? Git now! Git!"

This reactionary obscenity has been exposed in a 23-page position paper written by two prominent Black artists in Hollywood—script writer Robert Price and actress Sandra Sharp. Price and Sharp heard about the film from some well known Black actors who had rejected offers to appear in it, and they managed to obtain a copy of the script. As they note in their paper, Beulah Land "perpetuates the image of the slave as ignorant, oversexed, slovenly, dependent on the whim of his master, and filled with love for that master and the master of land... Throughout the entire six hours we never encounter a slave who wants to be anything other than a slave." Other encounters, documented with excerpts from the script, include: numerous examples of slave women more than willing to smilingly submit to sexual assaults from the master and his family, a lesbian relationship between a slave and the master's sister where the slave tries to protect her mistress-lover from the white woman's husband by trying to kill him, a slave who is so in love with the mistress of the plantation that he runs away to freedom because he can't bear the embarrassment and later returns to slavery because he is still in love with her, a Black woman who pimps her 13-year-old granddaughter to a former slave for "a coin," and a mulatto who is a hunchback and walks with a limp (symbolizing the birth defects that supposedly result from race mixing). And to add to the nausea, almost all the women in the movie, white or Black, are portrayed in a most disgusting light.

The exposure of "Beulah Land" has generated a storm of protest among mainly Black performers, writers and technicians in the entertainment indus-

try. They formed a coalition against the airing of "Beulah Land," made up of Actors Speak for Life, Concerned Black Artists for Action, the League of Black Cinema Arts, the Hollywood/Beverly Hills branch of the NAACP, Women Against Violence Against Women, the African Film Society of San Francisco, and the Association of Asian/Pacific American Artists. The coalition took out a full-page ad in the form of an open letter to NBC, Columbia Pictures Television, and David Gerber, the producer of Beulah Land, signed by scores of cultural professionals. At the same time, the coalition issued a press release: "The decision to publicly confront a television network, a major studio, and a reputable TV producer has not been a hasty one, since we recognize that those with the power to create and produce a Beulah Land also have the power to retaliate against their detractors, through the job market... nevertheless... the necessity of speaking out on behalf of our own children and our dignity prevail." Even several of the actors who accepted roles in the movie have now made public statements that they wished they had refused them, and have blasted the movie.

The response of the bourgeoisie's cultural propagandists has been predictable. First, the producer agreed to make some changes in the script; a typical example of these "changes" is that the watermelon scene described above was changed to a fishing scene—the dialogue remained the same. An NBC spokesman quickly announced that the originally scheduled May airing of "Beulah Land" would be postponed in order to allow for "consultation with experts and others interested in the film, as produced." Two weeks later NBC stated that the film would defi-

nately be shown in the fall. Meanwhile, David Gerber snorted, "I'm not going to let hysteria replace history," and the writer, J.P. Miller, said that the "false allegations of the coalition... can be refuted by historical evidence..." Apparently, their "history" doesn't include the over 250 documented slave revolts, the thousands of slaves that escaped to the North through the underground railroad, and the detachments of freed slaves that joined the Union Army during the Civil War—let alone the literally thousands of smaller ways the slaves found to resist their oppression, from destroying tools to feigning illness. Clearly, this isn't a case of a few historical inaccuracies, but rather a conscious rewrite of history to serve our rulers' reactionary interests.

The "Beulah Land" production follows a pattern all too familiar to anyone willing to observe. Carl Anderson, a member of the coalition and an actor who refuses to accept parts which degrade Black people, told the *RW* that recently he has "turned down 57 scripts until I found one I could play. And that one got turned around... after they filmed it and cut it up and made the character just another jive ass nigger."

As is often the case when such ideological poison is opposed, the cry of "free speech" has been raised. Gerber and Miller are spearheading the attack by accusing those who oppose "Beulah Land" of "prior censorship." But the possible airing of "Beulah Land," and the investment of so many millions of dollars into a story elsewhere described as "greater than 'Gone With the Wind,'" reveals something about the content of Gerber and Miller's campaign. It is rather appropriate that NBC would rest on its freedom to produce such a film. □

Afghan

Continued from page 9

comrades in the party to throw that away and promote the link of the party with the people and continue the struggle under the red banner of Marxism-Leninism and Chairman Mao's Thought to the end.

He was always defending from the correct point of view Chairman Mao's line that "Politics should be first, then the others." He was advising us to learn from the Proletarian Cultural Revolution of China and struggle against selfishness and self-cultivation. We will be a good servant of the people when we are able to eradicate the roots of self-interest in our self. He always was referring the comrades to study the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao's Thought repeatedly. He was saying that "Communism is the cause of all revolutionary and oppressed people in the world. This cause needs certain sacrifices. Revolutionaries must stand in the front line and prove that they are really good servants of the people not in talking but in practice."

Comrade Akram Yari continued the struggle till 1970. Soviet headquarters and their provocateur agents were closely watching comrade Yari, especially Purchum and Khalq (the two factions of the pro-Soviet revisionist party in Afghanistan—*RW*), and Western spying branches in Afghanistan also had certain activities. In mid-1970 he was given poisonous chocolate and was seriously ill for 7 years. Tahir Badakhshi—a member of Khalq party and provocateur agent of the Soviets who was executed in 1978—poisoned Comrade Yari, he told me in 1974. Because of the effect of the poison it was found by an Afghan surgeon that his illness was Manic Depressive Psychosis. His brain had lost some of its important elements, deteriorating his memory.

As Comrade Yari was seriously ill he was not able to lead the party. The

other leaders did not have such an advanced outlook based on Mao Tsetung Thought, so they soon sunk in the swamp of opportunism and the party split into many factions. Some of them exist today: economist and opportunist political organizations such as "SAMA" and the so-called "Revolutionary Organization" and many others have come out from the above fraction.

But they soon paid a very high price for their errors and mistakes that our history will never forget. In 1978 after black April, Taraki and Amin (revisionist henchmen put in power by the USSR and then later overthrown and executed by more reliable Soviet puppets—*RW*) and other bloodthirsty social fascists ordered the arrest of all Maoists, and they executed more than 12,000 revolutionary Maoists. Comrade Akram Yari was the first who was arrested and sentenced for an unknown period to jail; he was seriously ill and was brought from his native home Jaghuri by a special Russian military tank. Some rumors say that he was executed before September 1979.

Babrak Karmal (the current Soviet-backed ruler of Afghanistan—*RW*) and the Soviet military forces may kill Communists, they may kill all patriotic democrats, they may burn all communist books and communist literature, but they will not kill communism. Communism is alive and will be alive forever. Because it is the cause of the world proletariat.

Among many political organizations, "AKHGAR", "The Spark", has been accepted as the followers of Chairman Mao's line. They have a certain publication under the name of AKHGAR theoretical organ. This organization was founded by Afghan Marxist-Leninists in West Germany at the end of 1976. For some time they were also pro-Albania, last year they have criticized it from their own point of view and accepted Chairman Mao's Thought. I am enclosing herewith the latest publications of AKHGAR in Farsi for your reference...

With revolutionary regards,
An Afghan Revolutionary
living abroad

Salvadoran Fascist

Continued from page 8

tries to uphold the charade of a "moderate" and "reform-minded" junta (a position which may need alteration in the future), D'Aubruissson's trip indicates that the U.S. is leaving its options open. Politicians articulating forcible and open repression in El Salvador may yet see their line win out.

D'Aubruissson didn't exactly have to sneak into the U.S. He landed at the airport in Key West and was duly processed by immigration officials. Gleeefully, D'Aubruissson displayed his passport to reporters showing entry stamps for two entries into the U.S. since his visa was supposedly revoked and his name put on the "lookout" list. Of course, such illegal entries are old hat for La Migra. When the word comes from "across the river" (CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia across the Potomac River), names on the "lookout list" have a habit of melting away.

Such was the case in 1976 when two Chilean hitmen, whose names were on

the "lookout list" because of a previous attempt at illicit entry, waltzed into the U.S. and carried out the car bomb assassination of Orlando Letelier on Massachusetts Avenue in Washington, D.C. Letelier had been a diplomat in the government of Salvador Allende, overthrown in a CIA coup in 1973.

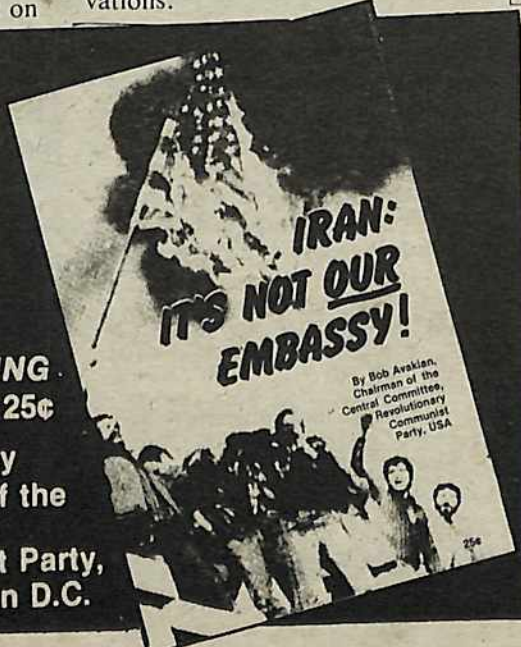
D'Aubruissson also does not lack for personal friends and contacts in the U.S. He is a graduate of the International Police Academy in Washington (which trains police officials throughout the U.S. empire) and the U.S. Army Green Beret and Communications School in Panama.

After successfully "eluding" La Migra for two days as the toast of the town in Washington—it must have been tough—D'Aubruissson "turned himself in" when he was finally ready to go. He was immediately deported with the full severity of the law. That is, two La Migra officials escorted him to Miami in time to make a 6:30 flight to Central America on which he already had reservations. □

Pamphlet from the
Revolutionary Worker

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



Desert Death Welcomes Salvadorans To "Land of Freedom"

Since last weekend, the bourgeois media has filled with an outpouring of crocodile tears over the "tragedy in the desert," as thirteen immigrants—at least twelve of them middle-class Salvadorans—were found dead in the Organ Pipe Cactus National Monument in Arizona, near the Mexican border. Fourteen survivors were also found, suffering from severe dehydration after having drunk after-shave, deodorant and their own urine to try to stay alive. The fact that Latin American immigrants, especially from Mexico, turn up dead near the border all the time, often at the hands of the U.S. border patrol, generally is not deemed worthy of mention. But the magnitude of this particular case made it an international incident, one that required some fast-talking on the part of U.S. officials. Originally, they ran out the story that "coyotes" ("illegal" alien smugglers) had robbed the Salvadorans and deliberately left them in the desert to die, a story that provided them with the opportunity to call this a "wanton and senseless crime," and express their determination to get those evil *Mexicans* who were responsible. Not one to miss a trick, one U.S. official even used this as a call for "tougher immigration laws." But the discovery that two of the survivors and one of the dead men were part of the smuggling operation has deprived them of their ready-made scapegoat. Now they have been reduced to speculating on the blunders of the smugglers and the lack of "toughness" of this new breed of middle-class immigrants (unable to stand the 150 degree heat on the desert floor like the old breed apparently could), while "concerned" border patrolmen complain that if only the initial survivors had told them there were more out there, they would have been able to save most of them.

The very fact that these immigrants were stuck in the scorching Arizona desert, when their final destination was apparently Los Angeles, was the result of a conscious policy of the U.S. government of forcing "illegal" aliens away from the urban areas and into the desert where, if the border patrol doesn't get them, the heat most likely will. That's the reason they have built the twelve mile long so-called "tortilla curtain" (as these racist dogs call it) fence in two stretches along the border—one near San Diego and the other near El Paso. The only thing in between is desert. In addition, the Department of Justice has flooded the urban border areas with their border patrol agents, often hauling regular Migra (immigration service) agents out of their normal job of terrorizing immigrants in major cities to the north to concentrate their particular skills on the thousands who haven't made it that far yet. In fact, the reason that the Salvadorans crossed the border at the national monument is that most of the area is closed to motor vehicles, meaning it can't be patrolled by these "concerned" officers—a fact which makes it safer than other locations where hostile *unnatural* elements are too numerous.

This story has also provided another in a seemingly endless series of bourgeois media hooks on the theme "America, land of the free." This time, the immigrants were escaping from the "political violence of their land to the political security of the United States," according to Walter Cronkite. Cronkite and the rest of the media failed to mention the fact that over 3,000 people have been killed since the beginning of the year by the military and paramilitary forces of the ruling junta—armed, trained, and kept in power by the U.S. ruling class to maintain El Salvador's real colonial status—or the fact that 30 new corpses appear on the streets of that country every day from people being tortured and killed by the puppet regime.

However, it is possible that the media's failure to point to a source for the "political violence" may be rectified in the days to come. Perhaps we

will find out that these particular more well-off Salvadorans were escaping the "violence of the Left," and that they have numerous horror stories yet to tell of kidnappings, bombings, uprisings of the rabble, etc., that has thrown their country into such turmoil. There are certain facts which may point in that direction: their quick interview with the El Salvador Counsel General who flew in from Los Angeles to talk to them, the

fact that the U.S. press has begun to refer to the survivors as "refugees" rather than "immigrants" (in U.S. officialese, the former refers to those who the imperialists hope they can use for their own political purposes, while the latter term is meant for those who can be attacked as aliens and freeloaders, and the fact that the local sheriff has scheduled a meeting of U.S., Mexican and Salvadoran officials to discuss the

situation.

But whatever the reason these particular immigrants sought to come to the U.S., their blood is on the hands of no one else but the U.S. ruling class. Like hundreds and thousands of others who have died in the desert, been beaten and tortured, or simply shot in cold blood by the border patrol and their ilk, this group of Salvadorans are victims of U.S. imperialism. □

"Warm" Reception for New World Patriotism Day



Harlem, July 4th—(bottom) bystander gives "thumbs down" sign as marchers pass by, (top right) woman shouts her opposition to slogans raised in the parade at Ali, (top left) Ali responds.

The people of Harlem, New York give Muhammad Ali and Warith Deen Muhammad (head of the World Community of Al-Islam) a fitting response to their crass patriotic flag waving orgy called New World Patriotism Day. This year attempts to rally Black people around the stars and stripes with parades and rallies in 3 cities, New York, Chicago and Washington, D.C. were a dismal failure as people stayed away in droves in disgust. Only 100 showed in D.C. while 400 were in the parade in Chicago, as hardly anyone watched from the street. There was a slightly larger crowd in Harlem, mainly of people checking out this farce for the first time. A number of people straight-up denounced the activities like those above.

Two FALN Suspects Convicted in

Chicago—On July 9 two alleged members of the FALN were convicted after a kangaroo court trial on charges of armed robbery, armed violence, possession of a stolen vehicle and conspiracy to steal a vehicle. But in reality the verdict was in from the day the two were captured last April 4 in Evanston, Illinois along with nine other FALN suspects: GUILTY for the crime of demanding independence for Puerto Rico from the criminal rule of U.S. imperialism.

The eleven alleged FALN prisoners have utilized every court appearance to roundly denounce U.S. imperialism and to demand freedom for Puerto Rico, and the two, Alicia Rodriguez and Luis Rosa, continued to do this at the start of their trial. Like their comrade Haydee Beltran Torres, recently tried in New York and sentenced to life imprisonment, both refused to recognize the authority of the court. But Chicago authorities have summed up from the New York case that it was not so wise to allow Haydee Beltran 15 minutes in which to expose U.S. imperialism's rape and exploitation of Puerto Rico. Immediately after Rosa and Rodriguez began to speak at the beginning of the trial, hatchetman Judge Bailly had each set upon by three sheriffs who held the prisoners down and kept their hands clasped over their mouths. The two were not even present for the rest of their trial, banished to a holding cell behind the court where they supposedly heard the proceedings over a public address system. Since jailings and arrests of supporters had proven unsuccessful in stopping them from chanting "Free Puerto Rico!" during the pre-trial hearings, Judge Bailly decided to deal with

R.W. Reporter

Continued from page 6

ware, tool box, living room rug, radio, tape recorder, stereo, vacuum cleaner, coffee pot, etc. (There was obviously "a division of the spoils"—when Ransom's lawyer went to interview the building super, one piece of furniture from the apartment was found there.) Given all this theft and destruction, Ransom was surprised to find that his electric typewriter, which is obviously essential to his work as a reporter, was still there, packed properly in its case. But the case contained the "secret" message: the typewriter, too, had been mysteriously "broken" beyond repair.

A police raid, a smashed up apartment, threats and efforts at intimidation of a writer for a revolutionary newspaper—all carried out with care not to be too subtle, to make sure the "message" got through. No doubt the broken electric typewriter was considered a master touch. This police operation, which carries all the trademarks of FBI COINTELPRO actions of the '60s and early '70s, was not only an attempt at intimidation, however; nor was this its main purpose. As the interrogation and every other aspect of this illegal raid makes clear, this was another step in the government's attempt to frame-up the RCP, its newspaper, and its revolutionary leadership as a "terrorist network" in order to lay the basis for still heavier attacks and the outlawing of the RCP altogether as a "terrorist conspiracy." We wonder if the cops called in the bomb squad to "defuse" the typewriter of a reporter for the *Revolutionary Worker*, while they rummaged through his notebooks searching for "evidence." No. While this is an obvious political attack on the Party and its press, as usual in their hypocritical fashion the authorities have attempted to trump up some "criminal charges" to threaten and suppress the revolutionary press which is arming the class-conscious workers and revolutionary minded with a consistent revolutionary communist political line and outlook. This the imperialists cannot tolerate. And their message is very clear. The proletariat knows the nature of its enemies and it knows how to read hoof-prints. □

this embarrassing situation by barring them altogether during the three-day trial, including the legal consultant for Rosa and Rodriguez who was not able to get in until the second day. The only observers allowed in were media people.

With the courtroom cleared of defendants and supporters, the so-called trial became a platform for the prosecution to create hysteria around terrorism. All law-abiding citizens are "the enemy" to the defendants on trial, state's attorney Michael Ficaro proclaimed. The FALN "has declared war" on us, he told the jury. He also took the opportunity to present loads of evidence found in an alleged FALN "safe house" in Milwaukee that was completely unrelated to the charges. All this was duly reported by the press to help gear up for future convictions, while the fact

that supporters were barred from the courtroom was not even mentioned in some instances.

During the pre-trial appearances by the FALN suspects, supporters had turned the courtroom into a militant forum with people chanting, jumping to their feet and demanding independence for Puerto Rico. This caused Judge Bailly to fly into a rage more than once. He was determined to rule over the spectators in his courtroom with the same iron hand that the U.S. uses to rule over and exploit the people of Puerto Rico. Here are some shining examples of his courtroom actions: the judge threatened to throw legal consultant Michael Deutsch out the window when he protested the beating of some of the prisoners in the courtroom; Carlos Alberto Torres was brought into the June 16 pre-trial hearing bound and

gagged; Luis Rosa was viciously jumped on by guards as soon as he greeted the spectators at this same hearing with "Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre!" (Long Live Puerto Rico!) One grabbed him by the hair and banged his head against the while while another punched him in the mouth; at almost every hearing some of the supporters have been detained by the cops for several hours; and a supporter of the eleven who refused to apologize to the judge for shouting "Long Live Puerto Rico!" was charged with contempt of court, sentenced to 30 days in jail on June 16, and held on \$10,000 bail.

During the current trial the judge finally agreed that 25 supporters could be admitted if they would furnish their names and addresses. There were no takers. Instead a spirited picket line of 100 people formed outside the courtroom, chanting "Esta Lucha Va a Llegar a la Guerra Popular!" (The struggle will come to people's war!) □

Detroit Judge: "I Want the RCP Off The Streets . . ."

"High Bail Keeps Leftists in Check Till After Convention," read the headlines of the *Detroit News*. The article referred to the recent bust of 13 revolutionaries who had stepped off into the July 4 parade to expose the patriotic war preparations by building support for the trial of the UN 2 (see article on page 2). The 13 were originally arrested, charged with "disorderly conduct," and held for the unusually high bail of \$250 each. By the time court convened on Monday, 5 of the 13 had been bailed out. Judge Shamo slapped \$5000 bonds on each of the remaining eight, saying only, "If I had been on the reviewing stand (at the parade) the bond would've been higher." In addition, a supporter who raised a clenched fist salute in solidarity with the eight as they were led back to their cells was charged with

contempt of court and tossed in the slammer for 30 days. Since May Day Shamo had already put the word out that he wants all RCP busts sent to his court.

When Shamo was confronted by lawyers about the outrageously high bail for a misdemeanor, he told them, "I want the RCP off the streets—in court or in jail during the Republican Convention." Already a wave of protest is building in response to these blatant attacks, notably among the legal community. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has issued a condemnation of bond being used "to keep the streets clean of demonstrators." With thousands expected to "Counter the Convention," with a major strike of city employees on their hands, and with tens of thousands of autoworkers and

others out of work, the bourgeoisie fears the potential of the Convention acting as a lightning rod for people's anger.

No doubt the specter of revolutionary May Day still haunts the rulers of Detroit. Shamo, in an attempt to crush that historic day, put the stamp of his class on the May Day trials when he said, "they (red armbands) represent another flag and I will have no other but the American flag in my courtroom." The singling out of the RCP only indicates that the bourgeoisie is terrified that the political line of the RCP, exposing this Convention and the system it promotes, will galvanize the revolutionary sentiments of many of those who'll fill the streets when the Convention begins. □



SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY by Bob Avakian

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

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

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Police Murder No Revelation to the People

Could it possibly be? L.A. Police Chief Darryl Gates sweating and squirming under the television lights, desperately fending off a barrage of criticism for the LAPD's endless string of brutal murders? Yet there he was two weeks ago, the head of L.A.'s executioners in blue sitting in the interrogation chair—and instead of doing the grilling, it was the Chief himself who was being grilled by Ted Koppel on ABC's Nightline for his handling of police killings, mainly of Blacks. But while many were delighted to see the notorious head of the L.A. pig sty on the other side of the hot lights for a change, there was something a little strange about all this pious "concern" over the behavior of the LAPD. Since when did the bourgeoisie ever give a damn about the "excesses" of their uniformed scum whose job it is to enforce their dictatorship with a reign of open terror over the masses and to oversee their particularly violent national oppression of Black people and other minorities?

What is especially interesting about the criticism being leveled at Gates—and what has Gates himself in a veritable frenzy—is that much of it is coming from none other than the federal government's own Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) as well as a number of other bourgeois forces. According to Gerald Caplan (Director of the National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice, former General Counsel for the Washington D.C. police and the LEAA, and one-time U.S. attorney), "The LAPD is not willing to go to great lengths to avoid shooting a civilian when the rules permit it" and "a citizen acts at his or her peril in a confrontation with them." While this is hardly a revelation to the people of L.A., it is driving Gates up a wall. A congressional subcommittee, pulled together by Black congressman Conyers (a demagogue who knows a good thing when he sees it) has been "investigating" police violence in L.A. Conyers blasted Gates on the Nightline program for refusing to appear at the hearings. Meanwhile Gates has also been under fire from the L.A. City Council which has criticized the LAPD's infamous Public Disorder Intelligence Division for "spying on peaceful groups." It seems Gates incurred their wrath by sending undercover agents to monitor the activities of the City Council itself! Why on earth, wondered the wounded Gates, were those he "protects and serves" suddenly kicking up such a fuss, knifing him in the back just for "doing his job" and, in fact, doing it rather well?

ABC's Nightline program answered this question rather bluntly just before Gates was put on the hotseat: "Police attacks have led to outbursts of rage... and while it's peaceful in south central L.A. today, the spectre of the Watts riot remains... all it would take here is an incident, a spark." So did William Darden, Chief of Police in Riviera Beach, Florida, speaking at the convention of the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives held in L.A. last week. He whined that unless police reduce their level of violence in minority communities they may spark off more urban rebellions like the one that hit Miami with all the force of a gulf hurricane. "We are in a revolution whether you want to believe it or not," he said. "We are dealing with a different breed of Blacks and other minorities in this country who are not willing to sit back and wait for the judiciary or any other law enforcement agency... They're going to take it on to themselves to do something about it..."

Indeed, ever since the acquittal of the cops who murdered Arthur McDuffie touched off the rebellion by Blacks that reduced a good part of Miami to ground zero, the bourgeoisie in every major city across the U.S. has been frantically asking in banner headlines, "Will our city be next?" And there is

plenty of reason why they are shining the spotlight on L.A. and fairly dripping with anguish over "the trouble with the LAPD." When the L.A. cops pumped eight bullets into Eula Love, a Black woman involved in a dispute with the gas company over a \$22 bill two years ago, it was the straw that nearly broke the camel's back. Since then the long simmering anger of L.A.'s minorities at this kind of coldblooded murder has been steadily heating up to the boiling point. With each successive police killing, people have jammed City Council meetings and the outrage has been spreading throughout the city's ghettos and barrios.

L.A.'s city fathers and the federal government know they are sitting on a powderkeg that could blow at any time. Thus the flurry of top-level "investigations," the feeble motions of a media "exposure," and the high-sounding expressions of "alarm" that the LAPD's reputation has surpassed even that of Murder, Inc. But all this has posed quite a dilemma for the capitalists—however much they may be freaked at the prospect of additional Miamis, their necessity is to intensify their national oppression as a part of generally clamping down on resistance to their political and economic attacks and their rapidly escalating preparations for war. In attempting to rally support for his "beleaguered" police force, Chief Gates wasted no time in reminding this country's rulers of this obvious fact. He acidly pointed out that unless criticism of his department's use of deadly force stops, law enforcement in the city is "going to come slowly grinding to a halt"—a rather open admission that the capitalists' "law and order" is based on outright murder as the bottom line.

Meanwhile, the L.A. Police Commission has leapt out on cue to present the "other side" of the story, rushing to the media with a set of statistics (from a report on the Eula Love murder that wasn't due for at least two weeks) to "prove" that the LAPD has been "cleaning up its act" and that its record of murder and violence has dramatically improved. They claim police shootings have been going down—by 3.3% from 1978 to 1979 and down almost 50% in the first six months of 1980. Some might find this a little hard to swallow since in '78 and '79 there were 197 police shootings in L.A. (61 resulting in death). But even if it is statistically true, this "decline" isn't much comfort to the people of L.A. The cops' own coroner reported that in the previous four-year period (1973 through 1978) on which the alleged decline is based, the cops averaged an incredible 2 killings a week in L.A. County—a rampage of premeditated murder, mainly of Blacks, which accounted for over 25% of all police killings in the entire U.S.!

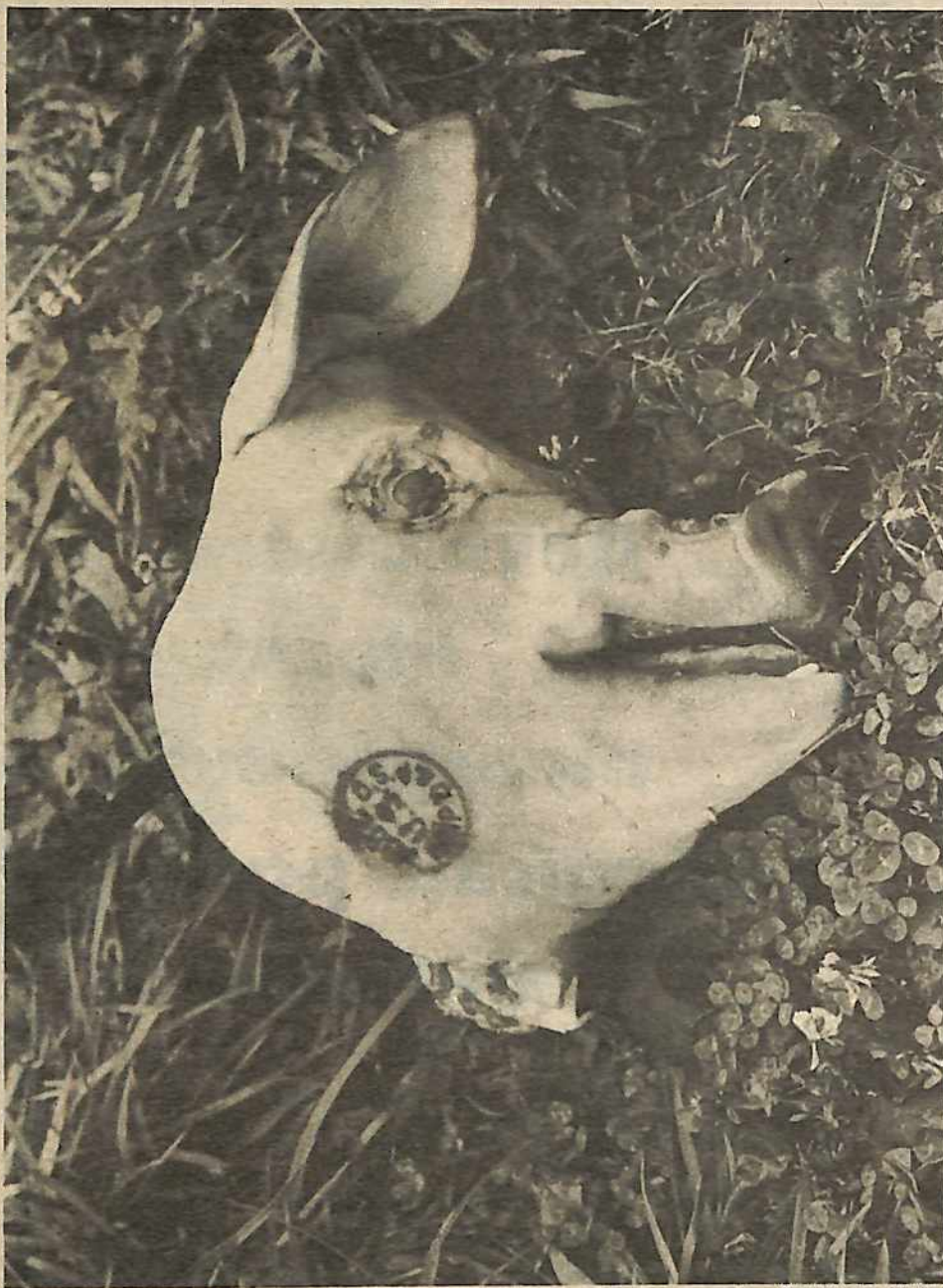
Of course, one statistic the L.A. Police Commission did not see fit to mention was that one third of all those gunned down by the cops in L.A.

County would never even have been charged with a crime had they survived. No wonder that until recently the federal government has had nothing but lavish praise for the "professionalism" of the LAPD and held them up as a "model" police department! And just exactly how the LAPD has actually been "getting its act together" was revealed when someone (who for obvious reasons shall remain anonymous) overheard two cops talking at a meeting of the L.A. Police Commission while Miami was still in flames. One pig was bragging how he had taken his squad on their days off out to the desert for automatic weapons training to get prepared for when L.A. "blows." Indicative of what they are nervously preparing for is that this cop remarked that instead of using standard police issue, they much preferred practicing with "confiscated weapons" like M-16's—weapons found in the hands of those in the very ghettos and barrios they will be advancing into when the shit hits the fan!

It was barely a year ago that the LAPD got a pat on the back from the bourgeoisie for "a job well done" in the murder of Eula Love, but now that Miami has ushered in the 1980s they

have been forced to unleash a storm of "criticism" over exactly the same issue. The LEAA has also done its part to try and cool things out in L.A., initiating a federal program called Operation Roll-out in which teams of investigators supposedly roll out to the scene of any police shootings. But as Caplan admitted to the *RW*, "It's not so much to reduce shootings, but rather to reduce the questionable ones." (Or, more accurately, reduce any questions about the shootings!) The real purpose of Operation Roll-out, according to L.A. congressman Julian Dixon, who helped secure funding for the program, is to combat "an ever increasing erosion of public confidence in law enforcement... and the resulting polarization in the community."

Much to the embarrassment of the LAPD, right in the middle of all this controversy another "unfortunate incident" has made it quite clear that none of this federal "intervention" was ever intended to have any effect on business as usual anyway. Two L.A. cops busted into the home of Larry Morris after a couple of firecrackers went off nearby, looking for "a man with a gun." They punched out Morris's cousin, chased Morris into the bathroom, beat him and strangled him to death with a baton—yet another Black man viciously murdered by the police "in the line of duty" in south central L.A. □



Revolutionary Worker

El Paso Inquisition of RCP

In June 1979, the *Revolutionary Worker* reported on the struggle at R.E. Thomason General Hospital in El Paso against the deportations of Mexican "illegals" who came to the emergency room seeking medical treatment, exposing the hospital's refusal to provide medical care and its cooperation with the Immigration Service. At that time a small rebellion in the hospital's emergency room which involved Dr. Ed Bernstein succeeded in stopping the deportation of a pregnant Mexican woman who was bleeding. Dr. Bernstein, a supporter of the RCP and widely associated with the RCP's politics, had been previously notified that he was being fired from his job as Assistant Professor in the emergency room. He has

become the center of considerable controversy in medical circles in this Southwest city. Last year over 100 hospital employees and patients at R.E. Thomason signed a petition protesting the deportations and Dr. Bernstein's firing.

Since then, Dr. Bernstein has had his privileges to practice medicine at R.E. Thomason revoked and has been expelled from the local medical society. The bourgeoisie has proceeded to blackball him from all emergency room jobs in El Paso, protesting all along that his politics and association with the RCP had nothing to do with it. Yet here they were in Federal court on June 25, filing a motion to compel Dr. Bernstein to answer a series of questions about the

activities of the RCP. The occasion was a pre-trial hearing in a conspiracy suit against them filed by Dr. Bernstein in connection with the firing. The lawsuit, naming the El Paso County Medical Society, R.E. Thomason General Hospital, and the Texas Tech University Medical School, is the latest round in an ongoing battle aimed at exposing the collusion between these institutions in attempts to drive Dr. Bernstein and the RCP's political line out of the medical profession in El Paso.

Desperate to stop this lawsuit or turn it around against the RCP, the high-powered attorneys for the medical establishment (including no less than the Attorney General for the State of

Continued on page 15

“They’d Die Anyway,” say Officials

200 DEAD IN TEXAS HEAT

For the third straight week the South has been scorched by 100 degree-plus temperatures, as a “dome of heat” has hung over Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas and other states as well as Mexico’s state of Chihuahua. More than 200 deaths have been reported in the U.S., while thousands have been hospitalized because of the heat. Thousands of livestock have died and crops have been ruined in the South and Mexico, and 6 times the usual number of fires have ignited in this area.

This has all been attributed by the bourgeois press to purely “natural forces”—the heat and lack of rain. However, as each new day brings an increasingly higher toll—especially in terms of human lives—it stands out all the more sharply that the real responsibility for the disaster lies with the ugly natural forces of capitalism.

Overwhelmingly most of those victimized by the heat have been the elderly and poor. While the media has persistently advised joggers and golfers to stay indoors and keep cool under the air conditioner, the majority of heat-related deaths have in fact occurred inside people’s homes. The problem was not that most of them got out in the sun, it was the fact that they could not afford to keep their houses cool. In normal summer weather sweltering in your house is one more constant misery of life under this system for many, not only in the South, but in many parts of the country. But under the conditions of 114 degree temperatures, this lack of adequate ventilation became more than a discomfort, it turned homes into death-trap ovens.

In Dallas for example, one Black man, aged 55, was found dead in a 10 x 10 windowless shack with no plumbing, and an old Chicano man was found dead in his car which doubled as his

house. These were just two of the nearly 100 deaths in this city. As usual, various mouthpieces for the rich jumped to offer their explanations for this carnage, assuring everyone that while the deaths were unfortunate they were unavoidable. After all most of these people were dying anyway. An investigator from the Dallas County Medical Examiner’s Office was quick to point out that many of the older people died because they “are already dealing with the natural disease process.” No comment of course on why practically all of them were poor, living on fixed incomes or welfare and were found in sweat-box dwellings. Referring to those victims for whom heat stroke was not the immediate cause of death, this same investigator said, “These people were in a hot environment. There is really no way to tell if that caused their deaths. They could have died in beautiful 72 degree weather.”

Not surprisingly, no heat-related deaths or illnesses were reported from any of Dallas’s plush climate-controlled skyscrapers, such as the one we are invited into every week on the TV show “Dallas.” Even the inside tennis courts and jogging track have had perfect temperatures during the last weeks and the only place one swelters is in the sauna bath. Meanwhile, many homes of the heat-wave victims are only a few hundred yards away, right in the glare of these shining palaces.

To the bourgeoisie this is all quite natural and the way things were meant to be. Naturally hundreds of the “unfortunate” will die when it gets too hot just as hundreds will freeze to death when it gets too cold. After all this is the USA, Number 1, the pinnacle of civilization. Where else do you have air-conditioned jogging tracks, anyway? □

Once You Graduate from Camp Liberty . . .

Orlando, Fla. The ten city at Eglin Air Force Base was bad enough—the lousy food, the months of waiting for a sponsor, the barbed wire and armed guards surrounding the wretched encampment which the U.S. government billed as “Camp Liberty”. But after three or four riots the process was suddenly sped up and the seven Cuban refugee women, ranging in age from 19 to 27, were finally informed they had a woman to sponsor them, thanks to the Central Florida Refugee Association. As they left the camp with high hopes for good jobs, they undoubtedly expected to be greeted by someone resembling the majestic lady in New York harbor bearing a torch above the words, “Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free . . .”

These illusions were quickly shattered, however, when their generous benefactor turned out to be a sleazy madam. The women were shocked when their “sponsor”; Linda McGeough, owner of the China Doll Club, took them to her darkened bar and told them their new job was to dance nude before the customers and they could earn an extra \$25 a night as prostitutes. Carter had said that the refugees would be “welcomed with open arms”—only he forgot to mention it would be inside a bordello not much different than those that littered the landscape of Havana under the U.S.-backed Batista regime. And if these refugees had thought that life in Castro’s capitalist Cuba was the pits—now it was welcome back to the big time.

When the women angrily refused their new employment, they were promptly shipped off to do some hard labor in a citrus grove. Their sponsor,

who is awaiting sentencing on a murder charge for slaying a patron in the China Doll parking lot, could not be reached for comment. But the incident speaks for itself and suggests the following alteration of the concluding lines inscribed at the base of the Statue of Liberty: “. . .The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,/Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost, to me,/I lift my red lamp beside the brothel door!” □

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by Bob Avakian

(This major analysis originally appeared in *RW* issue No. 49 under the title of “Is Revolution Really Possible this Decade and What does May First Have to do with it?”)

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El Paso

Continued from page 13

Texas) have been trying to enlist Judge Hudspeth—known as the most liberal judge in West Texas—to hold Dr. Bernstein in contempt for refusing to help them in their outrageous fishing expedition. They have demanded to know the answers to such questions as: "Are you or are you not a member of the RCP?" "Do you advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. government?" "What was said at a press conference at RCP headquarters about armed insur-

rection?" "What do you do with the 25¢ received from the daily worker (sic)" "Where'd you get them from and where does the money go?" "We have a right," demanded the attorney for R.E. Thomason, "to know if he is a member of the RCP or if he does not belong or that he agrees with their views. We don't know what we are dealing with—since the RCP is anti-Moscow and China, what is it? Jonestown-type people?" This clever Jonestown ruse has been coming up quite a bit lately from different quarters around the country. The transparent (and coordinated) purpose is to paint a picture of the RCP as a gang of crazed, maniacal fanatics whose leader—a clear allusion to RCP Chairman Bob

Avakian—demands various "suicide actions" from Party members and supporters. It is a desperate attempt to isolate the RCP from the masses of people.

When the attorney for Dr. Bernstein cited a number of Supreme Court decisions from the bourgeoisie's own legal arsenal prohibiting these very questions from being asked, Judge Hudspeth simply replied, "It may not be the law, but philosophically speaking, do you really think it's fair that you do not have to answer these questions when, in fact, you asked the other side about their views about whether a physician who supports the RCP should be allowed to practice medicine?"

Truly a lofty judge—but the

philosophy he is guided by was revealed when he ordered Dr. Bernstein to state his place of employment ostensibly so that the "other side" could evaluate the financial damage Bernstein had suffered. In fact, the other side has been trying to find out where Bernstein works to try to compile further evidence against him as well as get him fired once again.

As for the defendants' demands that Dr. Bernstein testify before this inquisition into the RCP—and his refusal will not only be used by them as an excuse to ice the lawsuit completely but also to hang a possible contempt charge on the doctor—the judge said he will "study the matter further" in preparation for the upcoming trial. □

The International Unity of the Proletariat: What it is and How to fight for it

Continued from page 4

under socialism and specifically denies that a new bourgeoisie can arise within the party, which leaves Hoxha no basis to deal with the reversal in China. However, this quarrel may be patched up yet, since for the same reason Hoxha has no basis to deal with the restoration of capitalism in the USSR, which is why his criticism of the Soviet Union is confined to Khrushchevite capitulation to the U.S. and leaves the door wide open to coming to terms with present-day Soviet social-imperialism. Already several Hoxhaite parties (most notably in Italy and Britain) have become so openly pro-Soviet as to embarrass their reluctant comrades elsewhere, and others have thrown themselves into "united fronts against war and fascism" (most notably in West Germany) that have led to them tailing behind the pro-Soviet Communist Parties whose main object is that the imperialist bourgeoisies in these countries be pulled out of the U.S. war bloc. While not inevitable, it is certainly not inconceivable that Hoxha and Teng Hsiao-ping could end up reunited in form as well as content under the wing of Soviet revisionism (or even the U.S.), although their unity in capitulating to imperialism is not dependent on capitulating to the same imperialist war bloc.

This brings out the fact that in addition to its similarities to the situation faced by communists in the early 1960s, the crossroads today also has great similarities to that of WW1 and the collapse of the Second International, when as today the intensification of the world's contradictions with the advent of world war, which brought unprecedented revolutionary opportunities, also brought the two-line struggle within the forces that considered themselves Marxist to a head on a national and international level, and divided them into the two camps of those who supported their bourgeoisie in that war and those who took the war as an opportunity to overthrow them. In fact, under these conditions what to do in the face of world war is the main question that today divides Marxism from opportunism. This capitulation can be seen clearly in the line of the Chinese revisionists (their attempts to turn China into a "modern" neocolony and their whole international maneuvering to get the best price for this offer) and is the substance, in the final analysis, of Hoxha's as well. The particular content of the capitulation to imperialism embodied in the attacks on Mao can today *only* mean lining up with one imperialist war bloc or the other.

It is inevitable that political crisis and capitulation

for some will develop out of crises in the objective situation. The question that faces the forces who remain—those for whom making revolution is still the question—is how to come from behind, to determine and carry out a political line that will enable them to play their full role in this situation and comply with the demands history is making, so that this moment of danger and desertions and also of opportunities can give birth to the tremendous historical advances which are in fact possible. As Comrade Avakian has pointed out, while this particular spiral of history that began with the end of World War 2 has so far included the terrible setbacks in the USSR and China, it is by no means impossible that it could end with even greater victories, including the possibility of revolutions in one or more of the advanced imperialist countries themselves.⁸ But no matter what happens, the advance of the world proletarian revolution is up to the line and actions of communist forces.

The following analysis made by Lenin in 1914 in many ways describes the way things stand in the international movement today:

"Let us frankly state the facts; in any case the war will *compel* us to do so, if not tomorrow, then the day after. Three currents exist in international socialism: 1) the chauvinists, who are consistently pursuing a policy of opportunism; 2) the consistent opponents of opportunism, who in all countries have already begun to make themselves heard (the opportunists have routed most of them, but 'defeated armies learn fast'), and are capable of conducting revolutionary work directed towards civil war; 3) confused and vacillating people, who at present are following in the wake of the opportunists and are causing the proletariat most harm by their hypocritical attempts to justify opportunism, something they do most scientifically and using the Marxist (sic!) method. Some of those who are engulfed in the latter current can be saved and restored to socialism, but only through a policy of a most decisive break and split with the former current...."

In our view, in the face of this situation the task is for the most resolute and clear-headed of the communist forces—the genuine left internationally—to unite on the basis of the clear lines of demarcation that have emerged within the international movement. This will allow them to win over the vacillating elements and whatever can be still dragged out of the cesspool of counterrevolution, in the course of taking concrete steps—politically, ideologically and organizational-

ly—which will lead to tremendous advances both overall and within the various countries. In regard to those who find themselves caught between the main trends—as represented by Mao, and by Teng, Hoxha... and the Soviets—we are guided by the advice of Lenin: "Whoever wants to *help* the waverers must first stop wavering himself."⁹

III. UNITY OF MARXISTS, OR OF MARXISM AND OPPORTUNISM?

Lenin put it very succinctly: "Before uniting, and in order to unite, we must begin by demarcating clearly and resolutely. Otherwise our unity would only be fictitious and only serve to conceal the existing disorder and prevent us from putting an end to it."

Some people, although perfectly capable of quoting Lenin, don't agree with this. They argue that the lines of demarcation we have listed have no basis in reality, and above all that to uphold or to denounce Mao does not represent a basic dividing line. For them, uniting the international communist movement does not mean a demarcation between trends but rather "struggling against the erroneous attitudes that oppose the necessity of the organized unity of *all* communists. It means both opposing the idea that each separate party must never be criticized or judged for its own programme and practice, and the sectarian thesis that organized unity must first begin with a certain fraction of the existing forces in the world movement."

This position—that of the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE!—is that of an organization which, while arguing for its freedom to criticize Hoxha and those who follow him, even more strongly argues that they should be united with and nothing should be done to break with them or exclude them. We must go into this in some detail, both because in itself this represents an extremely harmful attitude which is shared to a greater or lesser degree by some others, and also because when examined it proves our point: that while upholding Mao and opposing the attacks against him is not the *only* dividing line in the international movement, it is the one without which all the others become meaningless.

In Struggle has sharply polemicized against "the development of a movement which is strongly opposed to the condemnation of Mao Tsetung and which seeks to make the defense of Mao Tsetung Thought the line of demarcation which separates opportunism from Marxism-Leninism."¹⁰ According to In Struggle, this amounts to "reducing the struggle against revisionism to a declaration of unquestioned support for everything that this or that proletarian revolutionary has said or done"¹¹—and the implication here is that Mao and Hoxha (and by further implication, Stalin) all have their good and bad points, although as we will see their outlook is much closer to that of Hoxha. In calling for a conference of "all groups and parties which, to our knowledge, are genuinely struggling for socialism and communism and working for the victory

Continued on page 17

Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution!

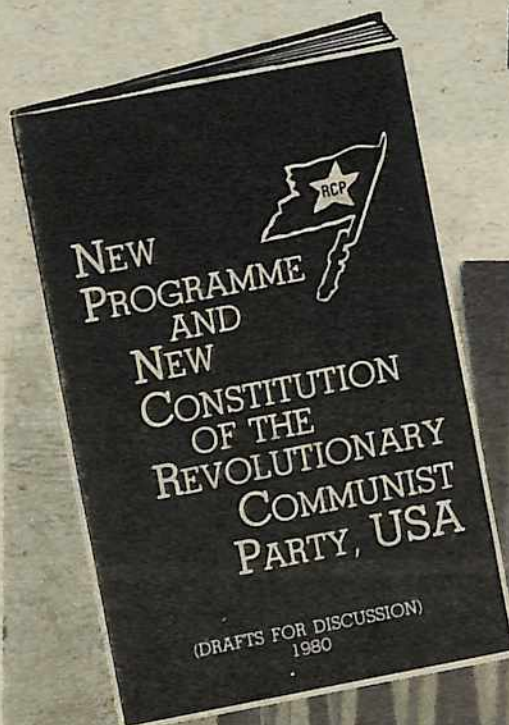
In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity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

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

"Seize the Day, Seize the Hour."

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Continued from page 16

of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat—a proposal directly in opposition to the kind of unity of principles we have called for—they say explicitly, “Our intention with this conference is not to reproduce or create a new group of forces which mutually recognize one another and in doing so deny that other forces are part of the communist movement. On the contrary, our intention is to insure that this conference be a place where the differences as to the path which should be followed to attain unity be clearly put on the table and discussed collectively. It is not a scandal for Marxists-Leninists to have differences on this or that question. Truth does not fall like manna from heaven believe us! Revolutionary ideas stand out when all points of view are expressed and after open and frank debate.”¹²

It is not a scandal to disagree, comrades, but let's be honest about what we disagree about! The question certainly is not “this or that” individual—it is a matter of line, of clear and opposing trends, which as Plekhanov pointed out long ago are concentrated and represented by certain leaders, especially in periods of sharp line struggle. Nor is it a matter of everything “Mao ever said or did,” which is nothing but a caricature of the position we and others have taken. What Mao represents is the consistent fight against revisionism and the advances in Marxism-Leninism won in the course of that struggle—this objective fact is what obligates those who would be Marxists to choose between Mao and those who viciously attack him, and not because “this or that” fanatic is determined to force a choice upon people for purely subjective reasons.

It is hardly necessary to repeat here the extensive polemics we have already directed against Hoxha's attacks on Mao's line and against Hoxha's line in general.¹³ In fact, since In Struggle has labeled Hoxha's *Imperialism and the Revolution* “an important contribution in the struggle against revisionism,”¹⁴ and repeatedly implied that our stand on Hoxha is senseless, it is In Struggle's responsibility to stop trying to pretend that these polemics don't exist (which is why they've never mentioned them directly) but rather to address the ourselves to this analysis, which shows that not only Hoxha's attacks on Mao but also his line on every major question is nothing but revisionism.

It's worth pointing out once again that in attacking Mao's line, Hoxha ends up denying the objective basis for the restoration of capitalism in a socialist country (which forces him to deny that China was ever socialist—and leaves him a bit ambiguous about the Soviet Union). He denies that the crisis of imperialism is leading to a confrontation between two imperialist blocs headed by the superpowers. He speaks of the “grave neo-colonial consequences” of U.S. investment in the Soviet Union (perhaps he thinks they can wage a war of national liberation?); of the U.S. war industry thriving because “that is where the rate of profit is highest,” which is opposed to Lenin's thesis that imperialism means war and is nothing but modern-day

Kautskyism; and of China's strategy to “incite” war between the U.S. and USSR—which is definitely an echo of the Soviets. He claims that the principal contradiction in today's world and the main content of the threat of war is the contradiction between capitalism and socialism. He even calls for Marxist-Leninists to take up “the defense of true independence” in the imperialist countries themselves. Isn't it fairly clear that what all this adds up to is a line little different in substance from that of the revisionists in China, or the Soviet Union for that matter—that in order to preach capitulation Hoxha has launched an attack not only on “this or that proletarian revolutionary” but on all of Marxism? Doesn't this make it clear that to attempt to combine the two trends represented by Hoxha and Mao means attempting to combine Marxism and revisionism? It's about time In Struggle addressed itself to these matters if it is serious about “the struggle against revisionism.”

These points are examples of dividing line questions with profound practical implications in today's world. They amount to revolution and counterrevolution. In other words, they involve questions posed for all communists by the development of the objective situation itself—the question, above all, of grasping the nature of imperialism and of the necessity and possibility to make proletarian revolution and continue it, that have been at the heart of Hoxha's (and the Chinese revisionists') attacks on Mao. This is why it is these same crucial and urgent questions that are addressed by the kind of principles of unity spoken in the quote from Comrade Avakian. They are both at the heart of the two-line struggle that has broken out in this form and matters of life and death for the proletarian revolution.

In Struggle looks at this matter as if it had no class content—a way of looking at things that itself has class content. They would like to simply avoid it by taking the position that Mao wasn't all bad, but that he made mistakes, so therefore nobody should make too big a deal about defending him: “Do we really have to choose between thinking that Mao made no fundamental errors, and the position that he was a revisionist? . . . Do we really have to ignore such nationalist deviations as the reduction of the struggle against imperialism to the struggle against ‘the main imperialist enemy’ or against the ‘two superpowers,’ simply because this thesis has been upheld for a long time in the international movement?”¹⁵ If In Struggle really wants to examine the question of whether Mao may have made some real errors around this question—or that Stalin also did before him, let them do so. We consider that a valid and important subject to be discussed, and have already said a few things about it based on a clear overall stand upholding Mao.¹⁶ But if they're serious about it and not just looking for excuses, let them not defend Enver Hoxha, who has systematically concentrated these tendencies which have for so long plagued the international communist movement and has made them the basis of a clear-cut reactionary stand on today's cardinal questions.

The argument that In Struggle is making here is that Mao Tsetung can't be a dividing line, because some people who uphold Mao also uphold social-chauvinism, especially in the form of the “three worlds” strategy promulgated by Teng & Co. But this is a sleight-of-hand trick, and In Struggle is a poor magician. Our own Party and other Marxist-Leninists have thoroughly denounced such parties, and now the Chinese revisionists have assisted us in making even clearer the opposite lines involved here by moving to openly denounce Mao. While we have stated our disagreements with some aspects of Mao's international line, particularly the formulation that the Soviet Union represents “the most dangerous source of war”—which in no way can be confused with the fact that as an overall strategy the “three worlds” theory is Teng's counterrevolutionary product and opposed to Mao's line and outlook—In Struggle is maliciously trying to use this to say that in fact there are no dividing lines.

As to the trick of pointing out that there are opportunists who claim to uphold Mao—well, there have been plenty of opportunists who've done the same with Lenin, especially after he was dead also, but we don't intend to throw Lenin out or to argue that the question of upholding him was never a fundamental question of principle. We can already anticipate what In Struggle will say when some social-chauvinist parties, such as the Canadian Communist League (M-L) which is already making telling noises, kick up a fuss about Mao and the “three worlds” theory in order to oppose the Chinese flirtation with the USSR and the open attacks on Mao (and dropping of the “three worlds” business, which was never essential anyway) that have accompanied this flirtation, not because they really like Mao or oppose capitulation, but because capitulating to their own bourgeoisie is what they've got their hearts set on, and they've already had some practice in trying to use Mao to justify it. Or what will In Struggle have to say when some pro-Soviet revisionists in the Western imperialist countries appeal to Lenin's thesis about revolutionary defeatism in order to serve Soviet imperialist interests?

There are no magical phrases that will in and of themselves automatically divide the whole world into two neat categories, despite In Struggle's search for such a thing (for instance, their claim that if only the international communist movement were to adopt a common programme, instead of worrying about Mao so much, that would somehow bring about a movement “freed of all traces of revisionism.”¹⁸) Obviously, things are getting complicated and those not guided by Marxism will get lost pretty quickly. This is what makes the defending Mao so important—because in today's world you can't uphold Marxism-Leninism without upholding Mao. We think we have already shown that Enver Hoxha (and the attempts to defend him) are clear proof of this fact.

To be continued next week: “Centrism Clings to Revisionism” and “Conclusion”.

Footnotes

1. *New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (Drafts for Discussion)*, (Chicago, 1980), p. 57.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
3. The article “Lenin's Struggle Against International Opportunism: 1914-1917 (*Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, Oct./Nov. 1979) deals with the struggle to prepare for the founding of the Comintern in some detail. For the question of the relationship between the defense of a socialist country and the world revolution, see “The Prospects for Revolution and the Urgent Tasks in the Decade Ahead—Documents from the Third Plenary Session of the Second Central Committee of the RCP, USA” (*ibid.*), especially point six, “On the Historical Process of the Proletarian Revolution,” pp. 15-19. The article, “Slipping Into Darkness: ‘Left’ Economism, the CPUSA and the Trade Union Unity League (1929-1935)”, throws light on the

question of economism as it was carried out by the Comintern's U.S. section. (*Revolution*, Vol. 5, No. 2-3, February/March 1980.)

We have also published a three-part series in *The Communist*—Vol. 1, No. 1 (October 1976); Vol. 2, No. 1 (Fall/Winter 1977); and Vol. 2, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 1978)—dealing with the origins, nature and effects of World War 2 and the role of both the Comintern and several communist parties in relation to it. These articles represented a beginning contribution to an understanding of this period, and do not represent our present thinking in all aspects. In particular, it should be noted that the first two of these articles were written before the split with the revisionist and social-chauvinist Menshevik clique formerly in our Party.

4. For the previously published sections, see “The Prospects for Revolution . . .”, *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, especially p. 11.

5. For a recently published excerpt from this paper, see “The Question of Democracy and the Communist Movement,” *Revolutionary Worker*, -56, p. 11. The quote from Lenin is from “The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution,” *CW*, Vol. 24, p. 75.

6. “The Prospects for Revolution . . .”, *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, p. 15.

7. Lenin, “Dead Chauvinism and Living Socialism (How the International Can Be Restored),” *Collected Works (CW)*, Vol. 21, pp. 99-100.

8. Lenin, “The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution,” *CW*, Vol. 24, p. 84.

9. *IN STRUGGLE!* (Central Organ of the MLOC IN STRUGGLE!), June 3, 1980, p. 15.

10. *International Forum* (Published by MLOC IN STRUGGLE!), April 1980, p. 34.

11. *IN STRUGGLE!*, January 22, 1980, p. 12.

12. *Ibid.*

13. See “Beat Back the Dogmato-Revisionist Attack on Mao Tsetung Thought,” *The Communist* -5, May 1979; and “Enver Hoxha's *Imperialism and the Revolution*—An ‘Error’ from Beginning to End,” *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 9 (September 1979).

14. *IN STRUGGLE!*, April 17, 1979, p. 12.

15. All cited in the *Revolution* article, “Enver Hoxha's *Imperialism and the Revolution*—An ‘Error’ From Beginning to End.”

16. *IN STRUGGLE!*, June 3, 1980, p. 15.

17. See Bob Avakian, *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions* (Chicago, 1979), pp. 320-22; “A Critical Appraisal of the Chinese Communist Party's ‘Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement’ (1963),” *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (June 1979), pp. 30-32; and “The Prospects for Revolution . . .”, *Revolution*, Vol. 4, No. 10-11, pp. 16-17.

18. *International Forum*, p. 37.

The Draft

Continued from page 3

9th cover story, “Who Will Fight For America?”, is typical:

“A number of military experts argue that while it is true that peacetime service offers to minorities opportunities for educational and social advancement, these advantages fade quickly during a war. The high number of Blacks in uniform would inevitably result, as was the case during the Viet Nam fighting in a disproportionate number of Black fatalities. Said University of Chicago sociologist Morris Janowitz: “We must not be dependent upon the dispossessed of this society. And we don't want to mix up the concept of military service with the question of giving people an opportunity for

a decent education.”

The key message here, obviously, is “we must not be dependent upon the dispossessed of this society.” This is connected to a portrayal of Blacks and other minorities in the *Time* article as mentally deficient, falling in “the lowest mental categories, unable to even read their orders,” and so on.

But what is really being said here is that we cannot depend on the dispossessed to fight for us exactly because they are dispossessed—because they have no stake at all in fighting for the system of imperialism which forced them, in desperation, into a uniform solely in order to survive, and to one extent or another, many of these Black soldiers know this already.

During the Vietnam War, a number of measures were taken to reduce, as much as possible, the impact of the war on the middle class, at first in an effort

to prevent the kind of mass upheaval against it that did arise, and to try to keep a stable base of support for the war effort. President Johnson, for example, rejected the idea of calling up the reserves to fight in Vietnam—which would have pulled hundreds of thousands of middle-class whites out of their jobs into the fighting. And massive use of the 2-S college deferment was allowed in order to cushion the impact on those mainly white middle-class youth who could afford to and who had the opportunity to go to college. The result was a huge draft that swallowed up, over the course of the war, millions of Blacks, Chicanos, and working-class white youth. Special recruiting campaigns were unfolded in the nation's ghettos and barrios, and educational requirements were specifically lowered in order to meet the imperialists' desire for frontline cannonfodder.

By 1969 and 1970, when the war was at its height, the U.S. army in Vietnam was breaking down. Why? Because “the troops were too dumb”? Just the opposite—troops by the thousands were revolting against the criminal aims of the war, refusing to fight, ignoring direct orders to go into combat, staging at least 10 major mutinies and countless smaller refusal actions, until officers increasingly were afraid even to give the orders to send troops into combat. There were also over 700 separate reported incidents of “fragging”—a slang term for the practice of “doing away” with superior officers, often by lobbying a fragmentation grenade into their tent. *Time* magazine doesn't mention this aspect of “Vietnam fighting,” preferring to mask their real fears behind honeyed concern about “disproportionate Black casualties” in the war.

Continued on page 18

Draft

Continued from page 17

But Janowitz's warning about the "dispossessed of this society is clearly not that it is "immoral," but that they cannot be depended upon to fight loyally and reliably for their own oppressors—not in Vietnam, not today, and certainly not in World War 3.

The conclusion that the ruling class draws in summing up this threat is not that minorities and the growing millions of "dispossessed" should not be dragged into the meatgrinder of World War 3; the rank and file of every mass imperialist army and especially the rank and file on the frontlines, the cannon-fodder, is filled with the exploited and oppressed classes, and this is a contradiction that they cannot overcome. But it is also the aim of the ruling class—and a necessity for them—to draw in more "stable" and "reliable" sections of society into the military—including better-off sections of the working class who can still believe that they have some sort of stake in defending this system, as well as some sections of the petty bourgeoisie. The hypocritical phrases regarding the "unfairness" of "expecting the poor to bear the burden for this nation's defense" are designed in part to say to the predominantly white middle classes: "Look, you've got a stake in whether we win this war, and you're gonna have to fight to keep what you've got." And at bottom is the fact that in the coming war, the whole society will inevitably be dragged into the conflict—the only choice the masses will face is whether to be fighting for the imperialists or against them.

Anti-Draft Movement

The moves to restore the draft have given rise to a significant anti-draft movement, centered on the nation's campuses but having an impact throughout society. With the actual passage of registration, the anti-draft movement will undoubtedly continue to pose a real obstacle to imperialist war preparations, and for many people, especially youth, it may provide the first taste of fighting actively against the imperialists' plans to mobilize for the coming war. All this represents more than just a small thorn in the side of the ruling class; in fact, it is the fears of a section of the ruling class that the institution of the draft may lead to a massive upheaval difficult to control that accounts for both bourgeois liberal and conservative opposition to making this move at this time.

The organized anti-draft movement is composed of different political forces and tendencies. There are a large number of activists and youth who have been drawn into this movement who are not only militantly against the draft, but see and are eager to discuss and debate the relationship of the draft to the nature of the coming war and the crisis gripping the U.S. and the imperialist world as a whole. Among those who perceive the real threat of the new world war, quite a few have seized upon the anti-draft struggle as part of an effort to prevent the imperialists from dragging the masses of this country and the world into the most hideous and criminal atrocity that World War 3, like the two world wars before it, does represent. Mao Tsetung termed war "this monster of mutual slaughter among men," and pointed out that it "would finally be eliminated" with the progress of human society to communism. But the statement Mao made—in order to get rid of the gun, it is necessary to pick up the gun—is that in order to eliminate war, it is necessary to overthrow the imperialist system which breeds war and will keep on breeding it until imperialism itself is done away with. Militant actions against the draft clearly already have and will continue to weaken the imperialist army, as well as hatred and revulsion against imperialist war, are both things which every class-conscious worker supports and firmly unites with. At the same time, it must be clearly understood in revolutionary propaganda and agitation that simple opposition to the draft is not any kind of "magic solution" that will somehow prevent

the imperialists from fielding an army and therefore prevent a war.

Booby Traps

In fact, certain trends, including some forces in positions of leadership in the organized anti-draft movement, actually push lines which foster dangerous illusions and can even serve to reinforce national chauvinism, thus disarming the masses politically and binding them both to what is really coming down in the next few years and to the revolutionary implications of the crisis and the coming war. For example, opposition to the draft based on the fiction that "the draft is inconsistent with American democracy," that "we don't really need a draft" (thus reducing everything to a "difference of opinion" with the ruling class as to the threat of a new war), the infamous statement of one leader at the Washington D.C. anti-draft rally in April that "We're not here to burn the American flag, we're here to cleanse it"—all of this only serves to defuse the danger that militant resistance to the draft represents to the ruling class, cloaking it in the patriotic mantle—and sets people up to go along with the draft and the imperialists' whole program later, when it becomes clear that "Oh, I guess we do need a draft after all," or "Oh, I guess we do have to defend the red, white and blue after all." This was the nature of the "anti-draft" arguments in the U.S. Senate and is a dangerous current in the anti-draft movement.

World War

The coming war will not be a repeat of Vietnam. The imperialists will—in fact, already are beginning to—whip up a massive public opinion campaign in support of the draft, and will picture anyone who refuses to serve as a coward and a traitor. Those who take lightly the five-year jail sentence the ruling class is threatening to impose on draft resisters, remembering the low rate of convictions and the relatively light sentences levied on draft resisters in the Vietnam era, are likely in for quite a shock. Not only will tremendous social pressure be brought to bear; but if they are forced to, the government will not only jail but even shoot as traitors anybody who refuses an order into military service.

They will of necessity attempt to crush any form of opposition to their whole war program, at the same time as the "threat of Soviet aggression" and as much patriotic fervor as they are capable of whipping up will be employed to "convince" the masses that there is no choice but to fight for "Old Glory." Undoubtedly the "Soviet agent" charges will fly thick and fast. In fact, articles are already appearing (for example, in the *Christian Science Monitor*, June 23) that raise these charges and brandish the FBI as a weapon against the anti-draft movement. This is to try to get over with the lie that anybody not marching in locked step behind them must of necessity be a tool of the Kremlin. All of this is to be expected; it's not something to be afraid of, but to be politically prepared for. This means both spreading an understanding of the nature of both the Soviets and the U.S.—as act-alike imperialist powers—and educating people in the stand of revolutionary defeatism—that is that we see another possible outcome to the coming war than the defeat of one bourgeois government and the victory of another—that is, revolution in the warring countries. And from this standpoint, anything that weakens our government, including its military reversals, can be turned into a good thing toward this aim.

The outbreaks of resistance to imperialist war and imperialist rule which occur today, whether greater or lesser in scope, or more or less conscious in direction and leadership, are not only very significant in their own right and as harbingers of the much greater storms of the future, they are an indispensable part of the people's revolutionary education. At the same time, it is absolutely crucial right now to imbue the youth involved in these struggles, as well as the working class and the masses broadly, with the spirit of internationalism, a full understanding of the meaning and aims of the proletariat's

program of revolutionary defeatism—and that in any case, as Lenin said, "the essential thing is not really to prevent war, but to utilize the crisis created by war in order to hasten the overthrow of the bourgeoisie."

Such revolutionary agitation and propaganda must be conducted not only within the anti-draft movement, but throughout the working class and society as a whole, and among youth who are currently in the military as well as those who are on the streets now but will be in uniform six months from now, a year or three years from now.

The movement against the war and the Black liberation movement that rocked the United States during the '60s had an extremely powerful effect in the U.S. troops in Vietnam, and provided much of the inspiration for their own rebellion and resistance, along with their first-hand experience of what American imperialism was all about and who the enemy really was in Vietnam. And in the future, whether before a war or in the course of one, once the crisis becomes sufficiently deep in society and massive struggle is taking place, the same kind of process will go on, with heavy interaction between the action "on the outside" and those in the military. In his speech at May Day 1979, Chairman Bob Avakian painted a picture of how this back and forth would develop, and of a revolutionary view of the army:

"Where are we going to get our army from? Our army is going to come from the masses of politically educated and conscious people who are sick and tired and growing more and more sick and tired of this system. We're not giving exact timetables, we can't predict that, we're not fortune tellers, but we know

where this system is going. We know it's going into deeper crisis. We know it's heading toward world war. And just as they did in Iran, people in this country will go from small outbreaks of resistance, like is already happening in this country, to more massive rebellions to rebellions of one or two days, until more sustained political struggle develops, strikes of workers (like they did in Iran) turning into political strike, until from thousands there will be millions in the streets, people learning and developing and coming into action in a very quick period, once the crisis comes to the boiling point. And after weeks and months of going out (as they did in Iran) unarmed, not yet convinced of the need or the possibility of rising up in arms, with the Party in their midst and revolutionaries working among them, they will come to see the need to rise up, take guns in hand and make the revolution and carry it through. That's where our army is going to come from.

"Don't go looking around (I'm telling the pigs in the audience), don't go looking around trying to see where our army is. Don't look in dark corners, don't look under your bed, don't look in your closet. Look out here on the streets where the people are, that's where our army is. And some of your army is coming over to us. Oh, yes it is. Some of your army is coming over to us, and more and more as the thing sharpens up, and we're going to take the guns out of your hands and put them in the hands of the people.

"That's where our guns are coming from. So don't look under our beds, don't come kicking down our doors, don't try to do all your nasty shit, because our guns are in your hands, and when we get ready, we'll take them!" □

Coral Sea

Continued from page 6

war moves and represented new unity being forged through struggle.

Called by the July 4 coalition, the demonstration included people from anti-nuke organizations, anti-draft and peace organizations, the Feminist Women's Health Center, Radical Law Offices, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, workers from different plants, the RCP and the RCYB.

Glenn Gan of the UN 2 was enthusiastically greeted by the crowd. He spoke about being yanked out of the UN after covering the U.S. and Soviet Ambassadors with red paint: "When they were taking us out, they expected us to apologize... But our heads were held high, because this message represented our class interests. What we were saying that day crystallized in a real bold way—that we're not going to line up with either of these superpowers, because both of them are responsible for pushing things towards war. This time, revolutionary red wasn't going to be used to disguise the imperialist nature of the Soviet Union, but expose it. The working class here and around the world isn't going to choose between the lesser of two evils. In the '80s it is going to be the banner of the proletariat raised, the red flag will be flying in this country and around the world, and we'll be preparing to seize that opportunity."

A speaker from the Feminist Women's Health Center read this statement: "The Feminist Women's Health Center is proud to be a part of this call to the people today. As this government steadily moves toward war, we are proud to stand and be counted among those who dare to say no. We will not be drafted, we will not silently stand by and acquiesce to the madness of Carters and Reagans and the whimpering dogs of Congress in this country who would sell

our lives for profit. We see these war moves, and we are committed to stop them."

A high school student, who was suspended from his high school for wearing a Fuck the Draft button, spoke as well. He said, among other things, "It's been a lot of fun—embarrassing those assholes at Redwood High School."

The demonstrators marched right down to the main gate of the Alameda Naval Air Station, and a member of VVAW spoke especially to the sailors, reminding them of the history of resistance on the Coral Sea, where toward the end of the war in Vietnam hundreds of sailors refused to board ship and sail to the war. And speaking to the ship's recent trip to Korea, and impending world war, he called on sailors to come forward now, to stand against these war moves, and in international solidarity with the people of the world. And his message reached home to sailors who bought the *RW* and took leaflets. A few days before the rally, one sailor on the Coral Sea sought out the organizers of the march, gave \$10 to the Coalition, and said that the march had become a big social question among the sailors that the bourgeoisie had depicted only a few weeks before as being so eager for war.

The very broad political forces that united for this action struck a powerful blow and definitely opened up great possibilities for the future. As the speaker for the RCP put it, "With this action today, what is beginning to open up to people is there's a growing sentiment and movement that the war is coming, whether it's the preparations with registration and the draft, or their moves toward invasion in Iran or South Korea, that this war that's coming is an imperialist war, that the only stand we can take is to oppose it; and more and more, and I think we've got to learn this, our stand has got to be: they may start it, but we'll finish it." □

