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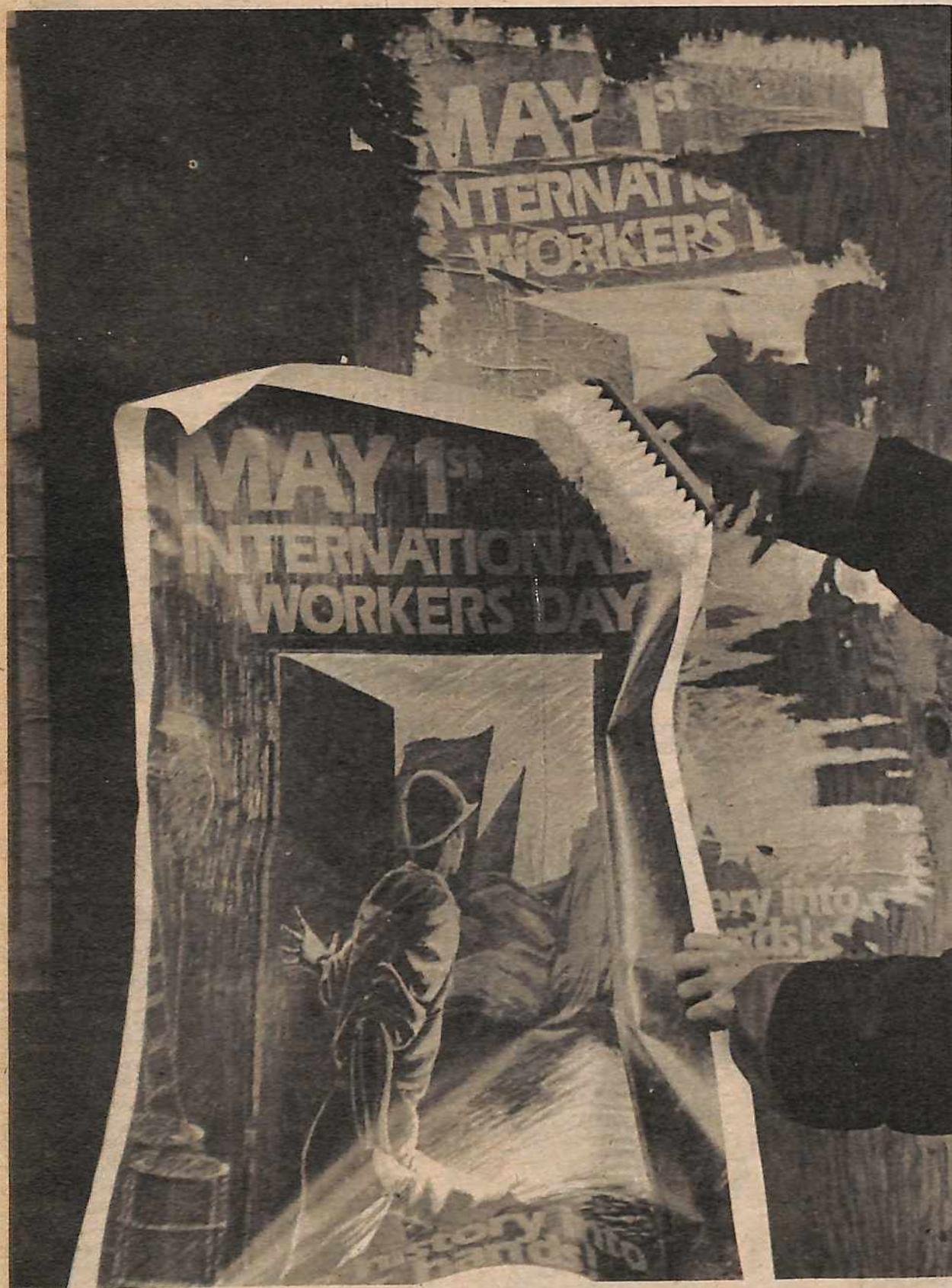
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Call to May 1st

TAKE HISTORY INTO OUR HANDS!



It is time to prepare the coming May First actions. It is time the sparks that flew from last year's activity (and have flown as well from a thousand other sources since) be spread into wide-ranging outbreaks of political struggle by the revolutionary proletariat on May 1, 1981. There could not be a better time than now for such proletarian revolutionary and internationalist actions. From Atlanta to El Salvador to Poland, the world is showing ever more vividly and clearly the utter rottenness and utter criminality of the imperialist system—and the vast potential for revolutionary struggle against it. And the depraved filth that is the American Dream becomes even more obviously hideous as it is acted out in its dying years by the likes of Ronald Reagan.

The actions of May First must be what the present world situation demands. They must be as imposing as possible. It is especially important that in this country, one of the great and rotting bastions of international reaction, they be imposing not only in their strong and defiant character, but in the class consciousness, the internationalism, displayed by those who mount the stage of struggle that day: Proletarians so radical they want to fight all oppression—not only their own, but oppression everywhere that imperialism stretches its claws; proletarians so radical they want to fight for the worldwide elimination of classes, of any vestige of the oppression of man by man. The bold actions of those who do now understand the world in this way will have impact far beyond their numbers. They will snap many others awake in this country and they will bring joy to millions and millions internationally, encouraging them to step up their part of the struggle as well.

The situation today is already revealing the importance of such a class-conscious section. As events pull tens and hundreds of thousands into some form of motion, wiping the sleep from many eyes, the all-around activity of a section which is clear in its vision and bold and flexible in its activity will have a powerful effect—not only on the immediate struggles, but even more in showing people the common imperialist cause and the common proletarian revolutionary solution of all these injustices. Now imagine the future, a situation where both world war and the possibility for revolutions are being conjured up, when millions here are being pulled into motion. But you don't have to just imagine it, because this is precisely what is shaping up before us in the decade ahead. In that situation, the existence and work of this growing section of class-conscious proletarians may well make the difference between victory and defeat—between a great contribution in this country to the world revolution and a far smaller one. And this is precisely what May First is all about—preparation for revolution.

In this we have much to learn from the May First actions of last year. Around the world, no matter how difficult the conditions, class-conscious proletarians devised the ways to appropriately celebrate May 1. In Turkey, with many cities under 24 hour curfew and the red flag banned, people hit the streets in what revolutionaries call "pirate" demonstrations, where people

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Demand for Political Refugee Status in France

Bob Avakian's Demand Gets Quick Rejection. Appeal Filed.

On Thursday, March 26th, Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France met with a swift rejection. While such a rejection is commonplace in the first stage of the procedure, the *speed* with which this rejection was issued (only *one week* after the demand was filed) is certainly worthy of attention. Also of interest, especially to readers of the *RW*, is the reason given for this rejection: That it had not been established that the *difficulties* encountered with the authorities of his country of origin (the U.S.) were of *political* origin, in the sense of the provisions of the Geneva Convention. An appeal was immediately filed, and the case has now entered the next and more decisive phase. □

Call To *RW* Readers To Testify.

A phenomenon connected with Bob Avakian's demand, and which will no doubt astound many *RW* readers, is that some people are unable—or unwilling—to recognize that the much-advertised democracy in the United States is in reality no more than a big joke. This problem will have an important bearing on the procedure involving Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status. The *RW* is therefore calling on its readers to provide from their own experience, and to help organize on a grand scale, information and evidence which will clearly demonstrate two basic facts:

1. That the U.S. ruling class (which has been responsible for the war in Vietnam, Pinochet, the Shah of Iran, South Africa, El Salvador and on and on) in fact exercises a vicious repressive dictatorship *within* the U.S. as well.
2. That, in particular, through its various government agencies (and in cooperation with various "private" reactionary forces) it is carrying out systematic and increasing repression aimed against revolutionaries in the U.S. and specifically against the RCP and its Chairman Bob Avakian.

Statements that illustrate the above two points should be written down and, if *at all* possible, notarized (this can be done in many cities at banks, currency exchanges, and many other small business offices.) These statements should then be handed over to the local Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants in your area, or if that is not possible, be mailed directly to the National Office of the Committee (P.O. Box 6422 "T" Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009). If necessary, statements can also be handed over to a regular *RW* distributor. The kind of statements needed are those pertaining to such things as firings and harassments, frameups, brutality, threats, murder, etc. at the hands of police or government agents and especially as these incidents relate to Revolutionary Communist Party members and sympathizers (including people who sell the *RW*) and above all as they relate to Bob Avakian. There is a certain amount of urgency about collecting these statements, and the bulk of them should be in the hands of the National Office of the Committee before May First. □



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Exclusive Interview

Salvadoran Guerrilla Fighter Exposes U.S. "Advisors" in Combat

The following are excerpts from a recent interview by the Revolutionary Worker with a Salvadoran guerrilla fighter conducted while he was visiting this country. He gives a first hand account of U.S. "advisors" actually leading Salvadoran government troops in combat as well as presenting some of his views on continuing the struggle of the people of El Salvador to overthrow the U.S. fascist Duarte regime.

RW: Are the U.S. "advisors," as they are called, taking part in the combat in El Salvador?

A: Yes, they are at the front. They are doing what they call a mop up operation, with groups of 200 and 300 (Salvadoran troops—RW). They transport them by helicopter, but when they get there we are already gone, because we too have intelligence organizations which keeps the central command informed and they give us information so that we can continue to carry out activities in other places.

RW: Have you personally seen these U.S. soldiers in the field?

A: Yes, I had the opportunity to see 2 or 3 of them up close. We were in this little town called Perkin, and that's where I saw them. Even though most of the ones they send are not anglos, they are Americans. They are born here.

RW: How can you identify them?

A: They have certain features, but it seems to me that although they are Americans they are mixed with Latins. But they are Americans.

RW: How were they dressed?

A: They wear Salvadoran uniforms. But we know, or rather they have taught us to recognize, the kind of people we are fighting against. We have seen how differently they act. They are the ones that walk at the head, and they always have an insignia on the right arm—one that no one, not even the Salvadoran officers, use.

RW: Can you more or less describe this insignia?

A: Not really, you see, it's a round insignia they have here. That I could see but I couldn't identify the insignia. In a moment like that, one cannot stay to see the details, but that's what identifies them from the others. They are better armed than the other troops.

RW: When, more or less, did this happen?

A: It was March 9th.

RW: Could you hear what they were saying?

A: Yes, that's exactly why we can identify them. The accent is what gives them away... We have tried to capture some of them, but they are the first ones to run. We carried out an ambush against an army convoy in San Pedro Nonualco, that's about 25 kilometers from the capital. We were there training the people from this small town how to use arms. In order to do this we took over the National Guard post where there were 35 soldiers. We were showing the people how to use the arms, how to defend themselves, how to carry them, when we got news that a convoy (of government troops—RW) was on the way to run us out. As I was telling you, we have received orders not to take unnecessary risks when the operation is not of crucial significance. But when we got the news, they were already on top of us—only a kilometer away. They weren't absolutely sure we were there. When they came we were already waiting for them. That was where I got my first look at one of them.

There were three trucks. There were about 75 or 80 of us, men and women. We waited for them in the town. We didn't have time to get out of there. We

called for reinforcements. We have our own radios, through which we intercepted their transmissions (and I imagine they do the same with us). So we asked for reinforcements. But while they were coming, we held them (the government troops—RW) off. Each truck carries anywhere from 35 to 40 soldiers, and there were three of them.

RW: And what were they doing? Were they walking around like soldiers or commanders?

A: They acted like commanders of a battalion. Before they got there we had the chance to mine the road, we destroyed the first two trucks, and their occupants—obviously not all of them, but the great majority from the first two trucks. And we were in combat with the third truck. They (the "advisors"—RW) always go in the last truck—we knew that perfectly well. If there are ten jeeps, they are either in the middle or the back. We know perfectly well that they never go at the head. We knew they were coming; that's what we had been told.

When they brought up their rear guard, we were no longer there. We took the truck, there were 66 of us left and only 16 of them. They crossed a moun-

tain to reach a town called Santo Tomas. Unfortunately we couldn't get there with the trucks we had. We have captured 88 or 90 trucks in the period from January until today, unfortunately we cannot keep them for too long, but we have 2 or 3 opportunities to use them, and then we destroy them and leave them where the soldiers can find them so they can see for themselves that we have destroyed them.

We know immediately they are the ones directing the struggle today. They give the orders. We also know that they have what you call "advisors" in the top leadership of the army. They have 3 or 4 people there. They are the ones that are directing and making plans.

RW: Do you have any estimates of how many of these "advisors" they have right now in El Salvador?

A: Before going into that, I would have to explain something else. Look, El Salvador is divided into 14 departments. In each department there are 3 or 4 forts. Each fort has between 5,000 and 7,000 soldiers, including officers and the rest, and we have information that just in the fort in Santa Ana, a fort for heavy artillery, there are about 65 or 80 advisors. They are teaching them

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U.S. Imperialists Tighten Noose on Bourgeois Opposition in El Salvador

The U.S. imperialists this past week have continued to try to downplay their escalating military involvement in El Salvador and play up its stories about the supposed "growing support for the Duarte government" and the isolation of the "leftist elements" from the Salvadoran people. Unfortunately for them, few besides their faithful press corps have listened to their call to "not make such a big deal" about El Salvador, as State Department spokesman John Bushnell put it. Demonstrations of hundreds and thousands against U.S. involvement in El Salvador hit a number of major U.S. cities this week and wide and varied protest activities were taking place, particularly on college campuses. A political science professor at Ohio State commented, "It's surprising, this has not been a period of great activism. But the events in El Salvador are pulling people out of their lethargy."

Given the widespread opposition that the U.S. is facing around El Salvador it is not surprising that there has been no mention of the 2,000-man "cleanup

operation" (read: search and destroy mission) currently taking place in the provinces of Cabañas (where U.S. helicopter gunships opened fire on 8,000 refugees fleeing to Honduras, killing and wounding scores) and Cuzcatlan—and being directly led by U.S. military commanders. Also absent is any mention of heavy artillery assaults and massive aerial bombardment, including the use of napalm, in Morazan, which are designed to either kill or drive out virtually the entire peasant population of that province, while the small minority of *orejas* (literally meaning "ears"—a reference to informers) and other pro-junta elements are herded by government troops into Gotera, the provincial capital that has now become an armed camp. Even the State Department's request to double economic aid to the U.S.' puppet junta, to more than \$125 million with more expected to be announced in a few months, was dealt with very quietly by the bourgeoisie's journalistic advertising agencies.

As was pointed out in last week's RW, the U.S. imperialists are in the

process of feverish maneuvering to hold off the rapid deterioration of their situation in El Salvador. They are desperately trying to limit the escalating exposure of and worldwide mass opposition to U.S. imperialism in El Salvador and to facilitate U.S. jockeying toward a possible "political solution" to the Salvadoran crisis—a code word meaning pressuring and wooing more pro-U.S. bourgeois forces in leadership of the FDR (Democratic Revolutionary Front) opposition coalition to come to terms with the U.S. and its Duarte regime. Part and parcel of this attempted "political solution," of course, is icing out the pro-Soviet forces in the FDR and the Farabundo Martí Liberation Front (FMLN) coalition of guerrilla organizations, as well as the brutal suppression of the revolutionary masses who oppose such shameful capitulation. In fact, the current counter-insurgency assaults in the country are targeting those areas where the most significant opposition to striking a deal with the U.S. and its puppet junta is concentrated. While worldwide op-

position to the U.S. intervention in El Salvador continues to grow, it is clear from the events of the past week that the U.S. is perceiving some definite possibilities for at least temporary success in pulling off a "negotiated settlement." There is growing evidence of conciliation from both the pro-U.S. and pro-Soviet forces within the FDR and the FMLN.

The latest round of "Let's Make a Deal" started when Guillermo Ungo, former junta member and president of the FDR, followed up his previous offer of third party mediation between his group and "those sectors who truly want peace and dialogue" in the fascist junta, with some further sliding. Ungo, a Social Democrat, said that steps toward a "political solution" could be taken if the U.S. would withdraw its soldiers and halt any further military aid to the junta. The U.S. countered by having the Pentagon leak plans to remove 18 "advisors" in June and most of the remainder in September, "if conditions permit." Meanwhile,

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Police Take Action in Atlanta— Against the People

"They'll find that child dead before his name is put on the list." An enraged Atlanta woman—a mother of a murdered youth—blasted the authorities last week with these words. How true. The disappearance of the 24th Black child is still not under investigation by the Special Task Force. The 13-year-old has been missing for two weeks. It's not that the authorities haven't been busy. Among other things, they have begun to spread a vicious rumor that the reason families want their missing children put on the Task Force list is so that they can collect some of the money that is streaming into the Committee to Stop the Children's Murders. But they haven't stopped there. As people in Atlanta brace themselves for another abduction—which will happen again this week if the murderers follow their recent pattern—the authorities are truly taking action, or rather stepping up the action they have been taking all along—against the people.

Widespread in the past few weeks has been the formation of armed self-defense groups throughout Atlanta. For weeks, hundreds of people have been meeting, training and patrolling in preparation for catching the murderers. The police, especially white police, are followed by "eyes" wherever they go. Men sit in parked cars dispersed around the projects holding loaded shotguns in their laps. Groups of armed men quietly watch near stores and on street corners where the youth are being abducted.

It is a very widely held view that the people have to take matters into their own hands in order to stop these murders. For many, catching the murderers is not the only question as one Black woman asked an *RW* seller, "What can we do about those others behind the killers?" Forces that are covering up and most likely orchestrating the child murders are coming sharply into the focus of this deep hatred. And the situation is extremely explosive. Already, as we reported previously, two cars of Black men have chased and shot at a suspicious car of whites they'd seen stop near a group of Black elementary school children. One Black man faces several charges off this incident—the whites walked away clean. Another group of residents of one project grabbed white men taking pictures of Black kids playing in a park. One had started running as they approached him and asked him what he was doing. Again the white man was let loose without questioning. Incidents like these are beginning to surface all over the city.

In the main, these are spontaneous activities arising in the face of the sharp attacks coming down against Black people—many participants wanting to protect their communities from the murderers. Also, the groups are filled with controversy over the broader political questions being raised by these murders; these are revolutionary-minded people involved. The ruling class cannot tolerate this independent action; last week, they lashed out ferociously at one group of armed patrollers, and in military-like maneuvers swept through the Techwood Homes Project to "recapture it."

Two weeks ago in this project, the largest in Atlanta, the tenants association and some Black political activists announced the formation of "Bat Patrols." Youth carrying bats and adults with guns and walkie-talkies were to begin patrolling the projects. The authorities freaked out. "Armed Black men—vigilantes!" they screamed. Public Safety Commissioner Lee Brown snapped, "There is only one

police department in this city and we will not condone any group that will be performing police activities." Sixty cops and a SWAT team were sent in, occupying the project on the first day of the patrol. A barrage of red-baiting and personal smear campaigns spewed out of every news source just as fast as heavy police repression was brought down. The *Atlanta Constitution* carried a column by a Black reporter running out a foul line unmatched in its racial slurs, it called some of the activists "Jungle Joes," "outsiders who'd rather be called by foreign names (African names)..."

In Techwood four men have been arrested on charges ranging from "obstructing an officer" to various firearms charges (including a "Carrying a Concealed Weapon" charge on one Black man who held an M-1 Carbine in his hand—all legal on the books). One of the activists is being charged with "inciting to riot" for leading 30 people to surround the police car carrying Deputy Police Chief Eldrin Bell, promising to hold him hostage until another man was released from custody. Although Bell managed to escape, the police car was held for several hours until the prisoner was brought back to the project. At the arrest of the fourth patroller, a group of 50 people marched through the project, then drove in a caravan to police headquarters and marched into the lobby bats swinging, chanting "The cops and the Klan, work hand in hand!"

This level of struggle soon waned in the face of the police crackdown. Police Chief George Knapper even blamed the patrols for the next murder, "They're not only anti-police, but are also against the missing and murdered kids investigation. I have to use men on the Techwood Homes disturbances that could be better utilized in various parts of the investigation." The "bat patrols" have at least temporarily stopped.

Despite this dozens of police have continued to swarm the project, searching for the handful of backward residents they can use to attack the patrols, broadly harassing and arresting people for no reason. One fool resident sided with the police and has been seen lately driving around in a marked police car announcing the formation of an unarmed patrol, all coordinated by the police of course—green armbands, red jackets and whistles to be provided free.

All of a sudden the Guardian Angels—subway "crime fighters" from New York City—look fine to the authorities. When a group of 11 mili-

The Honors Go to Slavery in Virginia

Last month, the *RW* reported that the Virginia legislature, in an act of calculated mockery and insult, had voted to make a holiday to honor Martin Luther King, Jr. on the same date as Virginia's existing Confederate Memorial Day, Lee-Jackson Day. As was anticipated, this action set up a howl of protest from the organized white supremacist groups of the Old Dominion, who did not want their precious day of sentimental remembrance of slavery sullied by the presence of a Black man. Thus, last week, Virginia's governor John N. Dalton vetoed the sham King holiday bill, stating that it would be "more appropriate" to "honor native Virginians." Virginia's only Black state



People from Techwood Homes Project hold cop and squad car hostage, demanding release of arrested activist.

tant-talking Angels first hit town a few weeks ago, Public Safety Commissioner Brown sneered, "We don't have any subways here." Now the city councilman who organized the weekend searches has invited the Angels to set up shop in Atlanta permanently. The Angels spokeswoman gushed all over the authorities and the police, promising "not to let the fear that results from the missing kids case make them resort to violence." Scheduled to begin this summer, unarmed city youth patrols where each member is required to pass a police background test will be "advised" by the Guardian Angels.

This week nationally-known Black "leaders" scurried to Atlanta to try to cool things out. At a meeting of representatives from 16 Civil Rights groups, Benjamin Hooks (head of the NAACP) "urged the continued reliance on prayer and non-violent activities which encourage hope and combat despair and desperation." A local Black state representative, Tyrone Brooks, added his two cents, "We're disturbed by the vigilante spirit... that threatens to turn our city into an armed camp."

Around the U.S., struggle is heightening. 6,000 people demonstrated in Miami against the murders, March 22nd. The candlelight march started with only a few hundred people, but swelled to thousands as it wound through Liberty City—site of the Miami Rebellion—as people demonstrated in pouring rain. In Atlanta the *RW* received a banner from Hawaii, signed by over 100 people, expressing outrage at the murders and strong support for the struggle against this reign of terror. Three hundred Black and white inmates of Riker's Island in New York went on a one-day fast in sym-

pathy with the families, calling on prisoners and ex-convicts nationwide to begin the search for the murderers through their grapevine. The *RW* received a copy of a letter from prisoners at the Pontiac Correctional Institute, sent to different organizations. It reads in part:

"This letter is written to you in the Spirit of Peace and Love and Concern for the Families and Victims of the senseless killings which go on in spite of all alleged efforts to 'find' these vicious killers..."

"We, the prisoners (all) have come together in Unity and Solidarity with each other... We are tying Green Ribbons, home-made, to our bars, and/or black shoe laces, in a major show of Unity and Solidarity. This is a major movement there which is participated in by all prisoners of Pontiac Correctional Center..."

"We have begun our movement on March 9, 1981 and fully intend to keep our ribbons/shoe laces up on our bars until these killers are brought to justice and these atrocious inhumanities are stopped..."

In Chicago, red, black and green ribbons continue to be distributed by the thousands. WVON, a Black radio station, followed an editorial against the murders with the Billie Holiday song "Strange Fruit," written years ago against lynchings in the rural south. The questions raised are very deep and the outrage widespread as people come into struggle against these hideous murders.

Meanwhile, the police "investigation" has hit upon some new snags. Under tremendous pressure to find "a murderer," (but not a white one) the

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FLASH FROM MIAMI

As we go to press we have learned that Samuel Lightsey, and Leonard and Lawrence Capers have been sentenced in Miami for the bogus charges of murdering three whites during the Miami Rebellion. Lightsey, 17 years old was given the maximum for his conviction last February on three counts of Second Degree Murder—three life sentences to run consecutively. The Capers brothers, 21 and 24, were given 15-year sentences to run consecutively for their convictions on three counts of Third Degree Murder. The date for the sentencing has been changed several times to prevent people from being in the courtroom. Judge Goderich sarcastically quipped, "I did not enjoy doing this," as he went on to lecture about how "In the United States this thing cannot be allowed"—referring to the Miami Rebellion, which has been at the heart of this frameup from the beginning. □

FULL SCALE ASSAULT ON CABRINI GREEN

Chicago. When a mayor of a major U.S. city—and in particular, one of Jane Byrne's reputation—announces that she will take up residence in an all Black housing project filled with urban poor, you know that something very foul is in the works. With the grizzly drama that has transpired in Chicago in the last week, foul is a polite understatement.

On March 21, Mayor Jane Byrne made the announcement that she and husband Jay would temporarily abandon their Gold Coast luxury apartment and move into Cabrini Green, a huge decaying high-rise housing project which forms an island ghetto on Chicago's near north side. Lavish praise greeted this bizarre move of Chicago's first lady. It was bold and gutsy. Praise was heaped even from the person of Mrs. Anwar Sadat, whose visit to Chicago coincided with the Mayor's move. But something else again was heaped on this plan by the masses of people, and for reasons other than her presence destroying the neighborhood.

It didn't take anyone—save a few fools—too long to see the calculated attack that lay behind the Mayor's plan. Even prior to her announcement, the media had for weeks run out hysterical rantings, calling attention to "gang violence" at Cabrini. The day after her announcement, the *Chicago Tribune* featured a front page headline on Byrne's move directly above a photo of Black youth—young "gang members in Cabrini Green"—displaying a variety of arms, from handguns to sawed-off shotguns. The point was hard to miss. While some may have expected it, the Mayor did *not* say that she planned to make the streets of Chicago safe for democracy. Instead, Byrne promised Cabrini residents, "You are going to live in security..." And this was true, as the residents were to learn. But they wouldn't just live in security, they'd live

in *maximum* security.

In reality, the Mayor's plan amounts to a vile attempt to harass, intimidate, terrorize and forcibly evict thousands of Black people from Cabrini. It is a pre-meditated assault, under the cover of "cleaning up Cabrini" where 10 killings and many shootings have taken place over the last three months. These incidents in themselves are highly suspicious. Like other cities, the police have a long history of directly and indirectly organizing gang activity for their own purposes. At Cabrini, these incidents now serve as a cover for a massive invasion of police along with the Mayor.

Cabrini has been turned into a mini-police state within five days. The first onslaught against residents came when Byrne ordered a beefed-up police patrol on top of the 48-man unit that already prowls through the projects, not including a contingent of her own security forces. This occupation army of cops is busting people for such crimes as stopping a car in the middle of the street to let out a passenger—"obstructing traffic." Youth cannot walk down the street without being lined up against the wall and frisked. One youth reported being frisked five times in the same day. Stopping his car to help a friend jump a battery, another man suddenly found six squad cars descending on him. After the formation of the 28-man tactical squad, a series of even more repressive measures followed. Byrne called for a 50-man task force of federal agents from the Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms Bureau to conduct a floor-by-floor sweep of the projects under the guise of "disarming the gang members." She announced that the court at the nearby Chicago Avenue Police Station will be reopened so that people can be thrown in prison faster. Metal detectors are to be installed in the entrances of every building. City inspectors descended upon several taverns

in the area of the projects and shut them all down in one fell swoop.

All this precedes the threatened eviction of 800 families from Cabrini-Green, and there is talk by the city of eliminating half of the units on each floor. This would throw 7,000 people out on the street. The 800 families now slated for eviction is nearly one-fourth of all the residents at the projects currently. The assault against the first 23 families began on March 26, with only a 24 hour warning. Although some protested they had just paid their rent that morning, the sheriff's deputies and their moving crews still threw everything into the street like a pile of junk. One man protested that the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) had refused to accept his partial payment of rent. The pigs busted their way into several apartments whose owners weren't home and tossed everything into the street too. An enraged crowd of 200 gathered, shouting at the sheriffs to stop this ruthless operation. There are currently 100 more evictions immediately in the works.

The bourgeoisie has been trying to drive Black people out of Cabrini for a long time. This has been attempted through attrition—simply not renting vacated apartments, though the waiting list is very long—and other ways. There is a similar pattern in other major cities and this stems from the general concern of our rulers over the volatile nature of inner city ghettos, and the implications of this for the period ahead. They want to "deconcentrate" potential areas of urban rebellion, and are consciously attempting to do so. They are even planning on methods to deal militarily with future rebellions. An important part of this is the creation of buffer zones ringing political and financial city centers. The urban poor are moved out of these areas, and "stable" middle class elements are moved in. In 1973, Mayor

Daley unveiled his "Chicago 21 Plan" specifically to deal with this problem. The plan calls for massive projects to uproot the explosive Black and Latino population surrounding the Loop in order to replace them with well-to-do whites, luring the newcomers in with newly built or rehabilitated, high-class housing.

All this sets the stage for the invasion of another division of the same army which set upon Cabrini—banks, real estate speculators and government agencies whose task is "renewal" at a hefty profit. The land under Cabrini is valuable and hot property. And the project remains the last major obstacle to the city's completion of the Chicago 21 Plan. Only a scant mile to the east looms the glittering Gold Coast with its string of expensive, lakefront hi-rises. On the north and east sides of Cabrini, expensive townhouses, condominiums and apartments are springing up almost right next door. The city has also placed a brand new "magnet" high school with special programs adjacent to Cabrini and is sponsoring the construction of an elegant-looking YMCA. All these are signs that the bourgeoisie has no intention of abandoning its plans to push Blacks out of the area and entice white residents in; but clearly the continued expansion of these posh neighborhoods hinges on removing the barrier of Cabrini.

So this move by Chicago's Mayor isn't so bizarre after all, but comes from a systematic plan to terrorize Black people and drive them out. It is a particularly insidious campaign implemented by the armed force of the state, one that has just begun and is bound to grow more vicious day by day. And more, it is part of the escalating attacks on Black people nationwide. □



Typical street scene at Cabrini Green these days—5 squad cars and about a dozen cops swoop down to "investigate" two men jump starting their car.

Letter from Unión de Lucha Marxista-Leninista

Communists in Spain Write on Coup Attempt

The following letter to the RW from Spain, a critique of the Feb. 27 RW article "Spain: Phony Coup, 'Nothing New'" and a very welcome discussion of the attempted coup and its significance, was written by the Unión de Lucha Marxista-Leninista, formerly called the Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo-Leninismo, one of the signers of the Joint Communiqué "To the Marxist-Leninists, The Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries."

To the Editors of the
Revolutionary Worker:

Dear Comrades:

We have carefully studied the Revolutionary Worker article of 2/27/81 on the fascist military coup that took place on February 23 in our country and, even though together with this note we are sending our organization's statement on the issue, *Un Analisis marxista del Golpe Militar del 23 de Febrero*, we would like to make some points on that article. Spain is a peculiar case of the class struggle that is frequently difficult to understand as Marx said in the series of articles that he dedicated to analyzing the events here in the last century and we believe it still has such characteristics; for example, it isn't very easy for many sectors to give a rational and scientific explanation of what happened on the 23rd and 24th of last month. But it is our duty at least to try to do so. It is possible that you may not agree with some of the positions that we put forward below but in principle we consider them correct and are willing to debate them. In our country you can't use recipes, and simple explanations don't serve; the only thing that is really useful is *concrete analysis*. So, after this prologue, let's get into the subject:

- The differences between Calvo Sotelo and Suarez are very small. Perhaps the former, responding to a sharpening situation, would have to resort more to repression and as a result be more to the right, but the substitution of one for the other is the usual maneuver that the bourgeoisie uses to fool the masses with the appearance of "change" and "reorganization." One should not read more than there is in terms of the change of government which coincided with the military coup.

- Our organization doesn't think that the Spanish big bourgeoisie (whom it is more scientific to label the financial and landholding oligarchy) is imperialist in the overall international context, as you state in your article. We think that Spain is a capitalist country dependent on U.S. imperialism, and that is easy to show in the political, economic, military, ideological, cultural, etc. spheres. It is a country that has achieved an undeniable degree of capitalist development, but at the same time, it is dependent on yankee imperialism in a very intense way, a dependence that dictates the total political situation and all the development of the class struggle here.

- In 1936, there was no schism in the ruling class, on the contrary, it united around one policy: unleash the civil war to block the triumph of the revolution and gather around a single leader, Franco. In this whole process, Nazi-Fascist imperialism played a *decisive* role; without doubt the working class and the people would have won the war without its participation. In 1936, the ruling class launched an unheard of slaughter simply because it was the *only* way to keep from being overthrown. Nor is there today any schism on important questions in the Spanish big bourgeoisie, and on the occasion of the coup, this has been demonstrated; for example, the employers' organization CEOE energetically backed the "democracy," as well as the big banks, all the right wing press, all the non-fascist conservative political leaders, etc. Now, under the present conditions, it is in the interest of big capital and U.S. imperialism to control the masses by political means, fundamentally through bourgeois-democratic illusions (despite

the fact that these are already quite a bit raggedy). Nor in the 1970s were there any kind of important differences inside big capital here. Nor do we believe that there exists a Catalanian nor a Basque big bourgeoisie, since they long ago totally fused with the Spanish big bourgeoisie forming one single class, very much in the minority, but which controls the big banks, large-scale industry and the large landholdings at the same time that it is dependent on U.S. imperialism.

- There are some facts that can clear up the whole issue more for you. In the last 150 years in Spain there have been no less than 26 military coups, a number that puts our country close to the South American republics, which it is closer to in terms of the concrete form that the class struggle takes, than to England or France. And that is further verified by a very broad series of historical and present day questions. In the 20th century, history here has been a succession of weak and shaky bourgeois "democracies" of very short duration, situated in between harsh and vicious fascist dictatorships. We are the only European country where there was a civil war alongside the conflicts unleashed by the imperialist wars. And furthermore, the violence of the masses has always been present: armed insurrection in 1934 of the Asturian miners and workers, revolutionary guerrilla warfare from 1939-56, etc. Here, fascism has lasted 40 years without interruption and even today the present day "democracy" keeps intact all the state apparatus from the Franco era (army, police and bureaucracy). In the three and a half years of bourgeois "democracy," we've had: a completed military coup, another aborted in its initial phase and another aborted when it was already in a very advanced state of preparation. Now the bourgeois politicians and the revisionists cynically talk of "democracy supervised" by the generals. Why is all this so?

- To understand it, you have to start with the *abnormal* course of the bourgeois revolution in the 19th century, ending with an alliance (carried out not after the overthrow of the feudal lords but having proved the inability of the bourgeoisie to do so) of the top levels of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy (so the oligarchy was formed that we spoke of before) and that also predicated the abnormal course of later events that would give rise to a number of conflicts and an always very sharp class struggle which has hindered up to the present the consolidation of any form of bourgeois democracy (the Second Republic of 1931-36 only lasted 5 years and ended in civil war) and which always forced the ruling class to resort to very violent and savage forms of dictatorship, and to always have a standing army and police forces ready to intervene against the masses and to take direct charge of the government. Herein lies the cause of the events that we are talking about.

- Right now Spain is boiling with very sharp problems. The oppressed nations (Canary Islands, Catalonia, Euskadi and Galicia), which represent more than one third of the population overall, are not holding back and are fighting to win the right to self-determination; more than one third of small agricultural landholders see that they will be ruined by the entrance into the Common Market, in the latifundia (large landed estate) zones (the whole country south of Madrid) approximately 1.5 million farm workers without land go hungry while 3% of the landholders control 50% of the arable land; the dependence in all fields on U.S. imperialism creates many very sharp problems, big capital controls the country's economic life, the problem of militarism is very sharp (as shown by the coup of Feb. 23rd), education and the universities are all a monstrous mess, etc. And all these problems (and many others we are not mentioning) not only affect the proletariat and the farm-workers but also, we think, they affect the petty bourgeoisie (which was, as a class, *against* Franco in the war of 1936-39). Furthermore, U.S. imperialism

a long time ago lined up our country on its side as an "auxiliary force" in the face of the US-USSR imperialist war which both powers are preparing for.

- Such an accumulation of conflicts means that the ruling class has to maintain a police-military apparatus that is not only very powerful but also one imbued with a rabidly fascist ideology. At a given moment, when the conjunctural tendencies mount, a minority part of that state apparatus launches an absurd adventure, a caricature of a military coup, but it encounters the opposition of the majority of the army and all of the ruling class BECAUSE IT IS NOT YET TIME, BECAUSE IT IS NOT EVEN NECESSARY TO RESORT TO THAT MEASURE. That is why everything is resolved so easily, without a drop of blood, in an orderly way, with the surrender of the rebels. When in 1932 General Sanjurjo led another premature attempt, at least there was a clash and 9 soldiers died, but this time there wasn't even that much.

- Now it is in the interest of the ruling class to maintain a bourgeois "democracy" and, given the conjunctural ebb that the mass movement suffers and the weakness of the Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces (as in our case), a military coup made absolutely no sense. That is why the king has been able to play the nice role of "democrat" tilting at the windmills of an inopportune coup (inopportune because it was premature). But in the same way, as soon as the mass struggle begins to surge anew and the Marxist-Leninist forces here mature, they will be followed shortly by a military coup, a 1936-style massacre, and then we will see the "democrat" Juan Carlos go on TV to whip up the generals to launch a slaughter, as did his grandfather and his father with Franco.

- The key moment in the relations with U.S. imperialism was in 1953 when they signed the first Military Treaties which have been renewed periodically. The characteristic of Spanish big capital is precisely its tendency to always depend on some imperialist power, first on English-French imperialism, later the Nazi-Fascist imperialists, and after 1945 on U.S. imperialism, and that also always had *decisive* repercussions on the class struggle here. Right now the key is not joining NATO, since the Military Treaties with the U.S. of 1976 in fact put Spain in NATO, but the problem is all-around dependence in relation to U.S. imperialism, a dependence that can only be wiped out through revolution and through the violent seizure of political power by the proletariat and the people.

- The main reason that the ruling class substituted fascism with "democracy" in the period from 1974 to 1977 wasn't so as to be able to join NATO or the Common Market but in order to contain the mass movement by political means, to be able to wipe it out with a simple change in the form of domination. And it's clear that the maneuver was temporarily a success thanks to the front-line collaboration not only of the revisionist PCE and the social-democratic PSOE, but also of the "Marxist-Leninists," fanatic and emotional worshippers of the bourgeois dictatorship in its "democratic" form, as are the ORT, PTE (followers of Deng Xiaoping), PCE(m-l) (devotees of Hoxha), MC (eclectics now leaning towards the Soviet revisionists) and others. All of them played a very important role in containing the mass movement, bringing to it what big capital wanted then: bourgeois-democratic illusions and talk. Naturally in the last few years the masses, seeing that in fact "democracy" isn't worth much, are discarding these parties (some of which already don't exist any more), although what is dominant within the proletariat and the people is confusion, demobilization and political inhibition.

- What you say about the death of Carrero Blanco in 1973 is not correct. The individual you mention, Gonzalez Mata, is a shady character in pay of the police who is dedicated to poisoning public opinion with phony news like this. Carrero was executed by the ETA

(Euskadi and Liberty), the revolutionary Basque organization, and Mata tried to slander it, insinuating that the CIA was behind what had happened. Completely false. Despite the enormous differences we have with the ETA and the continual criticisms that we make, it is necessary to defend the truth and defend this organization that, despite its errors, up until today can be considered revolutionary (obviously, however, it cannot be considered Marxist-Leninist), perhaps the *only* revolutionary organization that exists today in all of the Spanish state.

- When you speak of "phony autonomy" for the oppressed nations from the Spanish state, you should be very clear on this decisive question. Our organization is against all autonomy, phony or "true"; it considers that the only Marxist solution to this issue is to fight for the right to self-determination for the oppressed nations today, which must be understood exactly as Lenin defined it: the right to complete political separation and to the creation of independent states. Likewise it doesn't seem correct to us to speak of "regions" referring to the Canary Islands, Catalonia, Euskadi and Galicia, because they are not regions, but *nations*, which can be described as such taking as a basis, for example, the well known definition of Stalin in *Marxism and the National Question*. (1)

- When the ETA member Arregui was assassinated by the well known and veteran torturers of the DGS (Dirección General de Seguridad), who are all from the Franco era and some directly trained by the Gestapo (Himmler made a curious trip to Madrid in 1941), the masses in Euskadi were not mobilized by the Basque National Party, but the "abertzale" left, a Basque word which means Basque patriotic left. Another inaccuracy is that it wasn't the Civil Guard that killed Arregui by torture, but the cops, and it was within this organization that resignations occurred (the Civil Guard is a military corps and such regulations would be unthinkable, given its schizophrenic discipline).

- A very important result of the coup is that it confirmed in front of the masses some essential aspects of our line: the impossibility here of creating a minimally stable bourgeois "democracy," the decisive role that the armed forces have played and play in political events, and the inevitable character of the armed struggle of the masses to seize power in face of all the variations of the "peaceful" transition to socialism of the Eurocommunists, Trotskyists, "Marxist-Leninists," and so on. At the same time, although apparently among the backward sections of the masses the king and the constitution "have saved the country" from a blood bath, the advanced can see that there is absolutely no possibility of gaining anything decent without making revolution and that, here and now, the bourgeois-democratic illusions of the revisionists are only infantile and reactionary fantasies. Given all that, we think that objectively, in the short and long run, it is we the revolutionaries who have drawn the best political lessons out of what happened. In particular, the opportunist groups of the "far Left" are those who fared the worst, since the facts have shown that their line of "another," prettier and more functional bourgeois democracy is a reactionary utopia. Due to this they are now suffering a very devastating crisis.

Hoping that these details will be useful to you, we send you fraternal militant greetings.

Unión de Lucha Marxista-Leninista
Madrid, March 11, 1981

(1) For this we frequently use the expression "Spanish state" in place of Spain since that is the correct one. That means that Spain is not a nation (as affirmed by all revisionists, from Carrillo to the pro-Hoxha, pro-Deng, etc. forces), but only a state in which one nation, that which speaks Spanish, oppresses the other four nations, a very grave problem which only the Leninist principle of self-determination for nations can satisfactorily resolve.

CONFRONTATION CLOSE IN POLAND

As we go to press, Poland is on the brink of an explosion. Solidarity has called for a nationwide four-hour warning strike for Friday, March 27 and a general strike to begin the following Tuesday in response to police violence against former representatives and Solidarity members in the Polish industrial city of Bydgoszcz. Tension is mounting throughout the country as the workers gear up for what could be a decisive, and possibly bloody confrontation with Poland's revisionist rulers—one that has raised again the spectre of Soviet intervention as Warsaw Pact troops continue to maneuver throughout the country. Solidarity has announced that a ten-man crisis commission, headed by Lech Walesa, has been set up to run the strikes—should negotiations fail—from inside the Lenin Shipyard in the city of Gdansk where the union local reportedly placed itself under guard. Solidarity leaders also called on all strike committees to move inside the factories for protection as rumors abounded that the government is on the verge of declaring a state of emergency—a move which the union has said will automatically trigger an immediate general strike.

The response of Poland's rulers to the strike threat came quickly. Addressing members of an agricultural congress in Warsaw, party leader Stanislaw Kania warned that "The economic crisis has been compounded by a deep political crisis. In such a situation how should we understand the call to strikes? It cannot be interpreted otherwise than a call for self-annihilation." In a special broadcast by Radio Moscow the Soviets also cried that Solidarity was becoming a "political opposition and setting up dual power in Poland." This accusation is, of course, largely correct as the Polish people continue to defy the authority of their revisionist rulers who are perceived as increasingly ineffectual. The Soviets see this as well. Deputy Premier Rakowski also touched on the question of "who holds power" in Poland, screeching that Solidarity officials considered themselves to be Poland's "new owners". He further wailed "do these people desire to lead the nation to the barricades of an absurd fratricidal conflict? . . . If anyone thinks that stubborn demands will break socialist (i.e. revisionist) power in Poland, he greatly errs."

These sorrowful lamentations of the Polish revisionists are an indication of the tightening vise they find themselves in—and of the fact that they realize full well that Solidarity leaders are not the only ones who face the prospect of "self-annihilation." At this point it is near impossible for them to accede to the workers' demands, which as a result of the Bydgoszcz incident, have again been extended to include recognition of an independent farmers' union, something which Poland's rulers claimed they would never allow. This, along with the further dismissals of party officials being demanded, are concessions that would undoubtedly be regarded as an unforgivable weakness by the Soviets. At the same time, however, a general strike could push Poland's devastated economy over the edge as well as having severe political implications unless decisively dealt with, not only in Poland but in the rest of the Eastern bloc. (During Kania's visit to Hungary last week, party leader Janos Kadar indicated that the situation in Poland was sending ripples of discontent through Hungary and encouraging critics to raise their voices against the government, according to the *New York Times*). The only other alternative for Poland's rulers would appear to be calling out the government's security forces and—especially if the workers resist—risking a civil confrontation which would result in Soviet intervention anyway.

Interestingly enough, the incident in

Bydgoszcz that sparked the latest crisis was rather tame by western imperialist standards where police violence against protests, strikes, etc. is routine. On Friday, March 20, over 200 Polish cops and political police cut all telephone links and then stormed into the Bydgoszcz city hall just after government officials had broken off talks with representatives of the officially unrecognized farmers' union and local Solidarity leaders who continued to occupy the hall. Some 20-25 farmer leaders and union representatives were dragged out of the building and out of sight of several hundred onlookers, where they were then viciously beaten in what was obviously a carefully planned operation. This first major use of government violence against the people since the nationwide upheavals last summer reflects not only the tremendous power of the workers' movement and the fact that the authorities up till now had to handle it with kid gloves, but also the present necessity of Poland's rulers precisely to reverse this situation or face the music of Soviet tanks.

The response of the workers to this outrage was swift in coming as the next day photos of the men lying on the ground and spattered with blood were posted on walls and fences around the city and the news travelled like wildfire throughout the country. Hundreds of thousands of workers held spontaneous two-hour strikes that paralyzed entire

regions in Poland's northern manufacturing belt. Walesa and other Solidarity leaders immediately converged on Bydgoszcz to set up a "staff for action" to coordinate Solidarity's responses nationwide. Their first "action", however, was to issue an appeal relayed by telex to branches across the country to "Stop all actions" because "there is no full information about the situation in Bydgoszcz. We ask you to keep absolute calm and not undertake any action until we have a full explanation of the matter."

The immediate tack of Solidarity leaders was to denounce the police assault as "a provocation of local authorities against the government" of Prime Minister Jaruzelski for being too "conciliatory" in his attempts to resolve Poland's burgeoning unrest through a "peaceful dialogue." But that Poland's revisionist rulers are in anything but a "conciliatory" mood and that this assault was hardly a capricious act by local authorities was transparently obvious, especially considering that no less than a Deputy Prime Minister had attended the council meeting just before the violence broke out and did nothing to stop it and hundreds of regular and auxiliary police were on call to patrol the streets of Bydgoszcz in the wake of the beatings. The hardline stand of Poland's rulers was further underscored as negotiations began between Walesa and Rakowski. The union listed seven demands in-

cluding the dismissal of the deputy provincial governor, the local police commander and the local party first secretary as well as publication of photos of the attack and the names of policemen involved in the beatings. Not only did Rakowski refuse to make any concessions whatsoever, but he presented his own demands—that the union call off the strike alert, curb wage demands and stop pressing for a farm union and the dismissal of local officials—and openly raised the possibility of bloodshed as well as the threat of Soviet intervention.

What was increasingly apparent was that the incident in Bydgoszcz amounted to no less than a major squeeze play by Poland's rulers, and behind, the Soviet imperialists. The big stick behind the adamant position being taken by the Polish authorities is, of course, the ominous presence of Warsaw Pact troops in Poland. Although it was originally announced that the maneuvers would take place on the territory of four Eastern bloc countries involved, so far only Poland has been the center of military activity, and as the crisis escalated it was reported that maneuvers in Poland had been extended for several days and possibly longer. As a constant reminder that force could be invoked at any moment, daily TV broadcasts have carried extensive footage of Soviet and Polish troops rumbling across the terrain in tanks and

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NSC Chief Lashes Out at "Pacifist" Europe

Unable to control his foaming mouth any longer, National Security Advisor Richard V. Allen, who had kept a "low profile" since the Reagan Administration came to office two months ago, crawled out of his White House cage last week to spew out some of his accumulated imperialist venom. Addressing a banquet at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C., sponsored by the Young Americans for Freedom and the American Conservative Union, Allen confided in horrified terms that "outright pacifist elements" are rearing their ugly head in Europe. Those Europeans have a lot of nerve—especially when the United States, which is only attempting to carry out its solemn duties as "leader of the western world," is busily striving to whip the NATO alliance into combat-ready shape for the coming war, in which Europe will be transformed into one big blazing battlefield.

Why, Allen continued, "Right now, the second largest party in Great Britain has adopted as part of its official platform the renunciation of nuclear weapons." (Here, according to unverified rumor, several of the more aged American Conservatives choked on their Jello Surprise; a number of Daughters of the American Revolution simply swooned.) "We are even hearing in other countries the contemptible 'Better Red than Dead' slogan of a generation ago." (At this, according to the same uncheckable reports, the Young Americans rose as one and burst out, "Oh, I could just spit!" Shouts of "Treason! Treason most foul!" filled the hall.)

Richard Allen's main asset as a spokesman for U.S. imperialism is his big mouth (to be used sparingly and selectively to be sure). In this case his statements were meant as a clear warning to the U.S.' European allies to get further in line. In attacking the "contemptible" slogan of "Better Red than Dead," his mouth opened especially wide. What tumbled out was a bald admission of the dire need of the U.S. to revive their old slogan, "Better Dead than Red," which they tried to popularize a generation ago, and which

Allen wistfully recalls. The comeback, "Better Red than Dead," was popular among pacifist and Ban-the-Bomb groups and caught on among broad sections of society in both Europe and America during the late fifties and early sixties.

Today, millions of Europeans know that in a new war their part (in the plans of the U.S. and of their own imperialist rulers) is to willingly allow themselves to be slaughtered while loyally singing patriotic songs and "standing firm" behind their own "fatherland" and their "traditional ally," the U.S. imperialists. How contemptible, how ungrateful of them not to leap at the chance! (Allen and his cronies, of course, will be staunchly at their own posts when the war breaks out—reading computer printouts of casualty lists, six thousand feet down in a control center under a mountain in Idaho.)

Popular resistance in Europe to new U.S. missile deployments and the general escalation in war preparations creates acute problems for the Western European imperialist governments, who also have their own contradictions with the U.S.—even though "pacifism" is quite clearly not one of them. That the European NATO governments have to deal with the severe economic, political and social turmoil that mobilization for war inevitably will cause, just as clearly is a source of conflict—and this is reflected in Allen's remarks.

After snapping that it was "difficult to discuss the mood of Europe without risking some affront or some insult to our friends on the other side of the Atlantic," Allen grew stern: "Deficit spending and uncontrollable social programs have insulated the citizenry of many countries from the reality of their economic circumstances and make them reluctant to face the facts. The facts are that Europe is confronted with an economic crisis every bit as dangerous as that which immediately followed the Second World War. . . . Even in Germany. . . the government is considering stretchouts and cancellations in key defense programs."

So even the West German im-

perialists aren't yet quite up to par in forcing their "citizenry," grown soft during these peaceful years and forgetful of their high obligations, to "face the facts": it's time once again to die for the fatherland. What Allen practically spells out is that the masses must be "introduced" to the reality of their position as slaves, fit only to slave, to fight and to die on command—and the commands are now being issued.

The masses in Europe (and, at the same time, in the U.S.) are also being "introduced," or re-introduced, to the essential nature of imperialism, the absoluteness of its murderous rabidity. It is revealing that Allen has chosen "outright pacifist sentiments" to aim his fire at. We would hasten to remind Mr. Allen and his cronies of their incessant attempts to cover their war moves under the thinner and thinner veneer of "preserving world peace." What better proof could there be that such mouthings are nothing more than hypocritical deceptions required precisely by the imperialists' need to mobilize for world war. After all weren't WW1 and WW2 fought "to end all wars"?

Allen's foam-flecked condemnation of the slogan "Better Red than Dead" indicates just how urgently the U.S. and its NATO imperialist allies need to incite a wave of patriotic and militarist hysteria—the outright *blind* sentiment of slavish desire to die for one's "own" slave-driver rather than allow the master's rival, the Soviet imperialists, to win the day. (The Soviets, like the U.S. imperialists, need we add, are long since the opposite of "red" and will try when necessary to force the acceptance of their own rule through exploiting cynical feelings that anything is better than dying.)

Of course, in the imperialists' view, the death of millions means nothing if it ensures their own survival. And it is their survival that is on the line in the coming war and the preparations for it—which certainly helps to account for the edge of panic unmistakable in Allen's after-dinner remarks. □

Take History Into Our Hands!

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suddenly mass in an intersection, demonstrate, then disperse and on and on. In one smaller city, revolutionary forces actually drove out armed troops sent in against them. In Kabul, Afghanistan, strikes and marches defied Soviet imperialism, even in the face of 60 casualties that day. In Northern Europe, once considered stable as granite, thousands of youths rioted in Holland, Norway, Germany and Switzerland. The granite is cracking. And yet another crack appeared last year, for as newscasters read the list of countries where revolutionary May First actions broke out—lo and behold, their voices stumbled as the list included, "May Day clashes in several U.S. cities!" Yes, there was repression, but people dispersed, re-grouped and formed again. Agitators were heard and then disappeared into the crowd. As one chant said, "Your pigs in blue are nothing new!" But this kind of May First was. All in all an excellent position to build and advance from this year.

What exactly should class-conscious proletarians do on May 1, 1981? Break out, break free, politically "liberate" some territory for the day! May First should be a day that gives expression to the desire of the masses to do just that. There should be broad discussion and concrete plans made starting now for the most appropriate forms of struggle everywhere. There will be centralized guidance for all this, particularly through the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper. There will be other centralized forms as well, such as the poster which this week is appearing nationwide. Some cities will hold demonstrations. But the purpose of all this, and the main emphasis, will be to give rise to a broad diversity of struggle among the masses—enabling them to take initiative and act in the ways they feel most appropriate to the spirit and line of May First, International Workers Day. What will link all this will be its common central banner, the red flag, and the fact that those acting will be guided by a common vision, a common internationalist purpose. That day they will be proclaiming in a thousand ways that they are proletarians united in struggle with their brothers and sisters around the whole world.

Of course we are aware that in countries like the U.S. the revolutionary struggle cannot develop in such a way that liberated territories are established and maintained while the country as a whole is still under the rule of the bourgeoisie. In advanced imperialist countries such as this, the revolution must proceed along the path of insurrection followed by a civil war. But short of this, and in a modified way there can be a political meaning to "liberated territory," in the sense of areas where the formerly suppressed political energy of the masses, their activism, their search for revolutionary ideas and theory is able to blossom. This describes the suppressed potential of many oppressed, proletarian communities of all nationalities in this

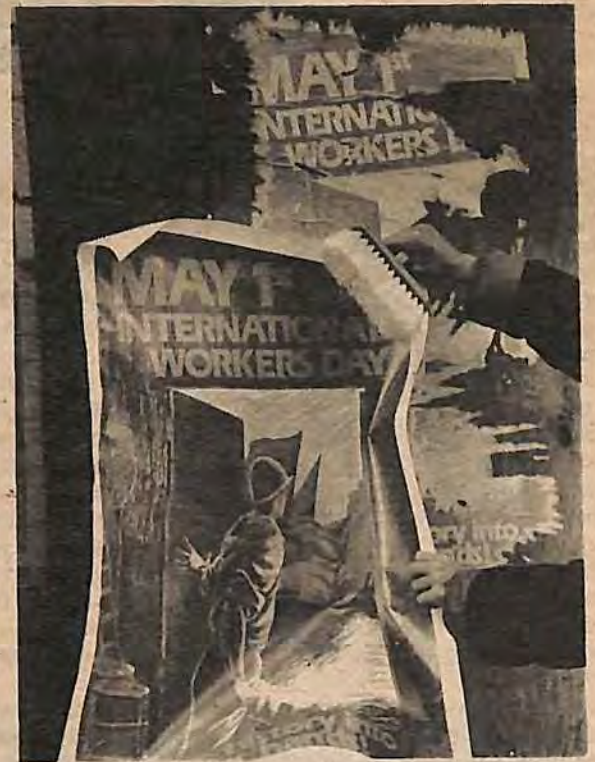
country today; it is potential that began to be unleashed through May 1, last year, potential that has begun to be realized in many ways through the spread of the *Revolutionary Worker* conspiracy and potential that can bloom beautifully on May 1, 1981. And such potential can be brought forth as well, in different forms, even inside the grip of life-stealing factories and other places on the First of May. Last year, there were a number of instances where groups of workers, on their own, attempted to organize walkouts on that day, and in many other places heated political discussion about the affairs of the world raged in cafeterias and departments and red flags appeared constantly. This, too, can be further developed and spread this year.

May First must be organized by the class-conscious proletarians as a day on which many such places seethe with political life; on which political debate and struggle rage; on which the initiative and daring of the youth is especially unleashed; on which the revolutionary line of May First penetrates every sphere of decadent bourgeois society; on which the red flag flies everywhere. And on that day, too, the Party is calling for 50,000 copies of a special issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* to be distributed and for well over 100,000 copies to be distributed that week. The *Revolutionary Worker*, the center of the conspiracy, will be central on that day as well. As we have pointed out before, May 1, 1981 is a Friday, a business day. But in no way will it be a business-as-usual day. The orientation of the class-conscious workers must be that *everywhere* the modern-day overlords look they will see the unmistakable sights and hear the unmistakable sounds of May First.

Of course with this orientation of the masses bringing the new into being that day, the masses themselves must take responsibility for all the revolutionary activity that goes on that day. In part, this means not only being vigilant against attacks by the enemy, but also against mistaken acts that misdirect the struggle of one section of the oppressed people against the other. This, too, is part of taking history into our hands, of actually preparing for the future, for the seizure of power and the mastery of society.

To build for such a May First will require great efforts, and high consciousness. It means being everywhere the masses are today engaging in struggle, spreading the *Revolutionary Worker* conspiracy and the plan for May First. It means spreading the orientation that wherever the masses of people are in revolt, the red flag must be raised. It means the youth must take a vanguard role in spreading this line throughout society.

With this call for May First we are calling for a major step. It is not yet time for the actual call for revolutionary insurrection and the seizure of political power from the imperialists, but it is another leap in prepara-



Back Due to Popular Demand

One of the familiar sights of May Day 1980 will soon be making a reappearance in 1981 on walls all over the country. This poster, which played a very dynamic role in the struggle for Revolutionary May Day last year, is being reprinted and will be distributed to local areas at the beginning of the week.

This year's poster has already gotten off to a favorable start. When we started putting up this very first May Day 1981 poster for our front page picture we were immediately approached by a passerby who offered to help us post it. Those who also would like to assist in getting this poster out broadly, as well as helping to fundraise for it, should contact the RCP at the addresses listed on page 14 of this issue.

tion toward that time, in step with the oppressed of the world. The forms of this year's actions will give still greater expression to the desire of all those who have come to hate this system to fulfill the slogan: Down with the old order and fight to bring alive the new.

**Break Out, Break Free,
Put the Red Flag in Command!
Take History Into Our Hands!**

Police Take Action in Atlanta

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police authorities are beginning to have to answer for their total inability to come up with any leads. Last week they actually arrested two white men (one 26-year-old transient from Ohio who was denied bond and a 33-year-old from rural northwest Georgia) but only charged them with "making threatening phone calls." Before their fingerprints were even dried, the police officials broadcast that neither man was involved in the murders. The transient had phoned a white minister saying that he killed four of the youth, and that he had clothing to prove it. No further answers have been given by the police about the obvious questions surround-

ing these arrests or the cops' refusal of any further investigation.

Yet the March 26th arrest of a *Black man* in New York State who is a "suspect" in the Atlanta murders is front page national news. Apparently the man was caught with a completely unharmed 9-year-old Black youth of no relation to himself in a rented van and had no easy explanation of how the youth got there. And the van had Georgia license plates. That is enough to make him a prime suspect, no matter that the van was rented in Florida and there is not a shred of evidence to suggest that this man has ever even been in Atlanta. Of course, the FBI, the Atlanta Special Task Force and no doubt

many other police will put this Black suspect through intensive interrogation and investigation in their attempts to prove him to be the murderer.

A shroud of mystery covers the arrested whites in Atlanta at the same time that a sinister line is being spread all over the country by papers like the *New York Times*. In a lengthy and completely distorted article on March 22nd, the story was run out again that the Atlanta murders are unconnected, and that any hint that an organized racist group is responsible is absurd. The Atlanta newspapers have joined in trying to spread stories of potential "race riots." And along the lines of the *New York Times*, a March 17th Atlanta

Journal article insisted "We don't know who is killing these children...but we are as certain as we can be that the nightmare is not the product of any plot by whites." While mainly aiming at blurring the real question it also serves the purpose of inciting reactionary whites to rise up against this supposed threat.

The struggle in Atlanta has grown extremely intense. With people in the city taking matters into their own hands, the authorities have been forced to directly attack the people in the most brazen fashion to date. Fuel has only been added to the fire.

More Cheap Slanders from the Washington Post

As we go to press, we notice a remarkable—remarkably putrid and disgusting—article on page three of the March 26 edition of the *Washington Post*. The AP article typically slanders the masses, reporting on Black "leaders" condemnation of "vigilante groups," by which they mean the armed self-defense groups, and these "leaders" charges that parents in Atlanta are fraudulently attempting to cash in on money sent to the city, as noted earlier. In the midst of all this, we find the following sentence: "The Black leaders also said hucksters have pocketed money they solicited for the families, and vigilante groups and the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party have

used the slayings to promote their ideology and have heated the racial tensions." Leaving the SWP aside for the time being, we should point out that this is the same *Washington Post* which refused to report on RCP Chairman Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France on the basis that, according to the *Post*, the RCP is an insignificant sect, that the case of the Mao Tsetung Defendants is simply not newsworthy, that no one has ever heard of Bob Avakian, etc., etc., ad nauseum. In less than a week, the RCP has become extremely newsworthy, even meriting mention in a page three article! Do you hear condemnations of the barbaric slayings of Black youth

from these real hucksters? Not a word! Do you hear condemnations of the "vigilante groups"—the murderers themselves who are certainly backed by powerful interests—from these imperialist pens? Not a syllable! Instead, we are treated to attacks on the masses and the RCP, with the use of the none too clever—and none too original—device of communists stirring up "racial tensions." Really fellows, do you really think that you can divert people's attention away from the murders with such stupid articles? Do you think you can drive a wedge between genuine communists and the masses of people with your insipid babblings? Can't you be a little less naked?

The Loss in China and The Revolutionary Legacy Of Mao Tsetung



Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA at the MAO TSETUNG MEMORIAL MEETINGS 1978

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March 20, 1980— Red Flag Over the Alamo

One year ago, at two in the afternoon on March 20th, 1980, three revolutionaries, including Comrade Damian Garcia, scaled the crumbling walls of the Alamo in San Antonio, Texas. On the roof of the Alamo—that “holy shrine” of U.S. imperialist plunder, that monument to slavery and to the slaughter of the Native American and Mexican people, that decaying symbolic bastion of imperialist rule to the present day—the reactionary flag of the Texas Republic was lowered to the dust. Hoisted in its place was the red flag of the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat.

The red flag flew over the Alamo for one hour, an hour agonizingly long for the bourgeoisie. Stunned and shaken by this revolutionary “desecration,” they sent their police scrambling to the summit to seize the “criminals,” and tried to blot out what had been done and prevent its impact from spreading among the oppressed. But they could not. The revolutionary significance of that hour inspired literally millions, in San Antonio, throughout the southwest, deep into Latin America, across this country and in many other parts of the world. The fact that the flag had been raised in

the course of the battle to build the historic May 1, 1980 demonstrations deepened its significance.

It was, above all, the spirit of revolutionary proletarian internationalism which marked the takeover of the Alamo. It shot a shudder of fear up the spine of the imperialists and a bolt of joy through the hearts of many of the oppressed of this country and the world. In this country this was especially so among the Chicano people who know the true history of the Alamo as a symbol of the theft of land and the expansion of slavery. And the word of this action spread around the world. In El Salvador and in Mexico, pictures of the takeover appeared in newspapers. This spectre of revolution only deepened the festering fear of the bourgeoisie. In their rage they retaliated.

On Tuesday, April 22, 1980, police agents knifed and murdered Damian Garcia while he was carrying out agitation building May First in Pico Aliso housing project in East L.A. One had approached the group of revolutionaries moments before and bluntly said, “You hate the government, I am the government. Your flag is red, mine is red, white and blue.” Hayden Fisher,

another comrade who had been on the Alamo with Damian, was also targeted and wounded with a knife. The U.S. imperialist mercenary magazine *Soldier of Fortune* as much as called for this in a major article on the Alamo takeover which appeared at the same time. But this crime in no way buried the revolutionary spirit exemplified by Comrade Damian Garcia, and in fact, has brought forth more.

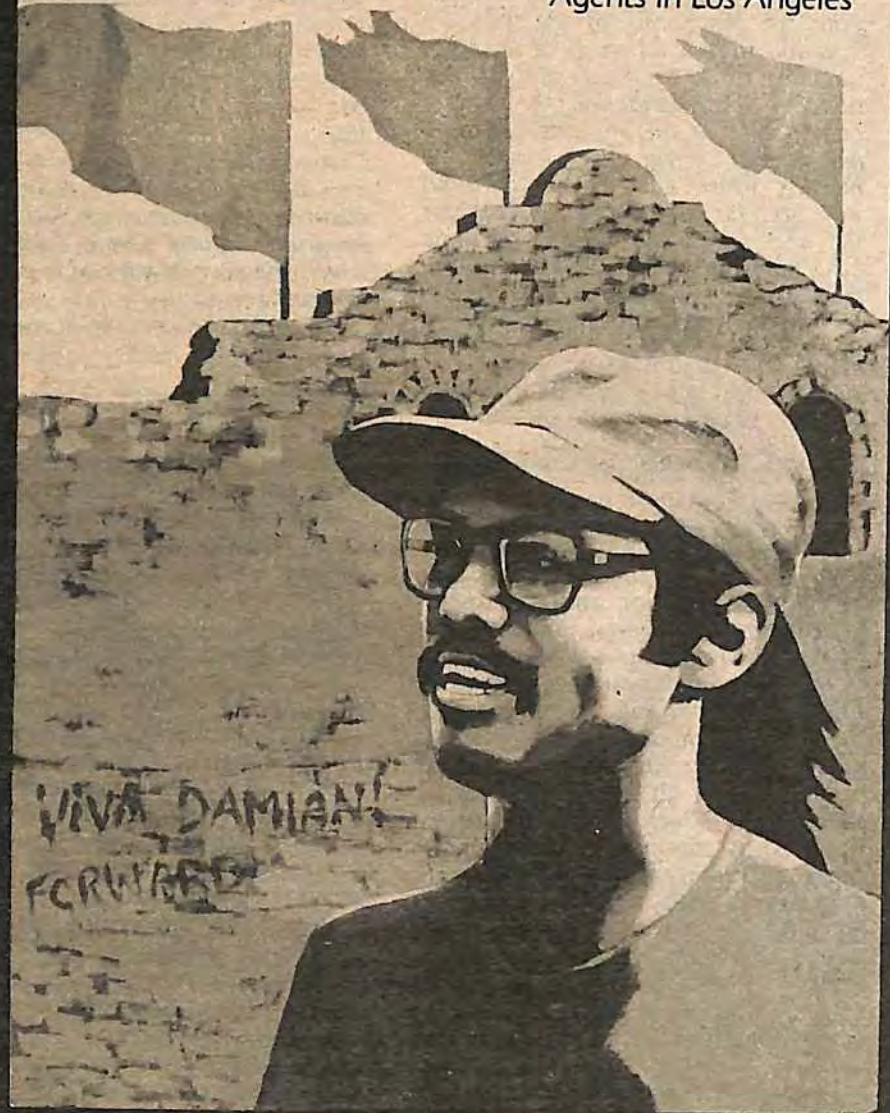
“Damian Garcia is Dead—But in his death I came alive.” These powerful lines, from a poem written by a 40-year-old Black man in the Atlanta city jail when he received the news of Damian Garcia’s murder, describe the real response of large numbers of people to this and the countless other attempts by

the bourgeoisie to terrorize the oppressed classes into abandoning the dream of liberation and the struggle for revolution. It was this dauntless spirit and the revolutionary struggle to realize this dream, that burst victoriously into the streets on May 1st, 1980.

April 22, 1981 is the first anniversary of Damian Garcia’s death. His life—and the degenerate imperialist crime of his murder—will be remembered on that day not only by those who knew him directly, but by many who never met him. The image of Comrade Damian on top of the Alamo is *theirs*, it speaks to them and belongs to them. On April 22 the vision which the imperialists attempted to snuff out must appear again. In the course of building for May 1, 1981, the Revolutionary Communist Party is calling on all oppressed to honor the revolutionary spirit of Comrade Damian. The poster bearing the image of Damian Garcia atop the Alamo with the red flag must appear again in the streets across the country, and wherever class-conscious proletarians or any progressive people gather. These posters, available now in Revolution Bookstores and several others across the country will also be made available by the *Revolutionary Worker*.

Long Live the Revolutionary Spirit of Comrade Damian Garcia!

Comrade Damian Garcia—Murdered April 22, 1980 by Police Agents in Los Angeles



REPORT FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

"It is not so often that history places this form of struggle on the order of the day, but then its significance is felt for decades to come." (Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International")

An important meeting of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA was held at the end of 1980. The context for the meeting had been set by the events of the past year, the sharpening of the objective situation and the advances of the revolutionary forces both here and internationally. The foundation for the required tasks of this meeting had been laid at the Central Committee's 1979 meeting which had, in an all-round way, been far more than a "meeting for the next year" and instead set some basic points of orientation for the entire period from here to the period of insurrection. The Central Committee met to

carry this orientation forward, rising to meet the historic practical and theoretical tasks that are required today of the international proletariat and its vanguards in the various countries. In this light, the Central Committee also discussed and hailed the appearance of two important documents of the international communist movement—the joint communique "To the Marxist-Leninists, the Workers and the Oppressed of All Countries" and the draft document "Basic Principles for the Unity of Marxist-Leninists and for the Line of the International Communist Movement," jointly submitted by our Party and by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile. The meeting also discussed and gave direction to the changes to be made in the Party's Draft Programme and Draft Constitution which will soon be released in their final versions.

Over the next two weeks, the Revolu-

tionary Worker will be running major excerpts from the documents of the meeting. This week the excerpts come from a paper by Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the Central Committee, "For Decades to Come—On a World Scale." These sections deal with the sharpening of all the basic contradictions on a world scale and the necessity and opportunities this presents to the revolutionary forces. Other sections of this same paper sum up that a wrong line prevailed in the international communist movement on the fundamental character of World War 2 and give a basic analysis of the main, inter-imperialist, character of that war. These sections will be reprinted in a soon-to-be-available issue of Revolution magazine, the propaganda organ of the Party's Central Committee. Other important points from the meeting will appear in next week's issue of this newspaper.

PART 1, EXCERPT

"FOR I

they failed to understand the world situation: the worker of Britain corrupted by imperialist profits, the Commune defeated in Paris, the recent (1871) triumph of the bourgeois-national movement in Germany, the age-long sleep of semi-feudal Russia.

"Marx and Engels gauged the times accurately; they understood the international situation; they understood that the approach to the beginning of the social revolution must be slow.

"We, in our turn, must also understand the specific features and tasks of the new era. Let us not imitate those sorry Marxists of whom Marx said: 'I have sown dragon's teeth and harvested fleas.'

"The objective inevitability of capitalism which grew into imperialism brought about the imperialist war. The war has brought mankind to the brink of a precipice, to the brink of the destruction of civilisation, of the brutalisation and destruction of more millions, countless millions, of human beings.

"The only way out is through a proletarian revolution." (p. 86-87)

There are, of course, limitations to the analogy between the period examined by Lenin in the work cited above and the period of several decades from the end of World War 2 to the present situation. And in fact, the main, most essential difference is that the era of imperialism that emerged after the several decades at the end of the last century really is the era of proletarian revolution; and despite severe reversals and setbacks in the past 20 or so years, it could hardly be said that, on a world scale, in the period since World War 2 all that could be—or was—done by communists was slow organizational and educational work. As we know, despite weaknesses and ultimate reversals, the spiral since World War 2 has been characterized by revolutionary struggles, including those which actually did advance to socialism, on a scale never previously seen in the world. But what is of special importance now—especially in relation to the imperialist countries but more generally as well—is the conclusion Lenin is pointing to at the end of the statement cited above: the concentration of the contradictions of the imperialist system and the emergence of an historic conjuncture in which, not slow organizational and educational work, but active revolutionary work is not only possible but necessary.

Historic "Moments" or Conjunctures

Actually it has always been a basic tenet of Marxism that, while the exploitation, oppression and all around suffering of the masses, especially the masses of workers, is a consistent, inevitable and fundamental condition of capitalist society, and while there will be in one form and on one level or another resistance to this on an ongoing basis, it is not all the time that it is possible to overthrow capitalism. Rather, it is only under certain conditions, particularly with the eruption of a profound crisis, that the objective possibility for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism emerges. The analysis of and emphasis given to the role of capitalist crises in the "Communist Manifesto" is an expression of this.

Further, Marxism has always stressed the relation between capitalism and the world market, the international character of capitalist production and exchange and the increase of this with the development of capitalism, and the relation between international events and crises in specific capitalist countries. This, again, is spoken to and stressed in the "Manifesto." And later, in an important "Circular Letter" dealing especially with the movement in Germany, Marx and Engels, in blasting flagrant capitulation to the bourgeoisie, speak of the importance of preparing for "taking advantage of some tremendous external event and a sudden revolutionary upsurge arising from it or even of a victory gained by the people in a conflict resulting from it." (Marx and Engels to Liebknecht, Bracke and Others, London, Sept. 17-18, 1879)

But with the development of capitalism into imperialism all this has assumed even more pronounced and profound importance. And Lenin, as a key part of his overall analysis of imperialism and its relation to and effects upon the prospects for proletarian revolution, recognized, emphasized and systematized the understanding of the qualitatively new and greater role of in-

ternational relations and the development of world-historic conjunctures whose outcome determined the direction of things... for decades to come, as he said.

Much of this is concentrated in "The Collapse of the Second International" (which cannot be re-studied too many times). There, for example, he speaks of how the masses "uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed" in ordinary times—which, he also makes clear, can and often do extend over not only years but decades or scores of years (at least in particular countries). Of course, Lenin does not therefore draw the conclusion that the communists should "uncomplainingly" allow themselves to become apologists for this robbery—nor still less to seek to get in on it—or to sit by with arms folded (or merely engage in speculative theorizing) until the time ripens to carry out revolutionary work. Quite the opposite. He stresses the importance at all times of carrying out revolutionary work, especially agitation and propaganda, of linking up with and giving conscious expression to the sentiments of particularly the advanced workers and other revolutionary-minded forces (who always exist to one degree or another) and of influencing the masses as broadly as possible and undertaking the task, through whatever necessary tactics and tactical adjustments, of raising the level of political consciousness and struggle of the masses.

This is all for the purpose of preparing for the eventual development of a revolutionary situation, and in particular for the concentration of contradictions that occurs at historic conjunctures. And it is with this orientation that he stressed that weeks or days of a revolutionary situation counted for more than years or scores of years of normal times.

Lenin, you see, was not very impressed with the idea of attracting—or attempting to attract—a mass following on a non- (nor certainly counter-) revolutionary basis. He recognized that the majority of the masses would not follow a revolutionary line in a non-

revolutionary period. Again, this did not lead him to give up on revolution, or on the masses, nor on carrying out consistently revolutionary work and on that basis influencing the masses as broadly as possible at each point. But it did lead him to stress that in non-revolutionary situations to mobilize thousands or tens of thousands around the party's—revolutionary—line was crucial in many ways for preparing for the time when it would be possible to win millions and tens of millions to the revolutionary position.

All this we have discussed before. But here it is useful to return to a point made in the 1976 Central Committee Report ("Revolutionary Work In A Non-Revolutionary Situation"). There an analogy is drawn (and similarities as well as differences indicated) between the situation in the U.S. (and more generally the imperialist countries of its bloc) over the past several decades and that in the major capitalist countries during the several decades at the end of the 19th century, marking the transition from pre-monopoly capitalism to the era of imperialism (see pp. 47-49 of the pamphlet). In September 1917, as the conditions for proletarian revolution in Russia were rapidly ripening, Lenin, in drawing up a "Draft Platform for the Proletarian Party" (reprinted in Vol. 24 of his *Collected Works* under the title "The Tasks of the Proletariat in Our Revolution"), made an assessment of that several-decade period which is worth citing here at length:

"...we must reckon with the actual situation in which socialism finds itself internationally.

"It is not what it was during the years 1871 to 1914, when Marx and Engels knowingly put up with the inaccurate, opportunist term 'Social-Democracy.' For in those days, after the defeat of the Paris Commune, history made slow organizational and educational work the task of the day. Nothing else was possible. The anarchists were then (as they are now) fundamentally wrong not only theoretically, but also economically and politically. The anarchists misjudged the character of the times, for

THE ITTEE



PTS FROM

DECADES TO COME— ON A WORLD SCALE”

It is not that at present the world in general, nor this country in particular certainly, has *already reached* the full development of such a situation... but that it is *rapidly approaching* it, amidst growing turmoil and upheaval, including revolutionary upsurges in various parts of the world, which do already exist and are intensifying. It is not necessary to repeat here our analysis of why a revolutionary situation might well develop—though is not a certainty to develop—in this country in the period ahead (the next decade), though that analysis should be repeatedly studied—and struggled over—to deepen our grasp of it, and our policies based on it, and to arm continually broader numbers of the workers, and others awakening to political life and struggle, with this. But it is very necessary to really understand, and understand fully and deeply—and act upon the understanding—that, for the imperialist countries (including this one) especially, “the objective inevitability” of the development of the spiral from the last world war is bringing things to a precipice, at which the only way out (in the short run) for the imperialists is world war—and victory in that war—and the only way out for the proletariat and masses is proletarian revolution.

As early as 1911, before there had been a new upsurge following the crushing defeat of the 1905 Revolution in Russia, Lenin tore into those sniveling opportunists who preached that all hope of revolution must now be given up—that, as they insisted, it was no use for the workers “to shove in where they have been smashed once.” Such people, Lenin said, waged “War against the idea of revolution, against the ‘hope’ of revolution... against every activity whose purpose is to organize forces and prepare minds for revolution...” In fact, “in the eyes of the reformist such ‘hopes’ appear *vague*,” Lenin noted, “because he does not comprehend the depth of the contemporary economic and political contradictions”—which, it is worth pointing out, had not openly and sharply manifested themselves as yet (see “Reformism in the Russian Social-Democratic Movement”). Of course, specific conditions, particularly in this country, are somewhat different today, since the *workers* in particular here have not “shoved in” (attempted a revolutionary uprising) even once yet—and the reformist today insists that the workers will not and must not do so for the first time—but the basic

lessons, and especially the reasons why such reformists see revolution as a vague hope, are essentially the same.

Again, it is not necessary to examine here in detail the depth of contemporary economic and political contradictions and the motion this is propelling, in this country as well as internationally. But it is important to re-emphasize that the imperialists have no way to deal with this except through world war and that, with whatever strengthening the ruling class may enjoy at the start of a world war—if it is not prevented by revolution, a possibility we should not at all rule out but should actively work for—nevertheless in such a war “quick and easy” victory is extremely unlikely and there will be experienced by the masses—including in this country—the almost unanticipated changes (including the real horrors) that such a war must inevitably entail. But beyond that, as Lenin also stressed, wars do “ruthlessly reveal, unmask and destroy much that is corrupt, outworn and dead in human institutions” (“Collapse...”) and do, especially where decisive victory is not forthcoming, stretch the ruling classes to the limit, make them more vulnerable and arouse in the formerly slumbering masses a burning desire for a way out. (In this connection, it is very instructive to read over a short article written in 1918 by Lenin, “Prophetic Words,” dealing with a prediction by Engels in 1887 concerning a future world war and its consequences, particularly in weakening the ruling classes and heightening the prospects for proletarian revolution.) The point of all this is not that revolution could not possibly occur here, or in other countries (especially imperialist countries), except in the conditions of world war—and certainly not that work to heighten developments toward and prepare for revolution should somehow wait for world war—but to emphasize yet again the historic circumstances that are shaping up, as a result of the “working out” of the present major spiral, after so long a period of non-revolutionary situations in the imperialist countries, and the urgent necessity of “coming from behind” to catch up to the development of the objective situation.

It is perhaps necessary here, however, to contrast what is being said with the Trotskyite perversion on the question of historic conjuncture, particularly in regard to the political implications of

this. Elsewhere, especially in *America in Decline*, aspects of the Trotskyite distortions of this in the realm of political economy will be analyzed. In particular, the Trotskyites (or many of them) adopt precisely the line that all that is essentially necessary is to “perfect”—through sterile debate divorced from real revolutionary work among the advanced workers and broader masses—the correct program (“transitional demands”) with which the Trotskyites can “intervene” at just the right moment, when everything has ripened, and—again mainly through sterile debate—“convince” the workers, well-seasoned and cooked by the development of the objective conditions, to roll over onto the Trotskyite plate. (Trotsky’s own relation to Lenin’s line and the Bolsheviks is an excellent model of all this—opposing them all along and then, just before October 1917, “intervening” into the Bolsheviks, declaring that events had finally “caught up” to Trotsky’s ideas, which were still as wrong as ever, as further events proved!)

But, on the other hand, and keeping in mind all that has been stressed above, these and similar Trotskyite distortions must not prevent us from grasping the crucial importance of the *Leninist* emphasis on historic conjunctures and specifically the application of this in the world situation today. (And in general some muck from the past, from the experience of the international communist movement, must be cleared away: the epithet “Trotskyite” cannot be allowed to scare people away from breaking with the considerable revisionist influences that infected the international communist movement even before revisionism seized power in the Soviet Union, nor deter them from penetratingly and critically summing up the experience of the international communist movement. Let us be clear: the deeper such summation goes, the *more* clear it becomes that Trotsky and Trotskyite theories and actions were and remain counter-revolutionary and in fundamental unity with revisionism; but, on the other hand, the accusation of “Trotskyism” has not infrequently been used to beat down questioning of and struggle against revisionist tendencies and influences that were taking root in the international communist movement, and generally such a method has had a significant effect in dampening and paralyzing the critical Marxist spirit within this movement. No thoroughgoing struggle against revi-

sionism, no striking at its roots, is possible without repudiating and breaking with this kind of approach and refusing to be exorcised by reference to “Trotskyite” or any other kind of demon. Genuine Marxism-Leninism can certainly be distinguished from and defeat Trotskyism, revisionism and other forms of opportunism, and this will be all the more true the more boldly and profoundly the experience of the international communist movement, and the growth of revisionist tendencies within it, is subjected to scientific, critical Marxist analysis and the more thoroughly—and “irreverently”—struggle is waged to carry this out. This general question will be returned to more fully later.)

In light of all this, it is important to examine some more a few points connected with the “weak link” formulation as put forward by Stalin in *The Foundations of Leninism* (which was spoken to in the Report from the last Plenary Meeting of the CC). As stated in that Report, the correct aspect of Stalin’s formulation—and the thrust of his argument—is in its opposition to the Menshevik and Trotskyite (and other) upholders of the “theory of productive forces” and in particular their argument that socialism is not possible in one country, especially a relatively backward one like Russia. That is why Stalin sums up the specific point on the “weakest link” by saying: “Briefly, the chain of the imperialist front must, as a rule, break where the links are weaker and, at all events, not necessarily where capitalism is more developed...” (*FOL*, “III. Theory”). This, and in particular the latter part (“not necessarily,” etc.) is correct and important and has been borne out by further developments since that time. But there is in Stalin’s treatment of this question the unmistakable tendency to speak as though Russia were the *only* place where proletarian revolution *could* have occurred at that time (specifically in connection with World War I)—and in fact Stalin says as much earlier, in a somewhat self-contradictory statement: “Russia, *more than any other country*, was pregnant with revolution, and she *alone*, therefore, was in a position to solve those contradictions in a revolutionary way.” (*FOL*, “I. The Historical Roots of Leninism”—emphasis added to underscore the self-contradiction... between the first assessment, which is true, and the second, which tends to absolutism and metaphysics.)

There were real objective, material factors that contributed significantly to the fact that proletarian revolution was then more likely (or more possible) in Russia than elsewhere. But it was not inevitable—nor certainly a predetermined fact (which one might almost draw from Stalin’s treatment of this)—that Russia would be the *only* country where proletarian revolution could succeed. This is linked with the way that Stalin deals with pre-imperialist capitalism as a “pre-revolutionary” period, while on the other hand he says that imperialism “carries the contradictions of capitalism to their last bounds, to the extreme limit, *beyond which*

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REPORT FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE

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revolution begins." (See FOL, Part I, emphasis added.) This, again, tends toward a metaphysical-absolutist approach, despite the fact that it is true that imperialism does intensify the contradictions of capitalism—especially on a world scale—and does impel things further toward proletarian revolution—again, on a world scale.

This weakness shows up in how Stalin presents the "weak link" analysis overall. He starts by saying that the question of the "prerequisites for the proletarian revolution" must no longer be approached simply on a country-by-country basis, but from the point of view of the world economy as a whole and that "Now we must speak of the existence of the objective conditions for the revolution in the entire system of world imperialist economy as an integral whole." (FOL, part III) But somewhat ironically, this leads him to the conclusion that although now "we must speak of the world proletarian revolution," yet "the proletarian revolution must be regarded primarily as the result of the development of the contradictions within the world system of imperialism, as the result of the breaking of the chain of the world imperialist front in one country or another." (*Ibid.*, emphasis added) This begins to verge on saying not only that socialism is possible in one country but that moreover socialist revolution is *only* possible in one country at any given time or point in history. (It is actually an exaggeration to say that this is Stalin's summation, but the tendency is there, I believe, and a much more developed version of errors of this kind will show up later in Stalin—which will be addressed later.) From the fact that other proletarian revolutions did not develop, or were defeated, during the same period in which the proletarian revolution succeeded in Russia, it seems that the conclusion is beginning to be drawn that they could not have developed or succeeded, because Russia alone represented the "weak link" of the world imperialist system. Besides the specific points (three of them) made in the Report from the last Central Committee Plenary on this question, the important thing to grasp in relation to this problem is that the development of the historic conjunctures being spoken of here do indeed represent the extreme concentration of the contradictions of imperialism—and in particular of the contradictions characterizing the present major spiral—on a world scale, and that greatly heightened revolutionary possibilities will develop in a number of countries, both the imperialist and the colonial type.

Of course, if such revolutionary opportunities are not seized on, or revolutions are defeated where the attempt is made to seize on them, this does not eliminate the profound truth that capitalism, in its highest and final stage, is heading, by the motion of the contradictions characterizing it—most fundamentally, the contradiction between socialized production and private appropriation—towards its own ultimate extinction and replacement by world communism. Nor does it change the fact that these contradictions will lead to revolution in various countries, including at times other than the (world-scale) historic conjunctures we are speaking of. In fact, revolutions have played a key part in the "working out" of the major spirals. But precisely seizing the opportunities to make revolution, and in particular the greatly heightened opportunities that arise at

such critical junctures in history—in the development of the world contradictions of imperialism—greatly accelerates this whole process. It is for these reasons that the resolution of these historic conjunctures is indeed felt for decades to come—on a world scale...

Some Particular Lessons from the International Movement and Their Meaning for Revolutionary Work in the U.S. Today.

Could it really happen, as the talk "Coming From Behind to Make Revolution" says, that the masses in the U.S., particularly the masses of workers, could go from being very backward politically to becoming radical, revolutionary-minded in a relatively short and concentrated period and perhaps even rise up in a revolutionary struggle to seize power? Yes—and not only are the reasons why this is possible (spoken to in that talk) real and important, but in understanding this more deeply it is useful to return again to Lenin's meaning when he contrasts the "normal" attitude of the masses (their attitude in "normal times") with their rather sudden emergence onto the political scene and their taking of "independent historical action" in the conditions of acute crisis.

Why, as Lenin puts it, do the masses "uncomplainingly allow themselves to be robbed" in normal times? Because they are "satisfied," because they actually have no complaints against the way society is run and the class that rules it? No, not even in the U.S. over the past several decades when there has been (as we know well) extensive bourgeoisification among significant sections of the workers, has it been the case that the masses of workers are "happy with their lot." Among other things, the degree of alcoholism, drugs, divorce, suicide and many other such phenomena over this entire period—though increasing and intensifying as the spiral has headed downward—testify that this has not been the case (and here, again, it is very important to keep in mind the distinction that was drawn in the talk between the labor aristocracy and its outlook and the situation and sentiments of the masses of workers). The masses put up with the system—and, it must be added, relatively and never absolutely so, for there is always discontentment, and struggle, in various forms and on various levels, and as we have seen there are sometimes even tremendous upsurges involving sections of the masses even in non-revolutionary situations—in "normal times" they put up with the system in a basic sense precisely because the possibility of overthrowing it does not yet exist. Again, on the surface this might seem like a tautology, or else an erroneous (idealist) notion that the masses (more or less always) want to overthrow the system—maybe even understand the necessity for this—but just are not able to do so in "normal times." But what is being said, and stressed, here is something in line with the general statement made by Marx and Engels that history (historical development) only really poses problems when the basis for their solution is also at hand. This is true in a broad, sweeping historical sense, and it is also true in more limited periods of history (for example, within a major war-to-war spiral under imperialism). In other words, the desire among the masses—speaking of the masses in their majority—to radically rise up against, even overthrow, the system develops only together with the development and intensification of its crisis... and of the

immediate (not general, long-term historical) necessity—and possibility—of rising up and overthrowing it.

It is in this light that we must understand Lenin's repeated emphasis on the importance of sudden and dramatic changes in the objective situation—crises of one kind or another—and sudden changes in the mood and sentiments of the masses. And in particular this enables us to grasp more deeply what Lenin was stressing when he spoke of how, in contrast to (even long years of) "normal times," the masses in "turbulent times, are drawn both by all the circumstances of the crisis and by the 'upper classes' themselves into independent historical action." ("The Collapse...", Vol. 21, p. 214)

In another article, summing up the same basic lesson from the 1905 Revolution in Russia, Lenin speaks of how millions "were suddenly awakened from their long sleep and at once confronted with extremely important problems." ("Certain Features of the Historical Development of Marxism," December, 1910) In fact, he even speaks of "strata of the population who for generations and centuries had stood aloof from, and been strangers to, political issues." (*Ibid.*)

Here it might be objected that Lenin was dealing with a country that had been marked by "generations and centuries" of feudalism and monarchal absolutism. And further, it might be argued that, even if Stalin did manifest certain mechanical tendencies in his treatment of the "weak link," still there were real reasons—rooted in the nature of Russian society under the Tsar and its position in imperialist international relations—why the conditions for proletarian revolution became favorable in Russia in World War 1, while this did not happen—or was not so true—in other countries. (It might even be argued that, after all, Russia was backward, the exploitation of the workers, and peasants, was very severe, the people lacked democratic rights, etc... and this is why, in contrast to a country like the U.S. over the past period, and still today, in Russia of 1917, the conditions for proletarian revolution could ripen, while there is no real possibility that this will happen in a country like the U.S., even in the situation of world war.)

There is, undeniably, an aspect of truth to some of this, but it misses the essential point, and is therefore principally and essentially a wrong—and very harmful—view. The reason why revolutionary situations developed in Russia (and also Hungary)—and for that matter in Germany—in connection with World War 1, and did not develop in, say, France, Britain, nor certainly the U.S., had less to do with the specific nature of the reactionary regime or the specific forms of exploitation and oppression of the masses than it had to do with, in general, the concentration of the kind of historic conjuncture we have spoken of, and more specifically with the fact that the ruling class in the former countries suffered severe setbacks (or even were thoroughly defeated) in the war, while in the latter the opposite was the case (or at least they were finally victors in the war). While we must guard against mechanical tendencies in this regard, too, and certainly we should not attempt to formulate any kind of absolute law—revolution may be possible in the "losing countries" but will not be among the "winning ones"—it is crucial to grasp the point being focused on and emphasized here: the concentra-

tion of the world contradictions of the imperialist system and the explosions, of various kinds, that arise from this do, as Stalin correctly said in *The Foundations of Leninism*, gather "all these contradictions into a single knot" and throw them "on to the scales, thereby accelerating and facilitating the revolutionary battles of the proletariat" (part I); and in particular that communists must prepare actively for and seize to the maximum the sudden changes that erupt, including especially any reversals and losses suffered by the ruling class in war, so as to lead the masses, who certainly in the U.S. (as well as other countries) will be "suddenly awakened from their long sleep and at once confronted with extremely important problems," lead them toward the goal of revolution and enable them to come to the revolutionary position and in making the all-out assault on the fortress of capitalism if (and ultimately when) the revolutionary situation develops and fully ripens.

As has been stressed before, and needs stressing again, the development toward and then the full ripening of the revolutionary situation—at whatever point it develops—is not and cannot be a "straight line" process. Nor will the revolution itself—the struggle for power—be a "textbook" event in which (as Lenin sarcastically commented) one army lines up representing the proletariat and its allies and declares itself for socialism while another made up of only open representatives of the bourgeoisie lines up on the other side and declares itself in favor of imperialism. As Lenin wrote in April of 1917 "we have always known and have repeatedly pointed out that the bourgeoisie maintains itself *not* only by force but also by virtue of the lack of class consciousness, the clinging to old habits, the brow beaten state and lack of organization of the masses." ("Letters on Tactics") And, while in the swirl and intensity, and the concentration ("telescoping"), of things that goes on leading up to and then with the maturing of a revolutionary situation, the masses learn a great deal and begin to cast off much of their "brow-beaten state" and "old habits," still this too does not happen in a straight line or all at once. And certainly among the middle strata of society, the tendency to seek "their own way" out of the situation, and to vacillate between the revolutionary and reactionary armies, will be quite pronounced. More generally, as Lenin also pointed out, the actual revolutionary situation, together with the actual struggle, of all various kinds, that accompanies such a situation, always turns out differently in some important aspects than was anticipated by the revolutionaries (the Marxists), even when and even though the general line of these revolutionaries has been correct. Whether or not the vanguard is able to seize on the development of this situation and tack and maneuver to win over the broadest masses so as to be able to lead a successful uprising and civil war, has everything to do with how well it is able to remain firm in its general line—its basic principles and objectives—and on that basis deal flexibly with repeated sudden turns and new particular circumstances.

And, in turn, this has everything to do with how well it has prepared itself and especially the advanced workers for this, theoretically but especially practically, over the whole period before a revolutionary situation develops. This is an additional aspect of importance of the point made by Lenin that minor crisis and outbreaks, minor episodes of sudden turns and changes in the situation and sentiments of the masses—or sections of the masses—represent in embryo what a fully developed revolutionary crisis throughout society will be. Acting in accordance with this understanding, and training the masses, above all the advanced workers, as well as our own ranks in this way, is another important part of "accumulating revolutionary strength" (as our Chinese comrades put it in the "General Line" polemic) in preparation for the outbreak of a revolutionary crisis and revolutionary struggle—for really, fully revolutionary days.

Continued next week.

RIOTS IN CHINA!

Last January, Deng Xiaoping stated for the consumption of some foreign visitors and the press, "China's political situation is the most stable since the 1960s." But behind the scenes, according to a just-released story in Japan, Deng was telling a Central Committee meeting of the need for stern measures to deal with spreading trouble and said "provincial governments that face grave social and political unrest are allowed to place their areas under martial law and mobilize the armed forces to restore law and order."

The revealing statements were made on a stage set by the rot of capitalism in China and by the stand of Chinese revolutionaries. Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao were making revolutionary havoc in the Peking courtroom, reports about people "using the methods of the Cultural Revolution to engage in incitement and trouble-making" were surfacing, and rumors were flying that Hua Guofeng had resigned under pressure or even been arrested. In a meeting with a Japanese trade representative earlier this month, Deng again described the situation in China as "very stable." But this time, Deng had to openly admit that pamphlets attacking him are being circulated in China and that some university students have formed secret organizations. Although Deng tried to dismiss the pamphlets as a sign of desperation among a handful of people and claimed that over 90% of the students were still studying hard, the very fact that he had to come out and acknowledge such bold opposition is a sign that the political situation in China is far from being "very stable."

Reports are trickling out that something heavy went down last November in the western province of Xinjiang, a strategically sensitive area because of its long border with the Soviet Union. According to *Hong Kong Times*, 70,000 youth staged a demonstration and sit-in at the town of Asku. These are educated youth from the cities, a great majority from Shanghai, who heeded the call during the Cultural Revolution to go down to the countryside to serve the cause of socialism. With the restoration of capitalism in China, many of these youth have become demoralized and want to return to the cities for better wages and an easier life. Many have traveled on their own back to Shanghai, only to be forced back to Xinjiang. Among them there are undoubtedly also firm revolutionaries who continue to expose the true nature of the present regime. The last thing the revisionist rulers want right now is a large influx of such rebellious youth into the cities where unemployment is estimated at 12 to 29 million and rising at an alarming rate. Politburo member Wang Zhan flew into Xinjiang from Peking to order suppression of the disturbances. *Newsweek* reports that the army killed scores of protesters and that a government circular sent to senior cadres said such shootings were "warnings of severity of the measures we must take."

In Shanghai itself, thousands of youth have staged demonstrations in the past few months demanding work. In a feeble effort to cool down such opposition from the youth in particular, the revisionists have revived the campaign to "learn from Lei Feng." Lei Feng, a People's Liberation Army soldier who died on duty, was hailed as a model for China's youth during the Cultural Revolution. Learning from Lei Feng meant learning from his selfless dedication to socialism and his study of Mao Tsetung Thought. The revisionists' motive in bringing back this model soldier is to preach mindless obedience and sacrifice for the cause of capitalism in China.

There are also sketchy reports of rioting in Sichuan. This is quite a blow to the revisionists for it is the province

formerly headed by Zhao Ziyang, who replaced Hua as Premier last September. Supposedly, Zhao had raised this province from backwardness to a national model of economic development through such "innovative" measures as granting individual enterprises the right to self-management to maximize profits and squeeze the most out of the workers. Zhao was expected to use his experience in creating this "economic miracle" in Sichuan to revitalize the sagging Chinese economy.

But far from being an "economic miracle," China is showing all the typical features of an underdeveloped capitalist economy dominated by imperialism. The unofficial inflation rate is around 20%, which wipes out any wage raises and raises in prices of farm products that the revisionists handed down to the workers and peasants with such fanfare only a few months ago. New plans call for slashing the government budget by 20% and capital construction by 40%, which means adding more numbers to the bulging unemployment figures. According to the March 16 *People's Daily*, "In a period of readjustment, in order to concentrate our financial resources appropriately, there will be no further changes in the buying price of agricultural side products and workers' wages. . . . In winding down capital construction and closing certain factories, there will be temporary problems for some workers." This "temporary problem" is a euphemism for layoffs. This is no doubt part of the necessary "stabilization program" to reduce inflation demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) for the recent approval of a huge \$550 million loan, as the U.S. bloc imperialists sink their claws deeper into China.

Then to add the icing onto the revisionists' falling cake, according to the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, "Even the highly-skilled and well-paid workers who were assigned to build the badly planned Baoshan Steel Plant near Shanghai are said to have rioted when they were told that most of the project is being cancelled." Baoshan—despite the imperialists' hypocritical words about "bad planning"—was to be a model of developing China's economy with imperialist participation—and planning. It was to be a jewel in the revisionists' crown, a testament to the economic wisdom of Deng's comprador bourgeois philosophy. Chinese workers were not to be "uppity" at Baoshan and were to buckle down and follow the imperialists' wise plans and get their big fat material rewards for servility and capitalist productivity. Fittingly, Baoshan has been a farce. Its technology was designed for use in Japan, which has few natural resources and imports high grade iron ore and coal. China has plenty of iron ore and coal, but not of high enough grade to be used with this particular technology. So they had to contract to import this stuff all the way from Australia and Brazil. To top off this ridiculous mess, Shanghai's port was not big enough to accommodate the large freight ships, so the ore and coal had to be first sent to Japan and then reloaded onto smaller ships. Recently, the Chinese finally announced the cancellation of this \$5 billion boondoggle. The Japanese contractors who lost out still have not pressed too hard for repayment. Undoubtedly the screws are being turned in other ways, but demanding immediate repayment of losses incurred by the cancellation of Baoshan would seriously escalate China's economic problems and lead to "severe social and political consequences"—increased turmoil at all levels of society. This would not do for a key element in the Western alliance, so Japan has decided to pursue its imperialist interests in more far-seeing ways.

The Chinese revisionists, too, realize that increasing social and political unrest is threatening their own rule, and they are taking steps to try to reinforce their dictatorship. First off, they have meted out death sentences to revolutionaries, particularly Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. Also, last month, the *Beijing Daily* revealed that a special police force had been operating since last year in Peking, ostensibly to deal with increasing numbers of "criminal and terrorist activities." The paper did not mention if such a special force, drawn from the armed forces, regular police and mass organizations, had been set up in other parts of the country, but it would not be at all surprising if they had been.

Furthermore, a recent issue of the Chinese journal *Democracy and the Legal System* carried an article suggesting further changes in the Chinese constitution. One of the proposals put forward is the resurrection of the post of State Chairman, a post last held by Deng's revisionist mentor, Liu Shaoqi, and abolished when Liu was overthrown during the Cultural Revolution. According to the article, the State Chairman should have real and broad powers, including leading the army and having the authority to declare a nationwide emergency in times of upheaval or war. In addition, the article proposed the drafting of concrete laws to prohibit the publishing of any material that could incite the people to "destroy public order." The article also calls for restricting people's freedom and rights.

How do the revisionists reconcile these repressive measures with their high-sounding claims of "restoring democracy" after the 10-year "calamity" of the Cultural Revolution? What passes for a theoretical argument among the Chinese revisionists appears in the front-page editorial of the February 8 *People's Daily*: "The actual world fully verifies that there is no such thing as democracy and freedom without restriction on this earth. There can never be absolute individual freedom. We only need to look through the relevant laws in each of the big capitalist countries to see that there are

various limits and confines." In an effort to cover their own ass, the Chinese revisionists have let out some of the truth about bourgeois dictatorship, whether of the primitive variety in China now or the more refined variety in the U.S. and other Western imperialist countries. It is democracy only for the rulers; if the slaves dare overstep the boundaries, down comes the iron fist of bourgeois dictatorship.

But, the *People's Daily* editorial warns, "There are a handful of persons who advocate the way of great contending, great blooming (of views), great debates, and big character posters (the four freedoms put into the Constitution at Mao's insistence during the Cultural Revolution and recently outlawed by the revisionists—RW), and 'kicking away the party committee to make revolution,' making petitions, contacting others for concerted actions to realize their aims, issuing declarations and even going on strike for 'democracy and freedom.'" The editorial goes on to label such acts "anarchism, which is what Chiang Ching meant when she talked of 'defying human and natural laws.'"

Such "anarchism" is bound to increase as contradictions within China get sharper amidst growing intensification of contradictions internationally. Faced with this situation, the revisionist rulers are getting ready for the worst and whipping their armies into shape. An editorial in the *Liberation Daily* (newspaper of the People's Liberation Army) earlier this month hammered home the point that "the party's decisions must be obeyed without conditions and absolutely carried out. It is forbidden to follow individual wishes and speak out without limits or do what one pleases." Showing further that the revisionist leaders have some doubts about where the guns will be pointed at a time of great upheaval, a well-publicized ceremony was carried out earlier this month in which several hundred soldiers of the Peking military region stood in formation and raised their right hands in a boy scout pledge, promising to "protect the party and government leaders." Worried, huh, fellows? □



Demonstration in China—placard in the foreground reads, "To wait is a deadend—struggle will turn into victory."

POLAND

Continued from page 7

leaping out of helicopters, etc.

Meanwhile Polish Prime Minister Jaruzelski attended the exercises and met with Soviet Marshal Viktor Kulikov, commander-in-chief of the Warsaw Pact forces, and with the Defense Ministers of East Germany and Czechoslovakia. News commentators threatened "We are crossing the last frontier. We still have 36 hours to think over that last step, which this time the fate of every country really depends on." Warsaw Pact commanders also busily inspected Polish troops at a number of locations around the country "to study staff communications" and, according to the Soviet armed forces newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda*, to "share experiences of political work during the exercises and determine routine measures on the internationalist education of soldiers"—an obvious code phrase for efforts to determine the reliability of Polish units should the government decide to move against striking workers. These maneuvers have clearly been coordinated for maximum political effect and as a visible bludgeon to beat down any thoughts of resistance. On the very morning that Solidarity resumed negotiations with the government in Bydgoszcz, Warsaw Pact forces led by Soviet troops staged a highly publicized amphibious landing operation involving motorized tank divisions on the Baltic Coast. Columns of armed Soviet vehicles have also been seen along the main highway just east of Warsaw.

As the crisis developed, some rather revealing light was shed on the role of Lech Walesa in assisting the government to restrain the struggle of those he has frequently taken to calling "hot-headed idiots"—i.e. the most militant Polish workers—from getting out of hand. In the context of the government's attack, Walesa's speech the day after the incident to a huge rally in Bydgoszcz was really quite shameless. In his typical style he, on the one hand, declared: "Nobody has the right to beat anyone up. These bandits must relinquish their posts... Someone's claws are getting too long, but we'll trim them." At the same time, he said: "You must realize that the situation is very precarious both internally and externally... You must realize that a general strike would be the end of our struggle... What happened was an attack on the union, and we shall respond resolutely, but calmly... Not all the authorities are pigs. We wish to trust some of them." This was capped with a dire warning that a confrontation could spark a conflict so disastrous that "not all the lampposts in Poland could hold the number of people who would be hanged." Following this slavish display, Walesa also moved to prevent nationwide walkouts the following Monday by resorting to what has become one of his standard ploys—threatening to resign his position as national leader of Solidarity and "go back to the factory."

Clearly Walesa—with his demonstrated charisma and the ability to talk tough and posture militantly while at the same time preaching moderation and restraint—has proven to be a valuable asset to Poland's rulers, especially considering his prestige as a symbol of the struggle of the workers. Indeed, the behavior of this labor leader, who by his own account climbed the fence of a Gdansk shipyard and delivered a stiff left cross to the jaw of a manager to kick off the upheavals last summer, has increasingly revealed that he is an important lever in enabling the Polish rulers to retain what little control they have in a difficult situation. In a recent interview with noted journalist Oriana Fallaci, Walesa bragged: "... this movement needs a guy like me. A guy who can make decisions with good sense and solve problems in a cautious, moderate way... I mean, the rage that people would like to burst like a bomb must be controlled. And I know how to control it... When a man accumulates the anger I have accumulated

for so many years, he learns to manage it all right. Which explains why I control so well the crowds and the strikes. Ha! One has to be very angry in order to know how to control the anger of the people. One has to have learned to live with it..." In this same interview, Walesa goes on to explain his philosophy that "Freedom is a food which must be carefully administered when people are too hungry for it" and concludes with a remarkably accurate description of his projected role in the struggle: "From now on, the situation will become more and more complicated, more and more difficult, and we are going to receive many blows. Yes, many blows. I must stay where I am: to struggle, to extinguish the unnecessary fires like a fireman, to transform the movement..."

However, the blaze that has been ignited by the incident in Bydgoszcz has so far proven difficult for even such an accomplished fireman as Walesa to extinguish. The crisis quickly brought to a head the deepening antagonism between Walesa and other Solidarity leaders who are feeling the scorching heat of the workers' anger and their demands that immediate and militant

action be taken. Four regional Solidarity branches issued statements declaring that the national leadership headed by Walesa was "too mild" and "too liberal" in the face of the unyielding stance being taken by the government. As the national commission of Solidarity convened a stormy "life and death" meeting in Bydgoszcz to decide on what action the union would take, delegates got into shouting matches—many demanding breaking off all talks with the government completely—and finally defied Walesa's pleas for moderation by voting to stage a general strike. When a counter-proposal by Walesa, calling for a four-hour warning strike first, appeared headed for defeat, Walesa threw up his hands and stalked out of the meeting, and once again threatened to resign. However, as the session continued the next day, Walesa returned apologetically and, thanks to his theatrical efforts, his compromise motion ended up passing.

For their part, the U.S. rulers have been comparatively quiet considering the volatility of the situation. For one thing, they cannot rail too loudly against potential Soviet intervention considering their own present

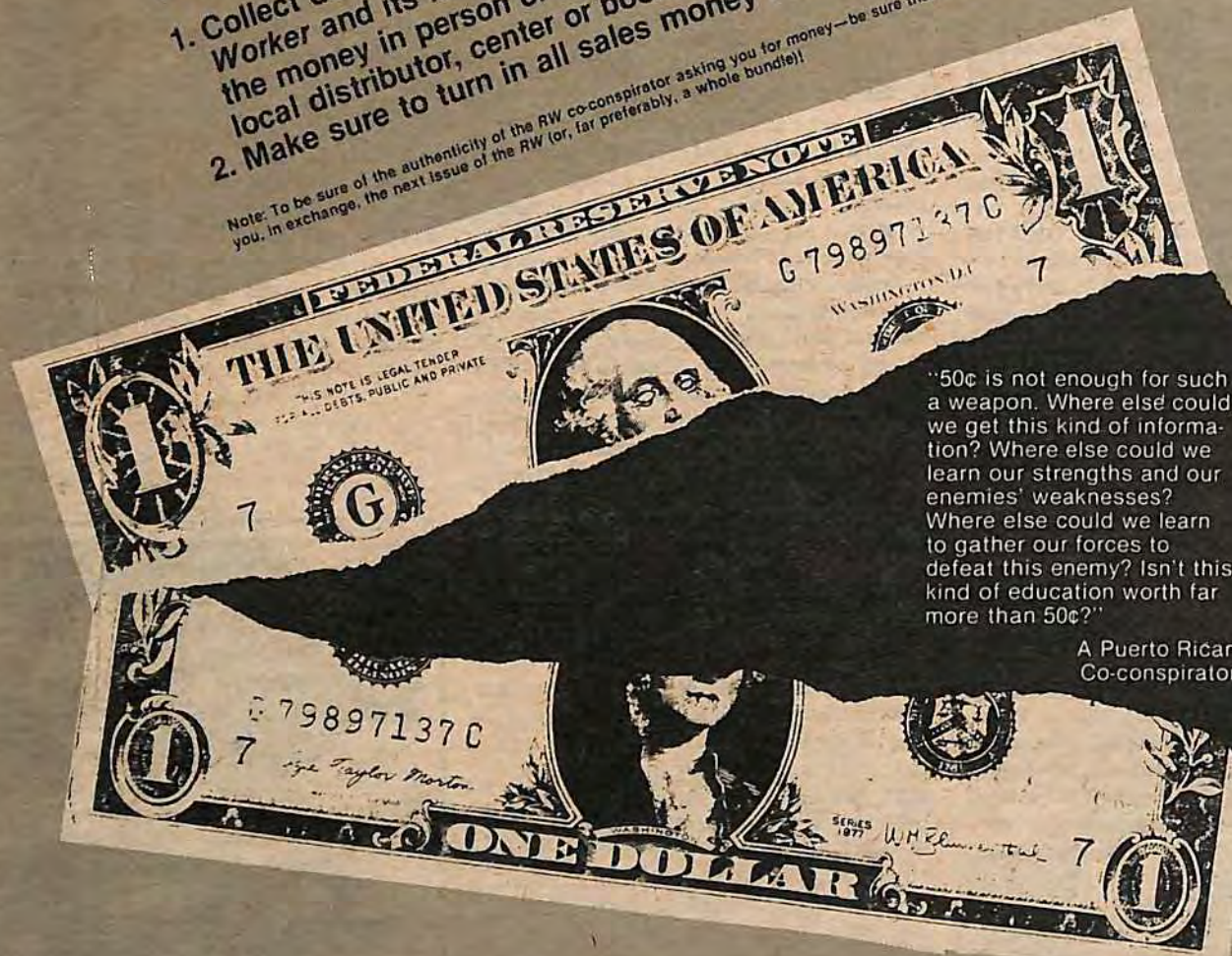
escalating aggression in El Salvador. For another, they have increasingly recognized that there is not much they can do to prevent a Soviet invasion of its own imperialist turf, that in light of the Polish workers' refusal to bow down, such a development is more or less inevitable, and that they must be prepared to maximize the political advantages that will come their way if such an invasion does take place. A recent *New York Times* editorial stated: "... No matter how adept the Poles on all sides may become at managing their endless confrontations, their room for maneuver remains treacherously narrow. Leaning one way or the other, they can easily lose their balance and trigger a Soviet occupation or a violent revolution, or both... Americans can do little more than remain psychologically prepared for abrupt changes in the status quo..." It is certainly true that abrupt changes in the status quo are in store for Poland. Whatever the outcome of the events there that are rapidly accelerating to the breaking point, it is bound to have far-reaching implications for the struggle in Poland as well as powerful reverberations which will be felt on an international scale. □

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U.S. Prepares to Aid Old Allies in Angola

As both superpowers scrambled to improve their positions in preparation for war, the White House sent a formal request to Congress last week to repeal the 1976 "Clark Amendment" which prohibited the sending of both overt and covert aid to pro-U.S. guerrillas battling Cuban troops for control of Angola. Not that the existence of the amendment has actually stopped the U.S. from continuing to pour money and arms into Angola; it is, as Secretary of State Alexander Haig told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "a question of principle."

The principle being, of course, that the U.S. intends to make a major bid to snatch Angola back from the Soviet Union, which has been the dominant power there since the U.S.-Soviet proxy war in Angola in 1975. (The U.S., however, has continued to exercise considerable economic power over the country since the oil industry, the major industry in Angola, is totally U.S.-owned.) As a *Washington Post* editorial put it, "in some quarters it is suspected that the administration intends to make Angola its African El Salvador, an anti-Communist demonstration project."

Following Haig to Capitol Hill the next day, General David C. Jones, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs, testified in favor of the repeal, saying that the existence of the amendment has given the Soviets and Cubans a "free ride" in

Angola. "It gave them a free ride in Angola and then in Ethiopia, and now they are encroaching on our part of the world," said Jones. (Our emphasis—*RW*) It is always touching to listen to one mad-dog plunderer whine and complain that a foul dog has been eating from his bowl. But there are two big lies contained here. First, U.S. imperialism has never given its imperialist rival in the Soviet Union one minute of free ride. The U.S. did everything it could given the existing freedom and necessity it had in 1975 to militarily defeat the Soviet-backed MPLA forces in Angola after the defeat and withdrawal of the Portuguese. Former CIA station chief in Angola John Stockwell spilled the beans in his book, *In Search of Enemies*, on the massive U.S. effort, complete with mercenaries and the invasion of Angola by 2,000 South African troops. The flying in of 20,000 Cuban troops by the Soviet Union turned the tide in their favor. Secondly, for the U.S. and the Soviet Union, there is no such thing as "our part of the world." Their system requires as much of it as they can get, and it can only be gotten by a forcible redivision of the world at the expense of their rivals.

The call for the repeal of the Clark Amendment was also meant as a signal to the apartheid regime in South Africa. Only faintly pretending opposition, the *Washington Post* again gleefully spelled



South African troops patrolling in southern Angola in the mid-'70s.

it out by calling the repeal an "administration effort to reopen the legal door to joining South Africa in offering military help to forces opposed to the Cuban-supported government in Angola. Meanwhile, South Africa is given time and room to seat the government of its choice in Namibia. The new American approach to terrorism has emboldened Pretoria to believe that anything it does by way of retaliation or pre-emption against the guerrillas and their sponsors is OK by Washington." As indeed it is. And on cue last week, South African bombers flew 200 miles inside Angola to attack what were supposedly bases of the Namibian guerrilla organization, SWAPO.

In addition to the repeal of the Clark Amendment, an outfit called the Free-

dom House Foundation announced that the chief U.S. agent in Angola, Jonas Savimbi of the UNITA organization, which the U.S. backed heavily in the Angolan war and has continued to support, would be coming to the U.S. as a guest of Freedom House. However, the visit is far from a private sightseeing tour, as Savimbi was in Morocco two weeks ago meeting with U.S. diplomatic representatives. During the election campaign last year, Reagan spoke in favor of open support for Savimbi, saying, "I don't see anything wrong with someone who wants to free themselves from the rule of an outside power, which is Cubans and East Germans." The U.S. presumably is an "inside power." □

Bani Sadr-IRP Square Off

Capitulators Feud Over Iran/Iraq War

The power struggle between the two main bourgeois factions in the Iranian government is continuing to sharpen. On March 5, when a rally of 100,000 at Tehran University organized by President Bani-Sadr's forces was disrupted by several hundred people from the Islamic Republic Party (IRP) with chants of "Death to Bani-Sadr," Bani-Sadr called on the crowd to drive the hecklers out. At least 45 people were injured in the fighting that took place. Immediately afterwards, the principal leaders of the IRP, including Supreme Court chief Ayatollah Beheshti, launched a big public attack on Bani-Sadr for "taking the law into his own hands" and called for putting him on trial.

As the atmosphere grew more heated, first the Interior Minister banned all demonstrations—a double-edged action aimed at Iran's revolutionary forces as well. Then Ayatollah Khomeini stepped in as he usually does when the infighting among reactionary forces in the government threatens to spiral out of control and lead to mass upheaval and the withdrawal of mass support for the government. Early last week, Khomeini appointed a three-man "reconciliation committee" to investigate the charges (i.e. to cool things out) and banned all public speeches by both factions until the end of the war with Iraq.

This new eruption of infighting comes, not coincidentally, just at a time when both factions in the government have been maneuvering, in public as well as behind closed doors, towards ending the war with Iraq. Since they can only envision fighting this war on conventional terms—rabidly opposing arming and mobilizing the masses of Iranian people—the war has reached a dead end for them. Six months of fighting has put great strains on Iranian society (just as the U.S. imperialists have intended by orchestrating the Iraqi invasion) and on the bourgeoisie's abili-

ty to rule. Both Bani-Sadr and the IRP are increasingly desperate to get out of the war with a face-saving formula to enable them to keep their support among the masses and emerge from it on top of their rivals.

This stepped up infighting in the Iranian government—and now their increasing obvious efforts to find a way out of the war (which requires coming to terms with the Western imperialists behind Iraq)—is a reflection of the deep political and economic crisis gripping the country and points to the shaky and basically untenable position the Islamic government is in. Due to its bourgeois class nature and the steady pressure being mounted by the contending imperialist powers, who are determined to grab hold of Iran for themselves, the only "way out" for the leaders of the Islamic government lies in coming to terms with one bloc of imperialist states or another.

Even as this imperialist pressure is being applied in carefully measured doses, the U.S. press has been careful to make it appear that the American government has adopted a "hands off" policy towards Iran now that it has its precious hostages back. (Appropriately, most of the former employees of the U.S. embassy in Tehran have been reassigned to other outposts of U.S. imperialism around the world, and several of the "macho" marine guards have found a new calling—recruiting cannonfodder for the military. And in spite of the government's claims that they are above taking "revenge" against Iran, it was reported last week that they have stripped the former Iranian embassy in Washington, D.C. bare, seizing everything from the furniture to the Persian rugs.) In reality, while the news from Iran is being treated as simply an "internal power struggle," the U.S. is up to its ears organizing counter-revolutionary activity inside Iran, in-

cluding fomenting and utilizing splits in the Islamic government to advance its interests; and from the outside, the U.S. is maintaining and even stepping up its pressure on Iran in order to create more turmoil in the country and to force the government (or sections of it) into further and more complete capitulation to the West.

The "Defense" Department has just announced a new program for pumping \$6-7 billion in sophisticated weapons systems into U.S. client states in the Middle East (such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Israel and Pakistan) over the next couple of years. Besides being directed at their Soviet rivals, this massive military buildup is aimed at surrounding and isolating Iran and generally suppressing revolutionary struggles in the region.

Still the main club with which the U.S. imperialists are hitting Iran at present is the Iraqi invasion. The reactionary regime of Saddam Hussein in Iraq (which is now obtaining most of its arms from U.S. Middle East puppet regimes and from Western imperialist powers such as France) continues to occupy one-third of Iran's oil producing province of Khuzestan. Though the fighting between Iraq and Iran has not been very intense for the past few months—mainly consisting of long-range artillery duels and occasional thrusts into each other's positions—this strategy has served U.S. interests well by doing further damage to Iran's already faltering economy (several weeks ago rationing on over 50 basic items was announced); and it has generally served to weaken and fracture the Islamic government and has led to greater turmoil among the masses. The U.S. aim in all this has of course been to fish in these troubled waters—utilizing the situation to force the government to come to terms with them, as well as to give pro-U.S. reactionaries a new op-

portunity to come out of the political sewers with their program of openly allying Iran with the Western imperialist powers and crushing the continuing anti-imperialist and revolutionary ferment among the masses.

In line with this strategy, last week Iraq openly announced its intention of supplying arms to reactionary elements among Iran's oppressed nationalities, such as the Kurds, Arabs, Baluchis and Azerbaijanis. Actually this is nothing new. Since the war's outbreak, Iraq has been supplying the bourgeois nationalist leaders of the Kurdish Democratic Party in Iran with money and arms, and the U.S. and Iraqis have been funneling supplies to counter-revolutionary and feudal forces among these nationalities and some of Iran's tribal groups since the Shah's overthrow two years ago.

The U.S. and Iraqis have been provided with greater openings to carry out such intrigues by the reactionary policies taken by the Islamic government towards the just struggles of Iran's oppressed nationalities, including their demands for autonomy and for seizing the feudal landholdings that still exist in these more backward areas. For the last two years, the government in Tehran has waged a murderous war against the Kurdish people and has brutally suppressed the Arab minority in Khuzestan under the iron fist of martial law for much of this time.

This increased arming of reactionary forces among the oppressed nationalities in Iran represents a stepping up of U.S. pressure, a warning to the Iranian government that it better accept a U.S.-dictated settlement of the war and generally move closer to the West. This was the same message conveyed by the attacks the Iraqis recently launched at several places along the front, in-

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Salvadoran Guerrilla

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how to use this new cannon they brought with them. I didn't have the opportunity to see exactly the calibre of the cannon, but it is the first time that they have brought it there.

RW: What's your opinion about the reporting that the *Revolutionary Worker* has done about El Salvador?

A: Well, I've had the opportunity to read the *Revolutionary Worker*, it's the voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA, and I looked at it specifically to check out the articles about the struggle we are waging. I think the information is very truthful. It tries to bring consciousness to the people—to the American people and the Latin people who live in this city, and I believe that if the paper continues with the truthful reporting which I've had the opportunity of seeing, the support we get will be much stronger than what we get now. Personally, I can say that the struggle you are waging is one of raising consciousness through an impartial newspaper—a newspaper that

gives itself the task of presenting the facts as they are, not serving the interests of a minority, as is the case with the majority of newspapers in my country. Not just the majority, but all of them are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Over there we have a newspaper called *La Crónica*. Today we are publishing it in the underground because the fascists wouldn't allow it. The editor had to be exiled from the country.

But as I was saying, I hope that the *RW* and its members continue with this line of reporting...

RW: I believe that the *RW* is not impartial, but rather stands with the oppressed masses. It has a firm position...

A: A firm objective... Just to make a clarification—what I meant by impartial is in comparison to the way news reports come to this country. They are controlled by a minority... You as a reporter for the newspaper have the opportunity to see the situation. You're not going to lie even though it's a newspaper that has its own aims and its objective. You see, I've had the opportunity to see newspapers from at least 4 different countries, and I'll tell you something, it's incredible. Because if everything was as they say, I think neither our organization nor the Front would exist, and the Salvadoran army would not have anybody to fight against since we wouldn't exist. In every battle we wage, in every operation we carry out, they say they killed 50 militants from the left... and that only

one soldier was wounded. So, as I was saying, if this were true, our organization would have died once and for all, so I can't explain who they are fighting against.

RW: What do you think about what the paper says about the forces in the leadership of the opposition—both more pro-U.S. and pro-Soviet revisionist forces—that are pushing to reach some kind of "negotiated settlement" with the U.S. and its puppet junta?

A: In a meeting for squad leaders, they told us what the central leadership wanted to do. I realized that it was something about going to another country—it appeared like somewhere in Europe, I don't know which country, which had offered to be a mediator—to negotiate between the bourgeois Napoleon Duarte who is the president of the junta and the leaders of our organization...

RW: Do you mean the FMLN?

A: No, the FDR. But we were just told that the proposal was received. Personally, I think that at this point what this would accomplish would be to hold back the struggle of the people. Personally, that to me is like trying to stop with one blow what they have not been able to do with arms. They want to dominate it through deception, because if our leaders sit down with them to talk, that simply would be discarding our movement, holding it back and serving the interests of others but not of the Salvadoran people. Precisely

because of this many of our leaders, as I told you before, are carrying out within our organization something of an investigation, about what people think and what they would support—if we would support a ceasefire or if we would rather continue fighting.

It's because we have continued to fight that our organization has triumphed and continued to win and has kept itself very strong. We have never sat at a table to think it over. Since we began our struggle and solidified our ideas, our idea has always been that we are either going to win or we are going to die, but we are not going to allow our brothers who died in the past to be forgotten, while we come along and settle for the way things have always been... We told them that we are not willing to negotiate and we are not going to negotiate. Our stand is clear (I'm referring to some comrades with whom we are closely linked in the movement, and have carried out some operations together). We and the masses under our leadership gave them a concrete response: that if they sit down with this man, we will simply keep the guns and be on opposite sides and begin to struggle to smash them too. That is one of the fundamental principles, because giving up what we have, giving up what I have, the gun with which I fight, the gun with which I defend myself and defend the people—turning it over to them (the junta—*RW*) would simply mean that they will continue to oppress me. □

U.S. Imperialists Tighten Noose

Continued from page 3

Congressman Clarence Long was running around Central America guaranteeing that all of the 54 officially acknowledged advisors (actually, estimates run in the hundreds) would be out of the country by September. But the following day, Pentagon officials made a point of emphasizing that there had been no decision to withdraw U.S. "advisors," and that more would be sent in as replacements "if they were needed." The new Pentagon statement was pointedly meant to "clarify"—as if there was every any doubt—that the U.S. remains firmly committed to "drawing the line" in El Salvador by any means necessary, including U.S. invasion. In fact, both direct military aid and economic aid to the junta is still escalating weekly with \$5 million more military aid being added this week alone. Directly U.S.-led counter-insurgency operations continue to be stepped up and intensified.

But the U.S. also had to make sure that this signal was not misunderstood by the "moderates" (including Ungo's, Social Democrats and large sections of the Christian Democrats) in the opposition who, it was feared, might not fully appreciate the subtle distinctions being made. More evidence of the U.S.' "reasonableness" toward these forces was required. The first was a statement by the State Department, assuring all that the "sensitive investigation" into the murder of 4 American Catholic missionaries by the junta's security forces was continuing. The premeditated murder of these nuns was an open attempt to threaten the large number of rank and file priests and nuns in El Salvador who have joined the opposition. It has been blatantly covered up by the junta and the FBI—a coverup that had been further fueled by Secretary of State Haig's public speculation the previous day that the nuns might have run a roadblock and been shot by "young soldiers" who didn't know any better. This new statement was meant to hold out the possibility of a sudden break in the case, including perhaps the identification of particular individuals, as potential inducements to the Salvadoran "moderates."

An even more obvious inducement was the release from the junta's custody of Colonel Arnoldo Adolfo Majano, a

U.S.-trained military officer and former junta member who is a long-time ally of bourgeois forces in the FDR. Majano was booted out of the junta last December, because he advocated negotiations with the FDR which the U.S. and its puppets would have no part of given the strong influence of the pro-Soviet Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) and other revisionist forces in the FDR. After Majano's ouster, he refused an assignment as military attaché to Spain and instead went underground, periodically issuing public statements to his followers in the army to revolt against the junta. A number of his former friends have been murdered for a lot less, and his recent arrest and the announcement that he would be court-martialed seemed to signal that Majano would soon be an addition to the list of deceased former U.S. puppets in El Salvador. But instead he was released, given a military escort to the airport, and flown out of the country—all obviously as per U.S. instructions. The Mexican press speculated that he was flown to Panama, possibly to the same island that once was the haven for the ex-Shah of Iran, while the *Baltimore Sun* wrote that its sources say he is in Houston. It is safe to say that we have not heard the last of Mr. Majano.

Clearly, U.S. imperialism is sensing the opportunity to pull off some kind of a deal that may breathe a little more life into its extremely isolated fascist junta, if only temporarily. But as all the pretzel-like contortions and conflicting statements from U.S. officials are showing, this is a high risk operation based on deep-seated and growing weakness for the U.S. in Central America—truly a necessary and desperate attempt to make the best of a worsening situation which is fundamentally out of their control. Even if it is successful, it will neither end the underlying economic and political crisis in the region, nor the turmoil and struggles of the masses that such crises produce. Furthermore, as they have throughout this crisis, the rival Soviet imperialists will continue to try to take advantage of the U.S.' weakness for their own reactionary aims, especially making use of the exposure of the U.S. that such conditions continuously produce to increase Soviet influence in various ways in the region, as well as generally trying to capitalize on the problems that the U.S.' blatant war moves in the area are creating for the U.S. in the superpowers' geopolitical jockeying in preparation for world war.

Of course, the Soviets already have a few problems of their own—e.g., Po-

land and Afghanistan, to name just two areas where the U.S., in much the same manner as the Soviets in Central America, is trying to take advantage of similar conditions for its own war preparations. But these difficulties, coupled with the certain knowledge that the U.S.' problems in Central America will not go away, are undoubtedly major factors in the Soviet Union's apparent decision to back off from a more direct face-off with the U.S. in the region at the present time. Not only has the U.S.' big propaganda claims of massive Soviet-bloc arms shipments to the guerrillas largely failed to materialize, but the Soviets recently took the opportunity of their 26th Party Congress to make sure that their front-men in Central America got the message. Hardly any mention of the region was made by Soviet officials, and the PCS didn't even have a visible delegation at the proceedings. When a Nicaraguan delegate, obviously shook up by the non-attention from the imperialist *patron* that many of his Sandinista colleagues have pinned their hopes on, made a speech calling for help against a threatened U.S. invasion, he was given the silent treatment.

None of this means that the Soviet Union is giving up, and just leaving Central America to the U.S.—far from it. In fact, it is preparing to make a grab for it in the future while attempting to increase its political influence in the area by mainly pursuing its "historic compromise" strategy that has been continuously applied in El Salvador throughout the heightened crisis. This means looking for footholds of political power that its followers can gain in alliance with more pro-U.S. bourgeois forces. For Nicaragua, where a U.S. lackey has already been overthrown, this counter-revolutionary strategy means offering "assurances" to the U.S. that the Sandinista government will allow U.S. influence and lackeys to flourish in the country. Recent developments on this score include appointing a pro-U.S. banker as ambassador to Washington, hiring a public relations firm to advertise for U.S. investment in the country and to "change its image" among U.S. financiers, and guaranteeing "pluralism"—meaning the continued existence of pro-U.S. bourgeois political parties and respect for the rights to exploit the Nicaraguan masses by the Western imperialists and Nicaraguan capitalists loyal to them.

In El Salvador the despicable results of this imperialist strategy can be seen in sharp relief. As the pro-Western forces in the FDR have shown that they are caving in under the intense U.S.

military and political pressure, the pro-Soviet PCS and other revisionist leaders in the FMLN are preparing a path that can only end up in sabotaging and crushing the struggle of the Salvadoran people. PCS Secretary-General Shafik Handal laid out the direction of things recently when he told an interviewer in Lebanon that the guerrillas were ready to lay down their weapons and negotiate with the junta on the condition that the U.S. military "advisors" leave the country, and "a minimum of freedom of expression for the popular forces be guaranteed." He didn't explain just what the "minimum" was to consist of, but everyone who is familiar with the U.S.' fascist junta is well aware that any *genuine* popular forces, if they are determined to remain so, will at most be given the freedom to say their names—before they are murdered in cold blood. Of course no *genuine* popular forces would go along with a plan like this, unless they were truly ignorant of the realities of class struggle.

On the part of the PCS, it is not ignorance but *revisionism* that is in operation here, and particularly the wishes of the Soviet Union that the "historic compromise" continues to be pursued under changing conditions. Representing an aspiring bourgeoisie, whose exclusion from the U.S.' neo-colonial plunder of El Salvador has led it to pursue the eventual goal of state capitalism tied to the Soviet Union's imperialist economy, the PCS has consistently opposed and worked to prevent any possible seizure of political power by the Salvadoran masses, for this would destroy its own dreams of exploiting those very same masses. In the present situation in El Salvador it has pinned those dreams on the temporary alliance with the pro-U.S. bourgeois forces in the FDR and used the armed struggle of the masses as a pressure tactic to try and force the U.S. into accepting PCS influence in a new government. The recent "general offensive"—which severely battered the junta due to the masses joining in the battle in one form or another—was never intended by the PCS or Ungo and his crowd to do anything more than increase their bargaining power with the U.S.—a poker chip for sought after backroom dealings. But of course this little fact hasn't prevented Handal from using the well-worn revisionist ploy of blaming the masses for his own counter-revolutionary actions. Thus, in order to explain his recent "offer," Handal told the interviewer that the FDR had committed errors in not

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DEATH BY PESTICIDE

On a sunny day at noon, children at play in the school yard, the boughs of the giant fir trees wave greetings from the wilderness. Suddenly the serenity is broken by the roar of a helicopter now rising above the treeline, spewing forth a rain of pellets. Frantic school officials run to herd the children inside the building to safety. The chopper moves over the trees above the steady rain of pellets. This is Ashford, Washington, gateway to wilderness recreation. The pellets turned out to be a harmless fertilizer, and not the poisonous pesticides the school officials instantly feared. The Weyerhaeuser Company had neglected, or "forgotten," or just plain didn't give a damn, to notify anyone of spraying activity that day.

"High yield forest" blurs a sign emblazoned with the Weyerhaeuser logo on highways just outside Ashford. The town, nestled on the edge of Mt. Rainier National Park, has a population of 400. It also has the highest infant mortality rate and incidence of spontaneous abortion of anywhere in the state: a fetal death rate of over 90%. Because it is in an isolated rural community, state officials continue to write these facts off as mere "chance."

In a 6-month period since March 1980, a group of 8 women had 9 miscarriages. In the same period, three other women had pregnancies which continued. One was a stillbirth, one was a deformed baby who died after 16 days; only one was a healthy baby. Cause for concern? For the people of Ashford, yes. But the combined efforts of the state, the county, the logging industry and the railroads have swept the causes for this phenomenon into the garbage can. After two "investigations" by the state Department of Social and Health Services that turned up nothing, their ho-hums are supposed to drown out the demands of the people of Ashford not only for answers, but for action.

"Who the hell would expect anything to be in the water six months after spraying?" asked one Ashford woman bitterly. But that is how long it took the state to take samples of the water in the town. A small group of Ashford residents, calling themselves the Succotash Alliance, have turned up the most overwhelming evidence of the real cause of these miscarriages—the spraying of herbicides by logging companies, the National Park and Forest Service, the Highway Department and railways. Among the herbicides used is the lethal 2,4-D, which when combined with another herbicide becomes the infamous Agent Orange. Agent Orange was a key part of the chemical warfare program waged by the U.S. against the Vietnamese people. Huge areas of Vietnam that were held by the National Liberation Front were saturated with Agent

Orange, destroying the crops and forests, and wreaking a ghastly legacy of disease and genetic mutations on all who lived in these areas.

While the Succotash Alliance has been linking up with a growing network throughout the Northwest to investigate and expose the use of pesticides and their effects on the environment and human life, the industries, after a 6-month voluntary ban on spraying to let things cool down, are now happily and blatantly resuming their poisonous spray operations. They have been exonerated by their servant state organizations and are back to the business of raising, managing and harvesting their "cost-price effective, high-yield" forests. After all, the generations of genetic damage that they leave in their wake are not their business.

Much of the energy of the Succotash Alliance has gone into the demand that people in the vicinity of the spraying operation be notified when and where the spraying would occur. A bill was even introduced in the state legislature requiring companies to notify residents

before spraying pesticides. The bill was promptly killed in committee. To the industries involved in the spraying, from the chemical industry and their testing labs (which produce most of the "evidence" proving herbicides like 2,4-D are "safe"), to the forest industry and their "Forest Service," to the railroads and state and county road departments, use of these toxins has become a way of life. Not only are these poisons "cost-effective," but to bow to public pressure would be to forsake their rights—their right to huge tracts of private property which they can use as they see fit, their right to get the maximum return on their investment in the shortest possible time.

"Well, at least babies are replaceable," said a doctor sent by the public relations office of the Weyerhaeuser Company to the meeting of the Succotash Alliance. She then went on to explain that the human race is "genetically weak," implying that the best course was to let toxins like 2,4-D kill off the "weak" to save the "strong."

As the spontaneous abortions in Ash-

ford continue, officials from the state are publicly promising the forest industry that they will find no link to the pesticides. The head of the state investigation into the Ashford miscarriages, Dr. Milham, interviewed on a local radio news program, recently bragged that an examination of one of the aborted fetuses would "probably turn up nothing." He went on to say that the problem in Ashford could be termed a "phenomenon of chance," like getting an inordinate amount of heads or tails when you flip a coin, say, 20 times. But the women who have had miscarriages know damn well that their fate is not being decided by the flip of a coin. It is decided by a toxic spray, brought to them by the makers of Agent Orange. And as these officials checked the water for bacteria and chlorine (one doctor even suggested that kitty litter was the culprit), they ignored the fact that 2,4-D can be absorbed through the skin and passed through the body with a "hit and run" effect, leaving no traces, in as little as 48 hours. They also ignored the fact that herbicides are the only common denominator running through all the cases of miscarriages.

It is in this atmosphere of official cover-up that resistance has grown up in scattered rural communities like Ashford. Last August in the town of Index, Washington, women and children sat down on the tracks of the Burlington Northern Railway when the railway scheduled spraying of the right-of-way alongside the tracks with 2,4-D. Their action forced the cancellation of spraying plans in the area. In towns in Oregon, Idaho and Montana groups have sprung up to resist the use of pesticides, and increasingly these groups are meeting together, exchanging information. Many of those involved in the movement are people who left the city to avoid the pollution and abrasiveness of life in American cities, often people with experience in the movements of the '60s. One Montana health official, commenting on a family who suffered a series of miscarriages similar to those in Ashford, unintentionally touched on the irony of this: "We found these people to be living a pristine life growing their own food and watching their eating habits. They came to live in that area to be away from the hazards of city life."

A final note is difficult to resist. The state of Washington, like other states, has its fair share of those supporters of humanity—the "pro-lifers"—who run through the state legislature, day in and day out, with the battle cry, "Abortion is murder!" Not surprisingly, the pesticide issue has escaped their reactionary agitation. With them in mind, one Ashford woman commented: "Wanton abortion? Come to Ashford." □

Mass, Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals of U.S. Imperialism

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is now calling on all proletarians in this country, together with all progressive individuals and organizations, to join with us now in forging the plans for a series of mass hearings on U.S. imperialism's war crimes against the peoples of the world. At present, there is a high-echelon effort under way to reverse earlier—and correct—verdicts on these crimes in order to commit still more (and more foul) acts. Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people, and there are many, many people in this country—foreign born, veterans, and many more oppressed who have rich testimony to offer.

- * Our Party proposes that a panel would be formed soon and begin travelling across the country, collecting evidence and testimony in mass meetings from proletarians and others on these war crimes—past and present. It would culminate after around a month's work and publish its findings.
- ** Representatives of U.S. imperialism would also be invited to attend and defend their views and actions. Former hostages, certainly, would be challenged to appear, since they missed their opportunity for such a trial when they were in Iran.
- *** Veterans, foreign born, all proletarians and progressive groups and individuals contact the RCP, USA locally or nationally and assist in making these plans and launching them into action soon.

El Salvador

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recognizing that the situation "had not matured sufficiently... We recognize that we exaggerated when we exhorted the population of El Salvador to organize an insurrection... The attempt failed, but worldwide the offensive was a success to the extent that we demonstrated that we are not a small group of terrorists, but rather an armed organization carrying a revolutionary war on which practically all the governments of the world have had to take a

position." He neglected to point out that the "position" that all the pro-U.S. governments of the world have had to take is exactly the U.S. imperialists' "political solution"—the same one that the bourgeois revisionist forces of the opposition are currently hurtling towards.

For the same basic revisionist reasons as the PCS the leaders of the other organizations in the FMLN, many of whom are exponents of the "Cuban line," appear to be going along with the same program. While the junta announced that all its forces would be on "ready alert" in anticipation of the one year anniversary of the assassination of Archbishop Romero, the FMLN leadership announced that it was calling a 24-hour (at least) "ceasefire" in honor

of the Archbishop's murder. Considering the fact that Romero was murdered by the junta's paramilitary forces for opposing its repression and telling the junta's soldiers to disobey orders—and that his murder occurred at the behest of the U.S. with the tacit approval of the Pope—it is exactly his murder that the FMLN is honoring by pledging to let his assassins off the hook. These leaders didn't say what they would do when the junta's forces opened fire and dropped napalm and other bombs on the guerrillas under their command, but they did tell the masses to "make a lot of noise" at 6 o'clock p.m. on the day of the ceasefire.

Regardless of the outcome of the current moves toward a "political solution" in El Salvador the revisionist

leaders in the country and their Soviet and Cuban mentors are exposing their truly and thoroughly rotten and counter-revolutionary nature—a nature fundamentally no different than that of the U.S. and its lackeys and would-be-lackeys. As for the U.S., such a "solution" if it comes to pass will be no solution at all. Their position in Central America will continue to worsen as they more and more desperately and viciously strive to gain control of a situation that is increasingly growing out of control for them. The more they lash out in Central America, the more they will stand exposed before the masses of the people worldwide. On the subject of solutions, let us put forward our own: the elimination of imperialism from the face of the earth. □

Letter From a Reader

Confucianism: A Familiar Ring

To the RW:

Over the past few months, we have been bombarded with an unprecedented wave of outrageous reactionary crap, especially in the realm of ideology. From the "Marie Osmond" law barring teenage women from having sex, to the spectacle of Black actor Ben Vereen on his knees before Reagan at the Coronation, to the attempt to replace the theory of evolution with the "theory" of divine creation in California science classes—it seems that nothing is too ridiculous or too disgusting for the bourgeoisie to promote. Much of this has been sharply exposed and linked to declining and war-bound imperialism in the pages of the RW, but I still felt somewhat unclear as to what exactly the rulers are up to, how exactly all this shit (which is repulsive and awakening many people) is of benefit to them, and how they are promoting it. One guy I was talking to about a display in a head shop window showing a semi-nude woman on a leash, with whip marks on her back, raised the question (somewhat sarcastically): "What's the connection between the tri-lateral commission and the owner of this head shop?"

After many discussions with comrades, and after reading the article about "Chinese Women Cut Ropes of Confucianism" (RW 93) I started to study some of the other writings of Chinese revolutionaries on Confucius. Sure enough, this shed much light on the bourgeoisie's current ideological offensive, and while I don't think this is some kind of formula that accounts for everything they do, there are some points I wanted to bring out.

As pointed out in the RW, Confucius was a reactionary thinker living around 700 B.C. At that time, the slave system in China was declining and ready for the grave. Massive revolts kept breaking out among the slaves, and not only that, lesser slaveowners and government officials were taking advantage of this to take possession of the land of the slaveowning king and establish feudal estates, where land was worked by freed slaves who paid rent to the landowners. Historically obsolete and wracked by revolt and discontent, only the slaveowners' control of the government enabled them to keep their system intact, and state power itself was severely threatened.

Confucius was from a slaveowning family, vigorously defended the slave

system, and hated the emerging feudal forces and the rebellious slaves. Expressing the views of the declining slaveowners, he moaned that "the past was better than the present" and complained that with the changing times, "the rites were lost and music ruined." (By the "rites," Confucius referred to the undisputed and unregulated authority of the slaveowners over the slaves, and the willingness of lower levels of slaveowners to respect the authority of the king.) Beyond that, he formulated a program and a philosophy which he hoped would save the slave system.

The heart of this was "Restrain yourself and restore the rites". By "restore the rites" he meant everyone must accept their lot in life and unquestioningly respect their "superiors"—even to the point of slaves being killed and buried with their masters when they died. He preached: "The sovereign must guide the minister; the father guides the son; and the husband guides the wife." While the main aspect of this was to convince the slaves to be submissive, he was also appealing to the more privileged forces who were rising against slavery—"Restrain yourself"—in other words, join with the biggest slaveowners to crush the slaves and preserve the old order—otherwise, who knows what will happen once "the rites are ruined." As for the slaves, since there was no logical or material reason why they should submit to their own enslavement, Confucius sought to demoralize them by saying that slave society was "The mandate of heaven." (Of course, like all reactionaries, Confucius did not confine himself to arguments by any means. One week after he was made prime minister of the State of Lu, he had a leading spokesman for the arising feudal forces executed, and left his body on public display for 3 days. He was also responsible for the execution of many slaves.)

The point here is not that Confucius invented this ideology—he only articulated it, fought for it and tried to popularize it. "Restrain oneself and restore the rites" was the natural and inevitable outlook of the dying slave system—and basically of every declining exploiting class. This is why much of Confucianism has a familiar ring to it—because the situation of the U.S. imperialists is in many ways comparable to that of the slaveowners. On-

ly 30 years ago they thought they were sitting on top of the world, masters of the world's largest empire, with hundreds of millions forced to submit to them. Then came the upsurge of the 60's—everywhere people rose up and challenged their authority, challenged the old ideas, the old culture, the old order. Truly (from the imperialists' standpoint) "the rites were lost and the music ruined." (This brings to mind a statement I'm told that Frank Sinatra recently made about rock music being noise created by cretins for morons, or something to that effect.) Blacks, women, youth, the oppressed nations around the world (even the other imperialists)—everyone was stepping out of line, it seems that no one knows "their place" anymore.

To a certain extent they had to accept this in the 60's—and to a certain extent they could afford to. But today, with their empire stretched thin, facing deeper crisis, revolution and world war, they desperately (and increasingly consciously) need to restore the old values, morals and social relations. To do this they are carefully utilizing key media events, such as the Imperial coronation, which was a clear call to bring back the old order—when presidents were exalted, when the rich flaunted their wealth as a sign of "superiority", and when Black people were loyal and comical servants (the fact that these "good old days" never actually existed except in ruling class mythology is beside the point—the important thing is there was a time when this type of stuff got over substantially more than today.) In the same light, look at their utterly shameless portrayal of women—on the one hand, their open promotion of 15-year-old Brooke Shields as "the sex symbol of the '80's"; on the other, there's Marie Osmond. Both add up to the modern equivalent of the Confucian practice of binding women's feet so they can't get far from home—both "models" call for blind devotion to serving and giving pleasure to men, and never having an independent thought in your life.

This type of ideological barrage is meant to and does unleash all kinds of other reactionary activity on the part of lesser agents of the bourgeoisie and more backward (and particularly more privileged) masses, including open terrorism like the Atlanta murders, escalating rapes and other attacks on women, etc. (And it is noteworthy that the news media is in-

creasingly justifying even these atrocities—women "want" to be raped—the Black youth in Atlanta were "street kids" who should have been home with their families, etc.) This serves to drive home to the oppressed that they are "better off" walking the straight and narrow path of what is acceptable to the bourgeoisie.

While all this is absolutely necessary and unavoidable for the bourgeoisie, it is as impossible as it is reactionary to accomplish. While they will undoubtedly get over with some, for literally tens of millions, breaking out of the stultifying and enslaving atmosphere of the 40's and 50's was extremely liberating, and the idea that anyone has a "place" ordained by God under someone else's boot—this has been pretty thoroughly defeated, and "going back" is the last thing on millions of people's minds. The more they rant, rave and attack, the more resistance and discontent they will kick off—this causes them to lash out, at even the mildest protest (check out the comment in the Atlanta story about the Boy Scout troop that was denied permission to have a simple memorial for the slain Black youth) and this can only intensify the inevitable explosion. Thus what Mao said about Confucius and his type is still true: "Retgression eventually produces the opposite of what its promoters intend. There is no exception to this rule, either in modern or in ancient times, in China or elsewhere." Let's step up our work, and make that "eventually" into "as soon as possible."

Dear Friends,

Being a waitress I'm forced to wait on cops. It sickens me to take care of them and I've often wondered what I could do. Many times I've considered spitting in their food, but it didn't seem like enough. Yesterday as I cleared away the pigs' mess, tossing the tip they left into my pocket I thought at least they're contributing to the support of the revolution. Then it hit me—they'd really be supporting the revolution if every tip left by a cop went to the RW. It's not much—besides being pigs they're cheap—but here's the first of many contributions.

A co-conspirator

Iran/Iraq

Continued from page 15

cluding bombing raids on key economic targets in Iran and hitting Ahvaz and Dezful with large Soviet-made surface-to-surface missiles in order to drive the civilian population out of the big cities in Khuzestan.

While Iraq certainly has its own territorial designs on Iran, it is principally carrying out a political war in the interests of U.S. imperialism aimed at stamping out the continuing revolutionary struggle in Iran and forcing Iran to capitulate across the board to the West. And precisely because of these political goals, the U.S. has been using the carrot as well as the stick, and is now stepping up its efforts to broker a settlement that would advance U.S. interests in both countries. For more than a month, an Islamic Commission composed of a bevy of pro-U.S. Middle Eastern leaders and Yasir Arafat (who likes to play around with both the U.S. and the Soviets) has been shuttling back and forth from Tehran to Baghdad trying to engineer a ceasefire and settlement of the war. With Iraqi forces still sitting on hundreds of square miles of Iranian territory, the Iranian government's public position has necessarily been to refuse to negotiate until Iraq

totally withdraws from Iran. But for quite some time both the IRP and Bani-Sadr forces have been looking for a way to arrange an Iraqi pullback that they could call a "victory"—much like their efforts to cover up their abject surrender to the U.S. imperialists on the hostages' release.

Finally, two weeks ago Bani-Sadr's chief of staff, Gen. Fallahi, broke the ice by announcing that he would agree to a ceasefire, followed by an Iraqi withdrawal starting a week later. Bani-Sadr added that he would agree to send the territorial questions, including the disputed Shaat-al-Arab waterway, to a commission of (pro-Western) Islamic states to be decided on. As expected, this position was attacked by the IRP leaders, who in their usual demagogic style declared they would settle for nothing less than "total victory" and "Hussein's overthrow"—which refers to the reactionary call to invade Iraq. As it came down, Bani-Sadr's forces were outvoted on the Supreme Defense Council (the body in charge of prosecuting the war), which "unanimously" turned down the cease fire proposal made by the Islamic Commission. This act was immediately followed by Iraq's new offensive to keep the pressure on. And in a clearly related move, last Wednesday, Khomeini's office announced that Ayatollah Rafsanjani and two other IRP members of the Supreme Defense Council were about to be drop-

ped, throwing the balance of forces towards Bani-Sadr and paving the way for new attempts to bring the war to a halt on a basis overall favorable to the western imperialist powers.

For their part, the Soviet imperialists and their local lackeys in Iran, the Tudeh Party and the Fedayeen (Majority), have been gaining influence among sections of the Islamic Republic Party. For instance, one of the IRP's top leaders, J. Farsi, recently went to the USSR, which he described as a trip to see "the achievements of a revolutionary government." While these IRP reactionaries are also looking for a way out of the war and a way to come out of it on top in their struggle with Bani-Sadr, the Soviets are continuing to offer them "aid" and military assistance as a counterweight to Bani-Sadr and the army's attempts to reestablish supply lines with the West. Recently the Soviets have even assembled their own "mediation commission"—under the auspices of the so-called non-aligned movement—composed of Cuba, India and the PLO, to try to strike up a settlement that will strengthen the position of the pro-Soviet forces in both Iran and Iraq.

All of these opportunist maneuvers and rushing into the arms of one imperialist bloc or another are washing the makeup off the ugly faces of the various bourgeois ruling forces in Iran today. While the IRP is being exposed

more broadly among the Iranian people because it holds most positions of power in the government and ministries and because of widespread disgust over the hostages' release and its phony "anti-imperialist" demagoguery, Bani-Sadr's attempt to pose as the great patriotic commander-in-chief is wearing thin as he continues to carry out a conventional military strategy that can only lead to further capitulation politically and to striking up a deal on the war with Iraq and the U.S.

On top of all this, the programs of Bani-Sadr and the IRP don't differ very much when it comes to suppressing the struggles of the Kurdish people, the independent workers' councils, the peasants' land seizures and the leftist forces. Clearly these are two reactionary forces whose dog-eat-dog power struggle and new capitulationist moves further mark them as enemies of the masses and targets of their struggle in fighting the imperialists and their home-grown accomplices to the finish. □

Correction

The article on KZAM Radio in Seattle which appeared in RW No. 95 quoted lyrics from a song done by *The Enemy*, a local band. The song was originally done by *The Avengers*. The lyrics should have read: "Don't ask what you can do for your country, ask what your country has done to you."

Los Angeles, California

Tables Turned at Vet Rally

They called it "Green Ribbon Unity Day," but it wasn't about Atlanta. It was scheduled for March 8, billed as "a day of recognition for those who served their country in Vietnam," and "a long overdue homecoming." But while the organizers—politicians and assorted bourgeois hacks, including Governor Jerry Brown—may have had dreamy visions of an orgy of national reconciliation between "pro-war vets and anti-war vets" in the streets of L.A., by day's end their dreams contained more than a few nightmarish episodes. Indeed, even though the day was also billed as a response to the latest cutbacks in vets' benefits—in particular the closing of Veterans Administration (VA) funded counseling centers—many of the 500 vets and a number of the celebrity speakers at the rally had much more on their minds than going along with the plans to bury the hatchet on the war crimes of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, or picking up the hatchet of the U.S. in the future.

Tom Bradley, the Mayor of L.A., tried to inject a little "hostage-homecoming-yellow" into the proceedings—since the straight-up red, white and blue was deemed unlikely to win many friends or influence many of the vets who had seen U.S. imperialism from the inside. "I'm here to protest the fact that this country has forgot its Vietnam vets... All of them denied the parades and the homecoming, the thank you, that any American serviceman deserves. There must be eternal equipment, not only to welcome them home, but to take care of them and all their needs once they return." Clearly, Bradley's reference to "eternal" presupposes and anticipates future wars, future vets, and future body bags.

And Ron Kovic, pro-imperialist "spokesman" for Vietnam vets, added his voice to the cry, "Put Vietnam behind us" as he dubbed "Green Ribbon Unity Day" an event "celebrating a recognition that should have happened 12 years ago." His meaning—honoring vets as heroes in 1969, at the height of U.S. aggression in Vietnam—could hardly be misunderstood. And in fact, given what many vets experienced in Vietnam and given current U.S. maneuvers in Latin America as part of the escalating contention with the Soviet imperialists, it was not misunderstood.

"I spent 10 months out there in the boonies and I'm definitely one person who wouldn't give my sweat for this country again," explained a Chicano vet at the rally. "I would definitely demonstrate against El Salvador and any future war in the Middle East... I

was 18 years old, so I went in blind... I came out a little educated."

"We were principally cut off when we were over there," one Black veteran spoke. "When we got back and we really did think about the issues, we weren't mad at anybody over there... I don't think they should have sent advisors (to El Salvador—RW)... They're sayin' that it's not going to be another Vietnam, but how can they keep it from being one if it starts out the same?"

A number of the vets had come dressed in their fatigues and combat boots, with one vet reminiscing, as well as looking ahead: "I was involved in demonstrations in 1969, and I want to see if it's going to start up again. When I got back I was pretty hostile, and I got connected with Vietnam Veterans Against the War."

Another Chicano vet voiced the sentiments of many when he said: "I have two little nephews, 14 and 15, and pretty soon they have to register for the draft. I don't want them to have to go through what I did... They gave me a bronze star in Vietnam and tried to build it up and make me feel big—but sometimes I feel like throwing it back in their faces."

"Green Ribbon Unity Day" was shredding right before the eyes of the rally organizers. One forlorn group of POW/MIA types found the developing atmosphere much to their disliking and left. Meanwhile, the organizers tried to pull together the tatters by initiating a chant of, "I'm proud to be a vet!" It fell with an audible thud. But the finishing touches to their patriotic plans were yet to come, for while the organizers might've expected some problems from a group of 500 Vietnam vets (who they see as suffering from Post-Vietnam Syndrome/PVS anyway), they could hardly have expected the utterances from their celebrity guest speakers. No doubt they were prepared for simply a liberal-dishrag of a speech, lamenting the pitiful veterans. It was not what they got.

Ed Asner, TV's *Lou Grant*, was loudly and favorably received. "I was not a supporter of the Vietnam war—by no means. You may have considered me an enemy at one time (referring to vets who were originally gung-ho and looked on those opposed to the war as the enemy—RW)—if not now. I only know that since 1941, I'd say, this country has continually manufactured veterans—the euphemism for cannonfodder..." The thrust of his remarks that followed should also be appreciated, and were at the rally: "Stay together, hang together, militate together. And

out of that militancy contribute for the first time a veterans group that makes damn sure this country knows what it's doing next time it manufactures cannonfodder. Fight it!"

Howard Hesseman, who plays d.j. Johnny Fever on *WKRP in Cincinnati*, stepped up to speak. "Our government, and I'm talking about big business—what's the difference?—tried to sell us this war in Vietnam only it didn't work... and you could see it every night on t.v... So they spent more money, more lives—only like the Edsel, it bombed. *The United States lost the war!*" The cheers resounded.

"...so we've had Vietnam with its government set up, trained, and maintained by the U.S. We also had Iran, with its government set up, trained, and

maintained by the U.S. Suddenly, and inevitably, a revolution in Iran—a puppet government is overthrown... Kissinger engineered the entry of the Shah into the U.S... I tend to think that may have had something to do with the seizure of the American embassy..." More cheers.

And the vets were on their feet by the time he concluded with: "Reagan's pitching the next product right now. Now, they may call this year's model El Salvador; they may decide to call it something else. But they're looking for what will sell... *Caveat emptor*—buyer beware."

And clearly, by the rally's end, while the various mouthpieces were working the hard-sell, many in the crowd, vet and non-vet, weren't about to buy. □

Yippies Attacked by New York Pigs

It was a Thursday morning, outside YIP (Youth International Party) Headquarters in New York City, that the bomb was planted. Alerted by "a neighbor," the cops moved in to inspect the device, which had been set to go off within 60 minutes. As most of the Yippies and their guests—people who had come to help organize for a national weekend conference—were awakening, the bomb exploded, sending two cops to the hospital with second degree body burns. The Yips never knew the bomb existed until the blast; the cops never issued an evacuation order!

Funny this should follow hot on the heels of a Ballet for Bullets protest that the Yips led outside Lincoln Center where Reagan's son danced two evenings before—and funny, too, that it occurred two days prior to the convening of a National Resistance Conference sponsored by the Yippies. The Ballet received wide media coverage as the Yips made a total mockery of the bourgeoisie's affair. The conference was held despite the "dynamite" message delivered and covered such questions as: Draft in '81—Nuclear Holocaust in '84; Native Americans and the world ecological situation; a strategy for the Immoral Majority; and more.

It's telling as well that a day before the bomb episode, undercover cops were discovered parked at the Yippies' front door. Going outside, cameras in hand, three Yippies wanted to find out what the hell the cops were doing there. The cops jumped out of the car, pulled their guns, and threw a legal worker up against a tree. All three were handcuffed and charged with "interfering with

governmental justice" and "harassment." They were thrown into the holding cell where one Yip was poked in the eyes and robbed by a "cellmate." They were kept overnight... through the bombing incident the next morning.

The day of the bombing, after their release, one of these same Yippies was talking to the head of the Bomb Investigation Squad. A squad car just happened to be cruising by. Pointing it out to the Bomb Squad investigator, the Yip said, "You should be investigating the cops. It's very possible they did it." No sooner had he spoken than the squad car reeled around, the cop jumped out, threatened to shoot him if he "ever fingered them again." He was arrested for disorderly and resisting. And in the interim, a fourth Yip, who had been cleared through the courts on previous charges, was re-arrested on the same count; the cops somehow "forgot" he had turned himself in.

As all this took place, the media opened fire immediately by trying to blame the Yippies, attempting to depict them as a self-destructive group, hell-bent on "blowing themselves up" for attention. And New York Mayor Koch stepped out to decry "all forms of terrorism," and the press concocted all sorts of wild "explanations"—courtesy of police sources.

Understanding this attack was launched either by the cops or any one of the right-wing Nazi-oriented groups that have threatened their headquarters time and again in the past year, the Yippies have become more determined to carry on with their plans of resistance. □

Army Recruiting Attempt Backfires

To the RW for immediate release—

Reversing Correct Verdicts Goes Against the Will of the People

A friend of mine is a Vietnam vet. The first half of his tour he was a gunslinging "heathen" killer. He was proud to kill, and proud to take the point. But one day after hitting a village, a Vietnamese woman, holding her dead baby in her arms, killed by U.S. gunfire—grabbed him and in English yelled in his face—"Why, why?"

He didn't sleep that night, he began to search for the answer, and soon found it. The baby dead, the war raged on because it was necessary for the further development of Imperialism. He would months later, with fellow GIs,

refuse to fight.

Last week my friend received a letter from the U.S. Army. It seems that part of reversing correct verdicts includes recruiting. He was offered a slot in officer candidate school upon his graduation from college, and it seems not only would he be given a chance to become an officer—his outstanding school loans would be paid for to boot. It would be very exposing, not to mention humorous to reprint this insidious bribe letter—but alas, my friend immediately tore it into pieces upon reading it. Reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people and it will not be tolerated. My friend is making plans now to testify for the upcoming war crimes tribunal. □



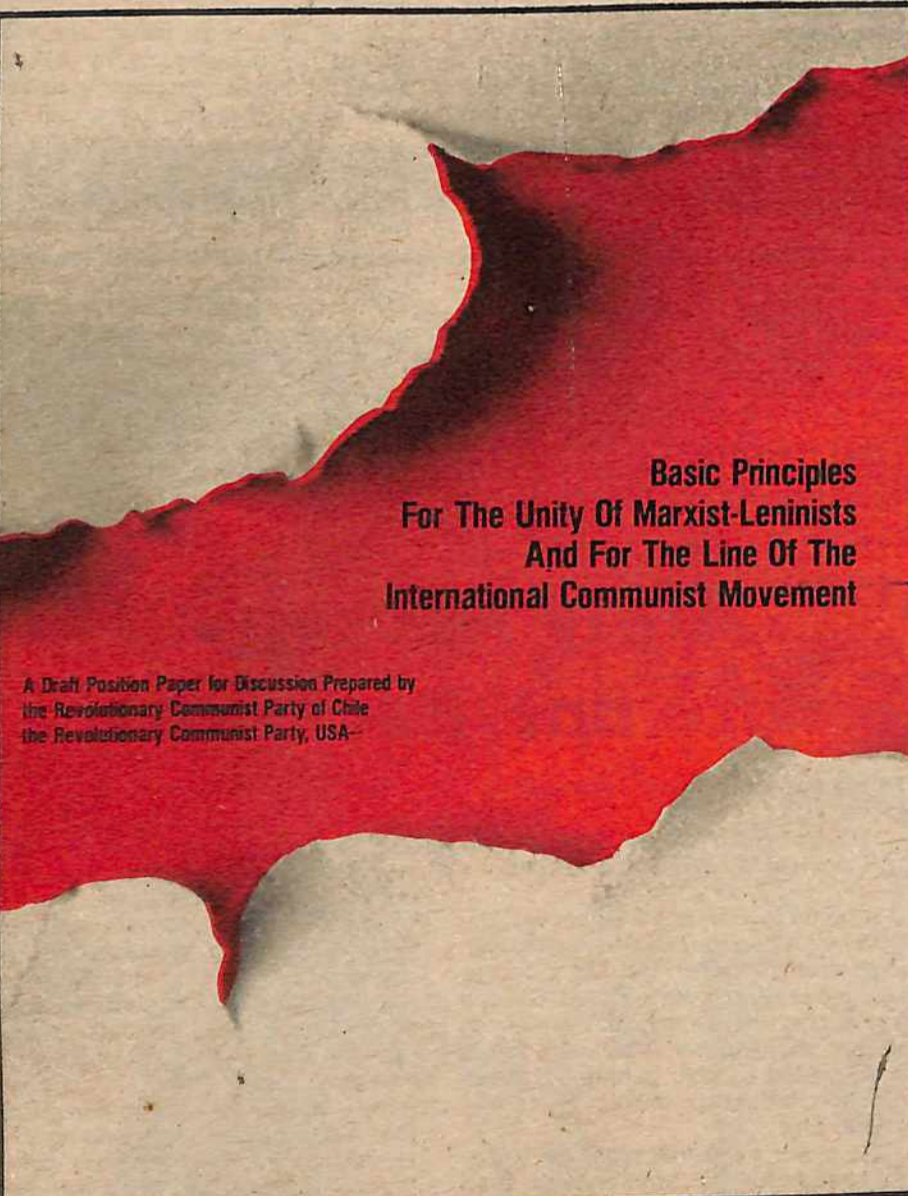
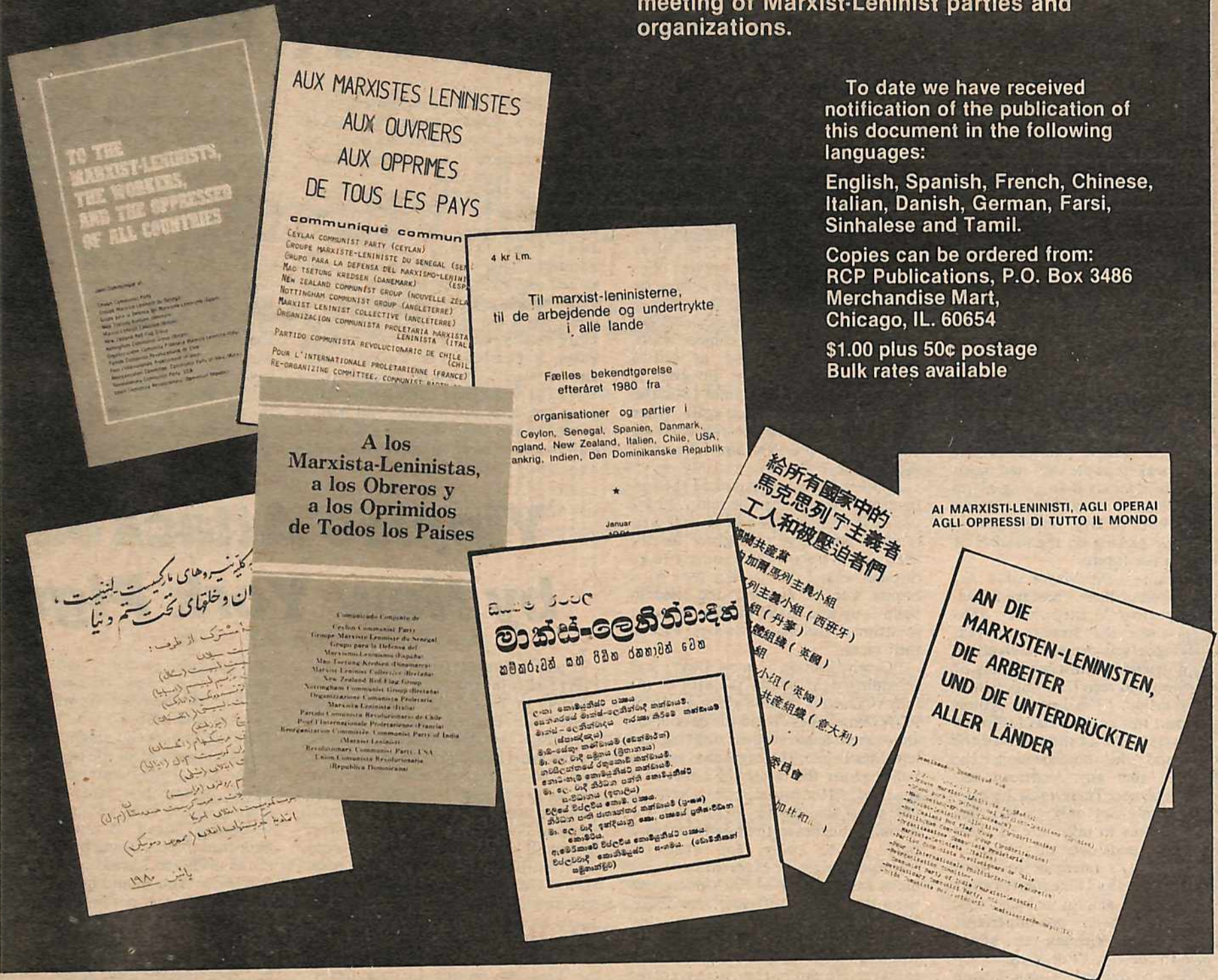
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