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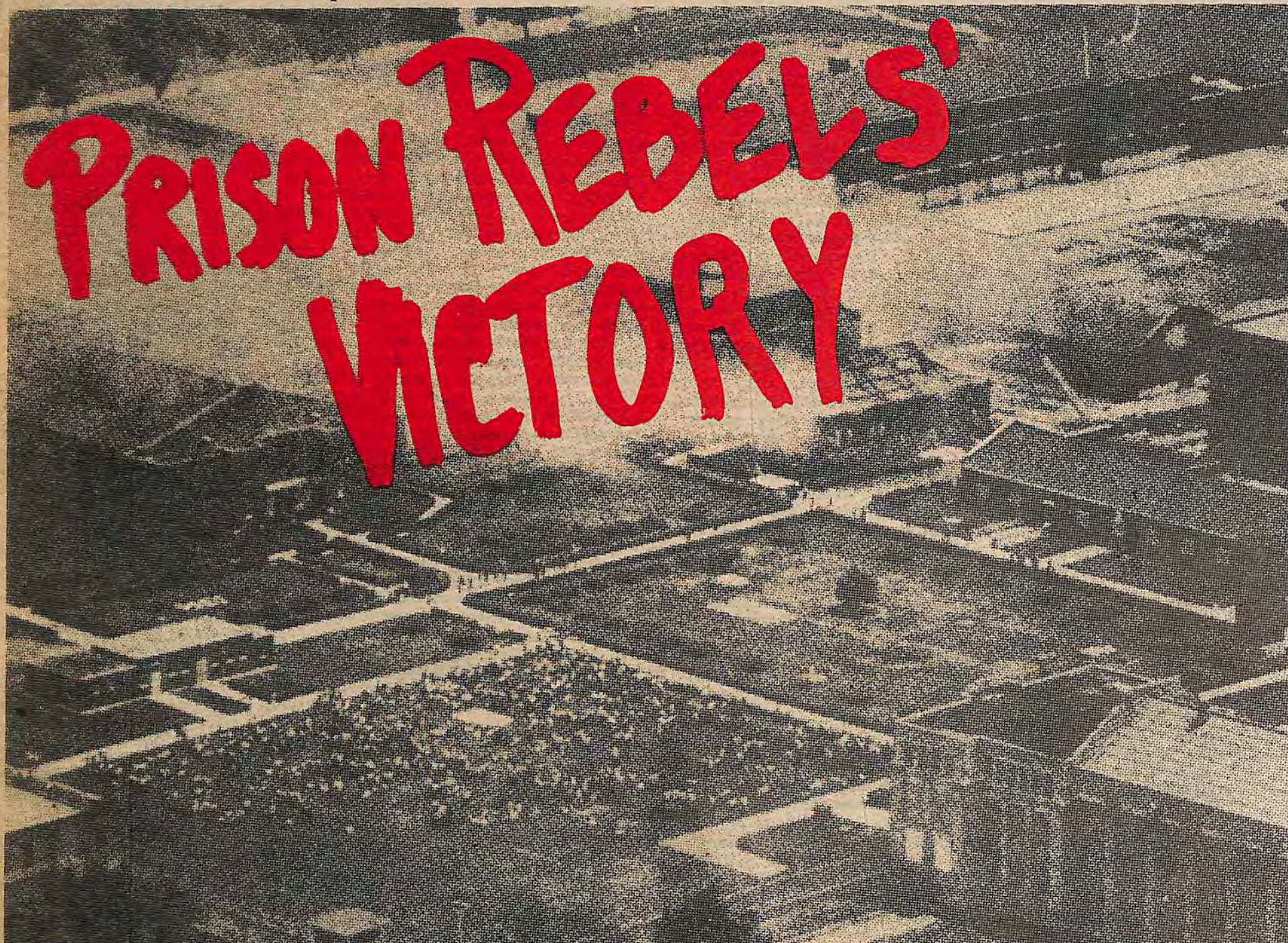
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## Pontiac Brothers Acquitted



Pontiac Prison during the 1978 rebellion.

## Imperialism Runs Amuck in Pope Shooting

The waving pope circled through the tightly packed crowd. Suddenly shots rang out, "like firecrackers." The pontiff slumped back, a red blood stain spreading over his white robe. A tremor of shock swept the crowd as John Paul 2's jeep raced for a nearby ambulance.

Within hours that tremor had been amplified into a crescendo of outraged denunciations as the media began reporting the reaction to the assassination attempt from world leaders, famous figures and the "humble faithful."

"How could they do this?" the pope himself is reported to have said to a nurse as he was wheeled into surgery at a nearby hospital. "It's sick, sick," declared Vice-President Bush. "These people have to be stopped." France's president-elect Francois Mitterand decried "this new manifestation of detestable violence." "I was shocked but not surprised. It fits the pattern of the violent times we live in," said author Elie Wisel. "I tell you the truth, I feel that we are living in Sodom and Gomorrah. What has happened to humanity?" lamented Nobel Prize winner Isaac Singer. "They've shot the

President, now the Pope. Who's left?" asked a young girl in New York City.

They quickly became the focus of the responses to the assassination attempt. Who are "they"? "International terrorists"! On the one hand presented as a vague, rootless enemy without history or cause in an "age of violence," the forces of evil casting a dark shadow on the good people of the world. At the same time, and more pointedly, identified as the political terrorists of the left and the right and the left, the left, the left.

CIA

But the man who is alleged to have shot the pope, Mehmet Ali Agca was hardly "without root or cause." In fact his history was well known, uncomfortably so for the U.S. imperialists and their allies. It turns out that he was tied to the notorious fascist death squads known as the Grey Wolves, the paramilitary arm of Turkey's neo-Nazi National Action Party (known in Turkey as the MHP). The Grey Wolves were set up and trained by two government controlled, CIA-established groups in Turkey, the National Intelligence Organization (Known as

MIT) and an outfit called Counterguerrilla, which attempted to utilize CIA experience in Indochina to organize civilian armed bands against revolutionaries.

During the "democratic governments" of Bulent Ecevit and Suleyman Demirel, which have alternated control of the government with Turkey's military since the 1960s, the Grey Wolves served as shock troops for U.S. and West German imperialism, attacking and murdering revolutionary forces inside the country and among the more than one million Turkish immigrant workers in Western Europe, especially West Germany. The leader of the Grey Wolves and the National Action Party, Alparslan Turkes is a former army colonel who played an important role in the military coup in 1960 and was for a time part of the ruling junta. In 1978, these Grey Wolves were responsible, with the help of the army, for the massacre of 200 people in the city of Kahramanmaraş. In May 1980 they tried to repeat the Kahramanmaraş operation in the town of Corum. With active support of the Turkish police

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When news hit the Pontiac Correctional Center on the night of May 9, the cheers of hundreds and hundreds of prisoners echoed and re-echoed off the concrete walls of this 110 year old dungeon. In the Chicago courtroom itself, the clerk read the verdict and joyous pandemonium broke loose. The defendants raised their fists as supporters clapped and cheered and jumped up and down. Michael Evans, Jesse Hill, Albert Jackson, Ernest Jackson, Benny Lee, Stephen Mars, David McConnell, Ronnie Newby, Kevin Tolbert and Joseph Smith—ten of the 16 Pontiac Brothers—had been acquitted.

For three years, the prosecution had worked furiously to convict and carry out the mass execution of the Pontiac Brothers, 16 Black prisoners charged with the murder of white guards during the 1978 prison rebellion. The case was the biggest death penalty trial in this country in 60 years. Prosecutor Thomas Breen, still shaking his head in disbelief hours after the verdict, appeared to be in a state of shock. He told reporters he "couldn't believe" that after a two-month long trial it took the jury less than five hours (including a lunch break) to reach their verdict. In little more time than it takes for a dozen people to sign their names to the 57 slips of paper representing the counts against the brothers, they had made their decision to acquit all on charges of murdering three guards, attempting to murder others and mob action.

The stakes in this trial were very high,

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# NEW U.S. ARMS SHIPMENTS IN THE WORKS

## GUATEMALA: U.S. REGIME

### STEPS UP FASCIST TERROR

In the first week of May, the State Department announced that it was sending an envoy, former CIA Deputy Director General Vernon Walters, to meet with the Guatemalan fascist military junta—the first step toward resumption of direct U.S. military aid to the U.S. puppet regime. Despite a few hypocritical whinings in the press about the “unfortunate excesses” of the Romeo Lucas Garcia government there, it appears that the aid will go through. The resumption of direct arms shipments is a necessary part of the desperate moves by the U.S. to strengthen its hold on Central America and ruthlessly suppress all opposition to its domination, all in the context of its preparations for world war with its Soviet rivals. Also necessary are the various two-bit and half-hearted criticisms of the “authoritarian” regime in Guatemala (but mind you it’s not “totalitarian” like the pro-Soviet regimes around the world). After all, direct U.S. military aid to yet another fascist dictatorship is not all that popular these days, especially in the face of the widespread and massive opposition to the U.S. intervention in El Salvador in this country and around the world. The truth is, however, that the U.S. has backed the Lucas Garcia junta to the hilt, as it has every other reactionary Guatemalan regime in the past, both overtly and covertly, and the resumption of military aid would represent only a move toward a more open U.S. military role in Guatemala.

Since coming to power in 1978 the Lucas Garcia government has murdered over 5,000 Guatemalans (over 3,000 in the past year), and anyone who appears to have the slightest opposition to the

government (including some pro-U.S. Christian Democrats) is a target for execution, many times at the hands of fascist “death squads” that are organized and dispatched directly from the National Palace. Guatemalan army officers and police forces are, of course, trained by the U.S. and their weapons are made in the USA.

During the past period, the Lucas Garcia government has managed to rely on military aid from Israel, France and Argentina while continuing to buy weaponry for its army and security forces directly from U.S. corporations. This course required clandestine approval from the same U.S. State Department that was publicly criticizing “human rights” violations of the Guatemalan regime. But Guatemala has lately been running short of spare parts for its previously donated U.S. helicopter gunships. With continued and growing upheavals among Guatemalan peasants, mainly Indians who make up the majority of the population, as well as efforts by pro-Soviet revisionist forces in the country to try to take advantage of this, more direct U.S. military aid—not only helicopter parts but weaponry, explosives, communications equipment and training—is needed.

As for the masses of Guatemala, they have been getting out of hand of late. An offended *New York Times* recently ran an article quoting someone who came to Guatemala 22 years ago: “When I arrived, they used to bow before a white man. Now they want to discuss their ‘oppression.’” Truly a revolting development and offensive to bourgeois sensibilities. The nerve of these Guatemalans—who are rising up against the savage exploitation and op-

pression they have suffered at the hands of the U.S. and its puppets.

Conditions of life for the Guatemalan masses are typical of U.S. neocolonies around the world. While three-quarters of the people are peasants, 2% of the population owns 72% of the productive land. The result is that 90% of the rural population live on plots too small to subsist on—26% are completely landless—and must become seasonal laborers for the big landowners, whose production is almost entirely geared for export. Cotton, coffee, sugar cane, bananas and meat are grown in massive quantities on these plantations, but 80% of Guatemalan children under 5 suffer from malnutrition. 75% of the industry that exists, mainly food processing, pharmaceuticals and recently oil and other minerals, is owned by foreign corporations, mainly from the U.S. U.S. imperialist domination of the economy has resulted in an illiteracy rate of 65%, an average earning of \$75 per year for 70% of the population, and an infant mortality rate of 8.3%, highest in the Western hemisphere.

Given these conditions, it is not surprising that the U.S. has paid particular attention to training the Guatemalan military and police forces in both anti-communist ideology and counter-insurgency strategy. After all, oppression breeds resistance, and the possibility that such resistance will turn into the overthrow of imperialism by the masses is a very grave threat. Thus, between 1950 and 1970, the U.S. Military Assistance Program trained 2,280 Guatemalan military officers either in the U.S. or in U.S. bases overseas, principally the U.S. Army School of the Americas in the Panama Canal Zone. At the same

time, over 30,000 policemen were trained through the U.S. Public Safety Program, with a small number of these being eligible for more advanced curriculum at the International Police Academy in Washington, D.C. and at the U.S. Border Patrol Academy in Los Fresnos, Texas.

Much of the specific content of this education will undoubtedly remain locked up in secret vaults until the masses gain access to it through a victorious overthrow of imperialism. However, what little has been released to the public gives some idea of what this training involves. For example, here is a section from Course 0-47 on Urban Counter Insurgency taught at the U.S. Army School of the Americas—a course which warns the “students” what to watch out for: “a. The disappearance of movement of youths possibly indicates the recruitment to form guerrilla bands in the area. You should report the reluctance of families of said missing youths to speak about them.

“b. The refusal of peasants to pay rent, taxes or agricultural loans or any difficulty in collecting these will indicate the existence of an active insurrection that has succeeded in convincing the peasants of the injustices of the present system, and is directing or instigating them to disobey its precepts.

“c. Hostility on the part of the local population to the government forces, in contrast to their amiable or neutral attitude in the past. This can indicate a change of loyalty or behavior inspired by fear, often manifested by children refusing to fraternize with members of the internal security forces.

“d. Short, unjustified and unusual

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# May 3rd Demonstration Sharpens Two Roads

The battle raging in El Salvador has all along had two, related purposes for the U.S. bourgeoisie. While the main aspect has obviously been the subjugation of the masses of El Salvador and Central America generally, a very important secondary purpose has been to try to use the civil war in El Salvador within the U.S. as a reactionary rallying point of the general theme of "putting the '60s behind us" and "getting ready to stop Soviet aggression." Both these aims are linked as preparation for world war. In their own words, it's a "test case," and one thing that the imperialists are testing and trying to change is the political temper in this country.

In that light especially the May 3rd demonstrations in several U.S. cities against U.S.-backed aggression in El Salvador, highlighted by the mass march on the Pentagon, stuck an extremely big bone in the throat of imperialism. Thousands of fresh forces stepped forward to oppose continued U.S. interference, plainly the first of a wave of very widespread opposition to the actions of the imperialists. At the same time, this resistance itself poses some important challenges and sharpens up some very big questions not just for the bourgeoisie, but also to the revolutionary movement.

In fact, coming as they did on the

same weekend as the May First actions, the path for "fighting to bring alive the new" and making a living force of proletarian internationalism was very clearly posed. There is much in the May 3rd demonstrations that falls on the side of the "new" and the internationalism that needs to be learned from and deepened; and there is also much—especially in the line promoted by some of the forces leading it and their efforts to narrow the movement into a deadly rut—that is certainly part of the "old" that must be exposed and broken with.

First, the new which was revealed on May 3rd. Most notable in these demonstrations was the bottom-up effort by the masses, especially on the part of students awakening to political life to organize themselves and turn out. The large turnout was all the more significant since more established forces, such as the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who had often organized transportation to Washington, D.C. demonstrations, did not in the main do so this time. And while this initiative had happened to some extent at the smaller anti-draft demonstration in March 1980 and the demonstration around Three-Mile Island two years ago, the mood and temper of large sections of the crowd this time was more to the left, more revolutionary. Reagan's election and El Salvador has clearly stir-

red many. Typical was a busload that came down from a campus in upstate New York, organized by what had begun as a study group on Latin America but in the last few months had become an action group as well. From the University of Dayton came the Father Roy Bourgeois Brigade, named for the anti-imperialist priest who had temporarily traveled with the guerrillas in El Salvador and at the time of the demonstration was suspected to be the victim of one of imperialism's death squads. A carload of West Virginia high school students came on their own to their first demonstration, but saying that it was the whole system they were against and taking up the red flag. On more than a few campuses students had fought for and won the student government to pay for buses, and RCYB agitators reported meeting cores of students from a number of campuses, who had independently organized themselves to study Marxism, who came out and brought others.

Another important characteristic of the Washington demonstration was the role played by the Latino masses, both native to the U.S. and foreign born. Not only were there large contingents from Puerto Rico and many Latin American nations (as well as from Asian, African and European countries), but there was also a tendency for

many of these masses to add a real anti-imperialist leavening to things.

To say that there was widespread hunger for revolutionary ideas and action is an understatement. Interest in Party literature tables and in particular in the International Journal "A World to Win" was one thing. Another, maybe minor, reflection was a story recounted by a *Revolutionary Worker* co-conspirator from an area comparatively remote from the centers of left and revolutionary politics. Those coming from this area had been divided into one bus for smokers and another bus for non-smokers. The comrade boarded the smokers' bus and passed out copies of the *Revolutionary Worker*, and before long, with quite a few foreign born on the bus, the papers were opened to the page with the *Internationale* printed in various languages, and turns were taken singing the anthem in Spanish, Iranian, Greek and English. By the first bus stop one of the more conservative smokers fled to the relative calm of the other bus, while some radical non-smokers decided that the political discussion and struggle among the smokers was worth crossing the smoking "dividing line."

A more major reflection though, were the red flags that were carried through the march by at least several hundred people, and the red flag contingent initiated by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), more or less on the spot, which united upwards of a hundred people to pick up the flag and march as one around the slogans "U.S. Imperialism Get Your Bloody Hands Off El Salvador" and "Fan the Flames of Revolution Worldwide." There was no doubt what the flag stood for and why it was being raised both among those who raised the flag and those who wouldn't. An anarchist youth from North Carolina took the "instant red flag" from RW No. 103 and wrote on it: "U.S. Imperialism, Blood On Its Hands: El Salvador, Iran, Chile, South Africa." A guy in a wheelchair remarked that there were flags of every color in the rainbow there, but the red one was the only one he'd carry. In San Francisco some forces had threatened that the red flag would be burned if it appeared at the march. It did. At one point march security, spearheaded there by the "League of Revolutionary Struggle" tried to push out a section of "red flags" for burning the red, white and blue. This attempt failed in the face of support. Shortly after, some anarchist youth paraded around with the burning embers.

Many among those who refused to  
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May 3rd demonstration in San Francisco.



May 3rd demonstration in Washington, D.C.



Roy Bourgeois

# Chicago Priest Returns to Media Blackouts and Slander

When Father Roy Bourgeois, a Catholic priest from Chicago disappeared in El Salvador in late April while serving as a translator for CBS News, grave suspicions were aroused that he had become yet another victim of the terrorism and assassination practiced by the U.S.-created and backed Salvadoran junta. Father Bourgeois, an active supporter of the Salvadoran people's struggle, would have been a prime target for the junta. He is a member of the same Maryknoll Order of Missionaries as the three American nuns and a lay worker who were found raped and murdered last December by the junta's National Guard troops. News of the priest's disappearance was virtually blacked out in the U.S. media, as they attempted to cover up yet another seeming murder by its El Salvadoran puppets.

The Chicago media, particularly local CBS News which had hired Father Bourgeois as a translator, was forced to cover the story. But even here there were significant blackouts. For example, the Chicago Religious Task Force on El Salvador, of which the priest is a member, immediately demanded that a commission be formed to investigate his disappearance. On April 30, a demonstration of 300 people in support of this demand was blacked out by the

two major newspapers and received only spotty coverage on radio and TV. The same was true when 13 members of the Eighth Day Justice Center occupied Senator Percy's (R-Illinois) office on May 5 to demand the investigation.

But when Father Bourgeois turned up alive and well ten days later, walking into the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador, the press went berserk, denouncing and threatening him.

Fr. Bourgeois, it turns out, had accepted an invitation to travel to the countryside in El Salvador to see the struggle of the masses firsthand. "After much reflection and prayer, I have decided to join the poor of El Salvador in their struggle for justice and peace..." he wrote in a letter delivered to U.S. newsmen. The letter stated that he considered the armed struggle of the Salvadoran people "justified," although he would not personally bear arms since he is a pacifist.

The letter continued by sharply condemning U.S. crimes in El Salvador. "It is really a situation in which the poor and oppressed people are fighting for their food, their survival... It hurts me deeply to know that my country, the United States, is sending in military advisors and weapons to a repressive dictatorship waging a war against its own people. I beg the people of the United

States to join our brothers in El Salvador and do everything possible to stop the U.S. military intervention in this country..." In the face of widespread attacks by the media that greeted him on his return to the U.S., Father Bourgeois remained unrepentant for his action. Any difficulties his disappearance had caused were "transcended by the situation of El Salvador and the struggle of the people," he said.

For exposing exactly what the U.S. imperialists, their lackeys in El Salvador, their media hacks and politicians have been trying so desperately to cover up, Father Bourgeois' words and actions hit a raw nerve. He was attacked from every conceivable angle for his stand with the very people that the U.S. government is trying daily to defeat. "Unrepentant priest returns" blared one headline. Unrepentant? What was his crime? What should he repent? That he went among the people of El Salvador to see their struggle first hand? Or was his crime that he gave people reason to think he had been killed. He gave them reason? Isn't it rather the fascist junta and its death squads who have given more than ample reasons with 15,000 murders this year alone to believe that anyone who disappears has been killed. What a self-exposure these imperialist hacks have

done with their indignation over the priest's 10-day stay with the people of El Salvador.

The denunciations were coupled by thinly veiled threats pointing to the mounting death toll among nuns and priests who oppose Latin American dictatorships. *Time* magazine declared that Father Bourgeois had provided the junta with "a ready-made rationale" for further repression against the church. But it was left to that U.S. puppet, El Salvadoran President Jose Napoleon Duarte, to let it all hang out. Dancing furiously on the end of his strings at the news of the priest's foray into the countryside, Duarte shrieked that it was all a plot to dupe the media and humiliate the El Salvadoran government.

But as much as the U.S. imperialists would like to hide their crimes in El Salvador from the eyes of the American people and people around the world, opposition to their naked aggression in Latin America is turning into a broad social movement as seen in the tens of thousands who turned out for the May 3 march on the Pentagon. This has sent the bourgeoisie scrambling for a method to continue upholding the fascist dictatorship in El Salvador under the guise of support for "justice

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*This memorial demonstration of 900 people in San Francisco after Bobby Sands' death, took place in front of the home of British Consul, A.C. Kinneer. This demonstration of support for the struggle in Northern Ireland, along with many others by people of many nationalities all over the world, have certainly struck fear in the hearts of the imperialists. Their attempts to obscure and distort this righteous struggle by running out their time-worn tales about "The Troubles in Ireland" being a "centuries old religious feud" certainly ring hollow in the face of all this.*

*And the struggle in the streets of Northern Ireland continues to spread. After another hunger-striker, Francis Hughes, died on Tuesday, May 12, in Long Kesh Prison, hundreds of youth spread out into the streets of Belfast, Derry and a number of other cities in Northern Ireland. Shouts of "murderers!" resounded, and rocks and petrol bombs quickly punctuated the shouts wherever police and British Army troops showed their faces. In Belfast, 9 separate attacks were launched upon the authorities, with the British troops returning live fire, snuffing the life out of one 21-year-old man there. In Derry, a number of vehicles were hijacked and added to the flaming barricades. In both cities there have been reports of exchanges of gunfire. And in the Republic of Ireland's capital city of Dublin, over 1,500 demonstrators broke through the garden walls surrounding the British Embassy, ripped up pavement, and hurled same at the walls and windows of the embassy. Authorities meanwhile, are desperately scrambling to contain the outbreaks in the Irish-Catholic ghettos, while two more hunger strikers inch closer to death.*

*This poem, full of internationalist spirit and standing with the oppressed worldwide, was penned by Bobby Sands under the nom de plume, Marcella (his sister's name), and along with a number of other writings was smuggled past the noses of his jailers in the H-Blocks on toilet paper.*

## "Modern Times"

*It is said we live in modern times  
In the civilized year of seventy nine.  
But when I look around, all I see  
Is modern torture, pain and hypocrisy.  
In modern times little children die.  
They starve to death, but who dares ask why?  
And little girls without attire  
Run screaming, napalmed through the night air.  
And while fat dictators sit upon their thrones,  
Young children bury their parents' bones  
And secret police in the dead of night  
Electrocute the naked woman out of sight.  
In the gutter lies the black man, dead.  
And where the oil flows blackest, the street runs red.  
And there was he who was born and came to be  
But lived and died without liberty.  
As the bureaucrats, speculators and presidents alike  
Pin on their dirty, stinking, happy smiles tonight,  
The lonely prisoner will cry out from within his tomb  
And tomorrow's wretch will leave its mother's womb.*

by Bobby Sands

*This poem was submitted to the RW  
by a reader:*

## Bealtaine Eve for the Maze prison hunger-strikers

*The fires of Bel' burn strong tonight,  
bright kindled to the going-forth,  
to war, to wood, to the whirling feast.  
In Maze of hunger pilgrims dream  
of wandering out to the brilliant world'  
that waits beyond the door of the hill.*

*Great keen' rising, a Northern wail  
that will swallow the peace of those who  
wait smug in their beds, heedless of ancient  
judgements.<sup>4</sup> The good-fire<sup>5</sup> grows and spreads.*

MAS 4/30/81

<sup>1</sup> Bel was the Celtic god of fire, war, and the hunt. May 1st was his festival, and on May eve the people would go to the woods to bring in summer by dancing and feasting. The morning saw the going-forth of warriors, hunters, and herdsfolk (Bealtaine means Bel's fire).

<sup>2</sup> "The brilliant world" and "The door of the hill" refer to the belief that the Good Folk, i.e. the gods of earth, live inside hollow hills and that on May eve mortals may join them there.

<sup>3</sup> keen—funeral chant.

<sup>4</sup> ancient judgements—in the Celtic societies the way to seek justice was to "fast against" the oppressor, just as the Maze prisoners are doing now. Any chieftain or king who allowed a hunger-striker to die would be driven from the community and ostracized.

<sup>5</sup> good-fire—"bonfire", English for Bel's fire.



# Bob Avakian Radio Interview

## From France to Atlanta

During the last week of April, Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, gave several transatlantic telephone interviews from France. This one was to radio station WRNG in Atlanta. The announcer was Chip Wood. Due at first to technical difficulties, and then to Mr. Wood's quick cut-off finger, some of Bob Avakian's remarks didn't make the airwaves.

**Announcer:** And joining us now by telephone from France where it's already Thursday afternoon, Bob Avakian. He's been a guest before on WRNG, talking about the need for a revolution in the United States. A revolution that would see communism as he understands it, not the soft sellouts in Russia right now, as he understands it, come to power... umm... many supporters in the United States but Bob is no longer here to lead them.

Bob, why did you flee the United States?

**Bob Avakian:** I was forced to leave the United States because of the crisis of the imperialist system in the U.S., indeed throughout the world, including—and they're not just soft sellouts like you said in the Soviet Union, they are imperialists too...

**Announcer:** Bob, you've got to talk a little louder, we can barely hear you.

**BA:** The imperialist system, which is represented in the United States and also in the Soviet Union which exists and plunders throughout the world, is in deep crisis and because of that they're carrying out widespread political persecution in the U.S. and I have been a prime target of that and it's been necessary for me to come here and demand political refugee status.

**Announcer:** I find it hard to believe, Bob, that anyone in Washington considered you such a threat that they would even bother to persecute you.

**BA:** I find it hard to believe that you're still saying that after we've been through this whole thing. The last time I was there on your program we went through how I've got all these ridiculous charges. Every court in the land right up to the Supreme Court has refused to throw them out when they're outrageous charges: supposedly assaulting police officers after being attacked by them in a demonstration. There's 240 years hanging over my head; a member of our Party has been killed in Los Angeles building for May 1st 1980—and I want to remind people that tomorrow is May First. We've call-

ed particularly for people in Atlanta to break out and break free, to push the reactionary and vicious murdering authorities out of the way and take matters into their own hands to bring it...

**Announcer:** Okay, who are the vicious murdering authorities in Atlanta you'd like to see pushed out of the way?

**BA:** And in fact they have been carrying out repression right there in Atlanta against our Party, even arresting people for so-called charges of sedition for putting up a poster with a statement from me on it.

**Announcer:** Well there was a little matter of defacing public property and violating our laws here.

**BA:** Defacing public property and sedition, I think you'll have to agree, are quite different...

**Announcer:** Yes, they are. Now Bob, you've left the United States, do you think for good?

**BA:** I believe that revolution is and will advance throughout the world. Look, I know a lot of times people talk about rhetoric. I want to put this out very seriously. This is a matter that people can think hard and deep about, what's coming up in the world. People should think hard and deep about this system which not only brings forward one outrage after another such as the murders going on in Atlanta but which the police prevent the masses of people from putting an end to. They should think deeply about the system that's preparing right now to plunge the world into World War 3 to see whether the Russian cutthroats or the American cutthroats can plunder more of the world. And that's not a joke. You look at what's happening. On the other hand look at the people rising up from Brixton to Poland to Afghanistan to El Salvador and you see that we're actually in a position that we might have a chance to carry through to make tremendous strides for revolution. That's what I'm dedicated to, that's what our Party's working for and it will be on the basis of advancing that, not just in the U.S. but internationally, that the decision about what I'll do and where I'll be will be taken.

**Announcer:** Well, a question for you. If I were a French official knowing your commitment to international communist revolution, I would assume that you're as eager to see a dictatorship of the proletariat in Paris as you are in Atlanta, why do you expect them to welcome you and give you refuge?

**BA:** Well already my demand has been turned down once and the farcical statement has been made that the U.S. is a democracy, which I think more and more

people recognize is nothing but a brutal dictatorship which comes out openly and reveals itself in Chile where they killed tens of thousands, in Indonesia where the CIA is responsible for hundreds of thousands being murdered, in Vietnam, the Philippines and I think more and more people are seeing right in the U.S. the vicious hand coming more and more, the bloody hand coming more and more, through the glove. And this is something that we're calling on people all over the U.S. to come forward and out of their own experience with the police, with the bureaucracy, the courts, with all the murders that go on weekly in the U.S., literally scores of people shot down in "justifiable homicide." I remember in Atlanta while the police claim that they can't solve the murders of Black children they certainly were able a few years back in Atlanta to murder 18 or 20 Black people in the space of a year and a half and two or three whites for good measure. So I think that people are recognizing more and more, and there are of course people in France, many many people; masses of working people, intellectuals and others who take a progressive stand, who support the traditions of exile here and support the demand of people to have the right to exile, and that's who I'm relying on.

**Announcer:** But if you go there for exile, won't you very quickly begin working there, in favor of communist revolution there?

**BA:** I have always and I continue to dedicate all my energies to working for revolution in the U.S. and to contribute the most possible to revolution worldwide, and in fact the purpose and goal of revolution in the U.S. is to end the outrageous situation where people are being ruined, people are being driven into poverty, people are starving in vast parts of the world, while the means to put an end to all that are at hand, while satellites are going around the world and even circling other bodies in space and there's the means at hand. I'm not just talking about a simple redistribution of the wealth, I'm talking about breaking the stranglehold that the handful of corporations, banks in the U.S. and in other countries like it and including in the Soviet Union, have over the resources, the means to life, and liberating those so that people can in fact advance humanity to a whole new stage. That's what I've always worked for and that's what I'll continue to work for in whatever way that is appropriate and in whatever way I can.

**Announcer:** Bob, I know this is going to come as a shock, but do you know that there are a lot of people who, while

they might agree with some of your denunciation of the banks and the corporations and big government and the CIA, they might agree with all of that—they're not real eager to see you as their liberator.

**BA:** Well, I would agree with them because it is not a question of any individual, myself included, being somebody else's liberator. It's a question of people becoming conscious, becoming aware of what in fact we're on the threshold of historically, recognizing the depth and the all-around nature of the crimes of this system and rising up consciously themselves to liberate themselves. That is the whole purpose and the very reason for being of our Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party; it's the message that comes through consistently in our newspaper, week after week, the *Revolutionary Worker*, and it's what I also am working for, of course, consistent with that. So I would agree it's not a question—no one can liberate people, they have to become conscious and liberate themselves. That's the lesson of history and of every great revolution.

**Announcer:** Yeah, I know it bothers you that so many people think that life is pretty good here and it's probably going to get a little bit better. I don't think too many people listening to us right now are ready to take to the streets.

**BA:** There are some people who have gotten rich and bloated and fat off of plundering the world, a very small minority in the U.S. There are handfuls of other people, there are a minority of other people who've gotten a few bribes from the plunder that the rulers of the U.S. have carried out and which in fact they've passed along to certain sections to pacify them. But there are growing numbers of people who can't, even in the middle classes, who find it difficult to make ends meet, who're being crushed and squeezed from both ends, being driven under by the very banks and corporations. They're going to have to make a choice and I believe that as things sharpen up sooner or later they're going to make the correct choice. Either they're going to have to go down with a dying system, which is a very depressing notion, I think more and more people will turn away from...

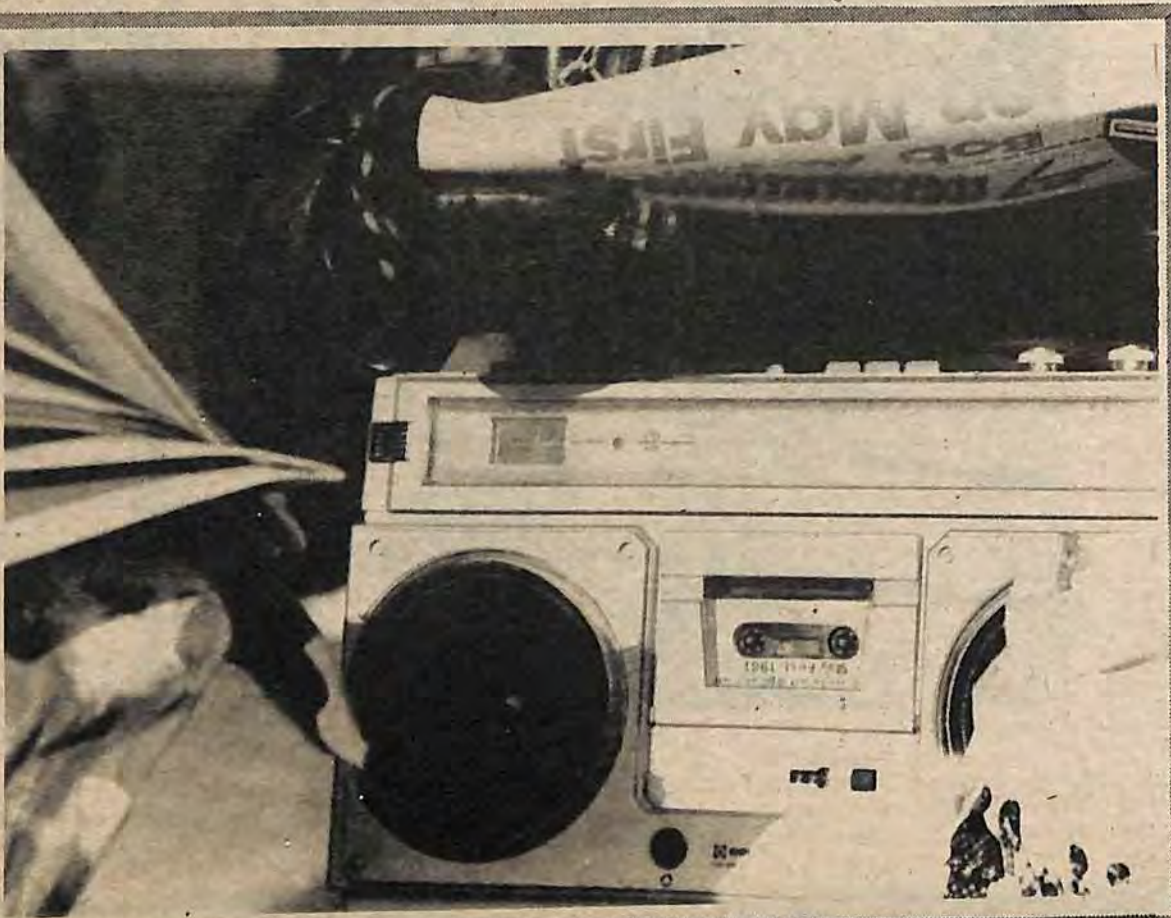
**Announcer:** Bob, I hate to do it, but we gotta run. I agree with you that there are some tough choices coming up but I doubt if very many are going to choose the Revolutionary Communist Party, but we do thank you for joining us. Traffic is next. □

### NEW TAPE:

## BOB AVAKIAN SPEAKS ON MAY 1, 1981

"Wherever people rise up in rebellion, raise up the red flag! That's the flag that the imperialists in this country and throughout the world hate, the thing, the symbol that they most fear to see raised in the hands of the oppressed because it means that we're rising up with our heads up; we're rising up with our eyes really cast to the far horizon; we're becoming politically conscious; we know what our interests are, that they lie with the international proletariat in its struggle for communism throughout the world..."

30 Minute Cassette \$2.50  
Available from the Revolutionary  
Communist Party (See addresses on p. 3)



# News of May Day Actions in

The picture we have been able to put together so far of May Day in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is sketchy and incomplete. As mentioned in our last issue, there has been a ferocious international press blackout—for instance, the major European papers at best carried news about May Day in their own particular country and little or nothing even on the most spectacular actions in neighboring countries—and this blackout has been all the worse about the revolutionary actions in countries dominated by imperialism.

Lies, of course, continued to figure prominently in the news. A major daily in the Dominican Republic, read all over the Caribbean, made a big deal about how there were *no* May Day celebrations in the U.S. There is also the obstacle of imperialist repression. In Turkey, for instance, the fascist ruling junta has been ripping out public pay phones to prevent precisely the kind of communication we are talking about; while due to the encirclement of the liberated areas of Eritrea and of Tigray in northern Ethiopia, reports from there must first go by foot to other nearby countries. Obviously the imperialists consider the flow of news of revolution between the peoples of the world's countries something to be feared. So far, in the U.S., this blockade has been broken by the following preliminary reports, and we expect more to reach us soon, including by way of *RW* readers.

**Chile**—In Chile, as the CIA's General Pinochet addressed the official fascist "Labor Day" dinner, a completely illegal demonstration numbering 300 people according to one report, took to the streets of Santiago. After several dozen people were arrested in an initial police attack, the demonstrators, including both men and women, moved to the area in front of a Catholic church, passing out leaflets and pamphlets and chanting along the way. A further police assault with teargas grenades was

met with rocks and bottles before the demonstrators sought refuge inside the church. According to the Chilean police, there were about 100 arrests in Santiago that day. Other reports indicate that this demonstration was only one of several May Day demonstrations and clashes with police to take place in the capital city.

**Mexico**—On May 1st, about 5,000 people marched through the streets of Juarez, Mexico and held a May Day rally in an action organized by the Comité de Defensa Popular (CDP). The demonstration included several hundred people from the U.S., organized by the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN), who crossed over the border from El Paso to participate and to show solidarity with the struggle of Mexican revolutionary forces. It was in stark contrast to the large, reformist, and extremely boring government-sponsored May Day spectacle that had paraded through the streets of Juarez only an hour before, complete with contingents of bloated union hacks, government workers in uniform and even floats bedecked with actors dressed as kings and queens. Most of the participants in the May Day action in Juarez were from the "colonias" (settlements built on seized land) which functioned as base areas for building May Day and are generally hot areas politically.

Meanwhile in Mexico City the official government-sponsored May Day parade that was addressed by President Lopez Portillo himself (and which it is *mandatory* for all Mexican government employees to attend), as well as the thoroughly reformist CP revisionist and Trotskyite parade, did not go unopposed. According to Channel 34, a Spanish-language TV station in Los Angeles, an "illegal" May Day demonstration marched through the streets of Mexico City until attacked and broken up by government troops.

**Guatemala**—The guerrilla struggle against the U.S.-backed Lucas Garcia dictatorship has been reinitiated and has grown rapidly in recent months, especially under the influence of the revolutionary struggle in neighboring El Salvador. Even as the regime cancelled all public marches and demonstrations on May 1, guerrillas blew up an oil pipeline and set fire to a Ford dealership. North of the capital an army truck was blown up when it ran over a mine, and in two ambushes four soldiers were killed. Only several days later, the U.S. announced that they are about to resume arms shipments to the Guatemalan dictatorship and are sending Gen. Vernon Walters to visit the country this week to pave the way for new U.S. military escalation there.

**Philippines**—According to several sources, on May Day nearly 30,000 people in Manila marched in a funeral for a 19-year-old factory worker shot while on a picketline outside a struck factory. This massive demonstration was one of the first since President Ferdinand Marcos supposedly lifted martial law after nine years early this year. Despite the "lifting" of martial law, this strike was still considered illegal by the government.

**Tigray**—In the northernmost province of Ethiopia, where revolutionary war is raging against domination by Ethiopia and its Soviet backers, May Day was celebrated in all nine liberated zones of the province. According to Tigrean students in the U.S., tens of thousands of people participated in these celebrations. Their four main slogans were "Hail May 1st, the International Workers Day," "May 1st Is Our Holiday," "Death to the Fascist Junta and Its Sustainers," and "We March Forward With Our Vanguard, the TPLF (Tigray People's Liberation Front). Revolutionary Tigreans in Europe also organized May Day activities, including

street demonstrations in four Italian cities.

**Afghanistan**—Here, too, news of May Day actions by the revolutionary forces inside the country must often come out by courier. But it was reported in the East European revisionist press that on May Day, the pro-Soviet puppet rulers in the capital city of Kabul held their May Day activities, including a dinner and meetings between party leaders and carefully selected "model workers," *inside*—that is, behind steel doors and armed guards. According to revolutionary Afghan students living abroad, the revisionists have for years not taken to the streets on May Day because of their lack of mass support; and this year they clearly decided that any open government-sponsored activities on May 1st could very well be attacked by rebels inside Kabul itself—which was rocked by a number of bombings on April 27, the third anniversary of the pro-Soviet coup d'etat in Afghanistan.

**Iran**—May Day actions this year in Iran took place against a backdrop of mounting government repression directed against the left and revolutionary Moslem groups such as the Mojahadeen. In the days following a right-wing assault on a Mojahadeen-led march of 200,000 people the week before May 1st, a wide array of government spokesmen, including the mullahs of the Islamic Republic Party, President Bani-Sadr and Ayatollah Khomeini, condemned the "leftists" for provoking the fighting. They then used this as an excuse to ban all "unauthorized demonstrations" on May 1st. While the government marked its official version of May Day at Tehran University, march permits were denied to all the leftist groups except the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party and the equally revisionist Fedayeen (Majority). The Fedayeen rally in west Tehran was nonetheless attacked by right-wing Moslems, and a powerful bomb was ex-



May 1 in Bilbao, Basque region of Spain. Hundreds of thousands of people in Bilbao, Pamplona and other cities in this minority nationality region took to the streets and fought with police in actions directed against the Madrid government.

# the Oppressed Countries

ploded there, killing four demonstrators and wounding 100. (These incidents were the basis for the purposely confusing news accounts in the U.S. press about "clashes between May Day marchers and leftist opponents of Ayatollah Khomeini.")

According to preliminary reports, Iranian communists defied the demonstration ban in various ways. Several

organizations went ahead and held May Day actions in Tehran that were attacked by reactionaries and government forces. A truck caravan consisting of many large semis and flatbed trailers holding around 100 people each carried out a mobile May Day demonstration through the streets of Tehran.

*Turkey*—In this country of strategic im-

portance which has been the scene of mass revolutionary struggle in recent years, the stakes have become very high for the imperialists, forcing them to resort to drastic counter-measures to try to shore up their shaky position. Since U.S.-trained military officers came to power in a coup last September, the whole country has been under martial law. On May 1st there were several

reports of fighting against the regime in various cities in Turkey, but the only details known at this time are that, according to several wire reports, 400 people—"presumably leftists"—were arrested in Istanbul right before May Day and on the First itself in a police and army dragnet aimed at preventing the recurrence of last year's powerful May Day demonstrations. □



A multinational section of a May Day march of 6000 through the main streets of Basel, Switzerland, including large contingents of immigrant workers from Turkey, Italy and Spain. Held aloft in the picture above are banners of the growing anti-military movement among Swiss youth, the ecology movement, and revolutionary organizations of workers and students from Turkey, including slogans denouncing the fascist junta in Turkey, as well as pictures of revolutionaries martyred in the struggle there. After this march reached city hall, "disruptive" Swiss youth and revolutionary immigrant workers turned the traditional trade union-reformist May

Day rally upside down. (See last week's RW for an account of the wild scene that erupted in the streets of Basel.)

According to a recent report, in the week right after May Day, Basel police stormed a local youth center and made numerous arrests of people who had been involved in a recent takeover of an unoccupied house in the city—clearly a blatant act of retaliation for the licks, politically and otherwise, the authorities had suffered on May 1st, when their acceptable channels for May Day activities were shattered.

## Letter from Union de Lucha Marxista-Leninista May Day Report from Spain

To the editors of the *Revolutionary Worker*:

Dear Comrades,

As you asked us in a recent letter, we are sending to you a short report on the battle of May Day, 1981 in Spain.

If it's OK we can begin with a paragraph from the report on that day in the daily EGIN (connected to the so-called "Izquierda Abertzale" of Euskadi (Basque nationalist left—RW) and the only slightly progressive one that today is published here). It says: "In the first place we note the decline in participation in the demonstrations... The disillusionment of the workers is broad and yesterday (that is to say May First) there were only half as many the demonstrators in the streets as last year, which was already perceptibly lower than in previous years."

EGIN speaks the truth.

In Madrid the demonstration of the reformist unions drew some 60,000 people, a number that is a tenth of those who took to the streets in 1977, in Barcelona much less (despite being a very industrial area with a great concentration of the proletariat) and in the south, despite the starvation and unemployment suffered by hundreds of thousands of *campesinos*, the

demonstrations were also not large. In Bilbao, Donosti and Pamplona the police clashed with demonstrators (see enclosed pictures). In the rest of the country there was peace and quiet. In Madrid the fascists rallied about 8000 people.

But obviously the facts don't reveal the complete picture. The worst thing is the reformist content that the "left" and "far left" lent to these demonstrations: the defense of bourgeois "democracy" (in its present variant or in its prettier form called "rupture") and the struggle exclusively for political and economic reforms as the main essence of all the parties: Eurocommunists, pro-Soviet, pro-Chinese and pro-Albanian revisionists; Trotskyites; anarchists; petty bourgeois nationalists, etc., etc. Only our organization broadly issued a call saying that the decisive question at this time, when all the problems are worsening, is the struggle and preparation for revolution and not petitions for economic and political reforms.

Today the popular and workers' movement here is going through a phase of severe ebb (that's already clear and everyone knows it) in relation to four years ago. But what must be explained are the causes, and this is our version:

The movement is ebbing due to the political defeat which it suffered at the hands of big capital and of the revisionists of all stripes. The basic weapon which defeated the movement is bourgeois democracy, or in other words, the policy of presenting the bourgeois democratic dictatorship as a form of power of capital that is useful to and benefits the proletariat and people. That, which was the heart of the renegade Kautsky's opposition to the dictatorship of the proletariat, is also the essence here of all the revisionists. Such a policy has led to demobilization, demoralization and confusion among the masses: it was clear this May Day.

Our organization arose 3 1/2 years ago with a central goal in the political realm: oppose all support to any kind of bourgeois "democracy" and proclaim to the broad masses that only a Popular Workers' Power can meet their basic aspirations, that only revolution, the armed violent destruction of the state apparatus of the big bourgeoisie can be useful to the proletariat and people. This, which from the Marxist-Leninist point of view seems so simple and basic, is not supported by anyone here, except by us who uphold that idea with pride and enthusiasm. The pro-Chinese, pro-Albanians, pro-Soviets, etc. are

miserable fanatic supporters of the monopoly capital linked to the U.S. continuing to hold power, hoping in exchange for some crumbs like formal "freedoms," opposition to military coup attempts, etc. In summary, of the two ways that big capital now can exercise its dictatorship, they reject one, the fascist form, and support the other, the bourgeois democratic form.

But in the ebb we see already the future rising tide. All the opportunists are confronting a grave political, ideological and organizational crisis, their bourgeois democratic politics have been exposed to a great degree and have no future or reason to be (except to serve big capital). Mao said that "there is no construction without destruction" and so it is. Now opportunism is being destroyed and from this destruction will arise revolutionary and Marxist-Leninist forces which will put forward seriously at once the "simple" question of revolution. That is what we're working for. We don't ask for much, we don't like to isolate ourselves with a too far "left" line, we only ask that those who call themselves revolutionaries step forward right now to work for revolution.

Unión de Lucha M-L  
(Marxist-Leninist Union of Struggle)

# Atlanta:

## Official, Unofficial Murders Strike Again

After a 15-day lull, the killers of Atlanta's Black youth struck again. William Barrett, 17 years old, was abducted and murdered Tuesday, May 12. His body was found early Wednesday morning by a passing motorist near Interstate 20, in an area where at least 6 other Black youth have either been abducted or found dead. This murder brings the total of slain Black youth on the official list of the Special Task Force to 27 in the past 23 months; a 28th has been officially listed as "missing" since last September. At least two other Black youth found dead during this same period—an 18-year-old male in July 1980, and a 13-year-old girl in November 1980—are not being investigated by the Task Force as part of this vicious series of murders.

As the death toll rises, so does the confidence of the murderers. The murder of William Barrett is one of their most brazen and brutal. The autopsy revealed that there were marks on his body from the death struggle, as well as stab wounds inflicted after he had been strangled to death. And in a blatant departure from the murderers' pattern in the past three months, where the victims' bodies have been thrown in local rivers clothed only in underwear, to be found days or weeks later washed clean of clues—Barrett's body was carefully laid out by the roadside, fully dressed, and was discovered less than 8 hours after he had been killed. It is a sinister sign that the murderers are very aware that they continue to have the upper hand.

The very day before Barrett was murdered, Fulton County District Attorney Lewis Slaton put out what amounted to a public call for these murderers to charge ahead. At a press interview, this official openly bragged, "If anyone walked in and said they were the murderer, we wouldn't have enough evi-

dence to convict them." Then Slaton went on, "We say there's a better chance to catch him if he doesn't stop." The "unofficial" terror raging in Atlanta against Black people is ever more obviously being orchestrated by officials in high places, by no means only in Atlanta. This press statement from District Attorney Slaton was aired first on NBC National News Monday night, a reactionary call meant to be heard around the country by all the racist dogs that have been unleashed to attack Black people. And clearly the murderers in Atlanta took special notice as they leapt into action the next day, slaying William Barrett.

But another incident the same day of Barrett's killing illustrates that terror in Atlanta isn't limited to these brutal murders, and, in fact, that our rulers have used the murders which they have unleashed and encouraged to sharply step up official repression by the bourgeois state and its armed protectors.

Barrett was not the only young Black killed in Atlanta on May 12. The same day, a massive force of over 100 cops, including a SWAT team and an armed police helicopter, swarmed into another all-Black neighborhood that has been hit by the "child killers." In the so-called "shootout" that followed, 26-year-old Felton Talley was murdered by a police shotgun blast. For reasons that will never be known, Talley had evidently hit a passing school bus with a stick, breaking one window. The two cops who arrived to handle this "domestic argument" called for help and all hell broke loose. The pigs cordoned off over an entire block around the house where Talley and a friend ran to. Houses nearby were evacuated. Almost immediately the firing began, which police say was precipitated by the men inside. But not one single person interviewed by the *RW* heard any shots

come from the house, and the word on the street is that it was a clear-cut case of police murder. Only after the gunfire ended did the cops shoot teargas into the house. Then after a 2-1/2 hour "standoff," as the news media billed it, the SWAT team descended into the house through every door and window to find one dead man and another hiding in a closet. Talley's friend was arrested and charged with simple battery and obstructing an officer. The police had exactly what they were looking for. A Black man, Talley, had supposedly "attacked" a busload of Black school children. This was the signal for a grand show of force aimed at intimidating the masses of Black people.

While all the details of the cold-blooded police murder of Talley are not yet clear, the scene was reminiscent of the middle 1970s when Atlanta was known nationwide as the town where the police had free rein to massacre Blacks. In 1973 alone, 18 Black men were killed by the police (five dead whites were thrown in for good measure), which set off a storm of struggle that led to the firing of the blatantly racist police chief John Inman, and the firing and demotion of many of his lackeys in the Atlanta Police Department. And now, the open fist of the state stands out in even sharper relief than at that time, though public attention is focused elsewhere.

Several weeks ago Police Chief Napper announced an unprecedented decision which went into effect immediately. At police roadblocks, the cops are making people open their car trunks without the need of a search warrant. These roadblocks are so pervasive that more than 700 people were arrested or ticketed in one week alone in March. (As reported earlier, all this was beefed up for May Day.) The Atlanta Police Department policy is that every patrolman from every precinct on every shift has to pull at least 15 minutes duty at a roadblock every day. These roadblocks are all set up near the same Black neighborhoods where the youth are being abducted—abductions which nonetheless continue with almost clockwork regularity despite—or because of—this police work.

On top of this uniformed police presence, over 200 handpicked and police-

coordinated civilians have begun to patrol the same neighborhood. The police do background checks on each applicant and then train the selected troops to be their "eyes and ears." These patrols were formed in direct opposition to the widespread armed patrols that continue to develop among the people throughout the city even in the face of the sharp police attacks against one of these, the "bat patrols" at Techwood Homes. The task of the police-sponsored patrols is to pick up youth violating the curfew as well as to watch for any "suspicious activity," particularly the activity of the armed patrols.

As summer nears, when tens of thousands of youth will be on the streets all day, the authorities have begun to scramble for ways to force this highly volatile force back into their homes. Mayor Maynard Jackson was in Washington, D.C. the day that Barrett and Talley were murdered, to meet with Vice President George Bush about Jackson's request for \$1.2 million in federal money for "high-security" summer programs for youth. The 9 p.m. curfew for 14-year-olds and under, as well as the already huge police force in the neighborhoods, isn't seen as sufficient to corral the tremendous fury that lies so close beneath the surface. The authorities, from the federal government on down, want to literally surround the inner-city ghetto areas where two-thirds of Atlanta's Black people live, with a wall of police. Meanwhile, columnists for the local papers are beginning to hint at their fears that Atlanta may become another Miami.

These fears are justified. Try as they will in the wake of Talley's murder, officials will be hard pressed in continuing efforts to draw a distinction between the crimes of their agents in and out of uniform. □



Atlanta—100 police surround a house in the Black community—a SWAT team climbs onto the porch in an all-out assault on two Black men, one of whom was supposed to have hit a baseball bat against the side of a bus. The cops murdered one of the men and arrested the other.

### CORRECTION

The photo of Atlanta police arresting May Day activists on page 31 of the May 8, 1981 *Revolutionary Worker* ran with a photo credit which read: Staff photo—Louie Favorite. Mr. Favorite is not a staff photographer for the *Revolutionary Worker*, he is on the staff of the *Atlanta Constitution*.

## Chicago Priest Returns

Continued from page 4

and peace." The feeble old human rights ploy has been resurrected once again just for this purpose. House and Senate Committees recently stipulated that certain "human rights" conditions be met by the Salvadoran government before further U.S. military aid is sent. Right before the appearance of Father Bourgeois, Sen. Claiborne Pell also said that aid should also be linked with the priest's fate. Congress is being highly praised for showing a "sense of justice" with this move. No doubt the El Salvadoran people will also be overwhelmingly grateful for the "justice" dispensed by U.S. weapons, military advisors, helicopter gunships and napalm.

And while they accused Father Bourgeois of manipulating the media, they gave full play to the junta's cheap propaganda trick of coming up with six National Guard soldiers to "investigate" for the murder of the Maryknoll nuns. Big surprise that the junta's troops committed the murders—everyone knew that. That's what they are in business for, what the U.S. imperialists have armed them for, to murder and brutalize the masses into submission.

This cheap trick of arresting a few individual murderers is supposed to exonerate the regime?

Father Bourgeois' actions in El

Salvador have further exposed the crimes of U.S. imperialism. Unrepentant he is—and should be. □

### CHILE

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# UNPLANNED COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES

# STUDENTS DISRUPT HAIG, BUSH GRADUATION TALKS



Demonstration during Bush's speech at Howard University.



Demonstration in the Carrier Dome, Syracuse University, during Haig's speech.

On May 9th, graduation ceremonies at Howard University in Washington, D.C. and at Syracuse University in New York were the scene of sharp political struggle as keynote speakers George Bush and Alexander Haig were respectively blasted by demonstrators from a broad range of forces and publicly denounced for the imperialist mouthpieces that they are. At Howard, an all-Black university, Bush knew ahead of time that he was going to catch some hell. But 70% of Howard's funding comes from the federal government and it is a consistent target for CIA recruiting of Blacks—so Bush risked the appearance anyhow.

Widespread exposure of the Bush appearance was done in the Black community of D.C. prior to graduation ceremonies. Attempts were made to intimidate both demonstration organizers and sympathetic media as well. Two weeks before the May 9 convocation, police

swooped down on a member of the Stop Bush Committee while he was passing out leaflets to students. Then Howard President Cheek suddenly got a court order that banned the organizer from campus. On the day of the convocation, one organizer was set up. The city police told him the sidewalks where the protestors gathered were public property and not included in the court order, and then arrested him later as he took part on the very same sidewalk. Both a progressive radio station and a university-affiliated TV station have admitted they were contacted by the Howard administration and pressured to black out coverage of the protests. A radio reporter sent to cover the commencement was also directly approached.

But as the crowd took its seats at Howard University's 113th convocation for the conferring of degrees, they were reading leaflets put out by the Howard University Students Association that

read, "To deliver the Negro intellectuals and students to Reagan as a support base from the African community in return for money is the scheme." Meanwhile, marchers who had gathered two hours ahead of time and were kept outside the fence by police lines could be heard chanting, "George Bush and the CIA, Ain't No Justice in the USA!" Agitators walked down the rows of parents and relatives of the graduating students, encouraging people to take up the chants. As Bush stepped to the microphone to deliver the convocation address he feebly attempted to ingratiate himself to the audience by declaring "Let the white hood and the swastika, those ugly symbols of hatred and bigotry, be buried in the past." This monumental hypocrisy, coming from the ex-CIA chief who has spent a lifetime working hand in hand with "white hoods," did not fool many as booing and hissing predominated over polite

applause. The demonstrators' shouts thundered on, despite the obvious efforts at intimidation by armed security agents on rooftops surrounding the crowd and uniformed and plainclothes cops filing through the audience. Then as Bush accepted an honorary degree from University President James Cheek, clenched fists, suddenly pierced the air as about 40 graduating students jumped up and turned their backs, some waving red flags. To the Administration's undoubted chagrin, bail was quickly raised for the arrested organizer from the students and parents in the crowd.

Meanwhile, at Syracuse University, where Haig spoke and received an honorary doctorate in public service, a sharp political counterattack was launched by hundreds of students, faculty and others. Outside the campus' Carrier Dome, a "capitalist showpiece" where the ceremonies took place, there was a demonstration of about 150 people. This group, consisting of the State Employee's Union, some professionals and other radical groups, protested military spending and economic cuts. Also at issue was the fact that Haig had been brought to speak by Chancellor Melvin Eggars without consultation with the University Senate. (200 faculty members formally protested this as well.) At one point, another group of about 175 people marched into the dome chanting, "No Draft, No War, U.S. Out of El Salvador" and sat in one section of the bleachers. As they continued to chant loudly, the cops were heard muttering, "We'll have to get them out of here." But as Haig began to speak, the demonstrators continued to chant until about a minute into his speech. Then two youth jumped out of another section of the bleachers and yelled, "Haig you can't hide, we charge you with genocide." When the cops came up, these youth wouldn't be intimidated. A scuffle broke out with the police and the two were arrested. Around the hall, red armbands were seen worn by about 500 students independent of the organized disruption. This was done to apparently symbolize the blood shed by the people of El Salvador and to oppose other U.S. crimes around the world.

Haig's attempt to launch into his usual routine of yelling "Imperialist!" at the U.S. imperialists' rivals: "It is Soviet reliance on force and the threat of force to create and exploit this order, that undermines the prospect for world peace." But when Haig called for "Weapons for peace" people shot back with "Weapons for nuclear war". When he referred to strengthening NATO, people yelled "For your profits," and throughout his speech chants of "Dr. of War and Torture" could be heard. As soon as he began, a guerrilla theatre troupe stood up. Eight were dressed as nuns with blood on their faces and robes (symbolic of nuns murdered in El Salvador); several were dressed as peasants splattered with blood and two others donned all black robes and white faces, spectres of death. All pointed their fingers at Haig during the entire speech. They defied taunts from backward voices as over 100 supporters formed a protective circle around them. Just as Haig was to receive his honorary degree for "public service," over 100 students and faculty walked out, wearing red armbands. Others stood and turned their backs to Haig when he was given the degree.

An organizer summed up the Syracuse action to the *RW*: "When we were strung out about organizing and not sure what we were doing we thought about the people of El Salvador, that this was part of supporting their struggle. We gained such strength from this. The spirit of internationalism gave us such strength." □

## Chicago Court Settlements

# Leashing— or Unleashing— Political Police?

In the Federal Court in the City of Chicago, a couple of agreements have been hammered out. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and the Alliance to End Repression have signed separate settlements with the City of Chicago and the FBI, ending their seven year, class action lawsuits against years of police-government spying, bugging, break-ins, sabotage and a wide assortment of criminal deeds and COINTELPRO plots. These settlements have been widely reported in the press as establishing new curbs on the activities of the political police in Chicago. However, in actual fact, their effect is quite the opposite.

The Chicago suits are part of several in the country against various local red squads and/or the Federal government. In recent times a few of the suits against local pig agencies have been settled, while others, particularly against the federal government are still pending, including the Socialist Workers Party suit against the FBI that is currently on trial in New York City. The separately signed settlements with the FBI and the City of Chicago differ little in terms of content. But because the FBI settlement is the first one signed in the country, this is what will be addressed here. Although the scope of the agreement is limited to all those who are or in the future will be physically present in the City of Chicago, the settlement is being looked on by some as a nationwide model in the fight against government intelligence attacks and abuses.

But far from establishing curbs, the settlement is a straight out attack and part of an overall escalation in tightening up and strengthening the repressive machinery of U.S. imperialism. Full of rhetoric about restricting the bureaucracy and defending the Constitution, this settlement particularly goes after internationalism and international unity and attempts to rally its subjects under the banner of stopping foreign subversion, "international terrorism" and protecting the national security while putting out that when it comes to U.S. interests, "foreigners" have no rights.

An important part of the Chicago FBI settlement is the complete rewriting of reality on past FBI activity. Twelve of the settlement's 31 pages are devoted to a lengthy description and whitewash of the last five years of FBI "work," depicting it as five years of correcting the "excesses" of the past, dismantling and ending all COINTELPRO type activity, and dramatically reducing the number of domestic security investigations. As an example of the latter, it states:

"In 1974, the last full year before the Complaint was filed, the FBI nationwide had open (i.e. ongoing—RW) domestic investigations on 157 organizations and thousands of individuals. By October of 1977, after little more than a year under the Guidelines (here, referring to the then new Attorney General's guidelines for FBI activity—RW) the numbers were down to 13 organizations and approximately 75 individuals. They have remained at approximately this level or below throughout 1978, 1979, and 1980." (p. 11)

All this ends up by telling us that by September 1980, there were only 11 organizations and 40 individuals in the whole country that were the subject of ongoing domestic security investigations! But wait! For those that may doubt this, there is proof presented. And here is where the name of the RCP enters the settlement as a "typical" example of "restraint." Put simply, proof that the FBI no longer engages in COINTELPRO type activity can be seen from the fact that the FBI no longer "investigates" or "harasses" the RCP!

"The FBI's understanding and

acceptance of these interpretations of the Domestic Security Guidelines have been indicated by a number of factors, among them the FBI's decision in 1978 to close its domestic security investigation of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), a group with more militant revolutionary rhetoric than the Communist Party U.S.A., and whose members during 1976-1978 were frequently arrested for relatively minor state and local offenses, but did not engage in terrorist activity or advocate imminent terrorist acts to warrant investigation under the Guidelines." (p. 12)

There is no need here to go into the content of what this "closed investigation," their model behavior in regard to the RCP, has consisted of over the past couple of years, as this has been extensively reported in the RW. But while in fact the last couple of years has seen a major escalation of the government's attacks on the RCP, particularly focusing in on its Chairman, Bob Avakian, and including the political assassination of Damián Garcia and witnessing over 1000 arrests of RCP members and supporters in a little more than the past year alone, this little example of government "doublespeak" no doubt, will be used in various ways both politically and in the legal arena, in the future.

And beyond this, the "typical work" during these past five or so years when the government is supposed to have been so good has seen the FBI and government participation and direction in numerous political assassinations, including those of American Indian Movement activists Bobby Garcia, Dallas Thundershield and Anna Mae Aquash; anti-nuke activist Karen Silkwood, Black activist Yulanda Ward, Puerto Rican liberation fighter Angel Rodriguez Cristóbal (termed "suicide" in a Florida jail) and the Klan-Nazi assassinations of five CWP members in Greensboro, N.C. among

others. It has also seen massive counter-intelligence being directed against the Iranian students, the Puerto Rican independence movement, various other national liberation struggles, the attempted neutralization of the American Indian Movement, various "activities" directed against Black Nationalist organizations and individuals, the anti-nuke movement and many others; all of which have included government directed armed attacks, bombings of homes and offices, thousands of arrests and beatings, deportations, attempted assassinations and major frame-ups and lengthy prison sentences, etc. All of this is covered over, not admitted, in the agreement.

This whole fabrication of the past five years of FBI "work" is a necessary ingredient in this settlement to really be able to "get down to business." In the mid-'70s, coming off of widespread exposure and struggle and the intensification of struggle within the ruling class, there were some cosmetic changes made on the surface, while all during this time they were perfecting and sharpening their repressive apparatus. But the purpose here in wiping the slate clean of past crimes is to get down to the "legitimate" intelligence operations that the federal authorities and their local lackeys have to be free to pursue; and the settlement does move on to that business.

In this settlement, major attacks are launched on internationalism and international unity. This is expressed throughout the settlement in its treatment and definition of "international terrorism," its attack on foreign nationals living in or visiting the U.S. through barring them from any of the stated restrictions of FBI activity in the settlement, and through the great pains that are taken to establish the validity of "responsible" surveillance, bugging and other COINTELPRO-type activity for the safety and security of the nation.

In all this the hypocritical charge of "violence" and "international terrorism" is hurled at those who resist the reactionary violence and terror of U.S. imperialism and meet that with revolutionary violence, and beyond that will even be used against religious and other groups who engage in non-violent civil disobedience, as well as those who engage in political support work for various national liberation struggles. In explaining who the "foreign security investigations" of the FBI are "legitimately" being carried out against, the settlement states:

"These (ongoing foreign intelligence investigations—RW) mainly involve investigations of groups and individuals who are engaged in serious and violent acts of international terrorism, activities in preparation therefor, or who knowingly aid and abet persons engaged in international terrorism." (p. 15)

But to get down to the nitty-gritty; just what is this "international terrorism" that the government is going after? The definition supplied in the settlement is worth quoting in full:

"any activity or activities which:  
(a) involves killing, causing serious bodily harm, kidnapping, or violent destruction of property, or an attempt or credible threat to commit such acts; and

(b) appears intended to endanger a protectee of the Secret Service or the Department of State or to further political, social or economic goals by intimidating or coercing a civilian population or any segment thereof, influencing the policy of a government or international organization by intimidating or coercion, or obtaining widespread publicity for a group or its cause; and

(c) transcends national boundaries in terms of the means by which it is accomplished; the civilian population.

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## New Law to Ban Spy Exposures

Two weeks ago, the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security and Terrorism began discussion of the "Intelligence Identities Protection Act of 1981," a bill which will make the disclosure of U.S. spies a federal felony. Popularly known as the "Covert Action Bill" because its most frequently mentioned target is the *Covert Action Information Bulletin (CAIB)*, which regularly names CIA agents stationed abroad, the actual intent of the proposed legislation turns out to be far broader than the suppression of a single meddlesome critic. The bill stiffens the penalties for both government agents and others who reveal the contents of classified material and goes on to establish a totally new crime: the exposure of U.S. spies and agents abroad whose identities are deduced from totally public information.

Despite all their whining protests about "the lives of American agents being put in danger," exactly what the ruling class is actually afraid of was plainly revealed by their anguished howls at the hearing. For example, during the recent elections in Jamaica, the U.S. embassy was flooded with a horde of new CIA agents flown in to work for the U.S.-backed candidate, Edward Seaga. This operation was blown when several editors of the *CAIB* appeared at a press conference in Jamaica and calmly ran out the complete identities of 15 agents stationed at the Jamaican embassy, including CIA chief of station Richard Kinsman.

How did the *CAIB* people obtain the names to make this exposure? Did they have a deep throat in the CIA, or did they pilfer classified documents? Nothing so romantic. The plain fact is

that most CIA agents overseas are engaged in the mundane activities of bribing local officials and writing copy for CIA-supported newspapers (like the *Gleaner* in Jamaica). To do this they operate under "light cover." That is, they are assigned official cover jobs at the U.S. embassy. This gives them a degree of legal protection (diplomatic immunity) and a safe place to work. By carefully examining the public record of the cover assignments of these "diplomats," it is fairly easy to deduce the identities of CIA agents with "reasonable accuracy," as even Senator Denton begrudgingly admitted at the hearing.

Immediately after the exposure in Jamaica, a howl of protest went up from the bourgeoisie. The U.S. imperialists scrambled to turn the tables in the arena of public opinion, and two nights after the Jamaica press conference, Kinsman's house in Kingston was "sprayed with machine-gun fire and a grenade exploded in the front yard," or so the story went. "Lives of American Agents Endangered," screamed the headlines, pointing the finger at the *CAIB*.

And they were still screaming at last week's hearing. "No one has any doubt about Agee," said Senator Biden, referring to CIA defector and author Philip Agee, who is on the advisory board of *CAIB*. "We should lock, slam him away!" Senator East piped in, "The greatest threat to civil liberties in the United States today comes from the use of terror." Senator Denton solemnly pronounced that the editors of the *CAIB* were "moral degenerates." (Senator Denton, it seems, is the Senate's ranking expert on morals and

has just introduced a bill to appropriate \$30 million to promote chastity among teenagers.) Then Senator Chaffee read a letter from Mrs. Kinsman about how terrifying the thought of having bullets whistling through her child's bedroom at night was. Citing his experience with the Senate Intelligence Committee, Chaffee declared, "The most demoralizing activity (to U.S. agents) is the publishing of names in bulletins such as this."

The senators were outraged all right, but over the exposure of the U.S. political involvement in the Jamaican elections. And as for the "attack" on the Kinsman residence, it was as phony as a \$3 bill. Rather than whistling through the bedrooms, the bulk of the bullets went into the concrete wall of the garage. Mrs. Kinsman may have been concerned about the "thought" of bullets flying through her daughter's bedroom, but "thought" is as close as she ever got, since Mrs. Kinsman and children were conveniently vacationing on the other side of Jamaica the night of the alleged attack. As for the grenade, no fragments were ever found. And finally, the "attack" was alleged to be the result of Kinsman's sudden exposure by *CAIB*, but in reality Kinsman had been named in *CAIB* the previous year and the story was carried at that time in the Jamaican press.

No, what our good senators have in mind is not protecting the hides of their scruffy minions, but rather the protection of their political operations from exposure before the people of this country and the world. And the detailing of the identities and past records of the agents involved is an integral part of

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# Testimony on Political Persecution

Below is further testimony on political repression and Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France.

April 23, 1981

As a prisoner incarcerated in a maximum security facility and after suffering first hand the oppression of the United States government, I must add my voice to those already raised in demand for the granting of Political Refugee status and asylum for the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Bob Avakian.

I have observed closely the violence perpetrated and perpetuated by the U.S. government on all revolutionaries and their parties, as witnessed by the attacks in the 1960s and '70s on the Black Panther Party, the Weather Underground, George Jackson and the Soledad Brothers, as well as many, many others. More recently I've been able to follow the violence against members of the RCP in the Honolulu newspapers, as they have been attacked and harassed on numerous occasions—more than twenty RCP members and sympathizers in Hawaii have been attacked.

As a prisoner, I can say from personal experience that Bob Avakian's life would be in terrible jeopardy if brought back to Amerika and imprisoned (trials of any kind for Mr. Avakian would only be a farcical formality with the outcome a foregone conclusion). Neanderthal-like prison guards would first isolate him, then either an obvious accident would occur or a "suicide" or, those failing, they bribe prisoners to attack and kill him. No matter how it happens it will happen, because the U.S. government will never allow uncontrolled political dissent or the espousal of revolutionary doctrines and acts of revolution.

Amerika is not a free country, there are millions of people locked up in penitentiaries, jails, housing projects and ghettos. Bob Avakian and the RCP are our main hope for freedom from oppression. Please help him to help us.

From the Heart of the Monster

## Notarized Testimony of Amos Brokaw

My name is Amos Brokaw. My wife and I are the resident couple at the Community Friends Meeting House in Cincinnati, Ohio. I have been a supporter and hanger on of the Quakers for 20 some years though I have never become an official member. I am a factory worker at a paper factory.

During World War II I registered for Conscientious Objector (C.O.) status and was granted it. In January, 1944 I entered the Civilian Public Service (CPS) and served in it for one and a half years at which time I left because I felt this was still a form of cooperation with the military and I was in reality a cog in the military machine. I was arrested and prosecuted for this action and sentenced to 6 months in jail on McNeil Island. There were a half dozen or a dozen C.O.'s there at the time. There were also quite a number of other political prisoners in the jail including a good number of Japanese Americans who they had tried to draft out of the concentration camps. The Japanese Americans' response had been—if we're citizens we shouldn't be in concentration camps. And if we're not citizens and deserve to be in concentration camps, we shouldn't be drafted. And I agreed with them. As far as I was concerned they were getting a much rawer deal than I was. I know there were other

political prisoners though I can't remember now exactly who they were. Later on (in '49 or '52) I was in jail with the lawyers who defended the Politbureau of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA)—that was clearly political too. The lawyers were all jailed for contempt of court for defending their clients too vigorously.

After leaving jail, I worked at a college and re-enrolled in school. In '48 a new draft law was passed when the war-time draft ended. I mailed a post card to the local federal district attorney for that region telling him I was refusing to register. I was arrested, slapped with an outrageous \$5000 bail, convicted, and served 4 months and paid a \$100 fine. Several other C.O.'s were prosecuted, sentenced, and served with me. I just missed serving time with the "Hollywood Ten".

When I came up for certification to teach, the State of Indiana refused to recommend me. The reasons were obviously political. They wouldn't even let me sign up for the final courses I needed to take for certification at Ball State Teacher's College.

In 1950 I was indicted because I was of draft age but still refused to register. In January, '52 I went to prison again and got out on parole in December, '52. When I was in jail in '52 my wife who had 2 small children and 2 older children applied for Welfare and was turned down. This I feel was politically motivated.

As far as political repression in this country, I make a distinction between what happened to the C.O.'s and what happened to some others. Now the Black Panthers were not just imprisoned, they were assassinated by the government. I think the government is after many people, but they do rank in terms of who they consider most dangerous.

The Bromleys in Cincinnati, who are war tax resisters, had a completely

phony case made against them by Nixon's IRS. Their house was taken from them, though they eventually got it back.

My wife and I have been under a lot of government surveillance. We've been involved in Civil Rights and anti-Vietnam War activities. One time when a group of Antioch students stayed at our house, there was a man out on the sidewalk taking pictures of people. Of course we can't prove whether that was the government or right wing vigilantes.

One thing that the government *did* do was at one point refuse to allow us to have any more foster children in our home. A Welfare Department official who was finally pinned down as to why said, "Well you have signed your name to some pretty radical documents".

You only have to look at Sacco and Vanzetti and the Rosenbergs to realize that people are convicted for their political stand and beliefs. These people were vindicated of the crimes they were framed up on only after they were dead, and that's a bit late. There's no reason to think that that isn't going on today. In fact a judge thought little enough of the charges against Bob Avakian and the RCP to have them thrown out once. The fact that the government has gotten those charges reinstated is proof enough to me that something vindictive is going on.

Amos Glenn Brokaw

## Affidavit of Glen Van Slyke, Attorney at Law

BEFORE ME, the undersigned authority, on this day personally appeared GLEN VAN SLYKE, who on his oath did depose and say:

"My name is GLEN VAN SLYKE. I am an attorney at law admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the State of Texas.

"On or about March 10, 1981, WIL-

LIAM W. PIETZSCH, a client of mine, was arrested on the campus on Rice University, a private university in Houston, Texas, while selling the *Revolutionary Worker* and charged with the offense of 'criminal trespass' in the City of Houston Municipal Court. I have represented Mr. PIETZSCH and some 15 other sellers of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper in over 100 cases of 'criminal' charges filed against them here in Houston after they were arrested while selling this newspaper. Accordingly, I am known rather widely as a lawyer who is willing to defend persons arrested on criminal charges while engaged in distributing literature and speaking publicly in support of the philosophy of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.

"On April 13, 1981, I attended a public film showing of the John Huston films 'Let There Be Light' and 'The Battle of San Pietro', at the Rice Media Center on the Rice University campus, the same location where Mr. PIETZSCH had been arrested. Both films were made with funding from the former U.S. War (now Defense) Department, but classified before their public release and held in the National Archives for 35 years, because they were considered 'anti-war' and 'subversive.' After the films finished showing, I stood up and made an announcement to the audience that, just as the U.S. government had censored Huston's films, the Houston Police Department had attempted to censor political discussion at Rice University by arresting Mr. PIETZSCH while he was distributing the *Revolutionary Worker*. I left the theatre, and distributed several copies of the newspaper to members of the audience as they were leaving. When I got outside, I was arrested by Rice University police, handcuffed, interrogated for three hours, transported to the City of Hous-

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## Call to RW Readers to Testify in Connection with Bob Avakian's Demand for Political Refugee Status in France

Astounding though it may be, 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 in France. Already in the initial stages of this process it has been said that political persecution has not been proved—that it has 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 Geneva Convention. As this case now moves into the next and more decisive phase, the *RW* is 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 in Chile, 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.

*This is a chance to testify about the so-called "democracy" in the United States and its true meaning for oppressed and class-conscious people*

Statements that illustrate the above two points should be written down and, if *at all* possible, notarized\* (A notary does not have to somehow approve or verify what you wrote; they are only certifying that you are the person who is signing the statement.) 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 harassment, 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 right away. Please note if your statement could also be used (with or without signature) for publication in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

\* (This can be done in many cities at banks, currency exchanges, and many other small business offices).

# An International Frame-Up Zairean Political Prisoner Faces Deportation

The Revolutionary Worker received the following article from Steve Yip, one of the UN2, who exposed the U.S. and Soviet imperialists with red paint in the United Nations last year on the eve of May 1st. Steve Yip, who is continuing to carry out political exposure of the imperialist system even while he is locked up in prison, made the acquaintance of Dr. M'Biye, from Zaire, and submitted this article on Dr. M'Biye's case for publication. While the RW is not well informed on the political line of the Parti Populaire Africain of Zaire, of which Dr. M'Biye is a member of the central committee, it is clear from the following story that Dr. M'Biye's case is yet another sharp example of the vicious attempts of U.S. imperialism to frame-up and suppress political opposition from any quarter and to attempt to disguise political prisoners with "criminal" charges. Readers will no doubt be reminded of the latest paperback novels of international intrigue where slimy deals are made in the back-rooms of the highest international circles, but this one's for real.

Dr. Honore Emmanuel M'Biye, a native of and political exile from the African country of Zaire, is a French-educated lawyer specializing in International Law. A citizen of both Zaire and France, M'Biye has been employed by contract as a consultant since 1971, for different international organizations such as the E.E.C. (European Common Market), the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development), and many other specialized agencies within the United Nations such as UNUSCO, UNDP-FAO (Food & Agricultural Organization). In his last assignment as a consultant for the UNIDO (UN Industrial Development Organization), his offices were located in the World Bank headquarters in Washington, D.C.

It seems that because Dr. M'Biye is also a member of the Central Committee of the Parti Populaire Africain (PPA) of Zaire—a nationalist organization which is pursuing the overthrow of the brutal, corrupt pro-U.S. client regime of dictator Sese Seko Mobutu and upholds the legacy of the late Patrice Emery Lumumba, the nationalist leader and former Prime Minister of the first government of the Congo (after its independence from Belgium in 1960) who was assassinated by the CIA through Mobutu in a coup d'etat in 1961—M'Biye has been forced to spend the past year as a political prisoner in U.S. federal prisons.

M'Biye's one-year sentence is up on May 23, at which time he is to be transferred from Danbury Federal Correctional Institution to the custody of the INS (Immigration and Naturalization Service) for deportation proceedings to Zaire, where he almost certainly faces execution.

Not only the target of a blatant political railroad flimsily disguised as an alleged bank loan misinformation case, Dr. M'Biye has said he has been subjected also to "maltreatments ever since I have been transferred to Danbury F.C.I. where I am refused proper medical care and am obliged to work at physical labor without consideration for my health. At the slightest resistance on my part, I am put into the segregation unit where I am refused any telephone communication or such basic items as personal toiletries. The worst of all is that prison authorities refuse me the right to get married while in detention under some subjective motives."

The motives are vicious indeed, for they stem from a hatred and fear of an

outspoken force standing on the side of the masses of people against the ruling Mobutu dictatorship which U.S. and western European arms, advisors and troops have kept in power since 1965. Dr. M'Biye's whole experience since his arrest on July 24, 1980 on trumped-up charges of "falsifying" information in order to obtain a bank loan from the Hemisphere National Bank in Washington, D.C., has the unmistakable stench of the workings of U.S. imperialism, its State Department, its puppets in the Zaire government, and from certain quarters within the United Nations Secretariat itself.

Dr. M'Biye first arrived in Washington, D.C. in November, 1979 from Vienna, Austria with a G-4 visa, the type issued by the U.S. government to those employed by international organizations like the U.N. He was to direct a one-year study for UNIDO on foreign investment systems in Africa and the national legislation and fiscal policies of African states. Because his work was in liaison with the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the International Finance Corporation, he was assigned office space and staff assistants in the World Bank headquarters in Washington, D.C. and was listed there as a consultant.

In February 1980, M'Biye was offered a one-year position with the World Bank legal department as Assistant Legal Counsel, to begin on July 1, 1980 with the stipulation for renewal of contract after the first year. In the interim, he was making plans to move from Washington, D.C. to Arlington, Virginia, to buy a car and to get married. Because the transfer of funds from his account at his last overseas assignment was pending, a friend suggested making a small loan to help carry through his plans.

The friends offered to inquire at the Hemisphere National Bank about the loan, as M'Biye wasn't fluent in English. He submitted a loan application using the same financial information as when he applied for major credit cards. Within a short period of time, he was notified that the loan was approved and that repayment was to be completed by July 31, 1980. This was agreed upon by Dr. M'Biye and the appropriate papers were signed.

This bank loan became the backdrop for a series of events in July, 1980 leading to M'Biye's arrest, trial and imprisonment.

M'Biye's new job as Assistant Legal Counsel was barely in its second week when he was summoned to the office of Mr. Razafindrabe, Executive Director for Central African Countries of the World Bank. There he was "politely" informed that this contract with the World Bank was to be terminated due to the intervention of the Zairean Embassy, which requested by letter that M'Biye not be hired by any international organizations in which Zaire was a member.

Greatly shocked and angered, M'Biye immediately protested this blatantly political act. He demanded to see the letter from the Zairean Embassy, but Razafindrabe refused. On July 10, he met with the Director of Personnel at the World Bank, H. Pollan, to protest the decision, but to no avail.

Because of his type of work, M'Biye came into contact with persons holding high positions in both international circles and the U.S. State Department, one of whom was Marilyne Garrison, the head of the Zaire Desk of the State Department who oversaw legal and diplomatic matters of personnel from Zaire. M'Biye telephoned her on July 14 and informed her of his difficulties and she

agreed to meet him. Already within the international circles there was talk of his firing from the World Bank, as M'Biye himself fought to regain his position. In New York he met with the special advisor to the Secretary-General of the U.N. for African Affairs, a Mr. Pedanou, who told him to be "patient". At this time he also requested a rescheduling of the repayment plan for his loan from the bank.

His attempts to meet with Garrison from the Zaire desk became a chase after an elusive appointment meant only to stall for time and set him up for arrest. After several reschedulings and postponements, he went to see her for a 10 a.m. appointment on July 23, was told to come back at 4, and refused to be seen in the afternoon as well, as Garrison was "busy." M'Biye by this time suspected something was wrong. He had already had a sharp confrontation with Zairean Ambassador to the U.S., Kassongo-Mutuale, the day before, who refused to show him the contents of the letter to the World Bank—which it turned out had been sent to all specialized agencies of the UN and all diplomatic missions in Washington, D.C. and New York. Later that afternoon, he went to the Hemisphere National Bank for an appointment about his loan. He was stopped there by a bank officer and 2 FBI agents who detained him while they talked to the State Department and World Bank; when they returned, the FBI agents arrested M'Biye for "providing false information on application made to federally insured banks."

At the kangaroo trial in September 1980, the U.S. government set out to prove a phony and straw argument: that Dr. M'Biye falsely attributed his employer as the "United Nations" rather than as the "United Nations Industrial Development Organization" or "UNIDO". Using an affidavit submitted by one Kuo-ho Chang, Chief of Staff Services at the U.N. Secretariat in New York, they supported their argument by Chang's assertion that M'Biye had never been a staff member of the U.N. Secretariat. The fact of the matter is that Dr. M'Biye was *not*, and never claimed to be, a staff member of the U.N. Secretariat; he was a consultant of UNIDO whose headquarters and records are in Vienna, Austria, and his office then and during the trial was located in the World Bank, another organization affiliated with the United Nations. (Though the U.N. Secretariat is the headquarters of the United Nations, most of its organizations are not located in the headquarters building.) The chief of staff services of the Secretariat, in fact, is not in charge of the records of those involved in official, diplomatic or consultant positions, but those of office support and administrative personnel.

This circus display, under the signboard of American "justice," was further compounded by the appearance of Peter Neuman, a lawyer sent down by the U.N. Secretariat's Legal Department, who testified on Chang's behalf. This suspicious move itself is revealing of those within the United Nations, such as Mr. Penanou, special assistant to the Secretary General for African Affairs, who was well aware of M'Biye's predicament, chose to give way to the desires of the Zairean government and its puppet masters in Washington, D.C. and condoned the U.N. Secretariat's participation in M'Biye's railroad.

Furthermore, the vile hypocrisy of the prosecution reached ludicrous heights when the U.S. attorney agreed at the trial to refer to the United Nations and its specialized agencies within

its superstructure as simply "United Nations," while M'Biye was accused of not being specific in his loan application whether the "United Nations" or "UNIDO" was his employer! Greasing the tracks for the prosecution, the court-appointed defense attorney sabotaged M'Biye's defense efforts, thwarting any move to present witnesses and evidence in his behalf, and exploiting his lack of command of English to confuse him.

There can be no doubt that a concerted effort was in the works to isolate and discredit Dr. M'Biye because of his opposition to the Mobutu regime in Zaire. The *Washington Post* even joined in, triggering rumors and speculation off an article painting him as a con artist living a high lifestyle. Not only was he uprooted from his job, subjected to political detention and harassment, but moves were made to ensure that his situation was not taken up, in order to facilitate a quiet deportation and guaranteed execution in Zaire. Immediately after his trial and conviction, a veil of silence was imposed among all those formerly associated with him, professionally and socially. Many friends and colleagues have been so intimidated that they have compromised their friendship with M'Biye and have abandoned him to the imperialist wolves.

This is not the first time Dr. M'Biye has been the target of political repression. In 1968 he was arrested by the Mobutu regime and tortured for his opposition views. He has maintained his principles despite his isolation and constant harassment in prison, including being thrown in the "hole" frequently. He has stated, "This is not a criminal case but a political one disguised as a criminal case. The U.S. government in collaboration with the Mobutu dictatorship is attempting to silence me and all opposition." □

COMMUNISTS  
ARE REBELS

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

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

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

50¢

## War Crimes Testimony

# Statement on Repression from Walla Walla Prisoners

The following letter, written by prisoners, was sent to the RW from the office of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal for publication.

Members of the International War Crimes Tribunal:

From our vantage point inside the prisons of U.S. imperialism we have observed the growing level of contention between our class and the bourgeoisie. We have watched with joy and pride as oppressed and working class people have defied and defeated the imperialist enemy inside Iran and Nicaragua and have kept a vigilant eye on the revolutionary war in El Salvador.

We condemn the rise in national and international terrorism waged by the bourgeoisie against our revolutionary allies in Turkey and Iran and Korea as well. In the last few years we have witnessed an increase in the use of military force by the bourgeoisie and an increase in the crimes perpetrated against our revolutionary brothers and sisters.

In Turkey revolutionaries are being hanged for their "political crimes" and torture, murder, rape and beatings are everyday occurrences in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Korea and other countries fighting for their liberation. Those that are not killed by the bourgeois armies on the streets are murdered by bourgeois police in jails and prisons.

The entire state apparatus of the imperialists has been employed at an ever increasing rate to systematically destroy left and working class resistance. Entire towns and cities have been destroyed as the military regimes have tried to stamp out opposition by the working class people to capitalist exploitation and oppression. Hundreds of thousands of people have been forced to flee their homelands to refugee camps to escape political repression and death for their struggle against poverty and oppression.

Inside the U.S. the capitalist economy is in a shambles and the bourgeois government has raised a war call to any country fighting to be free of U.S. domination. U.S. arms, troops, and economic aid to fascist governments and military dictatorships has poured into oppressed countries to prop up the system of capitalism and protect U.S. imperialism. There has been a resurgence in bourgeois laws meant to suppress the political rights of all those who resist the political policies of the U.S. government and support the international fight for socialism.

U.S. jails are bursting with Indians, Blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and other revolutionary fighters who have fallen prey to the repressive laws, courts, and political policies of the U.S. government. Inside the prisons the crimes against the oppressed continue unabated.

Political prisoners of all races and nationalities are isolated from other fallen brothers and treated in the worst way possible to break their determination to continue their people's struggle for freedom within prison.

National and racial oppression in U.S. prisons is unbearably high and cruel. In many prisons, prisoners have organized along class lines. In prisons like those in California and Illinois there are organized gangs of Nazis, Ku Klux Klan and Aryan Brotherhood prisoners. These bourgeois elements foster national and racial hatred, discrimination and inequality towards the oppressed. Other groups struggle for the rights of the oppressed inside and outside of prison. Inside the Washington State Penitentiary in Walla Walla national and racial hatred and discrimination is also high. Native American In-

dians are denied access to a Sweat Lodge and Medicine Man inside segregation. Native Indians are constant victims of racial slurs and police brutality. Racial harassment is a daily part of life for native prisoners, and those who resist are often beaten, isolated for years in segregation cells and charged for crimes against guards who attack them.

At present Jim Simmons is undergoing a murder trial at Walla Walla for merely defending himself against the forceable attack of a prison guard. He faces the death penalty if convicted.

In all U.S. prisons the oppressed are controlled by racist and nationalist elements working directly or indirectly for the bourgeois state. National and racial

violence comes easy to the Nazis, KKKers and A.B. as well as the Mexican Mafia. Violence, murder, torture, rapes, extortion, bribery, threats and intimidation are all weapons in their bourgeois arsenal.

When professionals are needed, however, they are easy for the state to find and hire to do their illegal dirty work. A CIA agent who had trained Argentina's police in torture tactics was hired as warden at the New Mexico State Prison after the riot in 1980.

Nationally or internationally prisons are a defense for free enterprise against any freedom fighter that opposes capitalist or imperialist policies. Many of those that champion the struggle for revolution or socialism nationally or internationally will meet the enemy either on the streets or behind bars.

Wherever we encounter the enemy we must struggle to be free of our oppressors. As prisoners and revolutionaries we denounce the crimes of U.S. imperialism and the bourgeoisie internationally.

Mark LaRue & Ed Mead  
on behalf of NWPO  
(Northwest Prisoners Organization)

The second in the series of five hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals will be held in Los Angeles for three days on May 29, 30 and 31. Other hearings are planned for Chicago, Atlanta and New York City. All those who cannot directly participate in the hearings are urged to send testimony, tapes, photos, etc. to the tribunals. The two principle areas of testimony in the Los Angeles hearings will be:

- \* Central America, South America and Mexico.
- \* Internal expansion of U.S. imperialism, past and present, focusing on the oppressed nationalities.

In addition there will be testimony from veterans and testimony on the question of scientific research for U.S. imperialism.

**For further information write to the following address:  
2625 E. Third Street, Long Beach, California 90814, (213)384-7840**



On Tuesday, April 28th, 1981 in Berkeley, California, the following subpoena was served:

To: G. GORDON LIDDY

The Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism hereby summons you to appear before the Tribunal to explain and defend your actions as an exemplary agent and spokesperson for the crimes that the United States has committed and is committing world wide. You, who admire Adolph Hitler and the Nazi Storm Troopers; you who serve and defend the rulers of this country so loyally in their murderous exploits from Vietnam to Iran to Atlanta to El Salvador; you who claim and are held up to be a steel willed patriot; you who are such an articulate and well kept prostitute for your masters of Wall Street... you especially are challenged to come before the War Crimes Tribunal and before the people of the world who have suffered under and fought against the heinous crimes of U.S. Imperialism.

Even the fact that the likes of you are enabled to speak here tonight in front of U.C. Berkeley students, long known as a center of anti-imperialist sentiments and actions, is due to the high echelon efforts to reverse earlier and correct verdicts against U.S. Imperialism brought by the people of the world. However, by the reception here it is clear that this attempted reversal goes against the will of the people. It is in this spirit that the Tribunal summons you to appear in Los Angeles at the second session of the War Crimes Tribunal. Should you not appear you and your masters will be further exposed.

THE TRIBUNAL SUBPOENA SERVERS

# CORRESPONDENCE

## ON MAY 1st

### Chicago Youth

Chicago mayor Jane Byrne, to justify her police invasion of Cabrini-Green, gave some dramatic readings to the press of some letters from 2nd graders welcoming her to that housing project. Below, we print two letters we received from youth in the projects. A discussion and debate about May First was held in at least one class in a neighboring school, and some students wrote papers. RW distributors report that since May Day in Cabrini-Green "youth continue to greet us with 'Break Out, Break Free, May Day 1981' whenever they see us and to ask for red flags and stickers, which they are continuing to do battle to put up in their buildings."

May 10, 1981

May Day

On May 1 Revolution workers went out to protest about all the bad things that Mayor Jane B. is doing to us people.

We will tear down the old order and fight to bring in the new.

A revolutionary girl from Cabrini-Green (age 10)

May 10, 1981

May 1

May 1 the RCP went to protest in Cabrini Green to put up the Red flag. The red flag means the blood they shed. The Revolution workers are trying to make things good not just in America but all over the world.

2 revolutionary boys from Cabrini-Green (ages 12 and 9)

### "Not Far Behind"

May 5, 1981

Dear Revolutionary Worker:

Finally, the day we had been working for dawned, bright and sunny. My ninety-one-year-old mother had asked to get up early so she would be ready for the events. We were reading the paper over our coffee and noted the May Day message of Bob Avakian's headed by "Let the Youth Be Out There in the Forefront, But Let the Old People Be Not Far Behind." She smiled, nodded and picked up the pace of her morning routine. Suddenly, I heard shouting in the street in front of our house. I ran to see what it was and was greeted by a huge cloud of black smoke cutting off the front door and the living room. My gut tightened and I rushed to alert mother. She is partly paralysed, walks haltingly with a cane especially in the morning, but we got her down the backstairs where a neighbor carried her to safety. The fire engines came and went leaving our house a shambles. Neighbors came by to see what they could do, and they did help, but all the while I was worrying about getting to May Day. The house had to be boarded up, the insurance company notified, the animals taken care of. Finally, we were ready. We drove across the bridge to the Mission District in our native city, just in time to see the glorious red flags and to sing the Internationale in several languages. The march then shaped up. Mother in her wheelchair waited near the rear as a young mother and her little baby came alongside. "May we march with you," she said; "this is his first May Day." Each vehicle, wheelchair and stroller bore a red flag. We walked two blocks before we were confronted by the line of blue. Someone came up to us and suggested that we move off to the side since there was also a line of blue behind us. We did, just as the call came

again to "Pick up the Red Flag!" The proletarian fighters faced the blue pig line. Clubs against bodies. The two riders, young and old moved to a vantage point behind a fence in front of the bank. Someone came out of the bank exclaiming: "Did you see that!" Seeing us with our red flags, he pointed to an exit and explained how to use it. Reluctantly (because we wanted to be there) we used it and found ourselves on the street walking towards a regrouping place. On the way there we saw that the Army recruiting station had been attacked. May Day was in full flower. The repercussions will be felt around the world and the youth were out there with the old people too, red flags waving!

From a middle-aged reader (both young and old)

### More on the Role of Foreign Students

Below are sections of a letter from West Virginia which focus on the important role of foreign students there on May First. Raising the red flag there is especially "in the face" of the authorities, who arrested numbers of people there last year on a law specifically banning it. In other actions elsewhere in the coalfields, not covered in this report, Harlan County saw red flags atop coal tipples and a demonstration. This is an area where the Klan recently surfaced and has drawn outrage. People also went into various coal camps in the area with red flags and RW's.

In one city, a group of Iranian students who get the RW out in the area decided to celebrate May First even though it was the first day of final exams. They got bundles of RW's around to the campus in the morning and then in the afternoon a couple of them went into the Black community with red flags and RW's. A number of people took red flags, including some youth who were marching up and down the street with them.

In another city on the First a group which included some Iranian students stood defiantly in front of the courthouse in the center of town and, after some agitation about May Day, the red flag, etc., sang the Internationale in

four languages—English, Spanish, French and Farsi. Only a couple of people in the group decided to raise red flags, but then afterwards when everyone went to a local tavern, they played the Chairman's tape which kicked off some sharp debate inside the tavern. Off the debate—and some summation of the significance of their action and the RW—some of the newer people who had come forward took bundles of RW's to sell. A co-conspirator then went on to a concert—where after some discussion with the band they proceeded to put up a May Day poster on the stage and then dedicated "Death or Glory" to May Day. (Another band performed several times displaying this poster, too.) The tavern also agreed to set out a stack of the special May Day RW. At least five small businesses in the area displayed the May Day poster.

Also, a couple of anarchists, inspired by the RCP "resurrecting May Day in the U.S.," decided to put out their own leaflet which they posted up around town. The Fedayeen-Left put out their own May Day poster which got posted up around Morgantown by their supporters.

### Kansas City

Comrades staffing the Revolutionary Worker newspaper,

On May 4th, 1981, Kansas Bureau of Investigation agents operating in conjunction with federal authorities' branch office located in Kansas City, Missouri resorted to harassment and intimidation tactics in a futile attempt to stop the uncompromising revolutionary political line of the Revolutionary Communist Party and its influence both broad and deep among the masses here.

In typical gestapo style K.B.I. agents announced through the questioning of one of our parents that they were watching and waiting to pick up one of our comrades. Resorting to veiled threats and trying to sponge information from people's relatives proved to reap little information. It is at this point that they revealed some of the desperate measures they are employing to stop the Revolutionary Worker newspaper's distribution. The agent plopped down a stack of letters 3-4" tall of mail and correspondence "intercepted and

monitored" for the last five (5) months. (One of the xeroxed copies that was given to the parent was a letter written to an area supporter dated January 24, 1981.) They then presented a list of 20-30 names of relatives and friends that were being "investigated for possible communism" (as if it is a new form of delirium) and said that "they might have a small case of mailing communism through the mails" and if they could prove that their 4-year-old daughter attended any meetings "we would definitely have a case." He also alluded that the F.B.I. would like to get "their hands on him" to question him with a polygraph about activities in another state! However he said repeatedly (with foaming mouth to be sure), "My hands are tied for right now."

This recent and blatant act would explain several unusual incidents that have taken place over the last few months. Sporadic delivery of mail both coming and going, and a recent bust and harassment of one of the friends listed "to be investigated" where the pigs in that city told him (as they were beating him) "to tell your commie friends to come and get you out of this one and we'll get them too." Also the recent swift dismissal of a worker for distribution and solicitation of the newspaper at a construction site of a local nuclear generation station. There is also evidence that landlords and area merchants have been questioned since several people have had evictions and attempted dismissals from their jobs. All these incidents have been escalated in the weeks and days prior to May Day, 1981. This is especially telling since there were hundreds of R.W.'s distributed in this area just recently. Although reports are still to be made on May 1st actions in this area, several red flags were flown and many workers did not show up at their jobs that day. Several using several-week-old R.W.'s (since that was all they had) went out and broadly distributed the paper in several urban centers of the state. And this is what is only immediately known about the actions of the advanced on May 1st. More reports will be filed as we receive them. (All this is the direct result of going broadly and deeply among the masses.)

People have stepped forward in the face of this recent tactic employed by the "authorities" and are determined to fan the flames and to stand up and stand and fight. We are changing and re-arranging the world in the act of bringing the RW to the people in this area. Many people here want to know of the actions around the country and the world taken on May 1st.

—up in the face of the beast,  
a comrade from Kansas City

### Dayton

In Dayton, Ohio on May 1st, one of the actions taken by the masses was a car caravan organized by a co-conspirator who had only been reading the RW for a short time. He had also listened to Bob Avakian's May 1st speech on tape. On May 1st he organized a car caravan consisting of 12 cars, four people to a car, which wound through his neighborhood (a housing project) and several others. They met up with some bikers and explained to them what May 1st was about, and the bikers took red strips of cloth, tied them on their bikes, and rode with the car caravan for a short time. All the way, several people took turns agitating about the significance of May 1st on a CB radio that had been hooked up to a PA system. People flew red flags and red pieces of material from their car antennas. The car caravan wound through the streets to the downtown area, and in



This photo was sent in by a correspondent labeled "Banner in rural, agricultural area in California."

*A Rose For You*



We received this greeting card from a prisoner who creatively transformed what was at hand into a revolutionary message. The printed text said:

*Remembering all the happiness  
That you have brought to me,  
I send this bright red rose  
to say,  
That for eternity,  
I will be grateful that  
you are you,  
And that you care for me.*

To which he added: "The rose (red) isn't the flag, but it means the same to me. Thanks for the paper. Keep up. I wish I was out there now and I feel the same. I know how to deal with it!"

the main public square, stopped for a few minutes, where some more agitation was done. A regular RW reader from the same housing project, planted a huge red flag in his yard. It remained up for the whole week after May 1st. □

**Eye Witness from Europe, Latin America**

This letter comes from two revolutionaries, one European and one Latin American, who witnessed the May Day demonstration in San Francisco's Mission District this year and filmed it to show both in Europe and Latin America.

The police squad with helmets, shields and big sticks appeared in the middle of the street, moving like robots, lining up to attack when their master ordered it. They were ready to defend "order"—their order—the democratic institutions and the right of a few—and not they themselves—to live off the work of the rest; the American flag that guarantees the powerful of this country, like those in the other imperialist countries, to rule and exploit poor people in the third world. Down the center of the street marched slowly but firmly the red flags held by hundreds of hands.

The red flags did not hesitate; they marched forward.

It was May Day in San Francisco, USA. In Europe or Latin America it's a holiday won by the working class during which they march in the streets with red flags to pay homage to those who create the wealth of this world. But here, in the US it's a day the government tries to hide—of course, it was their police and their judges who murdered the Chicago martyrs—not only denying history but also trying to close off the future.

At 24th and Mission streets, surprisingly, there were many red flags, color and a feeling that was really lacking before. The negation of gringo nationalism—"We're not Americans, we're proletarians!"—was really strong, and of course, logically something like that calls forth the forces of repression, it had to be, the clash was serious.

Another surprise was that the traditional left, like the communist parties and the Trotskyites, totally slight May Day here in the U.S. None of these so-called left forces held high the red flag, nor claim May Day. So it was a big surprise to see a real revolutionary party here in the belly of the beast.

The march continued. A red truck

with posters and loudspeakers went in front, agitating. People passing by, some indifferent, some sympathetic, some activists, all had their eyes on the police standing in the middle of the street impeding the direction of the march.

The forces were polarizing. Someone yelled in Spanish, from the sidewalk, "Now they're just like Somoza's Guardia Nacional, let them pass!" We heard no police order to disperse. The march continued. It was just a few yards that separated the demonstrators from the cops, when the police brutally attacked, demonstrators, people passing by, people on the sidewalk. Red flags as well as the people holding them hit the street, and the cops stomped hysterically on the flags, and at the same time, beat up one of the people carrying a flag until all we could see was a sea of boots, helmets and sticks. People on the sidewalks picked up flags and newspapers that covered the street and began to pass them out before the cops could confiscate them.

A few streets ahead of the defenders of the stars and stripes, flag, all the windows in an Army Recruitment Office were destroyed. The picture of Uncle Sam with his witch's finger pointing and saying "I Want You!" had a big hole in his nose.

One of the slogans, "Red, White and Blue, I Spit on You," the flag of imperialism—a comrade told us that Bob Avakian had once said something like "Nobody's ever discredited or reviled that goddamned flag, but it's the flag of imperialism!" And we are totally in agreement with that. And to see the red flag held high in the streets of North America was something very big for us. We thought that the revolutionary process in the US—what we saw on May Day—proved that "Man does not live by Bread alone." This is a dream for a lot of people; but on May Day, the integral man of Marx was the order of the day. And it was precisely that profoundly revolutionary character of seeing further, further than just a salary, a house, a car, a stability, a time when you have to sell yourself through your work, a time when you have to sell things; so that seeing further than all that, that is the sort of profoundly revolutionary character that can occur here in the US. We saw that you correctly put forward—a future. And that goes right in the face of those who think revolutions are fought only for a piece of bread. And we thought it very important, very interesting, the reactions of the masses of people, who live daily, especially in that neighborhood, the police harassment, to see the hatred they have for the forces of repression and the way they showed a lot of solidarity with the revolutionaries; now even those so-called left groups have to take a position, and it must be with the cops or the revolutionaries. . . .

And it's important that the masses themselves—more than their daily life of exploitation, of the routine that deadens them—have the opportunity to feel and experience actions that they can take part in. You can do the work of raising consciousness for a long time, but in that moment of confrontation, of open struggle, their consciousness advances very rapidly. For example, in a demonstration in Colombia, in a city called Bucaramanga, in 1977, the police had totally blocked off a street down which people marched in the funeral of a person the cops had murdered. They saw the police cordon and halted. Came the moment of doubt, go forward or return? From the masses of people, leaped forward a youth of perhaps 16-17 years. He tore off his shirt and yelled, "For this march to go forward, we need someone to die!" And he charged the police cordon. The masses surged right behind him and broke the cordon. We accept and we know that in every group like that around May Day there are backward, intermediate and advanced. In these moments the clearest head politically, those advanced both in theory and practice are the ones who grasp that flag, drag everything along with them, imbue with a revolutionary clarity all the people, bringing them into action. The most advanced are the permanent ferment, a ferment that impels action, clarity, that's how we see the advanced politically. And in the moment of confrontation, they can see mankind further along, further along than the day to day grind, as if a cloud passed and one can see the other side of all this! A new kind of life, a new social organization, even a paradise, if you want! He can see the other side in these moments of fighting and that's why he fights. There's a movie called

"The Working Class Goes to Heaven," and in it a character called "Mass" has a dream, and in the dream he sees the other side of the wall. In these kinds of moments, a person can grasp, can see or at least suspect, the existence of the other side of the wall, and with continuous political work too, can grasp how to end all this. It's a very firm step forward and because of it, we have a lot of hope.

We have another story relative to all this: when there were student rebellions in Germany in '68, the anti-imperialist struggle, things weren't very clearly defined in that moment. But we were pulled along some way. We were in the streets for the first time, participating in a demonstration. And we saw injustice, what we saw and felt most of all was the attack on the students, and in that moment, a whole world fell apart, a world in which everything had its little order, everything was OK; but suddenly people just like ourselves came along and they were beating them. We thought we were going to have the revolution right there, because it was so clear that "This no longer functions!" So we went to work, and there was a big debate among the workers, and we divided up, taking positions right there, and we think that happens among the people all the time, it's a generalization, this ferment, no? That is, one is a witness, and takes part in a confrontation and this development grows and is necessary.

Another point: in Latin America, in many countries and especially Mexico, May Day has been institutionalized. They allow unions and the state allows demonstrations and among them is the institutionalized communist party. They march, these so-called "communist" parties, and it's just a matter of May Day BUT WITH THEIR VISION, PERIOD. We remember that in Colombia once there was a moment the masses wanted to go for it, to go out and protest, and a member of the Communist Youth opposed that and said it was "spontaneous, not programmed, even anarchist!" And we said, "Why? Why are you opposing this, give us a reason!" And the son of a bitch said, "Because we won't be able to control it, the revolution doesn't start at 3 in the afternoon, it starts tomorrow at 5!" He didn't want to lose control!

Well, this film we made of the demonstration is going to have a big impact in Latin America, because it's going to show that here in the belly of the beast—they're going to see first of all that there is a May Day that is not official, a May Day that is fought for here and it will give them a lot of inspiration to see there are people here who confront repression and fight for a true May Day. In Latin America, the US represents imperialism and the majority of the people are not very aware of the fact that a proletariat exists here that is fighting too. Any gringo who goes there is the enemy, which expresses a certain consciousness, but they don't know that there is also a struggle here. And it's very important they see that the struggle is an international one. That we are fighting, that here too there is a proletariat. And "We are not Americans, we are proletarians," that's going to cause a big impact in Latin America!

One last thing: it would be a perfect situation for us in Latin America if right here in the US you brought about the sort of revolution that you are planting. Because it would be the biggest support you could give us in our revolutionary process, a process which is not stopped by but is somewhat tied down to revolutionary concepts that are pro-Soviet or Cuban. We have a lot of hope that here in the belly of the beast there are revolutionaries and that they do not back down, and that we are going together to bring about an anti-imperialist struggle all over the world!

**Atlanta Red Flag**

This correspondence comes from a talk with the man who—despite the fact that he is blind—raised the red flag over the Georgia State capitol the week before May Day in honor of Damián García, who was murdered by police agents in Los Angeles last year. At the capitol, this proletarian shouted, "We haven't forgotten you Damián, never. This is for you comrade, you're with us!"

I've seen all those Civil Rights. In my time, I started marching when I was 2-years-old. The first paper was the Dai-

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# CORRESPONDENCE

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ly Worker over there at Cabbagetown, going with my momma selling the paper. I've been through it all. I haven't changed a bit. Except I'm more radical, more militant, more revolutionary today. In my time, from the IWW, in all their marches they carried the American flag in front and carried the red flag in back. . . . The IWW is called the biggest criminal on earth. But nothing compares with the RCP, it's more bold, more in the open ideology. The old CP and the OL, which is the CPML now, was like saying we're under the bed, we're in the closet waiting. . . . Just think though a little piece of lead, the capitalists come out in the open; they can't take it. The red flag is in the open now more than in the past and the RCP's out in the open. Its aim one thing only, nothing else—revolution. And the red cloth means revolution now, to do away with oppression and every criminal thing under the sun you can think of. Somebody has to make a first move. In 1917 in Russia they made the first move. They overthrew the system. Look what they did in China. People said it couldn't be done, but it did in 1949. Somebody's got to make the first move in this country. . . . Of all the parties I've worked with they all mention revolution, but said it's not time. Well when is the time? When is the time? You have to win people over. But you can't do it going off talking to people about jobs and all that. Look at the unions they're all sold out. Long as that continues it doesn't accomplish anything. What happens when the war hits? May First 1981 compares with May Day 1980. . . . That red paint on the Task Force. It did implant the people. May Day 1981 was a new era. The old '30s and all that they're done gone. It gives me a feeling much higher than I ever thought left. I never thought this might happen in my lifetime. In 1980 I felt like I could put myself on the battlefield. Who knew I wasn't there? I studied it all my life. I wanted to be part of it. Like a bullet. And then May Day 1981. The red flag went up. On my own it was the greatest experience in my lifetime; there's never gonna be no second feeling the same: Of being by the flagpole at the State Capitol in Atlanta, Georgia. The whole world was watching Atlanta. Atlanta used to be nothing, just another slave state, it still is, a little country town, especially with the child killers here. I realized that Atlanta was

the target. . . . At the flagpole, I had a job to do, not for me. But for people around the world. □

## Atlanta Activist

*The following is a letter to the RW from one of the May Day activists who was arrested on May 1st. This incident took place a week after May Day, in Atlanta.*

I was walking to the trash today when two neighbors hailed me. "We saw you on TV. That was a hell of a battle. You guys gave them cops hell."

One of them said, "I got up out of my seat, hollering to that girl 'hit 'em again, hit 'em again.' My mother said, 'hell, they can't hear you.' but I was so excited I couldn't stop."

The other woman explained to her friend, "It was a battle, it took place on Friday, May 1st. It happens every year. I saw them battle it out on Alabama Street downtown last year. The cops acted like this old bundle of clothes was something dangerous. They were freaked out."

When I told her about the flag-burning in Techwood, they clapped their hands. The same woman said, "May Day is all over the world. I wish I could step out in space and look at the whole world and see the battle in every country."

The woman also described an event several months ago when the cops came through here asking if anyone had seen a man and woman selling the RW. "They asked me if I had seen them. Just two minutes before I'd seen them go into that doorway, but I said, 'No, I haven't seen anyone.' The cop said, 'Are you sure?' And I said, 'Real sure.'"

## Lenin in New York

In the period building up to May Day in New York, one worker bought himself the collected works of Lenin. Then on May 1 itself he brought all his old, now redundant pamphlets to work to sell to other workers in this warehouse-type place. The ones most often purchased were the ones that people were familiar with—those which had been reprinted in the RW. They also played Bob Avakian's tape on May 1 all day throughout the day at work.

## S.F. Seaman

*From an older class-conscious Filipino seaman, a veteran of many struggles, on May Day:*

Dear Revolutionary Worker,

I feel very proud I had taking part in your demonstration on May Day, I had a little red flag holding high and waving in the air. I am proud because it is my first time I have carried a red flag. And to me it is an honor. Even if I should carry the red flag only 50 feet, but I did carry it for two blocks while I was at the end of the march. It is my first time I'll have seen a sea of red banners marching down on Mission Street. And so many people came out to see the red flag for the first time. The police riot squad came out on Mission Street to confront the demonstrators with long and heavy clubs. This is an act of fascism. Not only against the demonstrators but swing their clubs on the people which has nothing to do with May Day. The red flag is a torch of liberty, your humanity and love. I am glad to act now while I am living.

## Bourgeois Counter-Attack—S.F.

The San Francisco authorities, still reeling from the shattering effect of May 1st 1981, intensified their vicious legal and police assault on the revolutionary forces last week. One man who was not arrested on May 1st was picked up by police a week later on a warrant in San Jose, California and charged with two counts of felonious assault on a police officer with a deadly weapon on May 1st. On Saturday, May 9, police attacked a group of RW sellers in the Mission District. They arrested eight people. Five were released with citations and three were singled out and charged with felony battery on a police officer and two misdemeanors—inciting to riot and blocking the sidewalk. These charges were linked to the May 1st demonstration. Bail was set at \$4500 for two of them and \$5500 for the third. The one singled out for the highest bail was actually in jail all day long on May 1st.

These outrageous trumped-up charges, following in the wake of a public opinion campaign in the press, are aimed to black out the news of May 1st 1981 and then to try and isolate the Party politically (see RW No. 104 for more details). The authorities have singled

out for repeated arrests and heavy charges a number of staunch proletarian fighters known both to the masses and the police to have been very active in the Mission District around May 1st. Within that, they have particularly gone after the one brother who was held on the highest bail in the May 9 arrests. They have made it clear that one of the main reasons they are going after him so ferociously is that he is foreign-born, from Hong Kong. This came out sharply in the threats and comments made to him by the jailers, who had obviously been given a crash course in the revolutionary movement by higher-ups. "Hong Kong boy, we'll send you back," they threatened, "even your Chairman's speech won't help you now. . . . do you know the *Internationale* in French?" This blatant attack is clearly a frontal assault on the internationalist character of May 1st itself, particularly on all those foreign-born who stepped forward and took great risks to raise the red flag on May 1st, but it is fundamentally a great show of the imperialists' vulnerability and how much they fear the conscious political action of those who have been thrown into the belly of the beast from all over the world by the workings of the imperialist system itself.

On Tuesday, May 12, all those arrested on May 1st, as well as those arrested in the following weeks, appeared in court for arraignment. Bailiffs hung from the rafters, S.F.P.D. lined the hall outside the courtroom, and the Tac Squad waited in the wings, as the authorities continued their show of force and attempted to intimidate the arrested ones and their supporters, and prevent them from taking the political offensive in the courtroom.

But the defendants made clear from the beginning that they were not going to be intimidated, starting off the day with a militant picket line, red flags flying and posting the following large manifesto outside the San Francisco Hall of Justice:

"On May Day 1981, you and your whole class of parasites were delivering a devastating blow by the proletariat and oppressed worldwide. With mounting fear you saw the red flag raised and fought for in the streets in country after country around the world. And right here in the belly of the U.S. beast, we proudly held aloft the red flag of internationalism and we burned your filthy red, white and blue rag of

Send May 1st Reports Today

In countless ways, in countless places, the red flag was raised on May 1st. Now readers of the *Revolutionary Worker* must take up the serious task of reporting on these May Day actions. Some knowledge has already been accumulated, as this present issue indicates. But there is much more that has happened, there are more experiences to be popularized and lessons to be drawn. And this can only be done through the active correspondence of readers.

Accounts of May 1st will not only enable us to assess the situation, but will also further enable the RW to intensify the work of creating broad revolutionary public opinion. So, readers should send written reports, tapes and photographs right away to the RW, both on May Day events in this country and those around the world. □



# ON MAY 1st

plunder."

(In passing, here, it is worth noting that despite their puffed up show of force, the imperialists gave clear indication that they suffered a political defeat May 1st when the newly repaired windows at the Mission District Army recruiting station appeared with a large U.S. flag and a sign which read, "These colors don't run.")

In the courtroom, Judge Garcia, a so-called "liberal" Chicano judge, refused to allow charges to be read against various defendants, who demanded that their charges be read. (Even though the defendants had asked for a postponement of the formal arraignment, it indeed was their legal right to hear the charges against them.) When one of the revolutionaries was called before the judge, he said, "In memory of Bobby Sands, who gave his life for the international proletariat, I'd like to have my charges read." For this demand, the judge threatened to throw him into jail, and when the defendant protested, the judge revoked his OR and ordered \$500 bail. The bailiff scrambled to keep order and then had fits climbing over people to capture a red flag that was being waved along the side of the room. The judge blubbered from the bench, "If you want to go back to custody, just keep talking," and the bailiff started ejecting defendants from the courtroom. When the lawyers for the defendants backed up one of the revolutionaries who protested against the massive show of police in and around the courtroom, and demanded to make a formal motion that the presence of the Tac Squad was coercive, the judge immediately threatened the lawyer with contempt and went on with the railroad. Another woman also had her OR revoked and \$500 bail set for the outrageous crime of actually saying out loud in the court that a railroad was going on. When the people in the courtroom started humming the *Internationale*, the judge ordered the courtroom cleared of all defendants who had already had the date for their next court appearance set. And as the strains of the *Internationale* continued to drift into the court-

room from the hall, the judge continued to be a model of bourgeois justice, as he had been all morning.

As the courtroom battle continued to illustrate, the powers of the state are calculatingly pursuing their attempts to not only retaliate for the political defeat they suffered on May 1st, but to further attack the Party of the proletariat, make an example out of various staunch fighters, and damage the all-around revolutionary work of the Party among the masses. But as usual, these professional rock droppers are exposing themselves in the bargain and once again imperialist rocks are falling on imperialist toes. The news of the May 1st battle in the Mission has spread very broadly. One class of law students from a local college came to court specifically to witness the May 1st hearings. Various lawyers have offered their services to the defendants and a number of doctors and medical workers have stepped forward to testify on the condition of the defendants and others who were brutally attacked by the police on May 1st.

### Boston Bookstore Eviction

Monday morning, May 11, the sidewalks in front of 233 Massachusetts Ave. were filled with supporters, customers and staff members of Revolution Books, as well as bookshelves and tables stacked high with progressive and revolutionary books and periodicals from the store. The store was evicted when MIT, which owned the building, refused to renew their lease. At 9 a.m., Cambridge City Constables and their hired moving van pulled up to the door, prepared to seize and evict the contents of Revolution Books. But as they trooped into the store, they were confronted with nothing to seize except walls covered with slogans from the 6-month eviction battle, slogans of May Day '81, the revolutionary poetry of Lumumba Kaliba and Mao Tsetung, and one large mounted red flag!

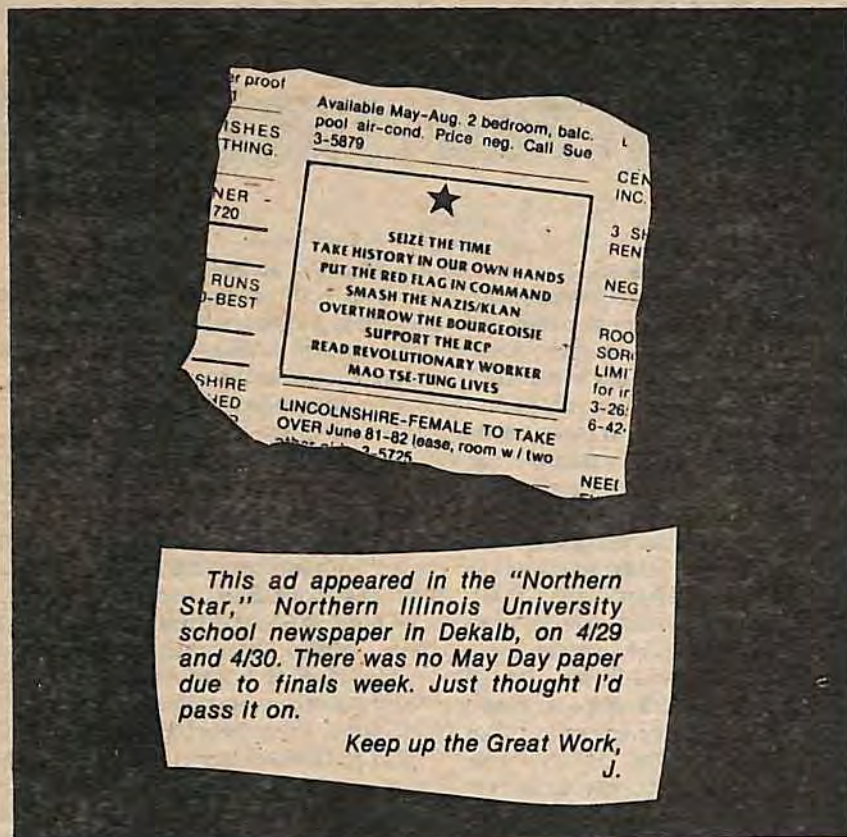
Following through with their "strictly legal procedure," the constables

ordered the movers to take the red flag and deliver it to a place of the staff's choosing—which much to their dismay was the middle of Central Square in Cambridge, scene of some of the most intense political debate and support for the store. Upon arriving at Central Square to deliver the evicted red flag, the movers were met by RW sellers distributing the May Day issue of the newspaper, agitating and exposing the desperate hand of the bourgeoisie behind the attempt to shut down Revolution Books.

We say "attempt to shut down" because—while they have won a temporary victory in forcing the bookstore out of the Mass. Ave. location—they have not and will never be able to prevent the wide distribution of these books to millions, which is what they would so like to do. The search is under-

way for a new storefront location in the area. Plans are being made to take booktables out to restaurants, co-ops, community centers and campuses in the same way that they were successfully set up all over town in the weeks leading up to May Day. And new opportunities are being uncovered to set up Revolution Books bookshelves, such as the "Center for Revolutionary Education" at Keene State College in nearby New Hampshire, run by a Marxist professor and his students and featuring the RW, May Day posters and an extensive array of literature from Revolution Books.

The victorious re-opening of Revolution Books in Berkeley, Calif. on May Day '81 will be followed soon with the red flag flying over a new center for the distribution of revolutionary theory in Boston, Massachusetts. □



## May 3rd Demonstration Sharpens Two Roads

Continued from page 3

buy and carry a flag remarked that "they weren't sure if it was time to carry the red flag yet," often on the basis of believing that such a step would be warranted only if the U.S. didn't pull out of El Salvador soon, or else that more time should be given to drawing in the greatest possible numbers of people and raising the question of revolution would cut against that. This question was addressed head-on in the issue of the RW sold at the march in the text of a new tape by Bob Avakian on May First.

Within this eruption of resistance against the first "get tough" actions of the Reagan regime, besides the openness to revolutionary politics, there were also many illusions—illusions about the nature of the U.S. generally, about the possibility of reform and about where, overall, the system is headed.

### Contending Lines

And just as the red flag and the RW served for many to concentrate and move forward the revolutionary aspect of things, there were significant sections of the march leadership and the movement generally that took and are taking the road of basing themselves on and concentrating some of the more backward sentiments. The fact that different sections of people in the march were more or less open to revolutionary politics, owing to differences in their class outlook and position, and the fact that, even within the same individuals, different outlooks were often sharply contending—all this made the political struggle between two roads forward there very significant.

We speak here particularly of the Workers World Party and Communist

Workers Party (CWP) as well as the *Guardian* newspaper, which is now promoting certain aspects of the march as a "new beginning" for the American movement. What is significant here is not so much the particular forces playing this role at this time, but the political lines they fought for and what it means for the whole question of how actually to forge a revolutionary movement in the coming period.

As for Workers World and CWP these were not the only forces in the coalition, let alone the only ones that were active in building and supporting the march. A number of speakers at the rally carried some telling exposure around El Salvador and also spoke to some deeper questions.

But on the other hand, CWP and Workers World did have a good deal of organizational leverage and used it to the hilt in terms of slogans, speakers, culture and the line put forward at the demonstration generally. They, and the *Guardian* in its summation, make much of the links that were drawn between the civil war in El Salvador and the intensifying situation within the U.S. But simply drawing links is in fact in itself neither revolutionary or reactionary—the question is what is the content of those links that are drawn—do they reflect the real relationship of things, or do they instead blur over and muddle up the nature of U.S. imperialism? Do they spread dangerous and disarming illusions or do they accurately reflect the present and prepare people for what is to come? These forces push the line that the problem lies in the policies of the Reagan administration, that the "tax dollars going to support the junta should be diverted back to the poor at home" and

on and on. The most vicious form of the "linking" was the slogan that these forces objectively made the main one of the march: "Defend Atlanta's Children, Not El Salvador's Junta." This slogan, if not totally open and explicit national chauvinism, is its identical twin. It's just a perfumed translation of "America First! Money for us, not foreigners!"

Tell us, dear opportunists, is your aim to see the helicopter gunships and sniper-scope rifles now going to Napoleon Duarte diverted to the already ample and growing arsenal of Napoleon Maynard Jackson? Do you want the FBI friends now spent "investigating" the brutal murder of the four progressive U.S. nuns in El Salvador shifted to aid the FBI similarly "investigating" the murder of 27 Atlanta Black youth? Perhaps adding more volume to FBI slanders of the children's families as their murderers? If your demand is being made on the government, which one must assume, are you not promoting illusions, and most criminal ones at that, about the role of the bourgeois state in Atlanta?

### "Forgetting" Both Imperialist Blocs, World War

The speech of CWP leader Jerry Tung "deepened" this reformism and illusion peddling, repeating cadence-like several times themes like "Reagan has no Mandate" and calling for a vague "socialism" which would mean good times, peace, and plenty for all—a socialism without armed revolution, proletarian dictatorship, or its ultimate goal of communism. Talking about "socialism" might sound more "left" than the big SWP-led demonstrations of the '60s, but Tung's goulash portrait

of it only promotes dangerous illusions and misunderstandings about the goal of the struggle and how to reach it, and is quite compatible really with everyone from the CPUSA and their Soviet mentors to Francois Mitterand with his pro-NATO pledges.

Also unlike their SWP predecessors, Workers World and CWP talked a lot about national liberation struggles. But what did they say? In agitating about national liberation struggles they "forgot" the struggle of the Eritrean people, as well as the oppressed nationalities and the masses as a whole in Ethiopia; they forgot the struggle of the Afghan people against over 100,000 Soviet troops; they forgot the struggle of the Kampuchean people with 30,000-40,000 soldiers under the leadership of the Khmer Rouge; forgot the Polish workers and their upsurge... and so on. This kind of pro-Soviet amnesia was meant to cover over the cardinal point that there are two imperialist blocs committing crimes all over the world, that these blocs are repressing national liberation struggles in the context of preparing to go to war with each other over redividing the world, and that the masses must be armed with as deep an understanding as possible of the nature of both blocs and not led in any way to trust in one imperialist or another. After all the talk on opposing war preparations, nary a word on who war would be with and over what—what stand should be taken by the working class and masses on world war, both then and now in preparation.

This wedding of reformism in the U.S. with support for the Soviets internationally is not as bizarre as it may seem on first glance—the "Communist" Party, USA among others, has been do-

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# U.S. BLOC JALOPY CAREENS DOWN WAR ROAD

"Good news America! Special U.S. trade representative Brock has persuaded those Japanese to stem the flood of imports that are undermining the American auto industry!" That's the U.S. government message, following the recent agreement by Japan to cut auto exports to the U.S. by 7.7% in 1981. Of course it may seem strange for the Reagan administration, which has trumpeted its devotion to "free enterprise," the "free market" and other watchwords of laissez-faire capitalism, to be boasting of an agreement which tries to limit and stunt free trade. What ever happened to those inviolable principles of "free competition" and no government meddling which "Reaganeconomics" is supposed to be founded on? It's true that there is a little embarrassment over such a blatant contradiction: David Stockman, the budget-axer, claimed on "Meet the Press" that "We didn't send Mr. Brock. The Japanese requested that he come to explain our problems and policies..."—and of course once Japan realized the true situation, they "voluntarily" cut back exports to the U.S.!

The truth is, of course, that the old laissez-faire competitive capitalism hasn't been around for a long time. In the 20th century capitalism has reached the stage of imperialism, characterized by monopoly and the struggle for global supremacy. Competitive capitalism has become monopoly capitalism. Capitalists have always striven to undercut and beat each other down, but when there were many, relatively small capitalists battling each other, no single one or small group of them was powerful enough to dominate; the growth and formation of monopolies meant the development of units of capital powerful enough to dominate markets and enforce their will. This intensifies competition and raises it to a new level—the rivalry of monopolist groups and the worldwide contention of imperialist national capitals. The capitalist pretense of free competition in the marketplace has long ceased to correspond to capitalist reality. So, although it is hypocritical, at the same time this action by the Reagan administration is also quite in line with imperialist principles.

On the other hand, this intense inter-imperialist contention also leads to wars among the imperialist powers for the division and redivision of the world (world wars), and imperialism thus far has been characterized by spirals of development which run from one war of redivision to another. At the beginning of the present spiral, which is now hastening to its explosion point, the U.S., as the chief beneficiary of the redivision brought about by World War 2, could benefit from knocking down the trade restrictions of its lesser imperialist rivals in Europe and Japan, and thus could sail its pirate ship under the banner of "free trade" with a certain amount of truth. But through the course of the spiral and the anarchy of capitalist development, the imperialist powers have necessarily developed unevenly. Among others, Japanese imperialism has developed at a far faster rate than the U.S., and has for some time now been pushing up against it. In this contention between the two, the U.S. is in a relatively bad position as a result of this uneven development, but has the advantage of political and military hegemony—an advantage due not only to its position coming off World War 2, but also to the fact that the whole U.S. bloc must now be reintegrated (in the midst of sharp contention and contradiction among themselves) under U.S. hegemony in preparation for a new war of redivision with its rival imperialist bloc,

headed by the Soviet Union.

This is the background to the Japanese auto agreement. There is a sharp contradiction between the U.S. and Japan, focused, among other places, in the automobile industry.

## Contradictory Forces

In this situation the U.S., top dog in its bloc, exacts an agreement from Japan—but does so in the most "soft-spoken" manner possible, so as not to upset any more than necessary the unity of its bloc. It is the crisis of U.S. imperialism, within the context of the worldwide crisis of imperialism, which leads both to the sharpening of contradictions between the U.S. and Japan, and also to their closer collusion with each other against the Soviet bloc. For on the one hand, as crisis sharpens and markets contract, each imperialist power is driven by the mad need of capital to expand or die, into collision with the other. Irrepressible inter-imperialist contradictions come to the fore in many realms, including that of trade. But this U.S.-Japanese contention takes place within the context of the global contention between the U.S. and its bloc (which of course includes Japan), and the Soviet-bloc imperialists. It is the contention between these blocs—culminating in world war between them unless prevented by revolutions—which is primary, and lesser powers like Japan can only advance their own imperialist interests from within such a bloc.

Trade has grown very rapidly in the course of this spiral, helping to offset the tendency for the imperialists' rate of profit to fall, and stimulated by the export of capital. But production overseas and expansion of trade, which at first stimulate the imperialists' expansion, turn into their opposite as commodities flood the international markets and the imperialists invade each other's markets. Yet each is driven to expand its own exports at the expense of the others, thus compounding the crisis.

The auto industry in particular is of tremendous importance in all the major U.S.-bloc imperialist countries. In the U.S. about one in six jobs is directly or indirectly related to automobile production. In Japan the figure is one in five; in West Germany it is one in four. Auto exports make up 20% of Japan's total exports. At the same time that Japan has been raising its share of U.S. car sales (much of it at the expense of European imports), it has also invaded the European market, particularly Germany, where Japan's market share doubled in 1980 to 10.4%. Now the European imperialists fear, of course, that Japan's restriction of exports to the U.S. will mean even more pressure from Japanese cars on the European market. But Europe, and particularly Germany, is in the throes of recession, and can afford no more than the U.S. to see a key industry suffer major cutbacks and losses. Japan, on the other hand, also caught up in the world imperialist crisis, can hardly be calm in the face of the prospect of cutbacks in a crucial component of its exports.

Indeed, these imperialists are driven not just by the urge to avoid cutbacks but by the need of capital to ceaselessly expand. But in the U.S. auto market, among others, they face a shrinkage. Thus even though the absolute number of Japanese cars sold here has not increased dramatically over the past few years, their market share increased to 21% in 1980 as total car sales fell by 1.6 million from 1979 (with Japan expanding at the expense of European imports as well as U.S. cars). The same trend has continued thus far in 1981. Even if the number of Japanese cars sold had

not expanded in 1980, and U.S. companies had been able to get all those sales themselves (as opposed to losing them to European imports), they would still have lost money last year. These companies need more than just to hold their own; they need to expand.

Driven by these contradictions, each imperialist tries to outmaneuver its rivals—but within the context of the global contention between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and the necessity of lesser imperialists to pursue their interests within the confines of a bloc headed by one or the other superpower. This is the basis for the constant mutual warnings within the U.S. bloc, for instance, not to fall prey to protectionism, trade wars and "beggar-thy-neighbor" policies, to all pull together, etc. But the moves which they make in pursuit of such goals are inevitably fragmentary and contradictory. Thus the decision by the U.S. International Trade Commission last fall *not* to impose import quotas against Japanese cars was primarily a move to give in a little to Japan in order to tighten the bloc in preparation for war. But that decision was itself close, reached by a 3 to 2 majority, which might easily have gone the other way (reflecting the imperialists' contradictory need to both collude and contend), and is now followed six months later by Japan's "voluntary" restraint. In reality, we can see here a case of inter-imperialist contention being played out—within the context of the necessity of pulling together a bloc for the purpose of more global contention.

Secondarily, and not on the same level as inter-imperialist contradictions, there is also struggle within the various imperialist ruling classes—struggle both over tactics in a particular instance and over whose individual interests are going to get helped or hurt by various measures (not that these two struggles are separate or separable). For example, the *New York Times* editorialized that "What is most upsetting about the deal is not the restraint on imports as such but the President's refusal to ask anything in return from the American auto industry"—meaning a program of industry restructuring through lowered wages, increased productivity and the further shutdown of unprofitable plants in order to become competitive with Japan. But while this complaint does reflect a desire on the part of the rest of the bourgeoisie that auto not get special privileges, mainly it reinforces what the auto companies want and have to do anyway. Whether Japanese imports were restricted or not, this industry has to squeeze its workers harder in response to its crisis (although this will at best only keep them afloat, rather than restoring conditions of profitable accumulation). At the same time, in any case like this, some imperialist will object to the particular protectionist move out of his own interests—but this is not a constant, since their interests change in response to the changing situation. A good example is the auto industry itself, which (along with the UAW under Woodcock) used to raise a hue and cry about the steel industry's demand for protection. At that point auto benefited more from a lack of trade restrictions itself, and was moreover interested in cheap steel, wherever it came from. Now, of course, things have changed. (It must be noted here that the UAW, along with all major U.S. unions, has consistently set world contortion records in mouthing the shifting immediate interests of imperialism, with special emphasis on the particular interest of "their" industries.)

## Inescapable Crises

Imperialism is shot through with sharpening contradictions, among the imperialists themselves as well as between them and the masses of people, and they are caught in a crisis which is independent of anyone's will. It is a crisis arising out of the fact that the imperialist system worldwide is running up against the limits of the current division of the world among them, and which therefore propels them to seek a redivision—which can only be accomplished by force, through war. It is a crisis of capital itself, of the overproduction of capital throughout the imperialist world, leading to the overproduction of commodities, leading in turn (among other things) to inter-imperialist contradictions in several areas, including trade. While the imperialists may be able to reach some degree of accord and limit the degree of their contention with each other in the interests of a larger contention, they cannot escape the anarchy of capitalism, which will assert itself even through their agreements. Thus despite all agreements not to restrict the flow of trade, we see Japan "voluntarily" limiting the export of cars to the U.S.; the European Common Market immediately announced it "will ask for comparable treatment"; but to the degree that Japan's exports in particular lines of trade are cut back, they will in all probability find it necessary to retaliate with restrictions on other imperialists' exports to them. Mutual restrictions, already more and more in evidence as the crisis deepens, increase costs of production in all the imperialist countries, negating the role that freer trade was able to play in offsetting the tendency of the rate of profit to decline. This interacts with the fact that the necessity to prop up problem industries creates a drain on the profitable accumulation of capital overall.

The imperialists can see all this, but they cannot act in any other way. On the one hand, U.S. finance capital can hardly let their auto industry go down the drain—or even suffer sharp declines—without serious repercussions, not only in the U.S. economy generally (which is hardly in good shape anyway), but also in their military preparations for world war: it is significant that a recent "Report to the President" on the U.S. auto industry cites "national security interests" and warns that with the industry's decline "our strategic position could be gravely undermined." On the other hand, while the U.S.-bloc imperialists can (and do) negotiate about trade, monetary and military questions, relations with the oppressed nations, etc., they cannot suppress their mutual contention even while their overall direction of motion is collusion (for the moment). And finally, even the outcome of negotiations—these agreements among thieves—while they may be of temporary usefulness to them, end up exacerbating the crisis whose symptoms they attempt to deal with.

This very dynamic increases their necessity, on all sides, to seek a redivision of the world. Their crisis impels them toward war at an accelerating pace, and toward increased collusion and the tightening up of blocs in preparation for war. But whatever political unity they achieve is only in relation to their contention and imminent war with a common foe, and it can neither negate inter-imperialist rivalry within the bloc nor prevent the very profound crisis of their system from asserting itself as the underlying contradictions tighten. □

# May 3rd

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ing it for years. The reasons why so much of what used to call itself the anti-revisionist left has now taken this tack is a point worth an article in its own right. For now, it can be said that much of the phenomenon is tied to a very pragmatic view of socialism and the revolutionary struggle in the first place—that socialism is a short term “solution” to the various outrages of capitalism and not much more. And further, going into the mid and late '70s, as many national liberation struggles temporarily ran up against some limitations and as the Soviet imperialists took an increasingly aggressive role against the U.S. (one form of which was to support with troops a motley collection of colonels, captains and bureaucrats trying to claim the mantle of national liberation) this same pragmatic outlook has led first the *Guardian* and now others to drift into the view that the Soviets were “better.” The fact that these forces never scientifically understood the question of revisionism and capitalist restoration makes their switch over quite painless indeed for them. For instance, there was the spectacle of CWP cadre at the May 3rd demonstration informally defending their new line on the Soviets with arguments like “They have planning, don't they?” or “At least you can't say it's the exact same thing as capitalism.” At the same time it's useful for CWP and the *Guardian* to retain some lightweight so-called criticisms of the Soviet Union, since the uncertainty of the form that their capitulation to defending the fatherland will take—which will have something to do with the international balance of forces at the outbreak of world war—make it useful to keep their options open.

(As a footnote here, a remark must be made about the “anti-imperialist” contingent organized by the Spartacist League. These Trotskyites actually raised the slogan “The defense of the Soviet Union begins in El Salvador.” This slogan is helpful to anti-imperialists only in that it sounds exactly like the slogan of the U.S. imperialists in regard to Vietnam in the '60s. Thanks, Sparts, for inadvertently making the common imperialist essence of both superpowers clearer.)

Demonstrations like May 3rd will undoubtedly mark the coming period in a big way. The basic stand toward these is outlined in the *New Party Programme* where it says,

“As far as relating to the present day struggle, our difference with the economists and reformists is not basically *whether* to do so, but *how* and with what aim. First off, the very workings of this oppressive system, here and internationally, bring people into motion against it—far more than all the organizational work of the revolutionaries. The question is whether to tail this, or to utilize all its diverse currents and tributaries for a single revolutionary purpose. This is what it means for the Party and those under its leadership to support every major outbreak of protest and rebellion among the masses of all classes and strata, here and internationally, and assist the struggling masses to both unite more broadly and fight more powerfully and to more consciously aim their fire against the bourgeoisie and the imperialist system and link themselves with the class-conscious proletariat and its revolutionary aims.” (p. 43)

In Washington one could either attempt to give expression to the most advanced sentiments and lead the rest of the masses forward—and there were some very advanced sentiments on which to base oneself—or you could tail, or more than that try to smother and hogtie the masses like these opportunists did. In this light, it's important to conclude by examining a major theme promoted both at the march and in the press summations of the *Guardian* and CWP—the comparison between today and the '60s. Frankly these trends tried to inflate the significance of the May 3rd demonstration relative to the '60s, and to rewrite history to render *both* less profound. The *Guardian* for instance claimed that the politics of this march were more ad-

vanced than comparable marches in the '60s, and that the participation of “labor” and oppressed nationalities was much more marked than “almost all the anti-war marches in the '60s.” To take the last point first, not only is this just wrong history straight up, but by implying that the only or main form of anti-war action in the '60s was the big national marches, they try to erase the really vanguard role played in certain respects by the Black liberation movement, including but not limited to SNCC and the Black Panther Party. Omitted in this “summation” is the role of these more proletarian and revolutionary forces not only in raising the question of Vietnam from the jump but also in raising the political level of the movement, including fighting for the analysis that this is an imperialist system, that righteous national liberation struggles against the U.S. should be supported wholeheartedly, and that *revolution* is necessary to deal with imperialism in this country and around the world. Again, an important part of this distortion is the reformist assumption by the *Guardian* and similar forces, that big marches were the height of the anti-war movement. In fact in most—though not all—cases these big D.C. marches were rearguard actions in the anti-war movement whose politics were part of the straight jacket that anti-imperialist forces struggled to break out of. Their effect was usually to demoralize those who came, sticking up bourgeois politicians on the speakers' platform as saviors and parading the masses around like pleading sheep at the foot of various government buildings in recurring dramatic enactment of “letting our feelings be known to the powers-that-be.” Also ignored by these forces were such things as the SDS-led assault on the Pentagon in October 1967 (the very same spot as this gathering) which was quite advanced and rather revolutionary indeed in its impact on the masses, and not only in this country either.

It is also claimed that “linking” the issues in this demonstration made the politics more advanced. This, too, is a lie, aimed partly at people who don't clearly remember that almost all of the mass marches and rallies (including those led by the SWP and CP) “linked” lots of issues on the stage. Jobs, the attacks on oppressed nationalities, all this was spoken to many times. The point then, as now, was they were spoken to in a thoroughly reformist manner—almost identical to the way the leaders of May 3 spoke to them—“Change our national priorities.” What was clearly a sick illusion in the '60s is an incredibly more dangerous one now—as imperialism ripens with world war and revolutionary opportunities. This is the *real* difference in the politics of then and now. The leaders of May 3rd tossed around a bit more “left” rhetoric from the stage. But the question was never whether or not the word “imperialism” was used. Is it really any better to use it and then to gut the revolutionary meaning behind it? In a model of such rhetoric the *Guardian* tells us in its May 13 “Viewpoint” that “imperialism is not a policy but an outgrowth of the requirements of the capitalist system.” No, *Guardian*, still wrong. Imperialism is the system of capitalism in its highest, monopoly stage, and more than that a transition to something higher—the revolutionary smashing of the shell of private ownership and the establishment of socialism. It does not do to take away reformism with the right hand and give it back with the left.

Why is all this important? Because we are down on what happened on May 3rd? Hardly. The point is that trying to cut the revolutionary heart out of what did actually go down in the '60s is part of trying to limit the horizons of what is possible today and tomorrow. The *Guardian* says that “a foundation has been laid for the movement taking off politically where the Vietnam anti-war movement ended.” And then they say that it's a movement against “the rightist trend in foreign and domestic affairs,” that it's part of the “anti-right fight back,” or the fight against “Reaganism,” and on and on. Nowhere in their editorial outlining the tasks for the left in the wake of May 3rd

do they even mention the word *revolution* let alone treat the idea seriously. Yet in our opinion, *that*—and not how to build some kind of reformist, anti-fascist front against “rightward trends”—was and is exactly the question posed to and by millions and millions in this country alone, and many more around the world. It's dealing with those questions—how to make revolution in an advanced imperialist country, what the different objective situation today means for that, how this is done in unity with the people of the world—that really takes up where the '60s left off, and not, as the *Guardian* puts it, balancing the immediate struggles with digging in “for the long haul.”

And unfortunately for you, *Guardian*, there are millions who went through that period whose political development was somewhat beyond the speeches of Bella Abzug, and who are increasingly bringing to bear their *revolutionary* aspirations and seeking a *revolutionary* answer. In fact, all this talk of “linking” and what-not by the *Guardian* in a certain sense reflects that more is demanded by even the majority of those new to political life, and so the *Guardian*-type forces must tailor their routine somewhat. Of course they also sense the possibility of building a big mass social-democratic and/or anti-fascist movement.

In a certain and fundamental sense the movement is more advanced now

than in the '60s; not yet in the willingness to act or level of involvement of large numbers of people, or in the pace of protest and rebellion, though both are accelerating, but precisely in the profundity of the revolutionary questions and aspirations of many millions of people, the qualitatively sharper contradictions now opening up for world imperialism and, hardly the least of it, the existence of the genuine revolutionary vanguard Party in the U.S., as part of an international communist movement, and the beginnings of a significant force of class-conscious proletarians in this country. The *Guardian* and CWP, *et al* respond to that by trying to cling to and promote what was most palpable—and most backward—about the old period in order to justify a non-revolutionary and “anti-fascist” perspective to the current one. This is definitely part of the “old” that needed to be broken with on the weekend of May 1st and May 3rd. The question before the revolutionary masses, and one made sharper by all the events that weekend, is taking advantages of every opportunity to fight to bring alive the new and in the words of another May 1st slogan, “Make a living force of proletarian internationalism.” May 3rd reveals both the opportunities before the revolutionary movement to do that, as well as the profound truth stated by Lenin that “the fight against imperialism is a sham and a humbug unless it is bound up in the fight against opportunism.” □

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### TO THE MARXIST-LENINISTS, THE WORKERS, AND THE OPPRESSED OF ALL COUNTRIES

Joint Communiqué of

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Groupe Marxist-Léniniste du Sénégal  
Grupo para la Defensa del Marxismo Leninismo  
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Marxist-Leninist Collective (Britain)  
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# A WORLD TO WIN

INTERNATIONAL  
MARXIST-LENINIST JOURNAL  
No. 1, May 1981

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Beginning with issue No. 103 we started serializing V.I. Lenin's historic work, *The Collapse of the Second International*. Written in June of 1915, this pamphlet proved an invaluable weapon for the revolutionary proletariat. With the outbreak of World War I, the vast majority of the leaders of the socialist parties in Europe—the Second International—deserted their stated convictions and joined with their own respective governments in the imperialist bloodfest. Lenin subjects these traitors to biting exposure. He analyses the economic and political basis for this collapse, and draws the connection be-

tween the opportunism already evident in these parties prior to the war and the social-chauvinist position they embraced after the war began; Lenin takes special aim at Karl Kautsky, a notorious leader of the German party, whose theoretical justifications in particular are raked over the coals. Collapse played a key role in the struggle to decisively break with social-chauvinism, as well as to prepare proletarians for the revolutionary situation which was developing in different countries. Lenin's theses of the historic conjuncture are outlined in *Collapse*.

## Lenin's War on Opportunism, Social-Chauvinism

# The Collapse of the Second International

V  
It is in a wholly philistine spirit that Kautsky speaks of the "lessons" of the war, presenting those lessons in the light of a moral abhorrence at the misery it causes. Here, for instance, is how he argues in the pamphlet entitled *The National State*, etc.:

"It stands beyond doubt and needs no proof that there are strata of the population that are greatly interested in universal peace and disarmament. The petty bourgeoisie and the small peasants, and even many capitalists and intellectuals, are not tied to imperialism by any interests that outweigh the damage suffered by these strata as a result of war and armaments" (p. 21).

This was written in February 1915! The facts show that all the propertied classes, down to the petty bourgeoisie and the "intelligentsia", have joined the imperialists *en masse*, and yet Kautsky, like Chekhov's man in a muffler shrugs off the facts with an air of extraordinary smugness and with the aid of saccharine phrases. He judges of the interests of the petty bourgeoisie, not by their conduct, but by the words of certain petty bourgeois, although at every step such words are refuted by the deeds. It is exactly like judging of the "interests" of the bourgeoisie in general, not by their deeds, but by the benevolent speeches made by bourgeois clergymen who avow that the present-day system is imbued with the ideals of Christianity. Kautsky applies Marxism in a way that voids it of all content, so that what remains is the catchword of "interests", in a kind of supernatural, other-worldly meaning, for it implies, not real economics, but pious wishes for the common weal.

Marxism appraises "interests" according to the class antagonisms and the class struggle which find expression in millions of facts of daily life. The petty bourgeoisie prattle and dream of the abatement of antagonisms, whose aggravation, they "argue", leads to "harmful consequences". Imperialism means the subjugation of all strata of the propertied classes to finance capital, and the partition of the world among five or six "Great" Powers, most of which are now involved in the war. The partition of the world among the Great Powers means that all their propertied classes are interested in possessing colonies and spheres of influence, in oppressing other nations, and in securing the more or less lucrative posts and privileges that stem from belonging to a "Great" Power and an oppressor nation.\*

Life cannot go on in the old way, in the comparatively tranquil, cultured and peaceful conditions of a capitalism that is smoothly developing and gradually spreading to new countries. A new epoch has arrived. Finance capital ousts, and will completely oust, a particular country from the ranks of Great Powers, will deprive it of its colonies and spheres of influence (as Germany, which has gone to war with Britain, threatens to do), and it will deprive the

petty bourgeoisie of their dominant-nation privileges and additional incomes. This has been proved by the war. It is the *outcome* of that aggravation of antagonisms which has long been admitted by all, including Kautsky, in his pamphlet *The Road to Power*.

Now that the armed conflict for Great-Power privileges has become a fact, Kautsky wants to *persuade* the capitalists and the petty bourgeoisie to believe that war is horrible, while disarmament is beneficial, in exactly the same way and with exactly the same results as the Christian churchman, speaking from the pulpit, would persuade the capitalist to believe that love of one's fellow-men is a Divine commandment, as well as the spiritual yearning and the moral law of civilisation. What Kautsky calls an economic trend towards "ultra-imperialism" is just a petty-bourgeois *exhortation* to the financiers that they should refrain from doing evil.

The export of capital? *But* more capital is exported to independent countries such as the United States of America, than to the colonies. The seizure of colonies? *But* they have all been seized, and nearly all of them are striving for liberation. "India may cease to be a British possession, but as an integral empire it will never fall under the sway of another foreign power" (p. 49 in the pamphlet quoted). "Any attempt on the part of any industrial capitalist state to acquire for itself a colonial empire sufficient to make it independent of other countries in regard to raw materials must cause all other capitalist states to unite against it and involve it in endless and exhausting wars, without bringing it nearer to its goal. Such a policy would be the surest road towards the bankruptcy of the entire economic life of that state" (pp. 72-73).

Is not this a philistine attempt to persuade financiers to renounce imperialism? Any attempt to frighten capitalists with the prospect of bankruptcy is like advising against speculating in shares on the Stock Exchange because many fortunes have been lost in this way. Capital *gains* from the bankruptcy of a rival capitalist or of a rival nation, because in this way capital becomes more concentrated. Hence the keener and "closer" economic competition become, i.e., the economic driving of a competitor towards bankruptcy, the more the capitalists strive to add *military* pressure in order to drive the competitor in that direction. The fewer the countries to which capital can still be exported as advantageously as to colonies or to such dependent states as Turkey—since in *such* cases the financier reaps a triple profit as against capital exports to a free, independent and civilised country like the United States of America—the *fiercer* is the struggle for the subjugation and partition of Turkey, China, etc. That is what economic theory reveals about the period of finance capital and imperialism. That is what the facts reveal. But Kautsky turns

everything into a trite petty-bourgeois "moral": it is not worth while getting worked up and certainly not worth while going to war over the partition of Turkey, or the seizure of India, since they cannot be held for long anyway, and, moreover, it would be better to develop capitalism peacefully... It would be better still, of course, to develop capitalism and expand the home market by increasing wages; this is quite "conceivable" and it is a very fitting topic for a churchman to preach on to the financiers... The good Kautsky has almost succeeded in persuading the German financiers that it is not worth while waging war against Britain for the colonies, because these colonies will soon secure their liberation in any case!

Britain's exports to and imports from Egypt between 1872 and 1912 have not kept pace with the overall growth of British exports and imports, whence the "Marxist" Kautsky draws the following moral: "We have no reason to suppose that British trade with Egypt would have been less developed as a result of the mere operation of economic factors, without military occupation" (p. 72). "Capital's urge to expand... can be *best* promoted, not by the violent methods of imperialism, but by *peaceful democracy*" (p. 70).

What a remarkably serious, scientific and "Marxist" analysis! Kautsky has splendidly "rectified" unreasonable history; he has "proved" that there was no need for the British to have taken Egypt from the French, that it was absolutely not worth the German financiers' while to have started the war, organised the Turkish campaign, and taken other measures to drive the British out of Egypt! All this is merely a misunderstanding—it has not yet dawned upon the British that it would be "best" to give up forcible methods in Egypt, and adopt "peaceful democracy" (so as to increase exports of capital *à la Kautsky!*).

"Of course it was an illusion on the part of the bourgeois Free-Traders to think that Free Trade would entirely eliminate the economic antagonisms generated by capitalism. Neither Free Trade nor democracy can eliminate these. We, in all respects, are interested in having these antagonisms eliminated by a struggle waged in such forms as will impose the least amount of suffering and sacrifice on the masses" (p. 73).

The Lord help us, the Lord have mercy on us! "What is a philistine?" Lassalle used to ask, and answered by quoting the words of the well-known poet: "A philistine is a gut void of everything but fear and hope that God will have mercy on him."

Kautsky has degraded Marxism to unparalleled prostitution and has turned into a real churchman. The latter tries to *persuade* the capitalists to adopt peaceful democracy—and calls this dialectics: if at first, he argues, there was Free Trade, and then arrived the monopolies and imperialism, why should there not be "ultra-imperialism", and then Free Trade again? The churchman *consoles* the oppressed masses by depicting the blessings this ultra-imperialism will bring, although he has not even the courage to say whether it can be "achieved"! Feuerbach was right when, in reply to those who defended religion on the ground that it consoles the people, he indicated the reactionary significance of consolation: whoever consoles the slave instead of arousing him to rise up against slavery is aiding the slaveowner.

All oppressing classes stand in need of two social functions to safeguard

their rule: the function of the hangman and the function of the priest. The hangman is required to quell the protests and the indignation of the oppressed; the priest is required to console the oppressed, to depict to them the prospects of their sufferings and sacrifices being mitigated (this is particularly easy to do without guaranteeing that these prospects will be "achieved"), while preserving class rule, and thereby to reconcile them to class rule, win them away from revolutionary action, undermine their revolutionary spirit and destroy their revolutionary determination. Kautsky has turned Marxism into a most hideous and stupid counter-revolutionary theory, into the lowest kind of clericalism.

In 1909, he acknowledged, in his *The Road to Power*, the fact of the unrefuted and irrefutable intensification of antagonisms within capitalism, the approach of a period of wars and revolutions, of a new "revolutionary period". There can be no "premature" revolution, he said, and branded as "a direct betrayal of our cause" any refusal to count on the possibility of victory in an uprising, even though, before the fighting began, the prospect of defeat could not be denied.

With the advent of war, the antagonisms have become *still* more bitter. The sufferings of the masses have assumed tremendous proportions. The end of the war is not in sight and the hostilities are spreading more and more. Kautsky is writing pamphlet after pamphlet and, meekly submitting to the dictates of the censorship, refrains from quoting the facts on the land-grabbing, the horrors of war, the scandalous profiteering of the war contractors, the high cost of living and the actual slavery of the workers mobilised in the munitions industries; instead, he keeps on consoling the proletariat. He does so by quoting the instance of wars in which the bourgeoisie was revolutionary and progressive, in regard to which "Marx himself" desired victory for one bourgeoisie or the other; he consoles it by quoting rows and columns of figures to prove that capitalism is "possible" without colonies, without the plundering of others, without wars and armaments, and to prove that "peaceful democracy" is preferable. Not daring to deny that the sufferings of the masses are becoming more acute and that a revolutionary situation is arising before our very eyes (one must not talk about this, since it is not permitted by the censor!), Kautsky, in his servility to the bourgeoisie and the opportunists, depicts the "prospect" (he does *not guarantee* that it can be "achieved") of forms of struggle in a new phase, which will entail "less sacrifice and suffering"... Franz Mehring and Rosa Luxemburg were quite right when, for this very reason, they called Kautsky a street-walker (*Mädchen für alle*).

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In August 1905 a revolutionary situation existed in Russia. The tsar had promised convocation of the Bulygin Duma in order to "console" the masses who were in a state of unrest. If the abandoning of armaments by the financiers and their agreeing to a "lasting peace" can be called "ultra-imperialism", then the Bulygin regime of consultative parliamentary representation may be described as "ultra-autocracy". Let us assume for a moment that tomorrow a hundred of the world's biggest financiers, "interwoven" as they are in hundreds of colossal enterprises, will *promise* the

\*E. Schultze states that by 1915 the value of securities in the whole world was calculated at 732,000 million francs, including state and municipal loans, the mortgages and shares of commercial and manufacturing corporations, etc. Of this sum, Britain's share was 130,000 million francs, that of the United States 115,000 million, France 100,000 million and Germany 75,000 million, i.e., the share of all four Great Powers being 420,000 million francs, over half the total. From this one can

realise the advantages and privileges accruing to the leading Great Powers, which have outstripped other nations, oppressing and plundering the latter. (Dr. Ernst Schultze, *Das französische Kapital in Russland in Finanz-Archiv*, Berlin, 1915, 32nd year of publication, p. 127.) To a Great Power "defence of the fatherland" means defence of the right to share in the plundering of foreign countries. In Russia, as is common knowledge, capitalist imperialism is weaker than military-feudal imperialism is.



V.I. Lenin

peoples that they will stand for disarmament after the war (we make this assumption only for a moment in order to draw political conclusions from Kautsky's foolish little theory). Even if that happened, it would be downright treachery to the proletariat to dissuade it from taking revolutionary action, without which all promises and all fine prospects are only a mirage.

The war has not only brought the capitalist class huge profits and splendid prospects of fresh plunder (Turkey, China, etc.), new contracts worth thousands of millions and new loans at increased rates of interest; it has also brought the capitalist class still greater political advantages in that it has split and corrupted the proletariat. Kautsky is encouraging this corruption; he sanctifies this international *split* among the militant proletarians in the name of unity with the opportunists of their "own" nations, with the Südekums! And yet there are people who fail to understand that the unity slogan of the old parties means the "unity" of the proletariat of a given nation with the bourgeoisie of that nation, and a *split* among the proletariat of the various nations....

## VI

The preceding lines had already been written when *Die Neue Zeit* of May 28 (No. 9) appeared with Kautsky's concluding arguments on the "collapse of Social-Democracy" (Section 7 of his reply to Cunow). Kautsky sums up all his old sophisms, and a new one, in defence of social-chauvinism as follows:

"It is simply untrue to say that the war is a purely imperialist one, that at the outbreak of the war the alternative was either imperialism or socialism, that the socialist parties and the proletarian masses of Germany, France and, in many respects, also of Britain, unthinkingly and at the mere call of a handful of parliamentarians, threw themselves into the arms of imperialism, betrayed socialism and thus caused a collapse unexampled in history."

A new sophism and a new deception of the workers: the war, if you please, is not a "purely" imperialist one!

Kautsky vacillates amazingly on the question of the character and significance of the present war; this party leader evades the precise and formal declarations of the Basle and Chemnitz congresses, as studiously as a thief keeps away from the place where has just committed a theft. In his pamphlet, *The National State, etc.*, written in February 1915, Kautsky asserted that

"still, in the final analysis", the war is an "imperialist one" (p. 64). Now a fresh reservation is introduced: it is not a purely imperialist war. What else can it be?

It appears that it is also a national war! Kautsky arrives at this monstrous conclusion by means of the following "Plekhanovist" pseudo-dialectic:

"The present war is not only the child of imperialism, but also of the Russian revolution." As early as 1904, he, Kautsky, foresaw that the Russian revolution would revive Pan-Slavism in a new form, that "democratic Russia would, inevitably, greatly fan the desire of the Austrian and Turkish Slavs for national independence.... Then the Polish question would also become acute.... Austria would fall apart because, with the collapse of tsarism, the iron band which at present binds the centrifugal elements together would be destroyed" (Kautsky himself quotes this last phrase from his 1904 article). "The Russian revolution... gave a new and powerful impetus to the national aspirations of the East, adding Asia's problems to those of Europe. All these problems are making themselves very strongly felt in the present war and are acquiring very decisive significance for the mood of the masses of the people, including the proletarian masses, whereas among the ruling classes imperialist tendencies are predominant" (p. 273, italics ours).

This is another sample of the prostitution of Marxism! Inasmuch as a "democratic Russia" would foster a striving towards freedom in the nations of Eastern Europe (this is indisputable), the present war, which will not liberate a single nation, but, whatever the outcome, will enslave many nations, is not a "purely" imperialist war. Inasmuch as the "collapse of tsarism" would mean the disintegration of Austria, owing to its undemocratic national structure, a temporarily strengthened, and counter-revolutionary tsarism, which is plundering Austria and is bringing still greater oppression to the nations inhabiting Austria, has given "the present war", not a purely imperialist character but, to a certain degree, a national character. Inasmuch as "the ruling classes" are deluding the stupid petty bourgeois and browbeaten peasants with fables about the national aims of the imperialist war, a man of science, an authority on "Marxism", and representative of the Second International, is entitled to reconcile the masses to this deception by means of a "formula" which claims that the ruling classes reveal imperialist tendencies, while the "people" and the proletarian

masses reveal "national" aspirations.

Dialectic is turned into the meanest and basest sophistry!

In the present war the national element is represented *only* by Serbia's war against Austria (which, by the way, was noted in the resolution of our Party's Berne Conference).\* It is only in Serbia and among the Serbs that we can find a national-liberation movement of long standing, embracing millions, "the masses of the people", a movement of which the present war of Serbia against Austria is a "continuation". If this war were an isolated one, i.e., if it were not connected with the general European war, with the selfish and predatory aims of Britain, Russia, etc., it would have been the *duty* of all socialists to desire the success of the Serbian bourgeoisie—this is the only correct and absolutely inevitable conclusion to be drawn from the national element in the present war. However it is this conclusion that the sophist Kautsky, who is now in the service of the Austrian bourgeoisie, clericals and militarists, has failed to draw.

Further, Marxist dialectics, as the last word in the scientific-evolutionary method, excludes any isolated examination of an object, i.e., one that is one-sided and monstrously distorted. The national element in the Serbo-Austrian war is not, and cannot be, of any serious significance in the general European war. If Germany wins, she will throttle Belgium, one more part of Poland, perhaps part of France, etc. If Russia wins, she will throttle Galicia, one more part of Poland, Armenia, etc. If the war ends in a "draw", the old national oppression will remain. To Serbia, i.e., to perhaps one per cent or so of the participants in the present war, the war is a "continuation of the politics" of the bourgeois-liberation movement. To the other ninety-nine per cent, the war is a continuation of the politics of imperialism, i.e., of the decrepit bourgeoisie, which is capable only of raping nations, not freeing them. The Triple Entente, which is "liberating" Serbia, is *selling* the interests of Serbian liberty to Italian imperialism in return for the latter's aid in robbing Austria.

All this, which is common knowledge, has been unblushingly distorted by Kautsky to justify the opportunists. There are no "pure" phenomena, nor can there be, either in Nature or in society—that is what Marxist dialectics teaches us, for dialectics shows that the very concept of purity indicates a certain narrowness, a one-sidedness of human cognition, which cannot embrace an object in all its totality and complexity. There is no "pure" capitalism in the world, or can there be; what we always find is *admixtures* either of feudalism, philistinism, or of something else. Therefore, if anyone recalls that the war is not "purely" imperialist, when we are discussing the flagrant deception of "the masses of the people" by the imperialists, who are deliberately concealing the aims of undisguised robbery with "national" phraseology, then such a person is either an infinitely stupid pedant, or a pettifogger and deceiver. The whole point is that Kautsky is *supporting* the deception of the people by the imperialists when he asserts that to "the masses of the people, including the proletarian masses", the problems of national liberation were "of decisive significance" whereas to the ruling classes the decisive factors were "imperialist tendencies" (p. 273), and when he "reinforces" this with an alleged dialectical reference to the "infinite variety of reality" (p. 274). Certainly, reality is infinitely varied. That is absolutely true! But it is equally indubitable that amidst this infinite variety there are two main and fundamental strains: the objective content of the war is a "continuation of the politics" of imperialism, i.e., the plunder of other nations by the decrepit bourgeoisie of the "Great Powers" (and their governments), whereas the prevailing "subjective" ideology consists of "national"

fool the masses.

Kautsky's old sophism, repeated time and again, claiming that "at the outbreak of war" the "Lefts" regarded the situation as presenting an alternative between imperialism or socialism, has already been analysed. This is a shameless subterfuge, for Kautsky knows very well that the Lefts advanced a *different* alternative, viz., either that the party join in the imperialist plunder and deception, or else propagate and prepare for revolutionary action. Kautsky knows also that it is the censorship *alone* that prevents the Lefts in Germany from exposing the stupid fable that his servility to the Südekums makes him spread.

As for the relation between the "proletarian masses" and a "handful of parliamentarians", Kautsky advances a most threadbare objection:

"Let us disregard the Germans, so as not to plead in our own behalf; who would seriously assert that men like Vaillant, Guesde, Hyndman and Plekhanov became imperialists overnight and betrayed socialism? Let us disregard the parliamentarians and the 'leading bodies'... [Kautsky is obviously hinting at *Die Internationale*, the journal issued by Rosa Luxemburg and Franz Mehring, in which the policy of the leading bodies, i.e., the official bodies of the German Social-Democratic Party, its Executive, the "Vorstand", its parliamentary group, etc., is treated with deserved contempt]... who would dare assert that an order given by a handful of parliamentarians is sufficient to make four million class-conscious German proletarians turn right-about-face within twenty-four hours, in direct opposition to their former aims? If this were true, it would, of course, be evidence of a terrible collapse, not only of our Party, but also of the masses. [Kautsky's italics.] If the masses were such a spineless flock of sheep, we might just as well allow ourselves to be buried" (p. 274).

Politically and scientifically, Karl Kautsky, the great authority, gave himself a burial long ago through his conduct and his collection of pitiful evasions. Those who fail to understand or at least to feel this, are hopeless as far as socialism is concerned; it is for this very reason that the tone adopted, in *Die Internationale*, by Mehring, Rosa Luxemburg and their adherents, in treating Kautsky and Co. as most despicable creatures, was the only correct one in the circumstances.

Consider: the *only* people in a position to express their attitude to the war more or less freely (i.e., without being immediately seized and dragged to the barracks, or the immediate risk of being shot) were a "handful of parliamentarians" (who were free to vote, with the right to do so; they were quite able to vote in opposition. Even in Russia, no one was beaten up or even arrested for this), a handful of officials, journalists, etc. And now, Kautsky nobly places on the masses the blame for the treachery and the spinelessness of that social stratum of whose links with the tactics and ideology of opportunism Kautsky himself has written scores of times over a number of years! The first and most fundamental demand of scientific research in general and of Marxist dialectic in particular is that a writer should examine the link between the present struggle of trends in the socialist movement—between the trend that is doing the talking, vociferating, and raising a hullabaloo about treachery, and the trend which sees no treachery—and the struggle that preceded it for *whole decades*. Kautsky, however, does not say a word about this; he does not even wish to raise the question of trends and tendencies. Till now there have been tendencies, but now there are none! Today, there are only the resonant names of "authorities", which the servile spirits always invoke as their trump card. In this connection it is most convenient for one to refer to the other and to cover up one's "peccadilloes" in a friendly fashion, according to the rule: you roll my log and I'll roll yours. "How can this be called opportunism," Martov exclaimed at a lecture in Berne (see No. 36 of *Sozial-Demokrat*),

\*See V.I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 159—Ed.

## Collapse

Continued from page 21

"when Guesde, Plekhanov and Kautsky..." "We must be more careful in accusing men like Guesde of opportunism," Axelrod wrote (*Golos* Nos. 86 and 87). "I will not defend myself," Kautsky echoed in Berlin, "But Vaillant, Guesde, Hyndman and Plekhanov..."! What a mutual admiration society!

In his writings, Kautsky has revealed such servile zeal as to fawn upon even Hyndman and to make it appear that it was only yesterday that the latter deserted to the side of imperialism. And yet the selfsame *Neue Zeit* and scores of Social-Democratic papers all over the world have been writing about Hyndman's imperialism for many years. Had Kautsky gone to the trouble of thoroughly studying the political biographies of the persons he mentions, he would have recalled whether or not those biographies contained traits and events which paved the way for their desertion to imperialism, not "overnight", but over decades; whether Vaillant had been held captive by the Jaurésists, and Plekhanov by the Mensheviks and liquidators; whether the Guesdist trend had been publicly giving up the ghost in that typically lifeless and insipid Guesdist magazine, *Le Socialisme*, which was incapable of taking an independent stand on any important issue; whether Kautsky himself (we add this for the benefit of those who very properly put him alongside Hyndman and Plekhanov) had been supine in the question of Millerandism, in the early stage of the struggle against Bernsteinism, etc.

But Kautsky does not display the slightest shadow of interest in any scientific examination of these leaders' biographies. He does not even attempt to see whether these leaders are defending themselves with their own arguments or by repeating the arguments of the opportunists and the bourgeoisie; whether the actions of these leaders have acquired serious political significance because of their own extraordinary influence, or because they have adhered to some other really "influential" trend which is supported by a military organisation, namely, the bourgeois trend. Kautsky has not even set about examining this question; his only concern is to throw dust in the eyes of the masses, dumfound them with the sound of authoritative names, prevent them from raising a clear issue and examining it from all sides.\*

"...an order given by a handful of parliamentarians is sufficient to make four million class-conscious proletarians turn right-about-face..."

Every word uttered here is a lie. The German Party organisation had a membership of one million, not four million. As is the case with any organisation, the united will of this mass organisation was expressed only through its united political centre, the "handful", who betrayed socialism. It was this handful who were asked to express their opinion; it was this handful who were called upon to vote; they were in a position to vote; they were in a position to write articles, etc. The masses were not consulted. Not only were they not permitted to vote, but

\*Kautsky's references to Vaillant and Guesde, Hyndman and Plekhanov are characteristic also in another connection. The outspoken imperialists of the Lensch and Haenisch variety (to say nothing of the opportunists) refer to Hyndman and Plekhanov so as to justify their own policy, and they have a right to do so. They are speaking the truth when they say it is one and the same policy. Kautsky, however, speaks with disdain of Lensch and Haenisch, radicals who have turned towards imperialism. Kautsky thanks God that he is unlike such sinners, that he disagrees with them, and has remained a revolutionary (*sic!*). As a matter of fact, Kautsky's stand is the same as theirs. Kautsky, the hypocritical chauvinist who employs sentimental phrases, is much more odious than the chauvinist simpletons, David and Heine, Lensch and Haenisch.

they were disunited and coerced "by orders", not from a handful of parliamentarians, but from the military authorities. A military organisation existed; there was no treachery among the leaders of this organisation. It called up the "masses" one by one, confronted the individual with the ultimatum: either join the army, as your leaders advise you to, or be shot. The masses could not act in an organised fashion because their previously created organisation, an organisation embodied in a "handful" of Legiens, Kautskys and Scheidemanns, had betrayed them. It takes time to create a new organisation, as well as a determination to consign the old, rotten, and obsolete organisation to the scrap heap.

Kautsky tries to defeat his opponents, the Lefts, by ascribing to them the nonsensical idea that the "masses", "in retaliation" to war, should make a revolution "within twenty-four hours", and institute "socialism" as opposed to imperialism, or otherwise the "masses" would be revealing "spinelessness and treachery". But this is sheer nonsense, which the compilers of illiterate bourgeois and police booklets have hitherto used to "defeat" the revolutionaries, and Kautsky now flaunts in our faces. Kautsky's Left opponents know perfectly well that a revolution cannot be "made", that revolutions develop from objectively (i.e., independently of the will of parties and classes) mature crises and turns in history, that without organisation the masses lack unity of will, and that the struggle against a centralised state's powerful terrorist military organisation is a difficult and lengthy business. Owing to the treachery of their leaders, the masses could not do anything at the crucial moment, whereas this "handful" of leaders were in an excellent position and in duty bound to vote against the war credits, take a stand against a "class truce" and justification of the war, express themselves in favour of the defeat of their own governments, set up an international apparatus for the purpose of carrying on propaganda in favour of fraternisation in the trenches, organise the publication of illegal literature\* on the necessity of starting revolutionary activities, etc.

Kautsky knows perfectly well that it is precisely such or rather similar actions that the German "Lefts" have in mind, and that under a military censorship they cannot talk about these things directly, openly. Kautsky's desire to defend the opportunists at all costs has led him into unparalleled infamy: taking cover behind the military censors, he attributes patent absurdities to the Lefts, in the confidence that the censors will protect him from exposure.

## VII

The serious scientific and political question, which Kautsky has deliberately evaded by means of subterfuges of all kinds, thereby giving enormous pleasure to the opportunists, is this: how was it possible for the most prominent representatives of the Second International to betray socialism?

This question should not, of course, be considered from the standpoint of the biographies of the individual leaders. Their future biographers will have to analyse the problem from this angle

\*Incidentally, it would not have been at all necessary to close all Social-Democratic papers in reply to the government's ban on writing about class hatred and class struggle. To agree not to write about this, as *Vorwärts* did, was mean and cowardly. *Vorwärts* did politically when it did this, and Martov was right when he said so. It was, however, possible to retain the legal papers by declaring that they were non-Party and non-Social-Democratic, and served the technical needs of a section of the workers, i.e., that they were non-political papers. Underground Social-Democratic literature containing an assessment of the war, and legally published working-class literature without that assessment, a literature that does not say what is not true, but keeps silent about the truth—why should this not have been possible?

as well, but what interests the socialist movement today is not that, but a study of the historical origins, the conditions, the significance and the strength of the social-chauvinist trend. (1) Where did social-chauvinism spring from? (2) What gave it strength? (3) How must it be combated? Only such an approach to the question can be regarded as serious, the "personal" approach being in practice an evasion, a piece of sophistry.

To answer the first question we must see, first, whether the ideological and political content of social-chauvinism is connected with some previous trend in socialism; and second, in what relation—from the standpoint of actual political divisions—the present division of socialists into opponents and defenders of social-chauvinism stands to divisions which historically preceded it.

By social-chauvinism we mean acceptance of the idea of the defence of the fatherland, in the present imperialist war, justification of an alliance between socialists and the bourgeoisie and the governments of their "own" countries in this war, a refusal to propagate and support proletarian-revolutionary action against one's "own" bourgeoisie, etc. It is perfectly obvious that social-chauvinism's basic ideological and political content fully coincides with the foundations of opportunism. It is one and the same tendency. In the conditions of the war of 1914-15, opportunism leads to social-chauvinism. The idea of class collaboration is opportunism's main feature. The war has brought this idea to its logical conclusion, and has augmented its usual factors and stimuli with a number of extraordinary ones; through the operation of special threats and coercion it has compelled the philistine and disunited masses to collaborate with the bourgeoisie. This circumstance has naturally multiplied adherents of opportunism and fully explains why many radicals of yesterday have deserted to that camp.

Opportunism means sacrificing the fundamental interests of the masses to the temporary interests of an insignificant minority of the workers or, in other words, an alliance between a section of the workers and the bourgeoisie, directed against the mass of the proletariat. The war has made such an alliance particularly conspicuous and inescapable. Opportunism was engendered in the course of decades by the special features in the period of the development of capitalism, when the comparatively peaceful and cultured life of a stratum of privileged workingmen "bourgeoisified" them, gave them crumbs from the table of their national capitalists, and isolated them from the suffering, misery and revolutionary temper of the impoverished and ruined masses. The imperialist war is the direct continuation and culmination of this state of affairs, because this is a war for the privileges of the Great-Power nations, for the repartition of colonies, and domination over other nations. To

defend and strengthen their privileged position as a petty-bourgeois "upper stratum" or aristocracy (and bureaucracy) of the working class—such is the natural wartime continuation of petty-bourgeois opportunist hopes and the corresponding tactics, such is the economic foundation of present-day social-imperialism.\* And, of course, the force of habit, the routine of relatively "peaceful" evolution, national prejudices, a fear of sharp turns and a disbelief in them—all these were additional circumstances which enhanced both opportunism and a hypocritical and a craven reconciliation with opportunism—ostensibly only for a time and only because of extraordinary causes and motives. The war has changed this opportunism, which had been fostered for decades, raised it to a higher stage, increased the number and the variety of its shades, augmented the ranks of its adherents, enriched their arguments with a multitude of new sophisms, and has merged, so to say, many new streams and rivulets with the mainstream of opportunism. However, the mainstream has not disappeared. Quite the reverse.

Social-chauvinism is an opportunism which has matured to such a degree that the continued existence of this bourgeois abscess within the socialist parties has become impossible.

Those who refuse to see the closest and unbreakable link between social-chauvinism and opportunism clutch at individual instances—this opportunist or another, they say, has turned internationalist; this radical or another has turned chauvinist. But this kind of argument carries no weight as far as the development of trends is concerned. Firstly, chauvinism and opportunism in the labour movement have the same economic basis: the alliance between a numerically small upper stratum of the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie—who get but morsels of the privileges of their "own" national capital—against the masses of the proletarians, the masses of the toilers and the oppressed in general. Secondly, the two trends have the same ideological and political content. Thirdly, the old division of socialists into an opportunist trend and a revolutionary, which was characteristic of the period of the Second International (1889-1914), corresponds, by and large, to the new division into chauvinists and internationalists.

To realise the correctness of the latter statement, one must remember that social science (like science generally) usually deals with mass phenomena, not with individual cases. Let us take ten European countries: Germany, Britain, Russia, Italy, Holland, Sweden, Bulgaria, Switzerland, France and Belgium. In the first eight countries, the new division of socialists (according to internationalism) corresponds to the old division (according to opportunism): in Germany the magazine *Sozialistische Monatshefte*, which was a stronghold

\*Here are several examples showing how highly the imperialists and the bourgeoisie value the importance of "Great-Power" and national privileges as a means of dividing the workers and diverting them from socialism. In a book entitled *Greater Rome and Greater Britain* (Oxford, 1912), the British imperialist Lucas acknowledges the legal disabilities of coloured people in the present British Empire (pp. 96-97), and remarks that "in our own Empire, where white workers and coloured workers are side by side, ... they do not work on the same level, and that the white man is rather the overseer of ... the coloured man." In a pamphlet entitled *Social-Democracy after the War* (1915) Erwin Belger, a former secretary of the Imperial Alliance against Social-Democrats, praises the conduct of the Social-Democrats and declares that they must become a "purely labour party" (p. 43), a "national", a "German labour party" (p. 45), without "internationalist, Utopian", and "revolutionary" ideas (p. 44). In a book dealing with capital investments abroad (1907), the German imperialist Sartorius von Waltershausen blames the German Social-Democrats for ignoring the "national welfare" (p.

438)—which consists in the seizure of colonies—and praises the British workers' "realism", for instance, their struggle against immigration. In a book on the principles of world politics, the German diplomat Ruedorffer stresses the generally known fact that the internationalisation of capital by no means eliminates the national capitalists' intensified struggle for power and influence, for "majority share-holding" (p. 161). The author notes that the workers become involved in this intensified struggle (p. 175). The book is dated October 1913, and the author speaks with perfect clarity of the "interests of capital" (p. 157) as the cause of modern wars. He says that the question of the "national tendency" becomes the kingpin of socialism (p. 176), and that the governments have nothing to fear from the internationalist manifestos of the Social-Democrats (p. 177), who in reality are turning more and more national (pp. 103, 110, 176). International socialism will be victorious, he says, if it extricates the workers from national influence, since nothing can be achieved through violence alone; however, it will suffer defeat if national sentiments gain the upper hand (pp. 173-74).

of opportunism, has become a stronghold of chauvinism. The ideas of internationalism have the support of the extreme Lefts. In Britain about three-sevenths of the British Socialist Party are internationalists (66 votes for an internationalist resolution and 84 against it, as shown by the latest counts), while in the opportunist bloc (the Labour Party plus the Fabians, plus the Independent Labour Party) less than one-seventh are internationalists.\* In Russia, the liquidationist *Nasha Zarya*, the mainstay of the opportunists, has become the mainstay of chauvinism. Plekhanov and Alexinsky are making more noise, but we know from five years' experience (1910-14) that they are incapable of conducting systematic propaganda among the masses in Russia. The nucleus of the internationalists in Russia is made up of "Pravdism" and the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma as representing the advanced workers who restored the Party in January 1912.

In Italy, the party of Bissolati and Co., which was purely opportunist, has turned chauvinist. Internationalism is represented by the workers' party. The masses of the workers are for this party; the opportunists, the parliamentarians and the petty bourgeoisie are for chauvinism. In the course of several months a free choice could be made and indeed was made in Italy, not fortuitously but in conformity with the difference in the class stand of rank-and-file proletarians and the petty-bourgeois groups.

In Holland, Troelstra's opportunist party is reconciled to chauvinism in general (one must not be deceived by the fact that in Holland the petty bourgeoisie, like the big bourgeoisie, have a particular hatred of Germany, because the latter can "swallow" them up easiest of all). It is the Marxist party, led by Gorter and Pannekoek, that has produced consistent, sincere, ardent and convinced internationalists. In Sweden, Branting, the opportunist leader, is indignant at the German socialists being accused of treachery, while Höglund, leader of the Lefts, has declared that this is precisely the opinion of some of his adherents (see *Sotsial-Demokrat* No. 36). In Bulgaria, the "Tesnyaki", who are opposed to opportunism, have, in their press (the paper *Novo Vreme*), accused the German Social-Democrats of having "perpetrated a foul act". In Switzerland, the adherents of the opportunist Greulich are inclined to justify the German Social-Democrats (see their organ, the Zurich *Volksrecht*), whereas those who support the much more radical R. Grimm have turned the Berne paper, *Berner Tagwacht*, into an organ of the German Lefts. Only two countries out of the ten—France and Belgium—are exceptions, but even here, strictly speaking, we see, not an absence of internationalists, but their excessive weakness and dejection (due in part to causes that can be readily understood); let us not forget that Vaillant himself has admitted, in *l'Humanité*, that he has received from his readers letters of an internationalist character, letters which, however, he has not published in full, not a single one of them!

By and large, if we take the trends and tendencies, we must admit that it was the opportunist wing of European socialism that betrayed socialism and deserted to chauvinism. What is the source of its strength and its seeming omnipotence within the official parties? Now that he himself is involved, Kautsky, who is well versed in raising questions of history, especially with refer-

ence to ancient Rome or similar matters that do not have a direct bearing on problems of our times, hypocritically pretends a lack of understanding. But the whole thing is crystal-clear. The immense strength of the opportunists and the chauvinists stems from their alliance with the bourgeoisie, with the governments and the General Staffs. This is often overlooked in Russia, where it is assumed the opportunists are a section of the socialist parties, that there always have been and will be two extreme wings within those parties, that "extremes" should be avoided, etc., etc.—and plenty of similar philistine copybook maxims.

In reality, the opportunists' formal membership in workers' parties by no means disproves their objectively being a political detachment of the bourgeoisie, conductors of its influence, and its agents in the labour movement. When the opportunist Südekum, whose claim to fame is like that of Herostratus, convincingly demonstrated this social and class truth, many good people gasped with amazement. The French socialists and Plekhanov pointed the finger of scorn at Südekum—although had Vandervelde, Sembat or Plekhanov looked into a mirror they would have seen nothing but a Südekum, with slightly different national features. The members of the German Executive (*Vorstand*), who now praise Kautsky and are praised by Kautsky, have made haste to declare—cautiously, modestly and politely (without naming Südekum)—that they "do not agree" with Südekum's line.

This is ridiculous, because, at the crucial moment, Südekum alone, actually proved stronger in the policies of the German Social-Democratic Party than a hundred Haases and Kautskys (just as *Nasha Zarya* alone is stronger than all the Brussels bloc trends, which are afraid to break away from that paper).

Why is that so? It is because behind Südekum are the bourgeoisie, the government, and the General Staff of a Great Power. These support Südekum's policy in a thousand ways, whereas his opponents' policy is frustrated by every means, including prison and the firing squad. Südekum's voice reaches the public in millions of copies of bourgeois newspapers (as do the voices of Vandervelde, Sembat, and Plekhanov), whereas the voices of his opponents cannot be heard in the legal press because of the military censorship!

It is generally agreed that opportunism is no chance occurrence, sin, slip, or treachery on the part of individuals, but a social product of an entire period of history. The significance of this truth is not always given sufficient thought. Opportunism has been nurtured by legalism. The workers' parties of the period between 1889 and 1914 had to take advantage of bourgeois legality. When the crisis came, they should have adopted illegal methods of work (but this could not be done otherwise than with the greatest vigour and determination, combined with a number of stratagems). A single Südekum was sufficient to prevent the adoption of illegal methods, because, speaking in a historico-philosophical sense, he had the whole of the "old world" behind him, and because he, Südekum, has always betrayed, and will always betray, to the bourgeoisie all the military plans of its class enemy, speaking in the sense of practical politics.

It is a fact that the entire German Social-Democratic Party (and the same holds for the French and other parties) does only that which pleases Südekum or can be tolerated by Südekum. Nothing else can be done legally. Anything honest and really socialist that takes place in the German Social-Democratic Party, is done in opposition to its centres, by circumventing its Executive and Central Organ, by violating organisational discipline, in a factional manner, on behalf of new and anonymous centres of a new party, as was the case, for instance, with the German Lefts' manifesto published in

*Berner Tagwacht* on May 31 of this year.<sup>10</sup> As a matter of fact, a new party is growing up, gaining strength and being organised, a real workers' party, a genuinely revolutionary Social-Democratic Party, unlike the old and corrupt national-liberal party of Legien, Südekum, Kautsky, Haase, Scheidemann and Co.\*

It was, therefore, a profound historical truth that the opportunist "Monitor" blurted out in the conservative *Preussische Jahrbücher*<sup>11</sup> when he said it would be bad for the opportunists (i.e., the bourgeoisie) if present-day Social-Democracy were to swing to the right—because in that case the workers would desert it. The opportunists (and the bourgeoisie) need the party as it is today, a party combining the Right and Left wings and officially represented by Kautsky, who will be able to reconcile everything in the world by means of smooth, "thoroughly Marxist" phrases. In word, socialism and the revolutionary spirit for the people, the masses, the workers; in deed, Südekumism, adhering to the bourgeoisie in any grave crisis. We say: any crisis, because in any serious political strike, and not only in time of war, "feudalist" Germany like "free and parliamentary" Britain or France will immediately introduce martial law under one name or another. No one of sound mind and judgement can have any doubt about this.

Hence logically follows the reply to the question raised above, viz., how is social-chauvinism to be combated? Social-chauvinism is an opportunism which has matured to such a degree, grown so strong and brazen during the long period of comparatively "peaceful" capitalism, so definite in its political ideology, and so closely associated with the bourgeoisie and the governments, that the existence of such a trend within the Social-Democratic workers' parties cannot be tolerated. Flimsy, thin-soled shoes may be good enough to walk in on the well-paved streets of a small provincial town, but heavy hob-nailed boots are needed for walking in the hills. In Europe socialism has emerged from a comparatively peaceful stage that is confined within narrow and national limits. With the outbreak of the war of 1914-15, it entered the stage of revolutionary action; there can be no doubt that the time has come for a complete break with opportunism, for its expulsion from the workers' parties.

This definition of the tasks the new era of international development confronts socialism with does not, of course, immediately show how rapidly and in what definite forms the process of separation of the workers' revolutionary Social-Democratic parties from the petty-bourgeois opportunist parties will proceed in the various countries. It does, however, reveal the need clearly to realise that such a separation is inevitable, and that the entire policy of the workers' parties must be directed from this standpoint. The war of 1914-15 is such a great turn in history

\*What happened before the historic voting of August 4 [for war credits.—Ed.] is extremely characteristic. The official party has cast the cloak of bureaucratic hypocrisy over this event, saying that the majority decided and that all voted unanimously in favour. But this hypocrisy was exposed by Ströbel who told the truth in the journal *Die Internationale*. The Social-Democratic members of the Reichstag split into two groups, each of whom came with an ultimatum, i.e., a dissentient decision, i.e., one signifying a split. One group, the opportunists, who were about thirty strong, decided to vote in favour, under all circumstances; the other and Left group numbering about fifteen, decided—less resolutely—to vote against. When the "Centre" or the "Marsh", who never take a firm stand, voted with the opportunists, the Lefts sustained a crushing defeat and—submitted! Talk about the "unity" of the German Social-Democrats is sheer hypocrisy, which actually covers up the inevitable submission of the Lefts to ultimatums from the opportunists.

that the attitude towards opportunism cannot remain the same as it has been. What has happened cannot be erased. It is impossible to obliterate from the minds of the workers, or from the experience of the bourgeoisie, or from the political lessons of our epoch in general, the fact that, at a moment of crisis, the opportunists proved to be the nucleus of those elements within the workers' parties that deserted to the bourgeoisie. Opportunism—to speak on a European scale—was in its adolescent stage, as it were, before the war. With the outbreak of the war it grew to manhood and its "innocence" and youth cannot be restored. An entire social stratum, consisting of parliamentarians, journalists, labour officials, privileged office personnel, and certain strata of the proletariat, has sprung up and has become amalgamated with its own national bourgeoisie, which has proved fully capable of appreciating and "adapting" it. The course of history cannot be turned back or checked—we can and must go fearlessly onward, from the preparatory legal working-class organisations, which are in the grip of opportunism, to revolutionary organisations that know how not to confine themselves to legality and are capable of safeguarding themselves against opportunist treachery, organisations of a proletariat that is beginning a "struggle for power", a struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie.

This, incidentally, proves how wrong are the views of those who befog both their own minds and those of the workers with the question as to what should be done with such outstanding authorities of the Second International as Guesde, Plekhanov, Kautsky, etc. In fact, no such question arises. If these persons fail to understand the new tasks, they will have to stand aside or remain as they are at present, in captivity to the opportunists. If these persons free themselves from "captivity" they are hardly likely to encounter political obstacles to their return to the camp of the revolutionaries. At all events, it is absurd to substitute the question of the role of individuals for the question of the struggle between trends and of the new period in the working-class movement.

Continued next week

4. *The man in a muffler*—a character in Chekhov's story of the same name, typifying a narrow-minded philistine who is afraid of innovations and any initiative.
5. The quotation is from Goethe.
6. *The Bulygin Duma*—a consultative Duma, the laws for the elections and, convocation of which were drafted by a commission headed by A.G. Bulygin, Minister of the Interior, and published on August 6 (19), 1905. The Bolsheviks boycotted the Bulygin Duma, and the government failed to convene it. The Duma was swept away by the October general political strike.
7. *Le Socialisme*—a journal edited and published in Paris between 1907 and June 1914 by the French socialist Jules Guesde.
8. *Pravdism*, i.e., Bolshevism (from the name of the Bolshevik newspaper *Pravda*).
9. *Novo Vreme* (New Times)—a scientific and theoretical journal of the revolutionary wing of the Bulgarian Social-Democratic Party (*Tesnyaki*), founded by Dimitr Blagoyev in 1897 in Plovdiv and later published in Sofia. In 1903 the journal became the organ of the Bulgarian Workers' Social-Democratic Party (*Tesnyaki*). Its publication ceased in February 1916 but was resumed in 1919. The editor was Dimitr Blagoyev, its contributors including Georgiyev, Kirkov, Kabakchiev, Kolarov, and Petrov. In 1923 the journal was suppressed by the Bulgarian reactionary government. Since 1947 *Novo Vreme*—the monthly theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party.
10. This refers to the manifesto "The Chief Enemy Is in Our Own Country", written by Karl Liebknecht.
11. *Preussische Jahrbücher*—a monthly of a conservative trend, organ of the German capitalists and landowners, published in Berlin from 1858 to 1935.

\* The independent Labour Party alone is usually compared with the British Socialist Party. That is wrong. The essentials should be considered, not the forms of organisation. Take the daily newspapers: there were two of them—one, the *Daily Herald*, mouthpiece of the British Socialist Party, the other the *Daily Citizen*, mouthpiece of the opportunist bloc. The dailies do the actual work of propaganda, agitation and organisation.

# Unleashing

Continued from page 10

government, or international organization it appears intended to coerce or intimidate, or the locale in which its perpetrators operate or seek asylum." (p. 28-29)

It's clear from making your way through the definition that this applies not only to the world's people meeting the imperialists' reactionary violence with revolutionary violence, nor just to conscious internationalists, but will be used against any group or individual taking action against many of imperialism's crimes. Even signing something like an international appeal around El Salvador would at least rate you an aider and abettor of "international terrorism."

All this fits in well with recent ruling class actions to label any resistance to imperialism and any exposure of it as either the direct product of foreign subversion and "international terrorism" (all this orchestrated by their Soviet imperialist counterparts, of course) or at least the aiding and abetting of them, hence the "justification" to go after this under the signboard of "foreign intelligence" or "foreign counter-intelligence" operations by the FBI, CIA and other ruling class agencies.

## Attack on Foreign-Born

One of the most hideous features of this agreement is the straight up attacks on those who are neither citizens nor have permanent residency status. Here the stated restrictions on FBI activity formulated in its "permanent principles" does not apply unless you are a "U.S. person." Where the agreement promises no FBI domestic investigations "on the basis of activities protected by the First Amendment" this is labelled "not for the use and consumption by foreigners." Where break-ins are supposed to be accompanied by secret warrants (Thank Goodness!) for domestic investigations, they merely must be "lawful" for what is labelled foreign intelligence cases. And for those that are not considered "U.S. persons" any and all of this is thrown out and anything goes. U.S. persons are defined:

"The term 'United States person' means a citizen of the United States, an alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence, an unincorporated association organized in the United States or substantially composed of United States citizens or aliens admitted for permanent residence, or a corporation incorporated in the United States." (p. 28)

This constitutes a significant attack and also a revealing exposure of the real nature of the U.S.'s hallowed "liberty." Specifically it is an attempt to further go after an important group of those who constitute a threat to imperialism's ability to win and keep the allegiance of the masses in the coming period; those whose first-hand experience and knowledge of imperialism's real workings throughout the world can be brought out to broad sections of the masses in this country, expose to them the real nature of the U.S.'s "democracy" in the world and contribute to masses in this country taking on an internationalist outlook, one truly in the interest of the oppressed and exploited here and around the world.

## The Sugar Coating

The settlement must offer something if it has the chance of being able to rope in the section of people it is aimed at influencing politically. And what is offered here, which supporters of the settlement with the FBI see as the "heart" of the "victory" are three general principles that apply to FBI activities relating to "the domestic activities of U.S. persons." These are:

"(a) The FBI, in conducting domestic security investigations and inquiries, shall be concerned only with conduct and only such conduct as is forbidden by a criminal law of the United States, or by a state criminal law when authorized by federal statute. The FBI

shall not conduct an investigation solely on the basis of activities protected by the First Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, or on the lawful exercise of any right secured by the Constitution or laws of the United States.

(b) The FBI, in investigating United States persons, shall not employ any technique designed to impair their lawful and constitutionally protected political conduct or defame the character or reputation of a United States person.

(c) The FBI shall conduct its investigation with minimal intrusion consistent with the need to collect information or evidence in a timely and effective manner (!—RW) and shall conduct the investigations in a manner reasonably designed to minimize unnecessary collection and recording of information about the lawful exercise of First Amendment rights." (p. 19)

Can some people really think that they'll be safe from this? Actually supporters see these principles as somehow being able to insulate Chicago from what they see as the "Reagan onslaught." What actually are these "First Amendment activities" that will be "protected"? In effect, it means, and has always meant, anything that doesn't seriously threaten the bourgeoisie and expose their nature and true role throughout the world.

And in fact this cover-up is deliberately aimed at a section of the petty bourgeoisie who have opposed specific crimes and policies of the bourgeoisie, but who don't see that what lies behind these are not the "excesses and mistakes of a democratic system" but are exactly the real workings of such a system. Its purpose is to drive a wedge between them and the revolutionary struggles of the masses worldwide and its revolutionary leadership through agreement with the notion that "national interests" should be protected and dictate going after these "foreign agents and subversives and international terrorists."

Those who support this settlement, and see it as a nationwide model, whatever their intentions, are basically putting out the dangerous illusion that there is some way to advance the interests of a section of the masses in the U.S. in isolation from (and in reality in direct opposition to) the interests of the masses of the world.

But while these three "general principles" constitute the "hook" for the people the settlement is aimed at politically, these are but illusions anyway. In the past, any written agreements, laws, charters, etc. have never stopped the bourgeoisie from breaking and going against their own laws and regulations when their interests dictate. Each exposure has led to denial, and when denial wasn't going to get over anymore, just the promise of no further crimes, while shifting over and covering up the methods by which these crimes were going to be carried on anyway. And as today's situation reveals, the bourgeoisie will *less* be able to withstand any opposition to its criminal rule.

In fact, for those who think that this settlement will "outlaw" FBI spying on "purely First Amendment activity" it is interesting to note that after the settlement was initially agreed to, one of the principal lawyers in the settlement appeared at a college symposium in Chicago on "Government Intelligence Abuses of the '60s and '70s." He finished his lecture and the students were leaving when a noise was heard from the back of the room. Apparently a tape cassette accidentally fell out of the recorder of a "stranger" who happened to come to the lecture. Confronted by a crowd of angry students, the "stranger" admitted to "working for the government" and then fled out the doors. It was later officially admitted that yes, the authorities taped both the lecture and the questions and answers from the audience at this "purely First Amendment" meeting.

Of course these "principles" have to be "interpreted" in the courts. But beyond that, if these "principles" seem rather vague—not to worry; for there are some specific guidelines here that go

along with them. These say that any bugging will be in accordance with federal statutes (Thank God!) and that any break-ins in domestic investigations be backed by warrant. And further, that surveillance, the getting and distributing (as into reactionary bootlickers in the press) of information, and the infiltration and disruption of various groups and organizations shall comply with "federal statutes, Presidential orders, written departmental or Bureau regulations" and other guidelines and procedures established by the bourgeoisie and their political police. And if this isn't enough for you, any or all of the above can be thrown out and superceded by any *future* federal statutes, presidential executive orders, written departmental or Bureau regulations ad nauseum, ad nauseum. And even in all this:

"...the term 'unconsented physical searches' (black bag jobs—RW) does not apply to... the receipt by the FBI of information, property or materials furnished by individuals acting on their own initiative, without direction or request by the FBI, regardless of the manner of acquisition."

This is both important and revealing. For one thing, it certainly indicates a call to all "patriots" to "lend the Bureau a hand" at breaking and entering and getting the "goods" on these subversives. But also it indicates a standard practice used by the authorities to cover their tracks and prevent further exposure of their crimes; working with and through other agencies, or even transferring their agents into other departments of government to carry out this work themselves. This is being employed on the local, national and international levels.

To take one local example, Chicago's infamous Red Squad, which was the subject of very wide exposure in the late '60s and '70s has now, according to all bourgeois accounts, long been dissolved and disbanded. But today, in Chicago,

this same work is being taken on by the "Tactical" units. In addition, through arrests made of members and supporters of the RCP leading up to May Day last year, it was exposed and finally revealed in the press that Chicago's "Transit Police" are doing the same Red Squad "work" of political surveillance, harassment and "neutralization." They are often found straying far from Chicago's El trains and bus routes, and these "transit cops" include even the same individuals as were in the "former" Red Squad.

Nationally, there has been a wealth of evidence amassed of FBI COINTELPRO-type activity being funneled through various agencies—the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Immigration, the Internal Revenue Service and the Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, as in the case of Bernard Butkovich, an officially admitted agent of that department, who infiltrated the Klan in North Carolina and directly helped plan the Klan/Nazi murders there in '79.

Internationally, the CIA has always worked through and set up various agencies and organizations in order to cover its tracks and this has been the subject of many books and articles.

Given past experience, the "enforcement" of this settlement can, and probably will be a big trap, actually getting "complainants" up on the stand and launching into further investigations and attacks by claiming the right of the "defendants" to confront their accusers.

For the bourgeoisie, the Chicago settlement is a timely and necessary one. Rather than being an exposure of the real workings of the political police, it is a coverup of it. Rather than being a restriction on their ability to lash out and attack those who in one way or another oppose their rule, it is part of an escalation in these same attacks, while trying to lure in a "broader base" of support for these same attacks.

# New Law

Continued from page 10

such exposures. In order to document the U.S. destabilization program in Jamaica, it was necessary to the agents carrying it out. In order to expose the lying claims of the U.S. government that it was "absurd" to try the hostages in the U.S. embassy in Tehran as spies, it was necessary to print, as the *Revolutionary Worker* did, the texts of the documents from the embassy released by the students and the identities and histories of the various CIA agents among the hostages. And *this* is exactly what the new law is being framed to prevent.

Forced by the intensity of the crisis they now face, they are beefing up the repressive legal apparatus and framing a law which makes it a crime to sift through public information and print accurate conclusions drawn from that information. For while the new law increases the penalty for printing *classified* data, it also would punish by three years in prison any person who "in the course of a pattern of activities intended to identify and expose covert agents and with reason to believe that such activities would impair or impede the foreign intelligence activities of the United States, disclose *any* information that identifies an individual as a covert agent..." (our emphasis—RW).

Just how the government intends to use such a new law was further revealed by CIA director William J. Casey. At the very moment Casey was testifying in favor of this bill before the Senate Subcommittee, a letter from him was being delivered to the House Intelligence Committee suggesting that the bill be amended to grant the FBI the power to conduct surprise raids on newspaper and broadcasting news rooms when there is reason to believe that such media outlets may be preparing to disclose the names of agents.

And in his testimony, Richard K. Willard, Justice Dept. counsel for intelligence policy, also had some proposed amendments. While praising the bill

to the skies, Willard thought it could be made even better by broadening the law to include the disclosure of the identities of domestic FBI agents working under cover. In other words, if an organization discovers an FBI agent had infiltrated into their midst, it would be a federal crime to publicly expose him as such.

Of course the loyal opposition was present at the hearing also. Democratic Senator Biden was worried about the constitutionality of the bill. Not that he opposed it, mind you—he just wanted to make sure that the bill would not be open to easy attack. Another senator raised the point of whether reactionary books like *The Terror Network* by Claire Sterling, which also reveals the identity of U.S. agents—but for the purpose of glorifying their crimes—would be outlawed. Civil libertarian Biden's response got right to the heart of the issue: "We must stop the Ages. But we don't want to stop the publication of books like... *The Terror Network*."

And displaying where the glorification of bourgeois civil liberties while denying the fundamental nature of imperialism leads, representatives of the American Civil Liberties Union said that they opposed the bill, but did not support the exposing of CIA agents. The real problem, they said, was the government's "failure to provide adequate cover for our intelligence officers abroad."

At this point the new bill is being greased to move through Congress with all possible haste. It has been publicly endorsed by the Reagan administration, the CIA and the Justice Dept. Also, Senator Strom Thurmond, Chairman of the Full Senate Judiciary Committee, put in a special appearance at the beginning of the hearing to put his personal seal of approval on the proceedings. Last year a similar bill was reported out of committee by a vote of 13 to 1. This year it may be unanimous in a not so remarkable show of unity between liberal and conservative imperialists to promote even more reactionary attempts to suppress exposure as their whole system teeters ever more precariously on the brink.



## Testimony

Continued from page 11

ton Jail, charged with 'Criminal Trespass' and 'Disorderly Conduct by Making Unreasonable Noise in a Public Place,' and released five hours later after my attorney posted bonds totaling \$257.00. At no time prior to my arrest was I asked to quit speaking. I was asked by the arresting officer to leave the campus, agreed to do so, and had walked about 200 feet away from the theatre when I was arrested.

"I have reason to believe, and do believe, that my arrest was a punitive action directed solely at the political content of my announcement, intended to intimidate any person who would criticize the policy of arresting persons for distributing the *Revolutionary Worker*. I am a 1971 graduate of Rice University, and I had paid the full general public admission price of \$1.75 for the privilege of attending these films. My trial on these charges in Cause No. 1821410 (Disorderly Conduct) and Cause No.

1812411 (Trespass) is scheduled to be held Wednesday, May 20, 1981, at 8:00 o'clock a.m. in City of Houston Municipal Court No. 2, 1400 Lubbock Street, Houston, Texas. If convicted, I face a maximum penalty of a fine of \$200.00 for each charge.

"Further Affiant sayeth not."

GLEN VAN SLYKE, Affiant  
Attorney at Law

State of Hawaii  
City & County of Honolulu

On Friday, July 13, 1979 I was officially terminated from my job with Waiialua Sugar Co. The company couldn't substantiate any of the reasons given for my termination. Even the State Unemployment Claims office ruled that I was not fired for a just reason.

The real reasons I feel I was fired were 1) on two occasions previous to my firing while selling issues of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper featuring stories on the legal attacks on Bob Avakian I had been warned by Masa Vehara, Vice-President of W.S.

Co., that I would be fired if I continued to raise this issue even though he admitted I was doing it on my own time off company property.

2) The Thursday one week previous to my discharge, July 5, 1979, a worker in the department I was assigned to played a tape recording of a speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, which I had lent to him. Don Andrews, Shop Superintendent, turned the tape off, stating, "We can't allow this tape to be played because it will create unrest."

My immediate supervisor, Robert Quick, told another worker, "XXX is going to get fired for bringing that tape to work."

After my firing from W.S. Co. I continued selling the *Revolutionary Worker* and actively participated in the defense of Bob Avakian and in building for the RCP-sponsored demonstrations on May 1, 1980.

Prior to May 1, on two separate occasions uniformed and off-duty members of the Honolulu Police Department visited employees of Waiialua Sugar Co. who had been known to read and sell the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper and had been involved in the campaign to defend Bob Avakian and in building for Revolutionary May Day 1980, and threatened them and their families with physical danger if they didn't drop all involvement with the RCP, USA.

On April 10, 1980 two supporters of the RCP led a demonstration of workers at W.S. Co. in support of the demand to drop all charges against Bob Avakian and in support of the upcoming May Day demonstrations. Manage-

ment of W.S. Co. called the police and on their arrival the demonstration ended.

On their way back to town the two RCP supporters stopped at my house to use the phone. Immediately after their departure two uniformed members of H.P.D. arrived at my house. All their identification had been removed, including their badges, name tags and hats.

The police forced their way into my house and searched it all without producing a warrant and without my permission.

On leaving they pointed to a stack of *Revolutionary Worker* newspapers in my living room and said, "We thought you quit this stuff." They then pointed to my son and said to me, "You don't learn, do you punk?" They then left.

At no time did they produce a search warrant and at no time did they have my permission to enter my house.

During the following week I received numerous threatening phone calls culminating in one which said, "If you don't stay away from the plantation with that revolution stuff you are going to get it."

Based on the above occurrences I feel that there is political persecution of members and supporters of the RCP, USA in the U.S. and that Bob Avakian has been singled out for particularly vicious persecution for the leadership role he has played in the RCP, and that his life would be in danger every minute he stayed in the U.S.

April 29, 1981

## U.S. REGIME

Continued from page 2

absences from work on the part of government employees.

"e. Networks of police and informants don't provide the kind of reports they should. This could indicate that the sources of information have become allied with the insurgent movement, or that they fear the retaliation of the insurgents or their sympathizers.

"f. A growing hostility against government agencies and agencies of public order...."

While Guatemalan military officers were getting this education, 452 Guatemalan police officers were brought to the U.S. for specialized police training. According to an official 1967 international Police Academy curriculum, most of this training is spent on the interpenetration between anti-communist ideology and counter-insurgency strategy. Thus, courses on "The Threat to Latin America" and "The Changing Society" are interspersed with technical instruction on domestic spying, riot control and paramilitary operations. A more advanced course was also made available to a select group of 18 Guatemalan police officers, as part of a larger crew of 165 law enforcement types from Asia, Africa and Latin America. This was called the "technical investigations course" and involved a 4-week session in Washington with lectures on basic electricity, introduction to bombs and explosives and assassination weapons, and a 4-week "field course" at the U.S. Border Patrol Academy to put all this theory into practice.

All this training first began to be applied on a large scale in 1966 with a start of a massive U.S. counter-insurgency war against the Guatemalan masses and a number of guerrilla groups that had begun operating in the countryside. On the one hand, the Guatemalan military carried out "search and destroy" missions throughout the countryside, rounding up villagers and sending them to concentration camps, while it simultaneously instituted "free zones" featuring indiscriminate bombing and napalm-dropping from U.S. Air Force T-33 jet trainers and B-26 "invaders." A number of sources have estimated that up to 1,000 Green Berets participated in and directly led these missions. On the other hand, the notorious "death squads" suddenly made their appearance, with 20 of these clandestine groups formed in the years 1966-68. Just in case anyone thought that the massive U.S. counter-insurgency training and the simultaneous appearance of "death squads" was purely coincidental, Colonel John Weber, the head of the U.S. military mission in Guatemala at the time, publicly stated that "counter-terror" was his idea and that he had helped the Guatemalan security forces to implement it.

The formation of paramilitary "death squads" was a key aspect of this "counter-terror."

8,000 Guatemalans were murdered in this wave of terror. Two years later, the man whom the U.S. had hand-picked to lead the Guatemalan military in this counter-insurgency effort, Colonel Carlos Arana Osorio (a former Guatemalan military attache to the U.S. in Washington, D.C., where his training had occurred) became president of Guatemala. In the first two years of his reign of terror, another 7,000 Guatemalans were murdered. The next Guatemalan president, another U.S.-trained military man, was content to just continue with the steady "disappearance" of opposition forces without unleashing any particular massive wave of murder. However, he did allow the U.S. Population Council to conduct experiments on Indian women with new surgical sterilization techniques at the main hospital for the poor in Guatemala City, all of which was funded by the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations. This new technique involved injecting a toxic paraformaldehyde solution into the uterus in hopes that it would cause scars in the Fallopian tubes and produce sterility. It is not publicly known how many women may have died from this little procedure.

When Lucas Garcia came to power he immediately began to put all the U.S. training to use once again on a grand scale. In addition to the massive reappearance of the "death squads," Lucas Garcia has also ordered a number of bloody massacres of Indians in the countryside. One of the most notorious of these occurred in May 1978, in the northeast section of the country, where petroleum and mineral discoveries have led to a sharp increase in land value. Wealthy landowners are taking over, driving out the Indians who have farmed there for centuries. When a number of these Indians attempted to protest the takeover of their land, they were fired upon by Guatemalan troops moved into the area for just such a possibility. 114 Indians were massacred in this maneuver.

Of course, all of this—and much more—leaves out the role the U.S. played in establishing the Guatemalan regime in the first place. Back in 1954 when a bourgeois nationalist government under Jacobo Arbenz expropriated a small part of the massive unused landholdings of the United Fruit Company, the top levels of the U.S. government orchestrated a coup to put the most trusted U.S.-trained military officers in power. The coup involved training a "liberation" force on Nicaraguan and Honduran soil, bombing the Guatemalan government headquarters with U.S. planes flown by former U.S. air force officers, and putting Colonel Castillo Armas in power. Castillo Armas was a graduate of the U.S. Command and General Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

### Bob Avakian Replies to a Letter from:

"Black Nationalist with Communistic Inclinations"



A Black worker from California wrote a while back to Bob Avakian. In the letter he made some sharp statements about the RCP's line, particularly on the national question, armed struggle, and what revolutionaries should be doing now to move forward towards revolution.

Comrade Avakian's response addresses the important points raised in this letter—questions which are on the minds of thousands of revolutionary-minded people in this country.

—Originally published in the *Revolutionary Worker*.

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# Pope

Continued from page 1

they launched a full scale assault against neighborhoods known for anti-fascist sympathies. Many saw the intensification of right-wing terrorist activity in Turkey as consciously preparing the conditions and justification for the imperialist orchestrated military takeover which occurred in September of 1980.

The reason for the U.S.-backed military coup that overthrew the U.S.-backed fascist government of Demirel was the intense splits which had ripped Turkey's ruling classes and virtually paralyzed the government, precisely at a time when the country's strategic importance for the U.S. was growing. As a vital member of NATO, bordering on the Soviet Union, the U.S. could not tolerate or risk the political and economic chaos that has wracked Turkey, and which neither the governments of Ecevit or Demirel seemed able to control, even with the use of terror squads like the Grey Wolves. But in allowing and promoting the National Action Party (MHP) as a pole of pro-imperialist and openly fascist activity, it intelligence Organization (known as freedom to run their own line and particular interests. Turkes has long preached the restoration of the pan-Turkish Empire, the restoration of the glories of the Ottoman Empire, a vision he has demagogically brewed with doses of Islamic fundamentalism. This meant Turkey reestablishing control of Cyprus and lands of the Ottoman Empire now stretching into Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. A practical impact of this is that the MHP tried to maintain the bitter breach between Turkey and Greece, which had kept Greece out of active participation in NATO and promoted at least the appearances of anti-Zionism. While these positions were useful for demagogic purposes, they would run counter to overall U.S. strategy if they became ruling policies now in Turkey.

Not surprisingly, the MHP had strong ties with sections of Turkey's military, from which many of its Grey Wolves seem to have been recruited. The pope's would-be assassin Mehmet Ali Agca had been jailed in early 1979 in a maximum security military prison after he was convicted of the murder of the editor of one of Turkey's most important liberal-wing/pro-imperialist newspapers, *Milliyet*. In November of 1979, he escaped from the prison by walking out the front door in a military uniform. Military complicity was so obvious that 20 soldiers and 3 officers at the prison were subsequently arrested for aiding him.

Mehmet Ali Agca certainly had good connections, for he was no small fry in the Grey Wolves. According to sources inside Turkey, he was a commander of a Grey Wolf section and had been in charge of organizing the Aegean Sea region of the fascist terror squads.

After the fascist military junta took power they imposed strict martial law and unleashed a widespread "legal" campaign of terror and arrests against the revolutionary and progressive forces inside the country. In order to give the appearance of "even-handedness" and also to curb some of the independent activity of the National Action Party, a number of Grey Wolves were jailed on terrorist charges and Turkes himself was put under house arrest. But the treatment of these rightist prisoners under the military junta, as was the case under Ecevit and Demirel, is extremely different from that to which thousands of jailed revolutionaries were subjected. While Agca walked out of prison wearing a military uniform, revolutionaries come out in caskets. Cases of torture and mutilation by authorities are copiously documented.

## Attacks on Leftists

In the wake of the pope's assassination attempt, the Turkish government announced that they had months before issued a "shoot on sight" order for Agca. Of course he was safely in West Germany, where he was known to have gone "underground." But if the Grey Wolves' activities were no longer so favored inside Turkey under the jackboot of military dictatorship, they

were still found useful in West Germany, with its one million Turkish immigrant workers, many of whom had become active revolutionary elements, linking up with the struggles of the international working class. And it wasn't just the Turkish government that saw the value of their services. It has become standard practice for the West German police to stand around while Grey Wolves attack demonstrations or meetings of activists from Turkey, and then arrest the progressives.

In January of 1980, for example, The Federation of Workers from Turkey in West Germany (ATIF) leafleted in the town of Albstadt to protest the Grey Wolves' attacks. These scum, the Grey Wolves, charged the people with knives, chains and clubs in full view of the West German police who watched the whole thing and then intervened to arrest four of the workers. In August 1980 Kaltip Saltan, an active member of the ATIF was brutally tortured and murdered in his apartment by Grey Wolves. The West German police used the murder as a pretext to raid the homes of members of ATIF. Mehmet Ali Agca meanwhile lived in the city of Ulm with his German wife, little troubled by West German police.

With his links to the Grey Wolves and the right-wing "terrorist-network" in Western Europe, it is not difficult to see how Agca could move across borders with ease. (In France, for example, it is estimated that the majority of the paramilitary fascist groups that have increased their activity in recent years are members of the French police forces, and similarly in Italy the neo-fascist organizations openly recruit members from the carabinieri.) Nor is it difficult to see why the West German government was not very enthusiastic about moving against the Grey Wolves who were doing such a fine job of harassing and brutalizing workers and students from Turkey who are a growing source of trouble for the West German bourgeoisie.

As the TV networks quickly switched over to their instant assassination coverage, now well oiled from the Reagan shooting six weeks earlier, and complete with medical school mannequins on whose plastic intestines doctors traced the course of the bullets that punctured the pope, they showed no desire to pursue the question of the right-wing and, more important, imperialist connections of the pope's assailant. Just the opposite. This occasion was to be used to hit again at the revolutionary left, or any forces causing trouble for the U.S. imperialists.

ABC anchorman Frank Reynolds was accompanied in his telecast by a security expert, a former Secret Service agent who had served as the network's consultant and commentator during the Reagan coverage. He recounted the great danger society faces when convicted murderers are on the loose, "like in this country we had Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver (pause)... Well, true, they weren't murderers, but they went underground." Bright boy Ted Koppel concentrated his efforts on linking Agca and the Grey Wolves to Palestinian "terrorism." True, he said, the Grey Wolves are rightists, but aren't they tied to the PLO?

Right from the first word of coverage the effort of the U.S. media was to fit the story into the mold of "Soviet-backed international terrorism" that has replaced "human rights" as the U.S. bourgeoisie's major international propaganda campaign against their superpower rivals, and to link it to their efforts to the internal security and anti-terrorist activity they are trying to whip up in the U.S.

According to the line now being popularized by Reagan, the Senate Internal Security Committee and other arms of the ruling class, terrorism is any action on an international level that serves the interests of the Soviet Union or injures or obstructs the goals of U.S. imperialist strategy. By this definition, any struggle for national liberation against Western imperialist domination is terrorism. Thus the Iranian people's struggle against U.S. imperialism is international terrorism, while the war being waged by the Afghans against Soviet imperialism is freedom fighting.

By the use of this handy definition, history can be reversed. It was not the

U.S. that was employing terrorism in Vietnam with its Operation Phoenix, napalming and indiscriminate carpet bombing of civilian areas and its repeated My Lai's. It was the Vietnamese who were being terrorists by daring to stand up to U.S. imperialism. Inside the U.S., terrorism is not the ruling class' vicious repression and terrorization of Black communities, from Atlanta to Cabrini Green, not its wanton pig murders and brutality. Terrorism is when anyone takes action to oppose this shit, even arming with bats against child murderers.

This definition of "terrorism" is quite useful for the U.S. imperialists and their allies. It lets them turn reality on its head, slander and distort the struggles of the masses and rip the Soviets' support and use of international terrorism while obscuring their own far flung terrorist network.

## U.S. Terrorists "Horried"

At the same time they used the opportunity to parade some of the world's most notorious terrorists and criminals as outspoken critics of international terrorism. In an article that was so blatant as to almost be a joke, the *New York Times* reported on the reactions of 15 religious and government leaders. In the article titled, "Leaders Around World Recount Shock and Indignation," five of these people were religious figures, mostly Cardinals. Of the remaining 10, one was Menachim Begin, the Butcher of Deir Yassin, who won his credentials as a Zionist as part of the terrorist Irgun, and who was personally responsible for the massacre of 250 old Arab men, women and children in the village of Deir Yassin in Palestine in 1948. Not to mention his later responsibility for the terror bombings of Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. "This is a world of horrible violence," said Begin, who should know. Another was King Juan Carlos of Spain, the protege and anointed successor of Spain's fascist Franco, now preparing the ground for another coup. And two, get this, not one, but two were government spokesmen of Chile, Foreign Minister Rene Gadames and the fascist dictator Augusto Pinochet, whose hands drip with blood of thousands of Chileans. Oh yes, quite suitable spokesmen for the U.S.' anti-terrorist campaign.

By the second day after the shooting, the U.S. media had gotten its act even more together. It wasn't just a case of the would-be assassin and the Grey Wolves having contacts with the PLO, Agca was reported to have proclaimed himself a follower of George Habash, the leader of the Soviet leaning Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. And more than that, Agca had left notes in his hotel room, had notes in his pocket and reportedly kept announcing that he shot at the pope because he opposed "the genocide in El Salvador and Afghanistan and U.S. and Soviet imperialism." This guy "left more notes" than Hinckley—and surprise! They all made him sound like a leftist. Putting aside a rather incongruous notion that someone could be both anti-Soviet and a supporter of Habash, by the time Agca announced he was going on a hunger strike to death, just a day after IRA leader Frank Hughes had died in a British imperialist prison, the whole thing began to have the rotten smell of a phony set-up—a real Oscar award winner for U.S. imperialism. Say anything as long as it puts the enemies of U.S. imperialism on the hook.

What the hell is this guy up to and who is behind him? Three possibilities seem likely, and if the plots are a bit Byzantine, remember that this is the real world of imperialist terrorism and intrigue, a game played not just for high stakes, but for world domination.

Some reports from Europe indicate that Agca's shot at the pope was really aimed at embarrassing and undermining the present forces in the Turkish junta, and gaining an upper hand for the particular pro-U.S. forces of the MHP. This is not because the junta is any less fascist, but because their efforts to crush the mass struggle and bring some order into Turkey's unravelling economic and political crisis have not been very successful. The MHP and the Grey Wolves want complete and massive repression, calling in the U.S.

marines if necessary. Somewhat shut aside and hobbled for the moment by the U.S. and the junta, it's not at all inconceivable that the MHP and Grey Wolves saw the pope as the perfect target to force things to more in their direction. This would also be consistent with their rabid rejection of the "human rights" ploys formally used by the U.S. They don't want to hear any talk of "human rights," they want to hear more talk of open and total repression, especially of the Kurds and other minority nationalities who are besmirching the "purity" of their hoped for Turkish Empire. But despite the shift in strategy of the Reagan administration from Human Rights to anti-terrorism, the imperialists have not rejected this gambit altogether and the pope remains one of their major spokesmen for "human rights," selectively applied. There is no question that Agca's threat to kill the pope when he visited Turkey in late 1979 was linked to the internal power struggle inside the Turkish ruling class. And it is consistent with his assassination of the editor of *Milliyet*, who was an advisor to U.S. policy makers in Turkey and who argued for maintaining a more "liberal" veneer to the regime in Turkey.

Another possibility is that the whole thing was a set up by the U.S. imperialists, if not directly, then through the Turkish junta itself. Now on the one hand it seems unlikely that the U.S. imperialists would want to lose such a valuable force as John Paul 2. He has certainly served them well during his reign. Nevertheless, it is indeed an interesting coincidence that this attack on the pope 1) fits so nicely into their anti-terrorism campaign; 2) can be used to stir up sentiment in Europe against workers from Turkey who have become an increasingly important anti-imperialist force and 3) can be used as another barrage against these "mad Moslems" who are causing them so much trouble in Iran.

What a tremendous opportunity this has given them to spew out their anti-terrorist fusillades and to aim them not only at their Soviet imperialist rivals but at the genuine revolutionary left as well. Is it just coincidence that this reactionary pro-imperialist dog Mehmet Ali Agca has been spouting off about his opposition to both Soviet and U.S. imperialism, or denouncing U.S. genocidal actions in El Salvador and similar Soviet activities in Afghanistan? Who else but the Marxist-Leninist forces in the world today, including our own Party, are taking a consistent line of exposing and denouncing the activities of both superpowers? Isn't it convenient to be able to smear them as well with the brush of a "terrorist pope killer."

Neither can it be ruled out that this guy Agca is actually a double agent, working for the U.S. and ultimately for the Soviet imperialists. The Grey Wolves are a perfect group for the Soviets, too, to stir around in. The Soviets could have well tried to exploit the fact that they have been pushed aside to some degree and restricted under the current Turkish regime. The Soviets certainly would not have shed any tears on the casket of the Polish pope who has been a front line Western imperialist fighter against their interests in the world. And if the would-be assassin had succeeded it would have had severe repercussions for the Turkish junta—it would have "destabilized the government" as one U.S. spokesman charged.

At this stage it is not possible to say for certain which imperialist power or which internal bourgeois conflict was behind the assassination attempt on the pope. Undoubtedly this will become clearer as more facts are uncovered and investigation is done. But the main issue is *not which* imperialist Mehmet Ali Agca was directed by, it's that he has been for some time and remains in the service of imperialism, and this has (at least mainly) been U.S. imperialism.

## U.S. Pope

While all of this was unfolding, there were genuine tears being shed for the pope and the media in the U.S. bloc countries showed countless pictures of the faithful prostrate with grief on their knees in church, praying for his

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# PRISON REBELS' VICTORY

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both for the state and for the masses. The July 22, 1978 Pontiac rebellion was a wholesale uprising against oppression in which hundreds of inmates burned down and tore up \$4 million worth of this crumbling dungeon. Originally built as a reformatory for 600 boys in 1871, nearly 2000 prisoners were crammed into tiny cells. 80-85% of the prisoners were Black, continually harassed and brutalized by the 90%-white guard force drawn from the isolated, rural community of Pontiac, 100 miles south of Chicago. The rebellion sent the bourgeoisie into a frenzy.

With the indictment of the Pontiac Brothers, the state sent a clear political message to the prisons and beyond: "Don't dare to rise up against oppression, because the price will be death."

When the indictments were handed down on March 5, 1979, 17 Black men were charged with the guard murders. At the same time, 14 other prisoners, including two Latinos and twelve Blacks, were charged with lesser crimes related to the rebellion, such as arson. These 14 were tried in a rural Illinois county. Eight were convicted, five acquitted and one is still waiting trial.

With all the vengeance of the slavemaster out to crush his rebellious subjects, the state repeatedly announced its intention to push to the hilt for the electric chair in the case of the 17. The outrage of this massive use of the death penalty, so clearly linked with the intensifying oppression of Black people, began to attract support from diverse quarters for the Pontiac Brothers. Even before the indictments came down, the Pontiac Prisoners Support Coalition began to expose the frameup that was in the works. Its Church Committee, formed later on, made the trial a broad social question among progressive church members and the clergy. Prisoners' networks across the country watched the case closely and revolutionary nationalist forces and others attacked it as another example of the bitter history of violent repression against Black people in this country. Thousands and thousands of eyes focused on the case as it progressed. Hundreds of people turned out at various junctures during the trial.

The growing political support for the Pontiac Brothers had a definite impact in the legal arena where a very sharp battle was unfolding with the start of the pre-trial hearings. Many Black attorneys with experience in other struggles offered to defend the Pontiac Brothers. When the pre-trial hearings opened, Judge Miller was confronted with a group of 15 Black and 4 white attorneys who were very determined to fight the legal battle through. Early on, Miller tried to tame this unruly bunch

by liberally handing out citations for petty rule violations such as tardiness. Marianne Jackson and several other lawyers were held in contempt when they refused to "sit down and shut up" and continued to fight for their clients.

In struggling to expose the state at every turn, these lawyers played a crucial role in throwing the railroad off track. While the judge denied hundreds of the defense team's pre-trial motions aimed at exposing the frameup, these hearings succeeded in dragging a lot of the state's dirty work into the light of day.

The state had a basic, two-pronged strategy to railroad the Pontiac Brothers. First, they used every weapon in their vast arsenal to bribe and threaten testimony out of their inmate witnesses. From there an elaborate web of lies was constructed to ensnare the Pontiac 16. Almost all the inmates changed the original statements they had given state investigators. Secondly, they concocted the farfetched theory that the entire uprising of hundreds of prisoners was inspired solely by orders from vicious gang leaders to kill the guards.

They banked heavily on the racist and hysterical campaign waged by all of the major media which broadcast the "gang plot" theory to whip up a tidal wave of reactionary public opinion in favor of executing the brothers. Everytime the case approached an important juncture, inflammatory headlines and lurid TV tales appeared with clockwork precision to whip up hysteria over gangs. A whole series of Bob Wiedrich columns devoted to how the "gangs are running the prisons" appeared in the *Chicago Tribune* before the indictments were handed down; a special series on the viciousness of Chicago street gangs was featured in the *Sun Times* as jury selection opened; and in the midst of jury selection, ABC News ran a totally false and slanderous story holding the Pontiac Brothers responsible for the shooting of a state's witness—a story even denied by the injured man himself. Just before the trial began, a whole article devoted to attacking the lawyers for "making martyrs out of themselves and their clients" appeared in the *Chicago Daily Law Bulletin*. And there was much more.

The defense counterattacked when the trial finally began early in March. In his opening statement, attorney Jeffrey Haas described the conditions which spawned the Pontiac rebellion and what happened in its aftermath. To bludgeon the rebellious prisoners into submission, a six-month deadlock was clamped down on Pontiac. The so-called "investigation" into the murder of the guards during this time was in reality nothing more than another

method to terrorize the prisoners. At the cost of a quarter of a million dollars, 32 Illinois Dept. of Law Enforcement investigators spent 20,000 hours interrogating the 650 prisoners of the North Cellhouse where the stabbings occurred. Those who broke under the pressure, turned stool pigeon, and agreed to co-operate with the state were generously rewarded while those who remained defiant, who refused to cower before threats or to sell out for the goodies dangled before them were singled out for punishment.

The prosecution scraped the bottom of the barrel to come up with the 17 inmate witnesses who paraded onto the stand during the course of the trial. Those who had chosen to jump on board the state's gravy train were very unsavory characters. The generosity heaped upon these degenerates and backstabbers revealed just how desperate the state was to frameup the Pontiac Brothers. According to the Illinois Dept. of Law Enforcement's own records, the state paid out at least \$100,000 to bribe their witnesses under the guise of providing their "living expenses." Several openly admitted in court that they were junkies who used the money to buy drugs; they even stripped off their shirts to display networks of scars from needle marks. All witnesses received early release from prison; all were offered relocation to anywhere within the continental United States and many used this opportunity to move to places like California and New Orleans. State's witness William Moseley, another junkie, appeared on the stand flaunting a "Visit Florida" t-shirt, advertising the place of his new residence.

The defense attorneys did very painstaking work to investigate every aspect of the deals and payoffs offered to expose the massive amount of bribery by the state. In the case of William Moseley, for example, they discovered that the state had arranged to have two criminal charges brought against him after his release on parole dropped. Although the judge refused to turn over the addresses of many of the state's witnesses, the defense team worked to track them down and question them on their testimony. In many cases, the ex-inmates admitted that they had fabricated their testimony or only given it after the constant pressure of being threatened with criminal charges themselves. The upshot of this was that the prosecution found itself in the very embarrassing position of hearing the tape recorded statement of one of its own witnesses denying the testimony he had given on the stand several weeks earlier. Jimmy Brackett admitted on tape that he had made statements against two defendants because he himself was threatened with an arson charge. All this was quite important to the Brothers in the legal battle. But more, it's a significant illustration that events in the courtroom were influenced by those outside it. Clearly, the broad exposure of the railroad—not to speak of righteousness of the rebellion itself—had more than a little to do with these men recanting prior statements.

The testimony of the state's two star witnesses also did nothing to rescue its rapidly sinking credibility. Injured guard Danny Dill, who did not identify any of the brothers on trial until seven months after the rebellion, was exposed as a liar. Angelo Robinson, the only Pontiac Brother originally indicted to turn state's witness, was shown to have cut an incredibly good deal for himself in exchange for his testimony. Prosecutors agreed to reduce his charges to aggravated battery, to help him overturn his earlier murder conviction, and to relocate him.

In its haste to railroad as many prisoners as possible, the state even failed to fabricate a minimal amount of evidence against some of the Pontiac Brothers. After the state rested its case, Randy Stone, attorney for defendant Albert Jackson, moved that he be acquitted of all charges against him. Admitting that, "In 5,000 pages of testimony Mr. Jackson is mentioned on only one page," Judge Miller was forced to drop most of the charges. But he insisted on retaining an attempted murder charge based on one statement from one witness that was unsubstantiated in the testimony of the state's 37 other

witnesses. The case against several of the other brothers was not much more extensive than this. Because the whole case was contrived from top to bottom, of course the prosecution was also unable to produce any physical evidence against the defendants. The testimony of the state's witnesses was riddled with contradictions which were exposed by the defense.

The prosecution's case began to sag miserably under the weight of hard-hitting cross-examination. In a surprise move, the state rested its case on April 20, cutting short many other witnesses in a tacit admission that the credibility question had reached crisis proportions. Ex-inmate Johnnie Cross, who had been groomed as a star performer in the state's disgusting little drama was suddenly dropped like a hot potato. The problem with Johnnie Cross was not only that he epitomized that degenerate human lifeform, the stool pigeon, but he was so lavishly rewarded for it by the state. Here was a man who had been truly blessed beyond his wildest dreams. He received executive clemency from none other than Illinois Gov. James Thompson himself. Cross, a known heroin addict, also received the fantastic sum of \$15,000 from the state. Since defense attorneys would have made mincemeat out of Johnnie Cross and others, it was a wise tactical re-adjustment on the part of the state to cut their case short.

In the end, all this exposure of the state's antics led the jury to an acquittal. It is now possible that the state won't bring the remaining six brothers to trial—its "case" being "weaker" against them. More to the point was Illinois Attorney General Tyrone Fahner's recommendation that these charges be dropped: "You just cut your losses." In other words, their shit is so raggedy now that not much can be gained by carrying it further. On the other hand, however, there appears to be a scrap in the ranks of the rulers on this question, as reflected by the fact that the *Chicago Tribune* refused to even print this remark by Fahner, focusing instead on comments such as that by Prosecutor Breen: "Everyone was put on trial here other than the defendants—the witnesses, the prosecutors, the judge—everyone but the defendants." Further indication of this scrap was the about-face done by the *Chicago Sun Times*, which, shortly before the trial's conclusion ran a few articles damaging to the state's case. One even contained embarrassing information which could have only come from sources well placed inside the state itself.

The verdict certainly can't be separated from the class struggle beyond the courtroom. The power of the rebellion itself, the defiant stand of the Pontiac Brothers throughout, the political motivation and sharp exposure done by them, by the defense attorneys, the support the struggle gathered—all this influenced the verdict. And while the state may have decided to cut its losses, it is certainly the case that the political point it was deadly serious about making with this trial will be the subject of future attacks, if perhaps on more favorable ground. In terms of this battle, it should be remembered that eight of the 14 tried earlier were convicted, as noted. Of the 16 (including the 10 acquitted), 11 must return to prison. Obviously, the danger of reprisals is great. For that matter, new indictments against other Pontiac prisoners is far from out of the question.

In the three years since the Pontiac rebellion exploded, the Pontiac Brothers have stood up to the bourgeoisie, its pigs and goon squads, beatings and harassment. With the death penalty hanging over their heads for two and a half years, they have refused to bend or break and chosen to fight instead. What the authorities thought would be a high-speed railroad into the electric chair has instead backfired in their faces and turned into burning indictment of the imperialist system. "I still don't believe in this system..." one of the Pontiac Brothers told the *RW* in the wake of the not guilty verdict. "I made a promise to myself to continue to struggle against it, and that's what I'm going to do." □

## Pope

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recovery. A very common statement run out time and again was that here was a man of peace. How could anyone raise their hand against him. "Is nothing sacred?" wailed the *New York Times* editorial. Yes this man is an Apostle of Peace: the *Pax Americana*, the continued triumphant and peaceful rule of U.S. imperialism over the oppressed peoples of the world. In his untiring labors for his Lord he has traversed the earth. And as he has been wounded by a man who was a member of an organization that also, in its own humble way, has served the cause of the *Pax Americana*, it is uplifting to reflect on the message he has carried to so many lands: To Ireland where he urged the people of the North to peacefully submit to British tyranny; to the Philip-

ppines where he stood shoulder-to-shoulder on the stage with Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos and preached the gospel of reconciliation and subjugation to "legitimate" authority (and by the way a little reform for the legitimate authority); to Brazil where he cautioned his priests to avoid political activity that would bring the church into conflict with the reactionary military fascist government. To Mexico, where he carried similar messages to the impoverished peasants of the country that borders the U.S.

"The pope never preached anything but love, peace and self-restraint," said Clair Booth Luce, former U.S. Ambassador to Italy and widow of *Time* magazine founder Henry Luce. True. Love of your oppressor, peace for your oppressors and self-restraint in struggling against oppression—unless of course you happen to be in a Soviet dominated country. □

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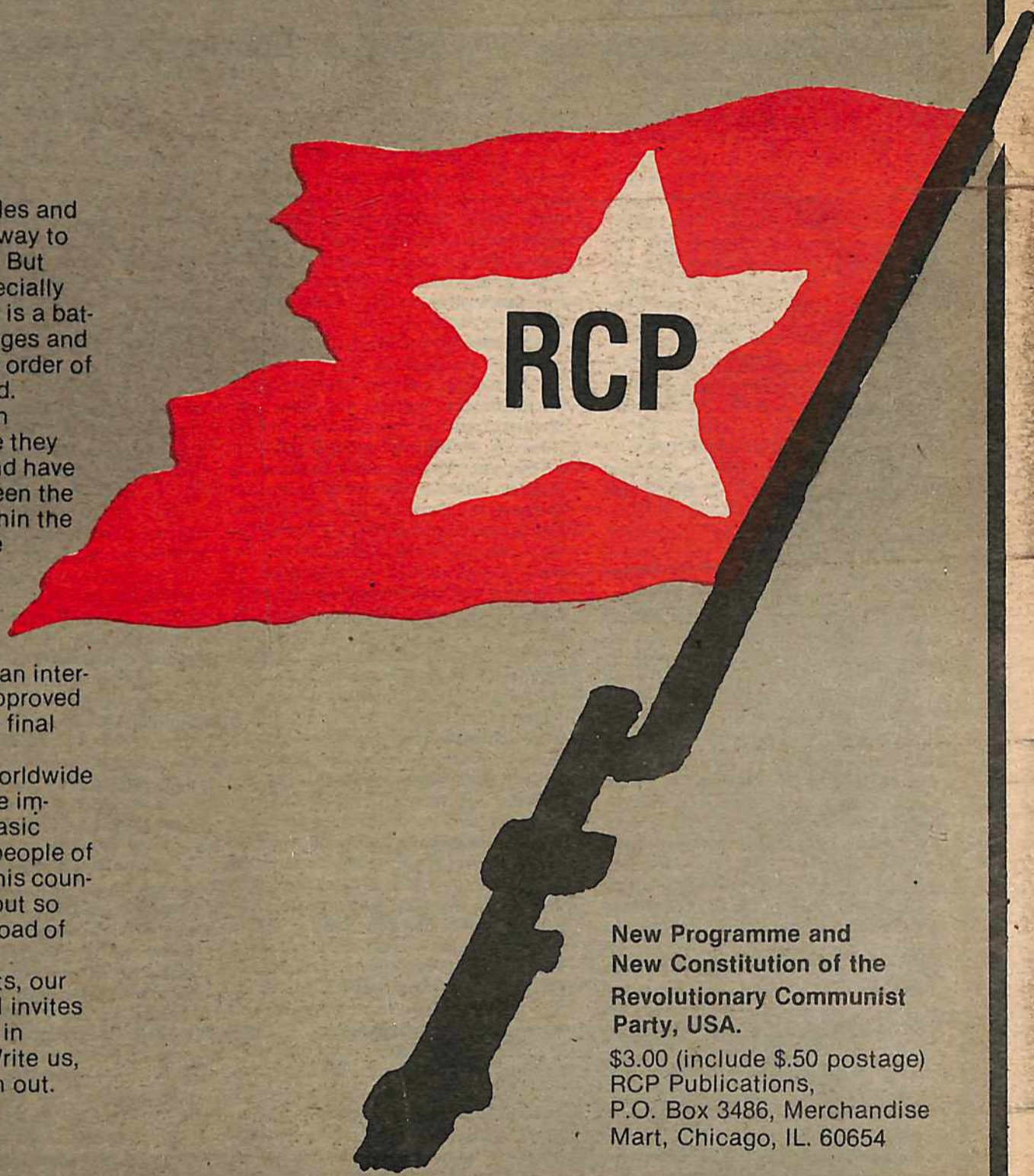
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