



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.

Vol. 2

No. 1

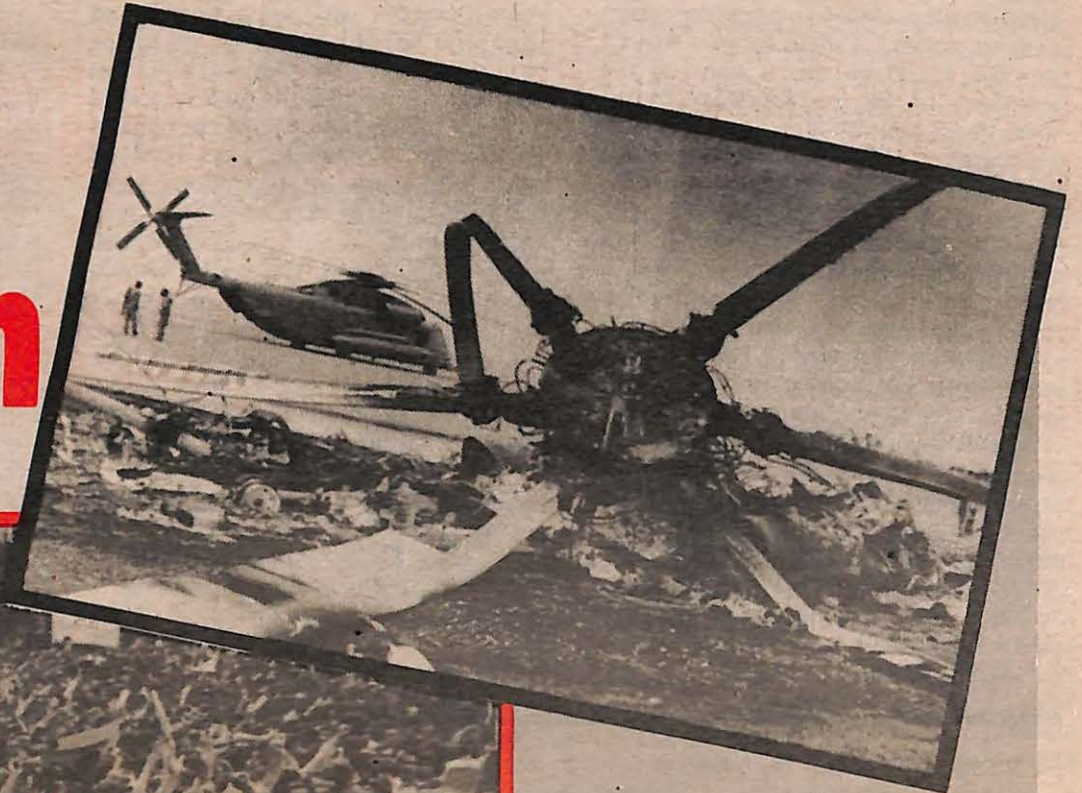
ISSN 0193-3485

May 1, 1980

Sección en Español

25¢

## Imperialist Snakes Recoil to Strike Again in Iran



The defeat of this particular attack on Iran by the U.S. imperialists is shown graphically in the plane wreckage above and the jubilant Iranian masses at left.

In the wake of the failure of last week's "great embassy raid," the war drums in the U.S. are beating louder than ever. Just hours after the deaths of eight young would-be John Waynes on the barren desert plateau of Iran were announced, administration officials sounded the bugle call for a new orgy of anti-Iranian flag-waving and calls for stepped-up U.S. war preparations.

For days running, TV, radio and newspapers hunted around for "typical Americans"—such as career military officers at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina (the raiders' home base) and a group of reactionary hostage relatives in Houston attending a party thrown by the State Department—all of whom just happened to agree that the President was right to order the raid and should try again. The hottest "find" of the week was Mrs. Joel Mayo, the wife of one of the airforce crewmen blown up in Iran. On nationwide TV, this real live cavewoman said that she was "glad" that her husband had been killed—instead of becoming another hostage in Iran!! It was no surprise that the administration's draft registration bill cleared the Senate this week as well.

Every statement from President Carter was either a thinly veiled threat—"I must emphasize that we have no interest in conquering Iran (and he might as well add—yet!)," or imperialist doubletalk—like trying to call his naked

act of military aggression a "humanitarian rescue mission." However, underlying this new belligerency, the imperialist ruling class of the U.S. that Carter speaks for is now in a more desperate situation than before. They must prove to the world that the "U.S. is still Number One"—that it is not "afraid" to use its military power against the Iranian people for rising up to put an end to the more than 25 years of U.S. plunder and domination of their country, and for inspiring others to take this same path of liberation.

Of even greater significance, the U.S. imperialists' naked use of force against Iran is more and more openly directed against their act-alike superpower rivals in the Soviet Union, and this, just as much as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan just four months ago, represents a new leap in the developments toward world war.

Appearing on nationwide TV last Sunday, National Security Adviser Brzezinski set the tone for the period ahead, warning, "Do not scoff at American power; do not scoff at American resources.... This country and president will do what is necessary and we have the means for doing it. And one setback doesn't shape the future." However, all this posturing—patriotically repeated by little "Zbigs" across the U.S.—cannot change the fact that the failure of the raid was a real blow

and a major international embarrassment for the imperialists, as well as cause for rejoicing among millions of people around the world.

Still, there should be no doubt in anyone's mind that at this very moment, another U.S. military force is being readied to invade Iran to "eliminate the hostage problem."

Early this week, two more U.S. aircraft carriers, the *U.S.S. Eisenhower* and the *Constellation*, joined the U.S. fleet cruising off the coast of Iran. There are now 4 aircraft carriers and 37 ships in the Arabian Sea. These two newly arrived floating military bases are bringing the "American resources" for the next military operation against Iran. They no doubt have got dozens of helicopters, just like the ones launched from the *U.S.S. Nimitz* last week, stashed below decks. In the last few days, two carrier-based U.S. F-14's have already fired at an Iranian transport over the Straits of Hormuz for getting within 50 miles of the U.S. naval armada. And Anwar Sadat, the U.S.'s favorite lackey in the Middle East due to his harboring of the Shah of Iran, has publicly offered the U.S. the use of Egyptian military bases to launch a new assault at any time.

The resignation of Secretary of State Cyrus Vance this Tuesday in protest over the decision to take military action against Iran (and the new "hardline"

policy in general) is a further indication that the U.S. is getting ready to strike again. In their weekend TV appearances, both Brzezinski and Defense Secretary Brown explicitly stated that the U.S. is not ruling out renewed military action in Iran. When Brown was asked to comment on reports that the Iranian students had moved the hostages out of the U.S. embassy in Tehran to several provincial cities, he bristled with anger and called this sharp tactical move "kidnapping."

Not to be outdone by his war secretary, while visiting the marine officers and air force crewmen wounded in Iran, a solemn President Carter accused Iranian officials of violating "all principles of humanity and decency" by publicly exhibiting the bodies of the eight dead GI's and by refusing to release them directly to the U.S. government. Great experts on "humanity and decency," these imperialist butchers! From Vietnam and Chile to the 25 years of U.S.-backed rule by open terror of the Shah in Iran—not to mention this latest military assault—they have clearly demonstrated their bloodthirsty nature. To top off this act (performed, appropriately, in front of the same military hospital in Texas that the Shah stayed at for several weeks when he was brought to the U.S. for "medical treatment" last November), Carter reported

Continued on page 7

# May Day Manifesto Broadcast at Lackawanna Works

Buffalo, N.Y.—Red Flag/Internationale Day, Bethlehem Steel's Lackawanna plant, 7:00 a.m. A Black worker approaches the guard shack. (Other workers have called the guard out on false alarms.) The worker puts out May Day, Red Flag/Internationale Day to thousands of steelworkers over the P.A. system. He reads the May Day Manifesto, then puts out a call to his

fellow workers:

"We should put together a huge red flag and pull down that red, white and stinking blue flag which flies in front of the plant. The red flag symbolizes the struggle to free ourselves from being slaves to the capitalistic system. And the red, white and blue flag ain't nothin' but our chains, like chains tied around wrists keeping us enslaved to

this capitalistic system, keeping us working for them, making them money while we end up with shit. Let's put the working class flag, let's put up our flag—the red flag."

One, two, three times, workers call the guard away, and each time the loud-speaker vibrates with a message it's never carried before. Finally the agitator is captured by company guards

from the main office three miles away, hauled off and sent home. The next day the cafeteria is more alive than it's ever been. Almost every worker in the coke ovens comes up and asks about May Day, the red flag, and why this man is so involved. Why wasn't the May Day organizer fired, or even suspended for a long time, for seizing Beth's P.A.? Think about it—they obviously did!

## The Iron House

Following is a brief excerpt from Lu Hsun's own preface to his first collection of short stories, "Call to Arms", written in 1922. Lu Hsun was a giant on the frontlines of the revolutionary movement in art and literature. In "On New Democracy," Mao Tsetung says of Lu Hsun:

"The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, he was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary. Lu Hsun was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness; this quality is invaluable among colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history. The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture."

In S\_\_\_\_\_ Hostel there were three rooms where it was said a woman had lived who hanged herself on the locust tree in the courtyard. Although the tree had grown so tall that its branches could no longer be reached, the rooms remained deserted. For some years I stayed here, copying ancient inscriptions. I had few visitors, there were no political problems or issues in those inscriptions, and my only desire was that my life should slip quietly away like this. On summer nights, when there were too many mosquitos, I would sit under the locust tree, waving my fan and looking at the specks of sky through the thick leaves, while the caterpillars which came out in the evening would fall, icy-cold, on to my neck.

The only visitor to come for an occasional talk was my old Friend C\_\_\_\_\_. He would put his big portfolio down on the broken table, take off his long gown, and sit facing me, looking as if his heart was still beating fast after braving the dogs.

"What is the use of copying these?" he demanded inquisitively one night, after looking through the inscriptions I had copied.

"No use at all."

"Then why copy them?"

"For no particular reason."

"I think you might write something..."

I understood. They were editing the magazine *New Youth* (the most influential magazine in the cultural revolution against feudalism and imperialism in China in the period around 1918), but hitherto there seemed to have been no reaction, favorable or otherwise, and I guessed they must be feeling lonely. However I said:

"Imagine an iron house without windows, absolutely indestructible, with many people fast asleep inside who will soon die of suffocation. But you know since they will die in their sleep, they will not feel the pain of death. Now if you cry aloud to wake a few of the lighter

sleepers, making those unfortunate few suffer the agony of irrevocable death, do you think you are doing them a good turn?"

"But if a few awake, you can't say there is no hope of destroying the iron house."

True, in spite of my own conviction, I could not blot out hope, for hope lies in the future. I could not use my own evidence to refute his assertion that it might exist. So I agreed to write, and the result was my first story. *A Madman's Diary*. From that time onwards, I could not stop writing, and would write some sort of short story from time to time at the request of friends, until I had more than a dozen of them...

*Fierce-browed I coolly defy a thousand pointing fingers, Head-bowed, like a willing ox, I serve the children.*

Lu Hsun

As we go to press, it has been reported that today, Wednesday, April 30, as the Security Council at the United Nations was about to convene its meeting, both the representative of the United States and the representative of the Soviet Union were splattered with red paint by people waving red flags. Throwing the paint were members of the Revolutionary May Day Brigade. They left the following statement:

From the national May Day Committee to the workers and oppressed of the U.S. and the world.

We who raised the red flag today in this den of superpower intrigue, the United Nations (where the cold blooded war preparations of the U.S. and the Soviet imperialists are concealed beneath the smiling masks and dreary tones of "diplomacy"), speak for the growing revolutionary section of the U.S. working class—those thousands who will be in the streets in major cities across the country on Revolutionary May Day this year.

TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE WORLD. WE AMERICAN WORKERS BOLDLY DECLARE:

OUR FLAG IS RED, NOT RED, WHITE AND BLUE!  
DOWN WITH U.S.—SOVIET WAR MOVES!

Take History Into Our Hands

### Comrade Greeting,

I wish to give my support to the Revolutionary Communist Party and to Bob Avakian and the Central Committee for its correct line of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung thought.

I also want to give my support to the upcoming May Day. It's to my loss not to be able to be out there in practice. But my revolutionary spirit boils at the thought of the RCP, the workers and all other progressive forces making history on that day.

I received the New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, and I'll study, learn, and practice its methods...

In Revolutionary Struggle,  
A Brother in Soledad



Arm yourself with the Revolutionary Worker!  
You can't afford to miss an issue!

ONE YEAR—\$12  
TEN WEEKS trial subscription—\$2.50

Contact your local Revolutionary Worker distributor to arrange for your weekly copy of the Revolutionary Worker or write to:

Box 3486, Merchandise Mart  
Chicago, IL 60654

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

I would like to give \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to support the Revolutionary Worker.  
Send contributions to Revolutionary Worker, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654.

### CONTACT THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER Box 3486, Merchandise Mart Chicago, IL 60654 IN YOUR AREA CALL OR WRITE

**Atlanta:**  
Revolutionary Worker  
P.O. Box 10743  
Atlanta, Ga. 30310  
(404) 762-9329

**Baltimore:**  
Revolutionary Worker  
P.O. Box 1992  
Baltimore, Md. 21203

**Birmingham:**  
P.O. Box 2334  
Birmingham, Alabama  
35201

**Boston:**  
Revolution Books  
233 Massachusetts Ave.  
Cambridge, Mass. 02139

**Buffalo:**  
Box 121  
Ellicott Station  
Buffalo, N.Y. 14205  
(716) 895-6561

**Chicago:**  
Revolutionary Worker  
1727 South Michigan  
Chicago, Ill. 60616  
(312) 922-1140

**Cincinnati:**  
1865 Chase Ave.  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45223  
(513) 542-6024

**Cleveland:**  
P.O. Box 09190  
Cleveland, Ohio 44109  
(216) 431-6910

**Dayton:**  
Revolutionary Workers  
Center  
1939 North Main St.  
Dayton, Ohio 45405  
(513) 275-6900

**Detroit:**  
Workers Center  
3136 East Davison  
Detroit, Michigan 48212  
(313) 893-0523 or  
893-8350

**El Paso:**  
3111 Alameda  
El Paso, Texas 79905  
(915) 542-4264

**Hawaii:**  
Revolution Books  
923 North King Street  
Honolulu, Hawaii 96817  
(808) 845-2733

**Houston:**  
P.O. Box 18112  
Houston, Texas 77023  
(713) 641-3904

**Los Angeles Area:**  
Revolutionary Workers  
Center  
3807 East Gage  
Bell, California 90201  
(213) 585-8234

**Louisville:**  
P.O. Box 633  
Louisville,  
Kentucky 40201

**New York-New Jersey:**  
Revolution Books  
16 E. 18th St.  
New York, N.Y. 10003  
(212) 243-8638

**North Carolina:**  
P.O. Box 5712  
Greensboro,  
North Carolina 27403  
(919) 275-1079

**Philadelphia:**  
P.O. Box 11789  
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

**Portland:**  
Revolutionary Workers  
Center  
4728 N.E. Union  
Portland, Oregon 97211  
(503) 282-5034

**St. Louis:**  
Box 6013  
St. Louis, MO 63139  
(314) 664-3601

**Salinas:**  
P.O. Box 101  
Salinas, California 93902

**San Francisco Bay Area:**  
Revolutionary Workers  
Center  
5929 MacArthur Blvd.  
Oakland, California 94605  
(415) 638-9700

**Seattle Area:**  
Revolution Books  
1828 Broadway  
Seattle, WA 98122  
(206) 323-9222

**South Carolina:**  
Revolutionary Worker  
P.O. Box 10143  
Greenville, S.C. 29604

**Tampa:**  
P.O. Box 24983  
Tampa, Florida 33623

**Washington, D.C.:**  
Revolution Books  
2438 18th St. N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20009

**West Virginia:**  
P.O. Box 617  
Beckley, West Va. 25801

*Speech by Bob Avakian*

# Why the Proletariat Will Lead the Revolution

*Following are excerpts from a speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party in Columbus, Ohio, during his national speaking tour in the summer of 1979:*



The signs are there, the development, the resurgence of struggle, is clear and growing. It is not a question whether in the years ahead as this economy and this whole system sinks deeper into crisis, as world war looms larger, it is not a question of whether there will be people in the streets or whether there'll be struggle or whether there'll be turmoil and upheaval. That is already clearly shaping up. And it will become much larger as things sharpen up much more. The question is how can this be different, in what way will this be different, what is the potential for it to be different than the 1960's, as glorious as those days were, as

much as they shook the system. And the decisive question is that the working class, Black, white, Chicano, Puerto Rican, men and women, united, has got to come to the fore. The class-conscious workers, those who are awakening to political life, rallying around the only revolutionary party in this country, the party of the working class, the party of revolution, the Revolutionary Communist Party. Those workers who today number in the thousands, are being and must be rallied around the political program and the revolutionary banner of our Party, to step to the forefront of this movement.

The working class needs and will

build alliances and unity with all forces fighting against this system. But also those forces need to see the strength and uncompromising stand of the class-conscious workers. We, as part of our strategy, think it is very important for workers who are awakening to political life to go to other events, and other struggles, for them to see both the strength and importance of those different political movements, and also the weaknesses of the different class forces, of the middle class people and of the intellectuals, to see why they cannot carry through the revolution and only the working class has the uncompro-

Continued on page 12

# May 1st Message from the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA to the Union of Iranian Communists

The following message from the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA was sent to the Union of Iranian Communists prior to the insidious and unsuccessful attempt of the U.S. imperialists to launch a military raid on Iran to seize back the embassy hostages.

To the Union of Iranian Communists, and In Solidarity with the Communist and Revolutionary Movements and the Heroic Working Class and People of Iran, on the Occasion of the Celebration of May Day, 1980:

Comrades,

Today is May First, International Workers Day, the proudest holiday of the working class. It is with great joy that we, representing the class-conscious proletariat of the U.S. bring to you, the Iranian proletariat and struggling masses our heartfelt greetings, our deepest respect, and our determination to stand together in triumph as we meet the storms of the future.

We hail the Iranian Revolution which has dealt such a powerful blow for the emancipation of the proletariat and oppressed people around the world against the U.S. imperialists and all other imperialists and reactionaries. No longer can the imperialists claim Iran as a prize jewel of their blood-soaked riches. Instead, today, the mention of Iran causes them to tremble as the spectre of an armed, politically-conscious people, their worst nightmare, is brought to mind. And because of this, the working class and all oppressed people around the world are inspired by the example of the heroic Iranian people to rise to new heights in their own revolutionary struggles.

May Day 1980 takes place at the most critical juncture in history. The dark clouds of world war loom on the horizon as the two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, line up and prepare for battle seeking to redivide the world, frantically trying to pump new life into their decadent and dying system. As this hour fast approaches, they demand that all the people of the world fall in line, prepare to shed their blood for the cause of one superpower or the other. Today also all the basic contradictions in the world are sharpening, revolution and the prospects of revolution are rising and the opportunities for great advance are within the grasp of the world-wide proletariat.

The U.S. imperialists can see the people of Iran, a most important piece in their strategy, refusing to go along with their plans and it drives them into a frenzy. The spectre of losing the area to the Soviet gangsters, or infinitely worse, to the revolutionary masses themselves, is a vision they cannot tolerate. So they shake their fists and rattle their swords, exposing their sinister designs even further, earning them the hatred of new enemies with each passing day.

Hence, the profound economic and political crisis deepens and the dividing line becomes drawn sharper; the reactionary imperialists on one side, threatening to unleash a war far more destructive than any the world has yet seen, on the other, the masses of people, led by the international working class, struggling to raise the red flag to newer glorious heights.

Imperialists around the world work unceasingly to conceal what is really their true nature, that they are weak and decrepit and the masses of people, led by the working class, are young and strong. Using their own mouthpieces, their lying prostitutes in their media, as well as reactionary and opportunist spokesmen posing as leaders of the people, they twist and distort the world to suit their own interests.

"Revolution is an impossible dream," at best, if not a nightmare, they tell us as they see the masses of people straining against the chains that keep them in place. They point to the Soviet Union, once a symbol of hope and promise to many millions, now a reactionary imperialist superpower using the mantle of socialism as a cloak to cover up its real nature, and they say "this is your socialism, this is the future that some would have you shed blood for!" They point to China where the counter-revolutionary clique led by Teng Hsiao-ping has seized power and they howl with perverse joy as these boot-licking traitors to the working class trample on the legacy of Mao Tsetung, the greatest revolutionary of our time.

Using this bitter experience, flaunting their military might to blackmail the masses of people to their knees, the imperialists try to prevent our red flag from flying. Despite whatever temporary setbacks these forces of reaction deliver, they cannot stop the forward march of history—the lessons that have been drawn in blood will never be forgotten.

Since the great setback in China, the foremost proof that the cause of revolution will prevail, no matter what twists and turns it may encounter, is the experience of the Iranian revolution. Only three years ago, President Carter declared Iran "an island of stability" in the Persian Gulf. Wasn't their almighty puppet Shah, the king of kings, light of the Aryans and shadow of God himself safely on the throne, opposed, as he proclaimed, by only 60 people in the world?

But what happened? Nothing less than an historic and earth-shaking explosion, a mighty storm that ripped to shreds the lying propaganda of the rulers of the U.S. and all reactionaries. An explosion that exposed for all to see the weakness of imperialism and the awesome strength of the revolutionary Iranian people. Forged with the blood of countless martyrs, from the fiery hell of Abadan to the streets of Tabriz, from Jaleh Square to Qom, the Iranian masses swept the Shah from his throne.

This revolution not only knocked down one of the powerful bastions of imperialism and reaction and opened the way for establishing Iran as a bastion of revolution, but also provided a brilliant example and inspiration for the working class and oppressed people in all parts of the globe.

Since May Day 1979, imperialism has suffered more than a few shocks. The Iranian revolution, within the backdrop of the deepening worldwide imperialist crisis, has played a major role as a spark in this international development. Nicaragua's puppet Somoza, once the "strong man" of Central America, was smashed. Revolutionary struggle is erupting throughout Central America. Panamanians fight in the streets in protest of the Shah's flight to their country. Thousands of Egyptians demonstrate when the reactionary lackey Sadat admits him to Egypt. The heroic Kurdish rebels fight to continue the revolution. Embassies are seized and torched throughout the world as the student militants in Tehran dare to trample on these once sacred grounds.

In the U.S., the Iranian revolution has also had a profound impact. It has

been a great force educating and tempering the masses as well as the revolutionary forces. As the imperialists curse the people of Iran, and attempt to whip up an atmosphere of mindless reaction and chauvinism, they've seen their best efforts fall far short of the success they desired. The ugly face of imperialism has been exposed further to millions of American people. And revolutionaries have been inspired and deepened their determination to further educate, arouse and mobilize the working class and the masses of people in this country to prepare for and finally carry out the revolutionary struggle for socialism and ultimately communism.

The overthrow of the Shah was a tremendous victory for the Iranian people, lifting a 27-year-old weight of the Shah's fascist regime off their backs. Yet even after the regime's downfall, the imperialists have not been entirely defeated and much of the old feudal society still remains. The revolution needs to be continued to thoroughly uproot them. And indeed, in the past year, the Iranian people have continued to wage many heroic struggles aimed at wiping away these burdens and preventing any attempts to stop the revolution half-way and consolidate oppressive rule in any form.

U.S. imperialism, while suffering a severe blow at the overthrow of the Pahlavi regime, has never for one moment ceased its plottings and intrigues against the Iranian revolution. It has not given up its dreams, and more than that, its dire necessity, to strangle the Iranian revolution and once again control Iran. Through both open threats and covert subversion, through external pressure and internal conspiracies, the imperialists have, since the minute the hated Shah left Iran, plotted a comeback. These conspiracies reached a height with the criminal attempt of the U.S. ruling class to bring the Shah to the U.S. In league with reactionaries within Iran, they hoped to create new turmoil inside Iran, to use this incident to prepare the ground for a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat.

But once again the heroic Iranian masses, sensing the hand of U.S. imperialism at work, arose in their millions. The U.S. spy center which the imperialists call their embassy was seized, and the U.S. plans were derailed. This dealt a blow not only to their counterrevolutionary plans in Iran, but also to their overall preparations, their lining up and consolidating of their bloc for imperialist world war.

The Iranian people have had to confront internal enemies as well. There are those either outright reactionaries, or vacillating middle elements who fear unleashing the full fury of the masses and pushing the revolution ahead to eliminate all remnants of feudalism and imperialism. They would have the Iranian people capitulate to U.S. imperialism, in the vain hope that they could stop the revolution halfway and that somehow Iran would be liberated by compromising with imperialism and reaction.

The past year has seen many battles to push this revolution forward. From the heroic efforts of the Kurdish and other oppressed peoples for autonomy and full democratic rights; to the struggles of peasants across Iran to rise up and eliminate the hated feudal system; to the struggles of women to gain full equality, assuming their rightful place shoulder-to-shoulder with the men at the front of the revolutionary ranks; and recently, to the wave of struggle by the working class of Iran, becoming more conscious and more determined to wrest its fate and the control of its conditions into its own hands, as well as the struggle of millions to return the criminal Shah and his stolen wealth. These battles have once again dramatically confirmed the tremendous force latent within the revolutionary masses, and the fact that through twists and turns, and fierce struggle against both internal and external enemies, the Iranian revolution continues to advance.

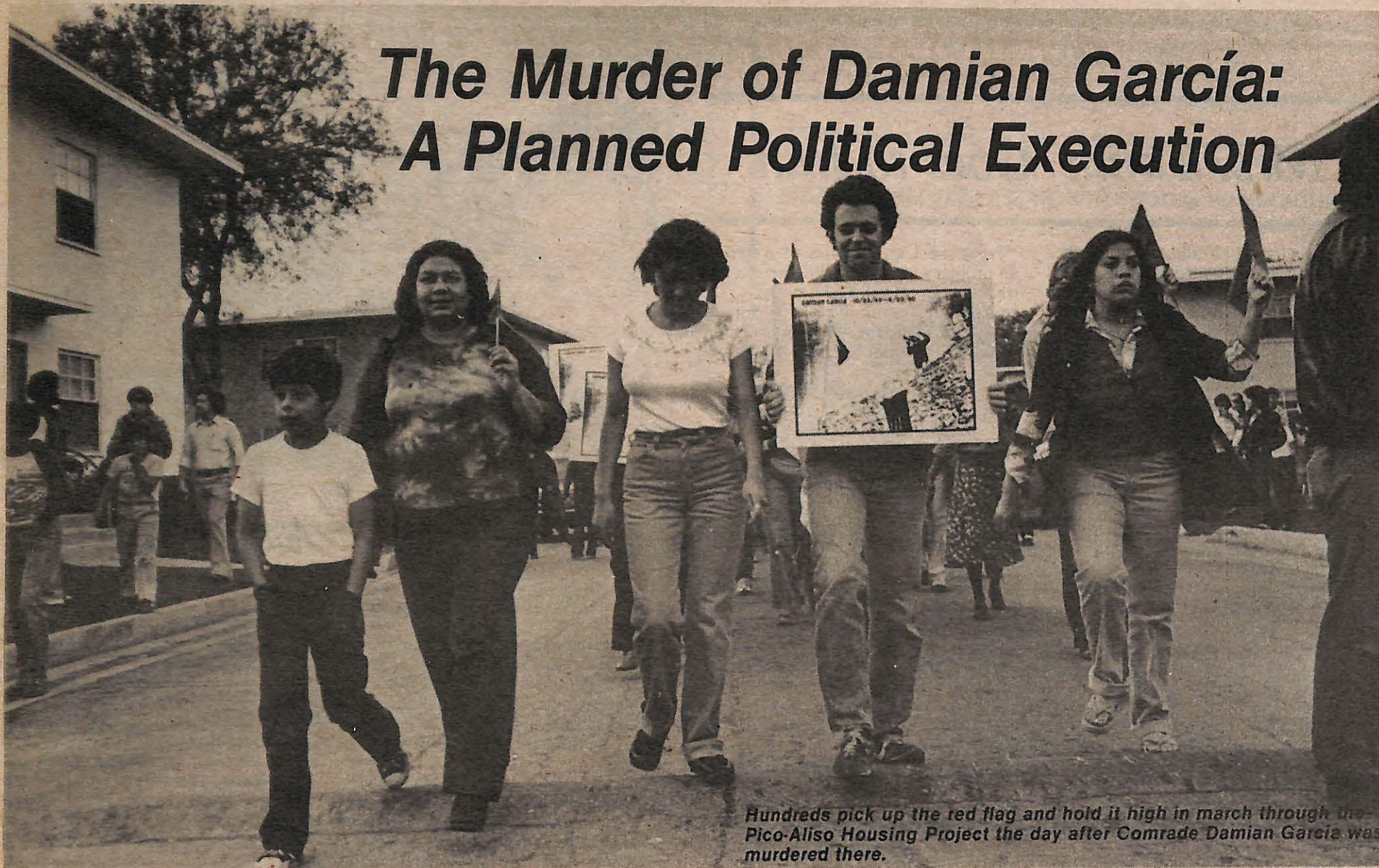
While the U.S. tries to regain its lost ground, the Soviet Union, socialist in name, imperialist in reality, has invaded Afghanistan and now sits on its bloody perch ready to offer up "liberation," social-imperialist style, to the Iranian people as well as the peoples throughout the whole region. Emerging at this time are forces who, in the name of revolution, would hand over the Iranian people to the USSR, playing on the just hatred accorded U.S. imperialism, or raising the tattered but not yet destroyed cover of socialism with which the USSR covers up its crimes. These forces, whether conscious of it or not, would have the Iranian people exchange one slavemaster for another, exactly as brutal, exactly as dangerous and exactly as imperialist. While seeming to some to be practical, and of immediate benefit to the struggle in Iran, such moves and ideas must be ruthlessly exposed by genuine revolutionaries as sweet-tasting poison to the liberation of Iran—when in actual fact, what has been especially inspiring about the struggles of the Iranian people is their refusal to give up the struggle against either superpower in the name of opposing the other.

This year, May Day comes at a particularly crucial time, and a particularly favorable time in the struggle of the Iranian people. The imperialist chieftain Carter, frustrated in his attempts to break the back of the Iranian peoples' struggle and in his all-round attempts to prepare the U.S. bloc for world war, by his failure to gain the release of the hostages, has issued a new series of threats against Iran. These are designed to embolden the reactionary elements in Iran and to blackmail the compromising forces into capitulating to the U.S. as well as attacking the struggle of the masses. He has threatened to take military action, including the mining of Iran's harbors and the blockade of its waters, raising the spectre of trying once again to drown the peoples' struggles in blood. Reactionary and imperialist agents within Iran are still plotting against the revolution and the vacillating middle elements continue to waver between the masses and imperialism.

These events in particular call on the working class to assume its rightful place in leadership of the revolutionary struggle. It is only by mobilizing the broad masses under the leadership of the working class that the Iranian people can defeat internal and external reaction, thoroughly rout feudalism and imperialism, and complete the democratic revolution, independent of either superpower, and lead the struggle on to its final victory, the triumph of socialism and the ultimate goal of communism. We are fully confident that the heroic proletariat of Iran will once again step forward and not only provide the leadership that it has in the past at other key junctures of the revolution, but make a leap in leading the revolution forward.

Continued on page 6

# The Murder of Damian García: A Planned Political Execution



Hundreds pick up the red flag and hold it high in march through the Pico-Aliso Housing Project the day after Comrade Damian García was murdered there.

Despite initial thinly veiled and half-hearted attempts to claim that Damian García was a victim of "gang violence," the unmistakable stench of the bourgeoisie's official gangsters continues to foul the air. And more facts leading up to and following his murder come to light. In a recent City Council meeting in Los Angeles, at which the police and councilman Art Snyder were indicted by an RCP spokesman for both Damian's murder and the future acts of cowardly desperation they are planning and promoting, an obvious agent slithered up to some revolution-

aries and announced, "My people killed the son of a bitch." With all the false bravado he could suck up, this snake revealed that "his people" was the "housing authority," the same pigs that had been circling the march in Pico-Aliso on April 22 but had conveniently disappeared at the time of the murder. While this was a pitiful and futile attempt at intimidating the Party, it was also far too narrow in scope to be considered factual. In reality, "his people" include more than one arm of the bourgeoisie's ruling apparatus.

That Damian's murder was a planned

political execution is undeniable. He was well-known to the LAPD, having been kidnapped by them a number of times while he was out selling the *RW*, only to be dropped off at some distant point. On one occasion last October, this had been set up by a call from some poverty pimps, the same ones who now march through the projects under police protection yelling, "Comms go home." Most recently, the police kidnapped Damian the week before he died in downtown L.A. However, when the masses on the street followed the car, the police decided they had better let

him out. Visibly shaken by this response from the masses, they obviously felt the need to devise another plan. When Damian was arrested on April 7 on a charge of "disturbing the peace" while selling *RW*'s and agitating at County Hospital, he had been personally threatened by numerous pigs at the Hollenbeck Police Station—the one responsible for terrorizing the people of the Aliso project where he was killed. The stench came from all over the sty: "We have just busted the pig hero that climbed the

Continued on page 14

## Rebel

—by a Chicano youth in Chicago upon hearing of Damian García's murder

Damian García  
Our brother is dead  
Our brother has died  
Our brother, they killed him because he struggled against oppression  
They killed one and produced a thousand  
This was their error  
That obligates us to uncover  
Their vile origin

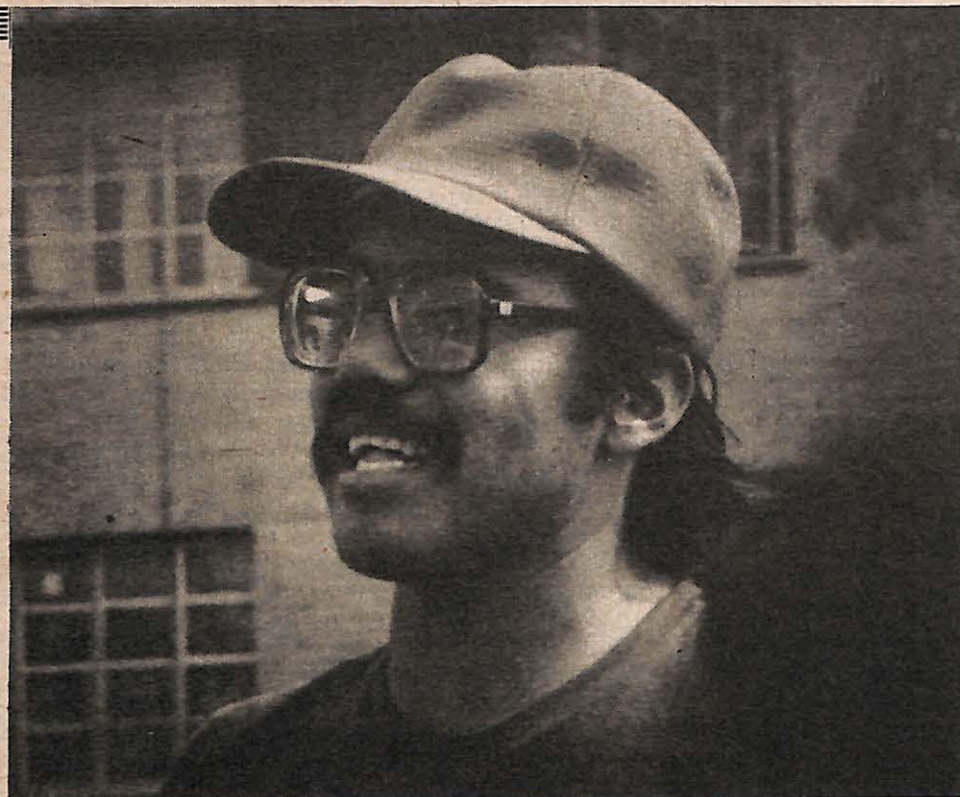
They took from us his body  
They have taken it already  
But what they can't take is our strength in the struggle

Rest in peace brother  
Your spirit will live on  
Will live on in truth  
And we will not rest until we see your dream made reality  
Your name will not be forgotten  
Damian García  
I can assure you

You died in the struggle  
The struggle of the truth  
The struggle of the just and noble that must triumph  
And it will not cease until your ideals are realized  
For the good of all humanity

Rest in peace Damian  
Already your flag is taken  
Without fear of brutality  
By thousands of rebels anxious to struggle

Rest in peace Damian  
Your dream will be realized



Comrade Damian García

Come brothers, the struggle doesn't end  
The battle has just begun and we will not rest  
Until we see with happiness, the suffering of the tyrant  
That tried to intimidate us

Damian García your spirit will live  
And your great aspirations will be realized  
Because we have a battle to win  
And the proletariat has to rule  
I can assure you

Your figure up on the Alamo will always live  
And bring fear to the ruling class

Rest in peace Damian  
Your dream will be realized

## Mrs. Timm Goes to Iran

Even before their abortive raid, the U.S. was making frantic efforts to rally the families of hostages and make sure they didn't stray from the imperialist point of view. They managed to get four wives of hostages to form the "Family Liason Action Group" (FLAG!) and sent them touring Europe. Another "hostage wife" has really shown her Americanism by trying to use her position to get her hands on some cold cash, suing Iran for \$1 billion, to come out of those frozen Iranian assets.

But Barbara Timm, mother of Marine Sergeant Kevin Hermening, has gone in a different direction—to the heart of the matter in Iran. Her recently completed trip frustrated the government's plans to use family members, as well as the hostages as pawns in their star-spangled propaganda blitz. Jimmy Carter's face noticeably twitches whenever Mrs. Timm's name is mentioned. Barbara Timm dared to act independently, to question the story fed her by the U.S. and try to find out the truth for herself. As she said in Iran, "We want desperately to see Kevin, but we have a deeper reason for being here, and this is to understand the people of Iran. We want to understand what happened to make them take over an embassy, why their feelings are deep toward the Shah, what they have against the American people."

Mrs. Timm has a few basic facts right and is seeking more, which is *far too much* for the U.S. government. At one point the entire Timm travel group was threatened with legal prosecution if they continued. She began to have some doubts about "her" government:

"From the United States of America, an ordinary citizen—a little person like we are—cannot get a call through to the embassy in Tehran. That's the sort of thing that made me wonder if maybe I was used by American propaganda not Iranian."

A person completely cut off from political life previously, Mrs. Timm has run smack into the lies and hypocrisy that surround the official U.S. government position on the embassy occupation and the Iranian revolution. After meeting her son for 45 minutes she said: "The Government has said these people are brainwashed, but I can't agree," adding that her son was in excellent health, and emotionally unchanged.

What she learned led her to take a strong stand with the Iranian people. Speaking of the Iranian revolutionaries she said, "These are people to care about, not hate." She has called for investigations into "the financial involvement of banks, individuals and the Government of the Shah," and "why the Administration chose to let the Shah into the United States in the first place."

After the attempted U.S. raid, Mrs. Timm, speaking also for the family of another hostage, John Earl Graves, said at a news conference in Tehran: "We deeply regret the actions of our



Mr. and Mrs. Timm view the graves of Iranian martyrs who were killed during the struggle to overthrow the U.S.-backed Shah.

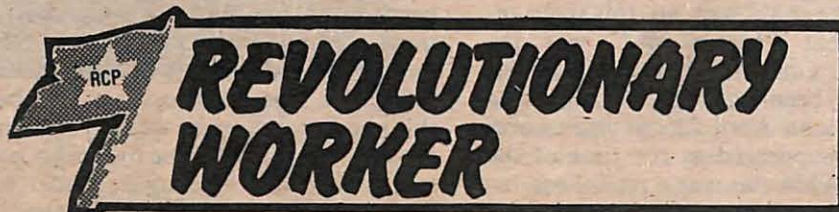
President. We would like to apologize for that action."

As a result of all this, the Timms have been the target of vicious assaults, with Dr. Cooke (a founder of FLAG whose hostage son was a vice consul at the embassy) accusing her of selfishness, while local neanderthals in Milwaukee threaten to fire-bomb the Timm's house, insinuating that she had made her statements as part of a deal to get her son freed. In reality it is Barbara Timm who has shown broad-mindedness and an unselfish internationalism, in sharp contrast to her flag-waving attackers.

Mrs. Timm, a suburban Milwaukee housewife, has found herself thrust into the middle of an earthshaking event, the Iranian revolution. It is to her credit, and a testament to the power of the just struggle of the Iranian people, that she has dared to break with many illusions that millions like herself in the USA still cling to. And as for the U.S. bourgeoisie, there is no end to their troubles. Right in the midst of their hostage family circle, their monstrous crimes are being opposed. □

### CORRECTION

In the article "Big Jolt Downward in America's Decline," RW April 18, 1980, page 18, column 1, the sentence reading "By raising inflation rates, more foreign funds will be attracted into U.S. securities... (etc.);" should say: "By raising interest rates... (etc.)"



## Message

Continued from page 4

In this light, we fully support the efforts of the genuine communist revolutionaries in Iran to forge the communist vanguard that is essential to leading the revolution forward through its complicated twists and turns. The past year has also seen sharp struggle and important strides in this arena. We are confident that on the basis of upholding and defending the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, applying them to the concrete conditions within Iran and ruthlessly combatting the various forms of revisionism and all other types of opportunism, that such a party will surely be forged. This will be another great victory for the Iranian people as well as the people of the world, fulfilling one of the most urgent requirements of the revolution.

Comrades,

On May Day 1979, the Revolutionary Communist Party proclaimed that not only in Iran but around the world and in the USA as well, the flames of revolution are spreading. Is this not even more true on May First 1980? The imperialist system is sinking ever deeper into crisis and people in countries all over the world are enthusiastically joining the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

This May First, we the RCP, led by Chairman Bob Avakian, representing the class-conscious proletariat of the USA, recognizing our special responsibility of exposing and fighting the crimes of our own ruling class, declare that we will fight with every ounce of strength against any attempt by them to unleash any further attacks against the Iranian people. We, who have learned so much, and have been so inspired by your struggle, will continue to stand firmly behind it. But more than this, the coming years will hold great trials, great upheavals and great possibilities for the working class and oppressed peoples of the world. The working class and oppressed masses of the world will stand firm in support and draw inspiration when the oppressed of any nation meet counterrevolutionary violence with revolutionary violence. It is the urgent duty of the communists in every country to intensify their work to prepare for and lead the masses in revolution and unite the ranks of revolutionaries and the masses on the basis of the world-emancipating interests of the international proletariat and in resolute struggle against the common enemies of the people of the world—the two superpowers, the imperialist system, and all their lackeys. Wherever the opportunity arises, wherever the objective and subjective conditions develop, through the operations of the laws of the system and the untiring work of the revolutionary forces, they must unhesitatingly seize the opportunity and lead and resolutely carry forward the decisive battle to overthrow the rule of the reactionaries and replace it with the rule of the working class, together with its allies, and advance to socialism. Our unwavering stand and consistent practice must be to prepare for and finally to wage revolutionary war, not imperialist war. And if world war is unleashed by the imperialists, then our response must be to once again intensify our work to oppose imperialist war and reactionary war with revolutionary war, and hasten the extinction of this barbarous system and all forms of exploitation.

It is in this light that we wish to bring to you the news of the imminent historic demonstrations to be held today, on May First, 1980 in cities across the USA. In the very heart of the superpower, this imperialist monster, thousands of workers are being welded together to take hold of this historic mission and, joining with millions of workers around the world, to hasten imperialism into its grave.

Shattering the myth of national unity, and expressing the hatred millions feel for the bloody and disgusting "American way," these class-conscious workers are in a bold open way declaring their complete break with their slavemasters, and their unity with the oppressed everywhere. Spitting on the tattered, red, white and blue rag of U.S. imperialism, the ugly international symbol of imperialist

murder and robbery, these workers rise in lifting up the international banner of the proletarian revolution, the glorious red flag.

These advanced, these oppressed within the borders of U.S. imperialism who have dared to straighten their backs and carry on the type of struggle worthy of the name proletarian and revolutionary, are an instrumental lever to the much larger force that will bring the U.S. imperialists to their knees from within. This lever is being forged none too soon, since there is a real prospect for a revolutionary situation to ripen within the next decade in the U.S. Seeing clearly the horrendous crimes our rulers have committed in the name of the American people, these class-conscious forces are stepping forward today, on May Day, to proudly accept the responsibility to prepare to overthrow the bloody rule of one of the two superpowers. This will indeed be a tremendous contribution to mankind.

But the RCP, USA and genuine revolutionaries are clear on one thing about the revolution in this country: it is not our property; it is not only for the benefit of the masses in the U.S.; it cannot be that and be true to the principles of the proletariat, for our class is truly one class internationally, and fundamentally our struggle is one internationally. On the day that we overthrow U.S. imperialism, and overthrow them we will, hundreds of millions across the globe will rejoice that this vampire has finally been killed and put into the dustbin of history. Our revolution is the property and the joy and the victory of the international proletariat, and is made in its name, for there can be no revolution to simply enable yet another group of exploiters to ride herd over other nations.

Comrades,

Comrade Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the RCP, expressed the feelings we wish to convey to you today when he said, "The masses of people, the revolutionaries, the working class and the oppressed people in this society owe a great debt and a great thanks to the Iranian people which we will repay, I am sure, in a way that they want us to. That means joining with them to make revolution here and support it all over the world."

On this May Day, this is the revolutionary stand of the proletariat. Our strength is growing and our enemy is weakening; we must march into the storms before us confident that our cause is just, our victory inevitable. The decade we are entering now offers the working class and its allies great opportunity. The red flag beckons to us; let us struggle forward determined to fly it not only in Iran, not only in the U.S., but over every land, marking the advance to socialism and ultimately the achievement of the historic mission of communism. It is in this spirit and with this determination that we send our warmest greetings and stand in solidarity with you on the occasion of the celebration of May Day 1980.

**Hail to the Iranian People's Revolution, Onward to its Complete Victory!**

**Full Support to the Genuine Communists in Iran in the Struggle to Build the Marxist-Leninist Vanguard Party at the Earliest Possible Time!**

**Long Live the Revolutionary Unity of the Iranian and American Peoples and the Working Class and Oppressed Peoples of the World!**

**Hasten Imperialism and Social-Imperialism Into Their Grave!**

**Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!**

**Long Live May Day!**

**Forward to the Future of Socialism and Ultimately Communism Throughout the World!**

The Central Committee, on Behalf of the Entire Membership, of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

# Iran

Continued from page 1

that all the wounded raiders had volunteered to take part in any new attempt to "rescue the hostages."

## More Lies

Even while top U.S. officials energetically wave the baton for the patriotic grunting of these professional soldiers to build up public support for new military action, they are paying careful attention to keep talking about their "deep desire" to arrive at a "peaceful solution." In addition to their usual doubletalk, this is a tactical necessity to disguise their next military moves.

At Carter's Tuesday night press conference, CBS newscasters commented afterwards that "the President conveyed the impression that military action is being ruled out for the foreseeable future." Quite a few newspaper articles reported that their "well placed sources" thought a new raid to be unlikely because the hostages had been broken up, the nights in Iran are getting shorter and the weather hotter, and so on. However, a second U.S. assault on Iran has most definitely *not* been ruled out, but instead hinges on making the necessary preparations, including going all out to inflame reactionary public opinion in the U.S., "consulting" with the allies, and getting a new military force in place.

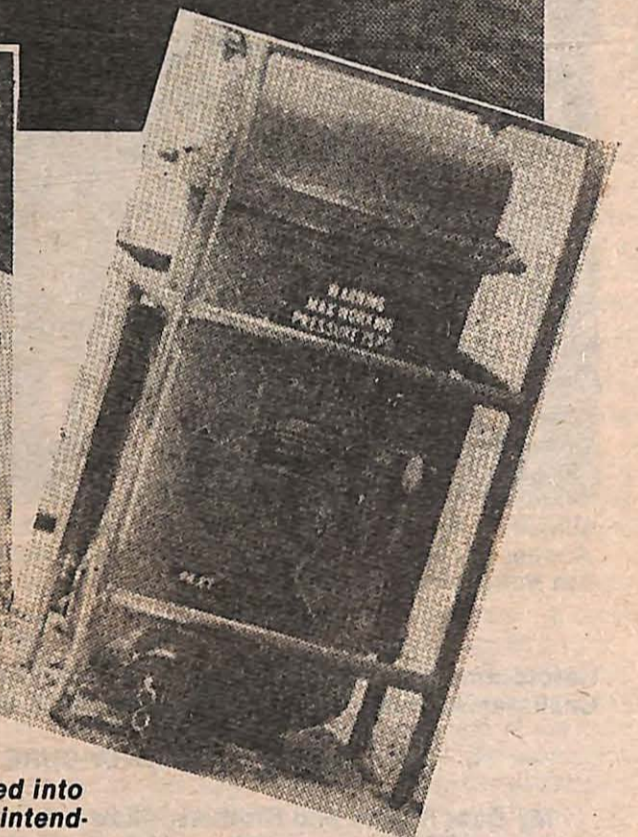
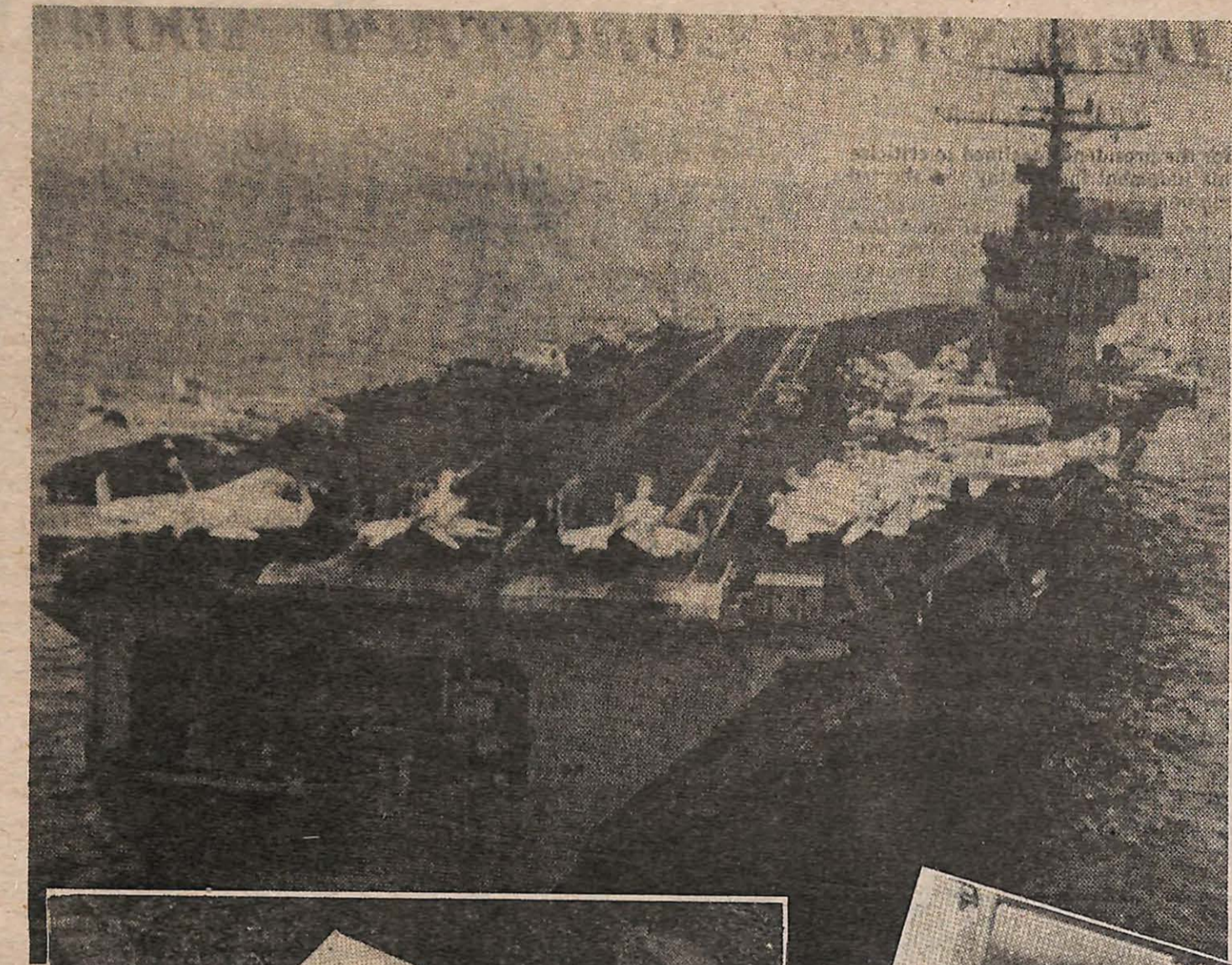
A further reason to be more than a little skeptical about any new-found U.S. desire to try out "peaceful solutions" is that over the last few weeks before the aborted raid, the U.S. government developed an elaborate string of lies and deceptions to cover up its long-planned military action. On April 12, just one day after giving the raid a final go-ahead, Carter granted an interview to foreign correspondents at which he reported that he had set a "mid-May" deadline for the allies' economic sanctions to take effect before he would consider military options. Just two days before the raid, a White House staff meeting on Iran was held, at which Chief of Staff Hamilton Jordan said that a rescue attempt "has been studied and just wasn't feasible." A report of this meeting was deliberately leaked to the *Los Angeles Times*, which obligingly ran Jordan's comments in a front-page story the next day. (As a side note, the ban on travel to Iran announced by Carter just days before the raid, as well as his request that American reporters leave the country, were clearly measures taken to avoid the taking of more U.S. hostages—and were a tip-off that something was up.)

## U.S. Crimes Covered Up

Throughout these past weeks of open sabre-rattling, there was not one mention by the bourgeoisie's hired prize-fighters in the media of the Iranian people's just demand for the return of the Shah and his billions of dollars in plundered wealth—the Shah that the U.S. government installed in power in 1953 and supported with billions of dollars in U.S. arms and 40,000 advisors, the Shah under whose rule Iran was turned into a gold mine for hundreds of profit-hungry U.S. corporations and into a living hell for the Iranian masses. There was no mention of the continual coup plotting, the CIA "destabilization" operations and reactionary intrigues against the Iranian revolution that were organized all last year out of the 27-acre U.S. embassy compound in Tehran until it was stormed and occupied by Iranian students on November 4, 1979.

No, U.S. imperialism's bloody history in Iran is considered to be irrelevant. "Let's just talk about right now," says the bourgeoisie. "Those uncivilized Iranians started it all by taking American citizens hostage, and now we're gonna do whatever it takes to go get them."

But as hard as they try to cover up their past crimes in Iran in order to pave the way for new ones, the imperialists cannot help but leave a trail of counter-revolutionary activities behind them. The U.S. is openly admitting that the paramilitary units that it claims to have infiltrated into Iran over the past few months before the raid were working



**Tools of the imperialist trade: The USS Nimitz, from which the helicopters took off (and two more aircraft carriers have now moved into the area); U.S. and Iranian banknotes, left behind after the fiasco, intended for use in paying off collaborators inside Iran; a cannister of chemicals for use in a chemical warfare attack by the imperialist raiding party.**

closely with "pro-American" Iranians. It is no great mystery who these forces are—military officers and ex-SAVAK agents who for years worked alongside U.S. "advisors," factory owners, bankers and landlords with previous U.S. connections who feel hemmed in by the present government and deeply fear the continuing revolutionary struggle of the Iranian masses. It is this reactionary social base (which influential forces in the government have continued to block the Iranian masses from uprooting, instead attempting to smear the Left with charges of being "pro-Western") that the U.S. is now openly bragging about as a "fifth column" that can be activated at any time.

The fat wads of \$100 bills and equivalent Iranian currency found on board the scuttled U.S. helicopters were destined, among other things, to be spread among these counter-revolutionaries. A final sinister aspect of this "humanitarian rescue mission" was the discovery of several maps left behind by the U.S. raiding team that had the residences of Ayatollah Khomeini and other Iranian leaders circled, indicating a U.S. plan to kill them or take them hostage.

## Only Way Out—War

This latest provocation against Iran and the stepped-up warmongering are sure signs that the U.S. ruling class is in deep trouble. The failure of the embassy raid has added to an already bad situation for them in Iran. The same powerful reasons that drove them to gamble on staging last week's military assault are not only still there, they are pressing in on them with greater force than before. After the raid, Detroit

Mayor Coleman Young summed up the bourgeoisie's predicament when he commented, "We have gone to the point of no return."

All their hopes of "negotiating" the return of the hostages with the aid of compromising elements in the Iranian government have been scotched for now. The Iranian Left, the most determined opposition to the U.S. imperialists, has successfully beat off a recent round of reactionary attacks. And President Bani-Sadr, who has a keen nose for the political winds blowing in Iran, was recently quoted in the *Christian Science Monitor* as calling on the American people to launch a "decisive and restless struggle" against the U.S. government!

The stakes are getting higher for the

imperialists with every passing day. With one military fiasco already hanging around their necks and their global "leadership" seriously threatened, the imperialists—the class of millionaire U.S. bankers and industrialists—are being driven by forces beyond their control to demonstrate that they *can* take decisive action against Iran. But it is important to recognize that Iran in 1980 is not the same as Vietnam in 1965. The U.S. imperialists have less freedom to maneuver and are desperate. They are being buffeted by unprecedented economic and political crisis, and they are now bumping into a powerful rival imperialist superpower, the USSR, wherever they turn.

This new period of "brinkmanship"  
Continued on page 13

## Pamphlet from the Revolutionary Worker

NOW IN SECOND PRINTING  
price: 25¢

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





**DEFEND OUR REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP!**  
Above: Demonstration outside Washington courthouse demanding "Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian!"

Revolutionary greetings! In sound solidarity and unison with Chairman Avakian, my dear Comrade, I wish to say:

**THE ONLY CURE**

My Dear Sisters and Brothers, allow me the opportunity to share with you, some TRUTH; not religion or fairy tales, but pure reality. I'm sure you've heard of cancer and there not being a cure. However, there is a cure for the disease plaguing America and its tentacles abroad. That cure is one word and action: REVOLUTION! How much more longer do we have to experience this horrible syndrome of imperialism, capitalism, colonialism, Ku-Klux-Klanism and other sadistic injustices before we realize we're being preyed and warred upon by a body (ruling class) of systematic criminals? An illegitimately and criminally born government practicing international genocide, repression, deceptive practice and barbarism in the name of human rights and justice!!!!

Can't you see the sickness in a country or its government, when it tells and encourages you to plunder upon other countries, murdering and robbing them of their lives and resources, when in fact the real fight and problem is right here in our backyard. In America, not Iran, not Afghanistan, not Russia. Here! is where your fight and struggle should begin if you want equality, peace, freedom, justice and independence... Total resistance is the key to ending this madness and insanity!

I'm not exaggerating! For I am a live-breathing witness and victim of the savagery and criminal operations of this system; I'm on death row right now for a crime I didn't commit and know nothing about; my jury was pre-selected by the scandalous media and the State's Attorney's Office and their carefully selected Jury foreman; my fate was destined by one programmed "colored lady," one blindminded Spanish woman and 10 racist white folks—and my sentencing jury was composed of all white folks; no evidence or facts of any criminal acts was produced during the entirety of my trial, because there is none. I'm innocent but that is not what my keepers and slave masters want to hear. In their concepts, "I'm guilty for being born Black." My only crime ever, is for being conscious and representing the truth; for being firm and defiant against injustice, scandalism and lies; for refusing to be a punk, signing a false confession or lying on my innocent rappies; for walking in the "Massa's so-called HALL OF JUSTICE," charging their case against me and my 3 rappies, a bizarre and racist frame-up!...

A brother on Death Row in Stateville

The following telegram was received by the Los Angeles May Day Committee along with a donation of a day's pay, from RW readers in Tulsa, Oklahoma after they learned of the police murder of Comrade Damian Garcia.

To Friends, family and comrades,  
"Having worked with him on the Moody Park campaign, we know him as among the best our class can produce. His loss will be felt. His example remembered. Turn our grief into strength and carry on the struggle."

**Message from FightTbAck**

To the Central Committee of the RCP, USA and all revolutionaries in the U.S.,

Brothers and sisters, the revolutionary May Day demonstrations that you are holding today to mark May 1st, the international holiday of the working class and to open the decade of the 1980s, will surely stamp this May 1st as an historic occasion. It is in fact a crucial turning point for the revolutionary struggle in the U.S. and has tremendous importance for the struggle for emancipation by the oppressed peoples on every continent. This is because without these demonstrations taking place as they are, the hope of seeing revolution in the U.S. would have been a dim one at best. For without the red banner of revolution being thrust to the center stage of history, as these demonstrations are doing, there would be no standard around which the revolutionary masses in the U.S. today could rally and thereby point the direction forward for millions and tens of millions as conditions ripen. So it is with real joy, the joy that the oppressed feel when they begin to actually lift the weight of their oppressors off their shoulders, that we greet these demonstrations today.

As American revolutionaries in Europe we can assure you that indeed as the song says, "the whole wide world is watching." There are many people in Europe, even revolutionaries, who not only think that revolution in the U.S. is a distant dream, but who are also unaware that there are people in the U.S. who are actively working to bring this about. We have time and again been greeted by broad smiles, eager ears and warm handshakes when we have informed people from countries all over Europe, Asia and Africa, with whom we come into contact about the growing revolutionary struggle back in the States. It is no exaggeration to say that when the reverberations of the thunderous revolutionary blow struck by these demonstrations is felt around the world, as millions learn that the flames of revolution are indeed burning within the very bowels of the world's most vicious imperialist monster, that the oppressed on every continent will be inspired to step up their own revolutionary struggles. Today as you demonstrate, you do not stand as thousands in the U.S.; rather you stand as part of millions and tens of millions in every corner of the globe who are in the streets today as well, for the very same cause for which you march and behind the same red banner.

One more thing: as a revolutionary newspaper for GI's in Europe we can tell you in no uncertain terms that the talk of WWII being an ever closer reality is no scare tactic: this shit is for real. For anyone who doubts this, we invite you to come to Germany and witness for yourself, as we do everyday, the

ever increasing war preparations here at the "front." The growing stockpiles of war materials, the constant introduction of ever more destructive weapons (including for instance the neutron bomb which has been, despite their denials, deployed here), the increased state of "readiness" among the troops, more and more alerts and training maneuvers. It is not uncommon here to see dozens of tanks rolling down the highway with GI's in full battle gear, M-16's in hand, as they are forced to take part in these rehearsals for the coming bloodbath. And last but not least there is the constant barrage of flag-waving jingoistic propaganda aimed at the troops and designed to convince them to fight, kill and die to keep the chains of oppression, tied around their own necks and millions of others throughout the world.

But there is another message going out among the GI's as well: that's the message of international proletarian revolution. As this statement is being read, revolutionaries from among the imperialists' own armed forces are gathering to celebrate, along with you and the rest of our revolutionary class brothers and sisters around the world, the revolutionary holiday of our class. These revolutionary GI's are today but a small minority it is true, but just as under the right conditions a tiny seed can become a giant redwood tree, so too will this revolutionary core sink roots and sprout into a tremendous force as conditions for revolution further develop. Yes, it is true that our rulers are preparing for war and to do this they will press-gang millions into their armed forces and put guns in their hands: but the question of in which direction those guns will ultimately be pointed is far from settled. Our rulers know this well and that is why they attack and attempt to suppress revolution in the ranks of their army and most importantly this is why they are frantically attacking comrade Bob Avakian and the RCP back in the States. It is not out of strength, but rather out of fear and desperation that they launch these attacks, for the slave master is only too well aware that without his slaves he ain't shit: and without his army he's even less. It is in this spirit and with the determination to do whatever is necessary to rip these bloodsuckers from their throne, that on behalf of the revolutionary GI's in Europe we send revolutionary greetings and solidarity.

**DEATH TO U.S. IMPERIALISM AND ALL REACTION!**

**WORKERS OF ALL COUNTRIES UNITE, WE HAVE NOTHING TO LOSE BUT OUR CHAINS, WE HAVE A WORLD TO WIN!**

FightTbAck  
the revolutionary voice of GI's in Europe

Statement by a Turkish Revolutionary Worker Living in New York City

Comrades and Friends:

At a time when the struggles of the working class in the capitalist-imperialist system and of the oppressed peoples of the world for national and social liberation have sharpened, the RCP, part of the American working class movement, has been preparing to celebrate May Day, a day of unity, solidarity, and struggle of the world proletariat. In spite of the revisionist, reformist, and opportunist maneuvers to strip May Day of its militant character, to put May Day into a form acceptable to the imperialist bourgeoisie by holding May Day celebrations behind closed doors and not carrying the message to the masses, the RCP has taken up May Day as a tool in the struggle against the imperialist bourgeoisie. Especially with a new world war on the horizon, a militant celebration of May Day in the United States will add spirit to and supplement the struggles of the peoples of colonial and semi-colonial countries (from the point of view of international solidarity). The revolutionaries and working masses of our country will see that they are not alone in their struggles, that even in the heart of imperialism there is a struggle

against the common enemy.

The Turkish proletariat and working masses have declared war against the imperialist bourgeoisie. Thousands of workers, revolutionaries and peasants have given their lives to destroy fascist dictatorship and imperialism, but these attacks don't go unanswered. Today the objective conditions for revolution have ripened considerably. Collaborating monopoly bourgeoisie and feudal landlords are on the verge of collapse. Neither oppressors nor the oppressed want to live under the conditions they are used to. The Turkish proletariat and the working masses are defending themselves against attacks by the imperialists and their lackeys, and preparing themselves for revolution. May Day of this year will be an historic turning point of the class struggle between fascists and anti-fascist revolutionary forces. The fascist Demorel government has banned May Day and also declared they would smash demonstrations by armed force. But the Turkish proletariat and working masses will thwart their plans by raising the red banner of revolution.

**Long Live May Day!**  
**Long Live Internationalism!**  
**Long Live the Unity, Solidarity and Struggle of the World Proletariat!**



# International May Day Messages

## Communist Party of the Portuguese Workers

To the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Dear Comrades,

In greeting the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and the whole U.S. working class on this May 1, 1980, the Communist Party of the Portuguese Workers cannot fail to recall that this date is inseparably linked to the heroic struggle of the workers in Chicago who on the 1st of May 1886, in magnificent combat in the streets, raised the banner of the demand for the eight-hour work day and struck a blow against their exploiters and oppressors. Even if there were no other reason, this alone would be enough to prove that the U. S. working class is a glorious and fighting class, whose example has more than once shown the way towards the emancipation of the proletariat of the whole world.

Despite the fact that Portugal has lived for many years under the yoke of U.S. imperialism, the Portuguese working class does not confuse the stinking crimes of the U.S. monopoly bourgeoisie with the working class in the U.S., which is a victim of these same crimes.

The Portuguese proletariat celebrates May 1st this year under the conditions of a great sharpening of the class struggle. After overthrowing fascism and colonialism, after having prevented the establishment of a social-fascist dictatorship in 1975, after having unmasked the petty bourgeois democracy of the Socialist Party which was in power after the overthrow of the Portuguese revolution in 1974-75, the working class and people of Portugal today are struggling for the overthrow of the reactionary government of the so-called "Democratic" Alliance, a coalition made up of a group of reactionary and fascist parties which are flunkies for U.S. and European imperialism.

With the dedicated aid of the revisionists, and under the cover of the illusions about bourgeois democracy spread by them, the Portuguese

bourgeoisie threw 15% of the workers out of work and cut their real wages by about a third during the last five years. Once the opportunist and traitor parties had completed their work, the current government of the private monopoly capitalists and landowners strove to intensify exploitation and poverty even more, while at the same time attacking the revolutionary gains won by the workers, and preparing bloody repression against the working class, the peasants and the whole people.

Our Communist Party of the Portuguese Workers is the only political force which consistently opposes the reactionary "Democratic" Alliance government and which shows the masses the road of the People's Democracy and Socialism, the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and Communism. But, at the same time our Party takes the lead in the struggle against the dictatorship of capital, it never ceases for a moment to fight the revisionist party of Cunhal, which constantly sabotages and derails the struggle of the revolutionary proletariat from its objective.

Comrades,

Since its founding in September 1970, the Communist Party of the Portuguese Workers has always defined itself as a Marxist party, that is, as a party guided by the scientific doctrine of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

Therefore, we didn't have to think twice when the new Chinese and Albanian revisionists shamelessly unleashed an attack against Mao's teachings and the gains of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We remain unshakably convinced that Maoism is a new stage in the development of Marxism-Leninism, that it is, fundamentally, the Marxism-Leninism of our time. As such, the new attacks launched by the Chinese and Albanian revisionists, following the Soviet revisionists, have the sole purpose of disarming the proletariat in the face of imperialism, social-imperialism and world reaction, of spreading political

and ideological confusion among the vanguard workers and creating the conditions for the widespread slaughter of a new imperialist world war between the two superpowers, in which the peoples will be used as cannon fodder.

All this makes clear the need to intensify the internationalist struggle of the communists the world over against modern revisionism, whether it be the Soviet type, or the Chinese or

Albanian type.

Let us unite on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, certain that in this way we will march towards new and greater victories!

LONG LIVE MAY 1st

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM

## People's Front of Chile (Chicago Committee)

Greetings from the People's Front of Chile (Chicago Committee)

International Workers Day

On the occasion of this May First, International Workers Day, the People's Front of Chile, a unified organization of the Chilean resistance, participates in paying tribute today to the martyrs of Chicago murdered by the bourgeoisie which feared the advances of the working class that was rising against its exploitation, for better working conditions and for an eight-hour work day.

This bloody episode in the history of the international working class holds great significance and points the road forward of struggle and sacrifice.

Today when the people of the world remember this special date, the proletariat and the Chilean people, six and a half years after the fascist coup, reaffirm once more, as in previous years, their resolve to struggle against the representatives of national and international capital. There will be different sectors of the people and in different varied forms, be they clandestine meetings, distribution of leaflets, street demonstrations, and others through which they will demand: liberty, stop the repression, the right to strike, democratic elections of the unions, clarification of the comrades that are detained or who have disappeared, etc. The fascist government, for its part, which has used all available means to smother any attempt at organization, unity and struggle of our people, has faced a steady and sustained rise of the popular struggle. The strikes, work stoppages, sabotage of production and even the street demonstrations are becoming more numerous, as are the organizations of the popular resistance whose propaganda is multiplying. Different sectors of the people are increasingly joining various resistance committees, including clandestine committees in the factories and among the peasantry, resistance nuclei in the universities, anti-fascist committees of teachers, People's Front Committees, etc., trying to broaden the struggle and make the blows against fascism more effective.

The struggles that our people in Chile are waging today constitute one more link in the struggle that our fraternal peoples of Latin America and the world over are carrying forward, and with whom we are joining in solidarity. Today we are uniting with the North American people in these celebrations as well as saluting the struggle that the revolutionary communists are waging in this country to create consciousness and organize the proletariat and the people in the anti-imperialist struggle.

For the ultimate liberation of the exploited classes!

For a May 1 of struggle!

Long live proletarian internationalism!

The People's Front of Chile  
(Chicago Committee)

## Union of Iranian Communists

(The UIC was not able to send its full message at this time. The following is a briefer message.)

To the Revolutionary Communist Party U.S.A.

Comrades!

It is with great confidence in the ultimate victory of our common cause that we send you our warmest and most militant greetings on this joyous occasion of May Day. We would also like on this occasion to express our militant internationalist solidarity with the RCP and hail your untiring efforts to advance the struggle of the U.S. working class.

We are aware of the sharpened attacks on your Party by the bourgeoisie, but we are sure that you will come out of these attacks much more tempered and more capable of leading the U.S. working class in this struggle against the bourgeoisie.

Be confident that you have the whole-hearted support of the Iranian Communist movement and the Iranian people with you.

Comrades:

We will be celebrating May Day in one of the most crucial periods of the recent history of the Iranian people. The reactionary forces linked to U.S. imperialism have shown definite signs of getting reorganized and ready for action. The so-called rescue mission undertaken by U.S. imperialism was definitely much more than just a "rescue mission." The people are being prepared to stand up to any possible U.S. military action which could be coupled with the actions of the pro-U.S. units within the army and air force.

The anti-revolutionary and collaborationist forces dominating the "Revolutionary Council" are downplaying the possibility of such actions. They have always attempted to cool down the great anti-imperialist fervor of the masses.

The anti-imperialist struggle which has greatly intensified since the takeover of the embassy has entered into a delicate phase where the anti-revolutionaries and collaborationist forces are coming under sharp attacks by the people.

The communists will link this struggle against the main enemy, U.S. imperialism, with the struggle against

those who collaborate with it. At the same time the communists will aim to sharpen the struggle and expose the imperialist nature of Soviet social-imperialism.

This will be the second May Day that revolutionaries, communists and the progressive masses of the Iranian people have celebrated after the defeat and downfall of one of the most brutal regimes in recent history. The Iranian people have greatly advanced the revolution since the last May Day and the working class has been a major contributor to this advance.

The Iranian communists and we in the UIC recognize the great role we have to play at this moment, because the path of revolution in other countries, the teachings of Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tsetung clearly show that without the leadership of the working class, no revolution in the era of imperialism can arrive at its final destination, which is socialism and ultimately communism. The Iranian Communists and we in the UIC are in a fierce struggle to unite the working class and build the party of the proletariat without which the working class is certain to fail to seize the leadership of the revolution.

Comrades:

It is in such a crucial moment of history that we are going to celebrate May Day. The working class and its vanguard will on that day show reactionaries around the world that the international proletariat is fighting for one cause and is united to crush the rule of the bourgeoisie and reactionaries. On that day, we, around the world, send shivers down the spines of all those who for years have exploited the working class. The international proletariat will show that for the cause of revolution and socialism it is ready to fight to the very end. It is in this spirit that we once again hail your efforts and send you our most sincere communist greetings.

LONG LIVE THE SOLIDARITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT!  
LONG LIVE MAY DAY!  
DOWN WITH CAPITALISM!  
DOWN WITH U.S./SOVIET WAR MOVES!  
TAKE HISTORY INTO OUR OWN HANDS!

Signed the  
Union of Iranian Communists

# D.C. Anti-Nuke Demo Targets Pentagon

From April 25th through the 28th, Washington, D.C. was the scene of nationally organized anti-nuke activity, ranging from an all-night vigil at the White House to a march of 25,000 on Saturday, from lobbying Congress to civil disobedience at the Pentagon. Organized by the Coalition for a Non-Nuclear World (a coalition of anti-nuke groups, religious and peace groups, various political groups and individuals), the weekend's two main events were Saturday's march and Monday's civil disobedience.

The march had been in preparation for almost a year, and many anti-nuke activists were disappointed with the turnout. The organizers had expected an advance over last May's demonstration of 100,000. Some blamed the rainy weather, but for others the question was: "Where's the anti-nuke movement going? What's it gonna do? That's the question that's got to be clearly answered if people want to participate."

This question expressed itself in the contradictions among the demonstrators—from "Love the Earth" ecology groups to Barry Commoner and the Citizens Party, from the American flag leading the demonstration to the contingent of New Jersey college students carrying red flags. (One of those students told the *RW* "We were inspired by the May Day contingent in the anti-draft demonstration. If you're gonna carry something it should be red. We organized two buses from our campus and 25 of us are carrying the red flag!")

While the main part of the rally was inaudible due to a defective sound system, discussion went on at the various literature tables throughout the crowd. People struggled over electoral politics, war, non-violent direct action and how to sum up Seabrook. There was also considerable debate about the need to broaden the movement, over May Day 1980, the murder of Damian Garcia, the red flag and the need and possibility for revolution as members of the May Day Brigade circulated throughout the crowd. For many these questions were extremely sharp in the context of the increasing motion toward world war and in particular with the recent attempted U.S. raid in Iran. In fact one group of 70 demonstrators had spent Friday afternoon in front of the White House protesting the U.S. raid—some supporting the Iranian people and others principally protesting "a move that could put the world on the brink of war." It was in this light that the most politically significant event of the weekend occurred—the mass civil disobedience at the Pentagon.

## At the Pentagon

"I'm here because the nuclear industry is a crucial part of the next war. This next one they're talking nuclear weapons and this is the place they're planning it," stated one demonstrator as he entered the Pentagon Mall. Within minutes, the crisp "business as usual" air of the Pentagon was in shambles. Hundreds of demonstrators blocked entrance ramps. Hundreds of Pentagon employees gathered around the demonstrators. Scores more scurried behind locked glass doors, as chants of "No nukes, no war" echoed in the mall. Well over 100 riot-gear federal cops surrounded the demonstrators, periodically wading into the crowd shoving and pushing with their riot batons. But each time they dragged people away from the doorways more came up to take their place, while the ones they dragged away quickly rejoined the demonstration. The pigs were frantic. No sooner did they begin to deal with one group of demonstrators than another one would appear somewhere else in the building.

Outside the Pentagon, hundreds more demonstrators had begun blocking every entrance and garage ramp in the building. At the main entrance a former marine fighter pilot burned his uniform: "They forced me to fight for them back then in Vietnam but not anymore." "Nuke the Pentagon" and

"Nuke D.C." were spray-painted on the building. Blood was thrown on the walls and a busload of Pentagon personnel were stopped by one group of demonstrators while another let the air out of the tires. Many of the first floor office windows were decorated with words NO WAR, painted facing inside. All in all the demonstrators carried the day.

The overall content of these actions was significant for its exposure and attack on U.S. imperialism and its moves towards war. Not that everyone was revolutionary-minded or even anti-imperialist. At the same time the American flag was being burnt outside the Pentagon, for example inside the building a group of demonstrators was singing "America the Beautiful."

These contradictions within the anti-nuke movement are sharpening as world contradictions sharpen. Expressing the more advanced sentiment, as one long-time activist said, "It's not so much a question of tactics anymore, I don't think we're gonna be able to close down nuclear power, not the way things are today. I used to believe in this country, but that belief has quickly gone down the tubes. I agree with Seabrook May 24th leaflet, I don't recognize this or any government, corporate power and authority. For me the question has gone beyond nukes, even nukes and war. To me it's a bigger question, one of total chains, and I think that's the question the anti-nuke movement has got to deal with—it's got to become anti-this-society, and it's got to do it now because the world isn't gonna wait."

The welding of a class-conscious section of the working class in this country—a movement that stands with the working and oppressed people worldwide—and the gathering momentum building toward May 1st have had a far-reaching impact on broad numbers of people from all walks of life. Below is a partial list of endorsements for Revolutionary May Day. Endorsement indicates support for the general thrust and agreement with the slogans of May Day.

- ACTION, St. Louis
  - Afghan Support Committee, Connecticut
  - Association of Black Students, Washington University, St. Louis
  - Association of Iranian Students, Cincinnati
  - Black Student Union, University of California, Riverside
  - Casa de El Salvador, San Francisco
  - Committee to Defend the Iranian Revolution, Cincinnati
  - Ethiopian Students Union of North America, New York Chapter
  - Ethiopian Student Union of North America (supporters EPRP)
  - Jimmy Hardy, Solving Black Problems Now, Cincinnati\*
  - Dr. Peter Howson, Columbus, Ohio
  - Iranian Student Association (supporters of Iranian People's Fedayeen guerrillas)
  - Iranian Student Association, Ohio chapter
  - Iranian Student Association, Washington, D.C. (supporters of PAYKAR)
  - Iranian Students, Washington/Baltimore (supporters of Iranian People's Fedayeen)
  - Iranian Students from Tacoma and Seattle
  - The Kneecappers, a rock band from Cleveland
  - William Kunstler, Attorney
  - Dr. Jesse McDade, Professor of Philosophy, Morgan State University, West Virginia
  - Movimiento Popular Dominicano, M.P.D. (M-L)
  - Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico
  - Dr. Shekiba Nbuma, Honorary Chairperson of Black Women Today, Inc., Los Angeles\*
  - Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center
  - Political Action Committee of Howard University Students Association
  - San Francisco Mime Troupe
  - St. Louis Coalition Against the Draft
  - Union of Tigreans
  - Youth International Party
- \*Organization listed for identification purposes only



**READ THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER!**

# Kennedy: Knight of the Living Dead

*This is the third and final installment of an article entitled "Kennedy: Knight of the Living Dead" which originally appeared in the January issue of Revolution, the organ of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. The article is an in-depth look at the Kennedys and their particular role in U.S. imperialist politics from the exploits of Joe Kennedy to Teddy Kennedy today. It totally smashes the "Kennedy Myth" that many, at least in part, have swallowed. This part includes more on the Kennedys and the Civil Rights Movement, their role in the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba, and the war in Vietnam. It concludes by showing how Teddy Kennedy follows in the footsteps of his brothers, combining open reaction with the illusion of reform. The first two parts of this article appeared in the RW, Vol. 1, issues 50 and 51.*



The Kennedys' activities around the Freedom Rides is a clear example of the role they played for the bourgeoisie and their administration of the dual tactics of liberal reformism and naked force. Their first instinct was to try to put a stop to things. "Tell them to call it off," JFK ordered Harris Wofford. "Stop them." "This undue militancy," explains apologist Schlesinger, "threatened the strategy of suasion."<sup>26</sup> But the Kennedys could not keep the people out of the streets. Enter the FBI (who had their own agents in the Klan), who let the KKK know where the Freedom Riders were going, where they were planning to stop, in other words, setting the whole thing up, and then looked sideways while racist goons attacked the buses and beat the Freedom Riders bloody. The FBI, of course, is part of the Justice Department, headed by Attorney General Robert Kennedy. The ruling class demonstrated the coordinated use of its "good guys" and "bad guys." (In this case the "bad guy" J. Edgar Hoover was "good guy" JFK's first appointment.) At this point the Kennedys could, and did, step in with their ringing rhetoric as the situation became more intense and explosive and take some actions that could restrain the momentum of the civil rights actions and put the White House and approved "civil rights leaders" at the head of the march. Their most dramatic action occurred when Kennedy sent in Federal troops to force James Meredith's enrollment at the all-white University of Mississippi.

The Kennedys' concern in controlling these confrontations in the South was more than domestic. The struggle in the South coincided with U.S. efforts to make inroads in the neo-colonial control of the former European colonies, and was a particular problem for the U.S. image in Africa. Schlesinger reports that, "around the world the use of troops [in Mississippi] dramatized as nothing else could have done the commitment of the administration to the cause of racial justice." He records the statement sent by a U.S. ambassador to Robert Kennedy: "This was a battle which had to be won... What might have been a severe setback to our prestige in Asia and Africa was turned into a gain."

Historian Schlesinger is remarkable in his selective candor. He frequently does not shy away from some of the most damning indictments of the Kennedy role. What he does instead is to give them the "correct interpretation." So, for example, he explains Kennedy's appointments to the federal judiciary in

**A few glimpses of the Kennedy reactionary reality: Teddy visits George Wallace in Alabama, July 4, 1973, emphasizing his very real unity of purpose with this racist; above one of JFK's pride-and-joy Green Berets shows how he "wins the hearts and minds" of the people in Vietnam; and at right, JFK waves the flag of the defeated Bay of Pigs invasion force he tried to throw into Cuba.**

the South. A notable example was Harold Cox, a buddy of Mississippi's Senator Eastland. As soon as he mounted the bench Cox began to throw out civil rights suits. At one point he roared at the Black people in his courtroom: "a bunch of niggers... acting like a bunch of chimpanzees." Other Kennedy appointees were not much more subtle in their racism. One called the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision "one of the truly regrettable decisions of all time." But after all, argued Schlesinger, Kennedy couldn't just ignore the influence of the Southern Senators in his appointments. "Indeed, the final Kennedy record of Southern judicial appointments was... comparable to that of the Eisenhower administration."<sup>27</sup> Indeed!

Yet Kennedy was no Eisenhower, and had he been, the bourgeoisie would have been in a lot more trouble. He could speak with some credibility among the masses. He could inspire hope that justice could be achieved in capitalist America. Yet for all the efforts of the Kennedys and people like King, the struggle continued to escalate and constantly burst beyond their control. Each time they scrambled to respond with a new promise, a new action, a new maneuver. After George Wallace made his stand blocking the door to Black students at the University of Alabama, and then backed down in the face of the steamroller pressure of the movement and the government's fear that an explosion might erupt, President Kennedy went on television to try



to define the terms of the struggle and propose his solution.

"We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution... If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public; if he cannot send his children to the best public school available; if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him; if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place? Who among us would then be content with the counsels of patience and delay... We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in Congress, in your state and local legislative body, and above all, in all of our daily lives..."<sup>28</sup>

Never mind that he himself had been a principal advocate of patience and delay since his inauguration. Never mind that Bible Belt segregationists—and Bible thumpers in the North as well—had quoted the scriptures vehemently and extensively in support of racism and national oppression. Never mind that the American Constitution from the beginning had counted Blacks as 3/5 of a person and for almost two centuries had been just as much a prop of Jim Crow and exploitation as the Bible. Never mind that the basis of national oppression is capitalism itself. It is a color question. It is you, the racist white people out there who are holding Blacks down. And most of all, never mind those demonstrations! It can't be left to the people in the streets! And police repression won't work (well enough). Only legislation in Congress can solve the

Continued on page 15

# Why the Proletariat Will Lead the Revolution

Continued from page 3

missing stand of the class-conscious workers. We, as part of our strategy, think it is very important for workers who are awakening to political life to go to other events, and other struggles, for them to see both the strength and importance of those different political movements, and also the weaknesses of the different class forces, of the middle class people and of the intellectuals, to see why they cannot carry through the revolution and only the working class has the uncompromising interest to carry it through. And it's very interesting. Workers go to these anti-nuclear protests, selling the *Revolutionary Worker* and raising the banner of the working class, and they come back and they say: "This is wild. A lot of these people out here are really good, they're doing a lot of good things, but boy, have they got some ridiculous ideas. You know, I met a dude who is jogging every day, growing organic food, doing everything to get his body fit and he told me that he had everything together and then along came the Three Mile Island thing so he had to protest. And he actually thought, he actually believed that was the only thing wrong in this society and in this world. That he had his whole life together. And just this one thing had to be changed and if people just grew their own organic food and we got solar energy, everything would be all right." And then a veteran from our Party goes to speak at an anti-draft rally and he gives a speech about turning the guns around and it's controversial. He comes off the stage and he says, "Jesus, this is wild. It's really good these youth are standing up against the draft, but, my god, they got some funny ideas. They actually think that the key question here is the individual right of someone not to be drafted rather than the question of what they're fighting for and who's drafting them and for what purpose and to protect what interests. And they actually think you can somehow get justice and make things right in this country without violence. They must be crazy." And you see it's very important for the class-conscious workers on the one hand to see both the contributions but also the limitations of these other forces, the fact that they don't go through the daily hell, they are not at the foundation of society, they do not experience the grinding oppression in a thousand ways. They do not see the thorough rottenness of the system. When we expose it to them, it is not the same as exposing it to the masses of workers and other oppressed peoples for whom it is a concentration of their very lives and those they know around them. And they need on the other hand to see and to feel and to see exercised not just as an idea but as a material force the strength and growing movement of class-conscious workers mounting the political stage, entering history, calling on and rallying other workers and other people who in various ways from among the oppressed strata and even the middle classes are fighting back against the system.

You know the weakness of the middle class can be seen in many ways and it's necessary for people, even among the middle classes, to rise above it as people did in the '60s. I went out to Berkeley which is nothing if it's not a perfect representation of the movement as it exists today among the middle classes. And I went on one of these radio stations that sort of is a voice for them. And the guy interviewed me for 20 minutes, he talked about everything. He asked me about world war, what had gone on in China, why did Nixon go to China, why did Mao agree to that if Mao was still a revolutionary, why do we say capitalism was being restored in China, why do we say world war was coming, what was necessary to do about it, was armed struggle really necessary? He asked me about each of those things and I gave an answer and he didn't respond. Finally he turns to me and he says, "Now I gotta ask you this, why is your Party opposed to homosexuality?" I explained to him that we don't support the persecution of people just 'cause they're homosexuals, but homosexuality is against the interests of the working class. It is an individualistic expression which says, "I don't care about the needs of society or the fact that at this stage humanity can only reproduce itself and advance if it does it through the family," (although the family's function has to be restricted and many of its functions have to be socialized and will be under socialism). This guy... didn't want to argue about world war, revolution, armed struggle, the reversal of the revolution in China, why Nixon went to China—all that stuff was irrelevant. But he wanted to argue, and uppermost in his mind was the question of who could sleep with whom, and in what way.

Now right there you can see what's wrong with that whole practice, that whole outlook—because it raises the bourgeois nonsense and decadent idea that sexuality is the most important thing in people's lives. (That's a lie and a promise that anybody's experience knows that it's not all that it's cracked up to be any damn way.) "Never mind world war, never mind the oppression and degradation of people out here every day, never mind the question of armed struggle, never mind what's going on out here in Iran, Nicaragua, people in this country rising up against police murder, discrimination, being killed on the job, alcoholism, all the rest of the things people face. Never mind, I want to know if I can sleep with whom I want to sleep with in the position I want to do it in."

Now such people cannot lead a revolution. And people who are vulnerable to it and liberal about such things cannot lead a revolution. Only people who have a broad view and outlook of the world as a whole, whose position in society and whose socialized way of working, who work in a factory and see products that are stamped that come from Hong Kong, Korea, Japan, France, all over the world and can see the broad picture and the potential of using all this for the benefit of society and the advancement of humanity and who don't own any private interests or any private capital, who don't have a stake in the system, only such people can lead a revolution and carry it through and that's why our Party has remained firm. We didn't just look at the last few years or at this country. We looked historically, internationally, and studied revolution deeply. And got into the only theory and outlook that was thoroughly scientific and revolutionary all the way through. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. Which told us and tells us that no matter what its temporary position might be, no matter what its outlook might be today, the working class of all races and nationalities can be, must be, and will be brought to the forefront of the struggle and rallied increasingly, as the crisis deepens, toward the goal of revolution at its front ranks.

That is why the most important political event that is going to take place in this country in the next year is gonna take place on May 1st, 1980, which is May Day, the international holiday of the working class and oppressed people, and especially the working class, celebrated throughout the world. And on that day, a work day, for the first time in this country in decades, and in fact if ever, *revolutionary* demonstrations will be held, marked and stamped with the outlook and revolutionary stand of the working class—with many thousands of workers all across this country rallying, taking up the banner of revolution, calling upon, marshalling and mobilizing thousands of other oppressed people to take to the streets and say, "To hell with Archie Bunker. Here's where the working class stands and we call on others to come forward and join with us for the cause of revolution." That's gonna be a tremendous step and it isn't gonna be all smooth sailing, it's gonna be a tremendous struggle. The capitalists will not give people free days off, or any days off, to build for it or take part in that demonstration. They will try to intimidate, they will try to fire people. Some will have to even lose their jobs, people will have to put their jobs on the line but they will do it—because increasingly our Party's gonna be among the workers, as well as others, but especially among the workers, pointing out their uncompromising revolutionary interests and rallying them around the banner of their Party which upholds those interests and their highest aspirations. And this is the future we have to look to.

Now we don't stand up here or anywhere else and make easy promises. Anybody that does is lying to you. There is no easy way even to live, especially under this system, let alone to abolish this system and to get rid of the daily madness we have to go through. Revolution and emancipation from all this enslavement and degradation does not come free and it does not come cheap. It's gonna involve struggle and sacrifice. People have to devote their lives and some of them are gonna have to lay down their lives, but that's gonna happen anyway. What are we talking about when we're talking about the daily hell out here and what are we talking about when we're talking about World War 3. They're gonna take our lives anyway. Our lives don't belong to us. I don't even care if you're in the middle class, it still doesn't belong to you. It belongs to the rulers of this system and their capitalist dog-eat-dog jungle law. That's who it belongs to and the only way for your life to mean anything is *not* try to find some way you can do it for yourself and the hell with everybody else and fall right into the capitalist game. But it's to give your life to the one cause and the one struggle, the one effort, the endeavor that can advance humanity beyond this dog-eat-dog stage, the one thing that can give life meaning and can contribute not just to the struggles of today but can contribute to the future. And that's what we call on people to do. That's what I want to leave you with in closing.

Many people do say to us, "Listen, you talk a good line, your Party has some good positions—but how do we know that you won't be like other people out here before, how do we know that you won't sell out the revolution, either before it wins or afterwards and then you'll just try to turn it into your own thing?" Well we have two things to say to that. First of all, I'd like to say personally I've been fighting this system fifteen years politically, been a revolutionary for twelve and a conscious communist for more than ten—and I don't have any other idea, or any other experience or any other determination or any other objective than to be doing the same thing and devoting every energy and all my life as long as it lasts to this cause of revolution. And that's the stand of each and every person who joins our Party, or else they don't get in our Party, or they certainly don't stay in it. Cause that's the firm bedrock that our Party stands on. But more than that,

more important than that, and more fundamentally than that, let's put it back to you and to all the other people out here who see that this is necessary, that we have to get rid of this system. If you want to be emancipated, if you want to see history and society move forward, you've got to become consciously a part of that yourself. If you want to see this Party remain a revolutionary party, if you want to see it stick to the correct road, if you want to see its line and program and ideology remain as the one that stands up and fights for the interests of the oppressed and exploited and towards the goal of revolution—if you want that, you've got to become a part of this process. We're taught always to look for saviors, some perfect solution or some hero somewhere to hand us ready-made the answers; there is no such thing and there never will be. If we want to be emancipated, we're gonna have to emancipate ourselves. If we want to move society forward, we're gonna have to move it forward ourselves. If we want to get out from this and achieve something higher we're gonna have to do it ourselves. And if you want the Party to continue to be the force to lead it you've got to work with, support, and you gotta join that Party and struggle to see that it does that. If we want to be emancipated then we have to emancipate ourselves and there's no other way it can be done anyway.

So people say, "Well, how do you feel about going to jail and facing time? How do you feel about these attacks on your Party, aren't you concerned?" Of course we're concerned. Because this attack on our Party, as I said before, is not just an attack on us. It's an attack on the masses of people, on the working class and oppressed people and on their ability to have a vanguard leadership. And that's the reason, and the most important reason why we have to fight and try to turn back and turn around this attack and make it another exposure and another blow against the system itself. Of course we don't want to go to jail or be shot. But mainly and fundamentally it's for this reason. If we go to jail, we will join with others taking up revolution and will spread revolution there. But the most important thing is we got work to do. We got revolution to prepare for, people to educate and unite and join the struggle against this system toward the goal of revolution. And we can do that better out here than we can in jail. And we can do it better alive than dead, so we're gonna fight to stay out of jail and we're gonna fight not to give them any more bodies, and any more lives or any more martyrs than is absolutely unavoidable, to minimize that. But most importantly we know there will be, and there must be and there cannot help but be sacrifices. People will go to jail, people will fall, but we have to do our work. And we're determined to do our work in such a way that for each person who falls, for each one who is taken to jail, hounded out of the country or even killed—our roots will be so broad and so deep in the working class and among the oppressed people and all those fighting for change and revolution, that for each person who falls 10 or even 100 will come forward to take their place and influence and bring forward ultimately thousands more.

This is our vision. This is our clear, scientifically based stand. And what we're gonna do as these conditions sharpen up—we don't promise a revolutionary situation will definitely develop, but we say look out at what's gathering on the horizon—the possibility is there. Or even if we don't win the first time around, even if we can't prevent world war (which will come in the next decade unless revolution prevents it), we will not throw down our banner. We will not run and hide. We will not scurry, scrambling for an air-raid shelter. We will be out among the masses of people exposing this most monstrous crime in history, and the very system and class of people responsible for it and channeling the hatred and outrage of people. Right in the midst of this, when they're handing us guns to fight the Russians, we'll say, "Fuck the Russians, we're gonna overthrow *you*, and then if anybody fucks with us, we'll deal with them too." We're gonna work and continue to work for revolution and nothing else. And if we can't make it this time, at least we won't leave the next generation of oppressed and exploited people in the condition where they say: "Goddam it, why didn't you at least do something, why did you back off, run away, half step and go down on the ground and crawl on your knees and just beg for knee pads? Why didn't you stand up, hold up the banner of revolution, educate people, even if you suffered blows for it, why didn't you at least lay the ground for something higher?" We are determined that another group won't have to come along behind and say that. But whether we win or lose in the first round we'll lay the basis for them to build on what we've done, to carry forward that legacy and advance further and finally carry it through and win. And we know that whether it's in the next few years or even further, things are sharpening up.

There is a real possibility even within the next decade that a revolutionary situation will develop and we are determined and must prepare and must bring more people into the ranks so we don't lose it. Think of it

Continued on page 13

Continued from page 12

this way, the opportunity to strike down a powerful monster like this, not only crushing us but squeezing the life out of people all over the world—a chance to rise up and actually get at its throat and choke it to death and bring it down does not come along every day, every week or every year. It doesn't come along all the time. It comes along only once or a very few times in a lifetime. And what you do when the conditions finally boil up and reach that point, and whether you stick to the road of revolution and call on, and marshal and mobilize others forward and push things ahead will be felt for decades afterwards. We cannot afford not to be prepared. This United States of America, this imperialist monster and predatory beast is one of the most powerful, one of the two biggest exploiters and oppressors of people all over the world, not just us here. When we finally do build our strength up and rise up and crush it down, people in the hundreds of millions all over the world will go into the streets and rejoice. They will come forward and join with us to carry it forward and finish off this beast of imperialism and all forms of exploitation and oppression once and for all. It will be a great historic day in the history of humanity and the world when we finally do seize this monster by the throat, choke it and knock down and destroy this beast of reaction and oppression all over the world and raise up in its place a bastion base area and beacon light of revolutionary struggle and support for oppressed people all over the world. And this is our vision. This is our determination. With this we're gonna go out into the storms gathering, the upheavals that are gonna certainly come in the next period. We're gonna go out among the working class and oppressed, rally them forward, rip the mask off this vicious beast and expose it in every

one of its aspects, show the workings of this system and its bloody hand of profit squeezing the life out of people here and behind every event in this country and around the world. As things sharpen up, as the economic and political crisis deepens, as the rulers of this country prepare for war or even go to war, more and more caught like the thieves they are in struggling and fighting at each others throats, and their mask of democracy is more and more tattered and falls away, and their hideous features and their brutal dictatorship is more and more exposed—we're gonna be out there among the masses of people channeling and directing the hatred and anger at all the outrages and abuses.

When the time comes when all this sharpens up and boils up to the breaking point; when millions of people, as has happened in other revolutions, go out from being unarmed to the point where they say: "I cannot tolerate this any longer, I'm ready to go out and put everything on the line for revolution,"—we're gonna be right in their midst, and we're gonna say the time has come. We're gonna unite them. We're gonna educate them clearly to the goal at hand, we're gonna prepare them and we're gonna organize them and we're gonna lead them, we're gonna go out and defeat the armed forces of this government. On the battle field with arms. Yes, we are. We're gonna lead millions to do that. We're gonna kick the ass of this army. And as we do, we're gonna win over many of its soldiers, because they are nothing but us in uniform, forced and degraded to fight for the enemy. And as we kick their ass we'll also bring them into our ranks. Right here sitting among you today are many veterans who are prepared to fight the next time for revolution and not for reaction. And this will happen more and more. So we are going to defeat and disintegrate their armed forces. And when the time comes, we're gonna shatter

and crush and punish their police force, these murdering dogs out here. We're gonna go into their bureaucracies and break their stranglehold over the people. We're gonna go into their administrative offices and declare that their authority no longer exists. We're gonna disperse them, and say that "you are null and void, you have no more authority." And as we do this it is going to be ringing in our ears what they say to us, not only as we go to court, but every day of our lives. We walk into the court and we try to bring the truth of it out, we try to fight for the reality of what's happening and the political essence. The judge pounds his gavel and says, "Overruled." We go out here everyday and what does the ruling class say to us, time and again? "All your hopes and dreams and aspirations for something higher are overruled. All your demands for a better life, your struggling and striving to get out from underneath this is overruled. Every idea that you ever had of uniting with other people to forge a way forward out of this hellhole is overruled." With all that ringing in our ears and clear in our minds, we're gonna defeat and disintegrate their armed forces. Shatter and crush and punish these murdering police. Disperse their bureaucracies, break their stranglehold. Declare null and void their administration behind all of it. We're gonna track down and corner the capitalist imperialist rats behind all this. And with them squarely in the corner, with millions of people consciously fighting behind the banner of revolution in their own interests, guns in hand, we're gonna face them and back them straight into the corner, and point that common determination and those guns in the hands of millions square in their face and with all this ringing in our ears we're gonna say, "OVERRULE THIS, MOTHERFUCKER!"

## Iran

Continued from page 7

around Iran looming directly ahead makes it clear that there is a major acceleration taking place now in the moves of the superpowers and their blocs towards world war. The U.S. imperialists, whose global empire has been in decline since their shattering defeat in Vietnam, cannot afford to back down. The young and rising Soviet social-imperialists are poised to take advantage of any opportunity that presents itself in Iran, including hoping its offer of arms and "aid" is accepted by the Iranian government. But for now the Soviets are generally laying low and letting the U.S. take the rap as "the aggressors" in Iran (just as the U.S. did after the Soviets invaded Afghanistan). And while the U.S. imperialists are weighing very carefully what the Soviet reaction to their next moves will be, they are clearly more and more willing to risk even a direct clash with them over Iran.

The stage is thus set for a new U.S. military assault on Iran—this time with far greater military force to make sure there are no hostages left behind—none alive, at least—to continue the "crisis." It is precisely this bind that the U.S. imperialists are caught in around Iran that is increasing their necessity to intensify their war preparations and prepare to go to war with their Soviet rivals, for such a global conflict to defeat the danger from the USSR and restore America's position as "number one in the world" is becoming more and more their only hope to breathe new life into their crisis-ridden system. And the reaction of the U.S.'s bickering allies in Western Europe and Japan to this use of American military power in Iran—one of prompt public support for the U.S.—demonstrates graphically that it is precisely in the course of stepped-up moves towards war that the U.S. is resolving the contradictions in its bloc and is forcing these second-rate imperialist countries into line.

These rapidly accelerating events make support for the Iranian people's struggle and opposition to U.S. sabre-rattling and patriotic calls for "national unity" all the more crucial. In the weeks and days, ahead, every new military move, both overt and covert, must be opposed and exposed everywhere. The stand of the working class and oppressed people in the U.S. has got to be the internationalist stand exemplified by May First 1980: Workers and Oppressed People of the World Unite!



Subscriptions—

\$10/year for individuals  
\$18/year for libraries and institutions

Send to: Revolution  
P.O. Box 3486,  
Merchandise Mart,  
Chicago, IL 60654

Also Available At:

Liberation Books  
2706 W. 7th St.  
Los Angeles, CA 90057  
213-384-3856

Liberation Books  
1828 Broadway  
Seattle, WA 98122  
206-323-9222

Revolution Books  
16 E. 18th St.  
New York, NY 10003  
212-924-4387

May Day Books  
3136 E. Davison  
Detroit, MI 48212  
313-893-0523

Revolution Books  
5935 McArthur Blvd.  
Oakland, CA 94605  
414-638-9700

Everybody's Bookstore  
17 Brenham Place  
San Francisco, CA 94108  
415-781-4989

Revolution Books  
923 N. King St.  
Honolulu, HI 96817  
808-845-2733

Revolution Books  
1727 S. Michigan  
Chicago, IL 60616  
312-922-6580

Revolution Books  
233 Massachusetts Ave.  
Cambridge, MA 02139

# German Social Chauvinist Party Dissolves

The thoroughly opportunist Communist Party of Germany (KPD) is dead—killed by its own hand. Last month, the KPD announced it had dissolved.

Many of our readers know about the KPD's line of social-chauvinism from watching the all-American representative of that line, the KPD's cousin, the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML). These two were part of a whole swarm of organizations that arose in the 1970s. Encouraged by revisionists within the Communist Party of China (the same forces who seized political power and restored capitalism after Mao's death), the social-chauvinist organizations have long been noted for their capitulation to the imperialism of the U.S.-led bloc in general and to their own ruling classes in particular. As an excuse for this belly crawling, they have used the fact that the Soviet Union is the rising and developing imperialist power which must now challenge the status quo, that is, the existing division of the world now dominated by the U.S. imperialists.

In 1975, the KPD withdrew from the mass movement against German rearmament and militarism, an important focus of radical struggles in West Germany. Instead, they announced, they would support West German rearmament in order to win Germany's "national liberation" from Soviet domination in East Germany and the Soviet threat to West Germany. Only after this step had been taken, claimed the KPD, could the question of socialism be put on the agenda.

Of course, West Germany was no

more rearming for self-defense than in the previous two world wars. The Soviet "threat" is a threat to West German imperialism, a threat to the domination and expansion of the empire enjoyed by the bourgeoisie of West Germany and the other members of the U.S. alliance.

The problem lies in the fact that this kind of support for imperialism in the name of communism is getting a little hard to perform lately. For one thing, while holding together a ragtag crew under an opportunist political line is hard enough under any circumstances, the dissolution of the KPD was due *not mainly* to the internal dynamics of the organization, but to what's shaping up in the world and the speed at which it's approaching world war.

The question of world war, of whether to stand for or against your own ruling class in this war, is a question which consciously or not has conditioned the development of all the political forces which arose in the 1970s, including both the genuine and phony communists. It is fast becoming a practical question. For the KPD, so practiced in capitulation, the very label "communist" and the existence of a "communist" organization became an obstacle to crawling all the way into the imperialists' foxhole.

In the KPD's third and final congress on March 7, 300 delegates assembled in Gelsenkirchen, West Germany. After three days filled with bitter internal warfare and mutual denunciations, they scattered in "shock and relief" after having agreed on only one thing—the first motion on the floor, which was to

dissolve the KPD. The vote was almost unanimous, with only eight delegates voting to carry on. From every corner came the summation that the KPD was "a shipwreck," "a total failure," and "politically bankrupt." Of course, we agree with these assessments, but it certainly is not the case that these forces, in dissolving the KPD, have put the political line which guided the KPD behind them. By rejecting Marxism-Leninism even in words, they have freed themselves up to work both directly with the Socialist Party, West Germany's ruling party (itself ironically a former workers' party which degenerated into social-chauvinism prior to World War I), and as infiltrators in West Germany's anti-nuke "Green Party," where no doubt they will devote themselves to winning over these mainly middle-class dissident elements to fall in line with the ruling class.

The approach of war is making itself felt in different ways in different countries and organizations—but it is being intensely felt in every single one, especially within the imperialist countries. Those forces which have played the role of advocating capitulation among revolutionary-minded people are now more and more openly practicing counter-revolution. For instance, the Norwegian Workers Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (WCPM-L), long one of the brightest stars in the social-chauvinist heavens, has recently come out for an increase of Norway's war budget in parliament. It has called for drafting women and other practical moves for dragging the Norwegian peo-

ple into World War 3—a war which is no less imperialist for the fact that the tiny Norwegian bourgeoisie enjoys and seeks to expand a subsidiary role in the U.S. bloc, like the small parasites who live off the droppings of bigger ones. In return for this service the Norwegian government has given the WCPM-L a state subsidy for its daily newspaper, which up till now was in danger of going out of business. And, of course, in the U.S., the CPML's latest maneuvers, including the removal of the slogan "People of the World Unite to Defeat Imperialism" from the masthead of its newspaper, is part and parcel of this trend. (See "How to Support/Oppose the Draft," *RW*, April 18.)

Describing the social-chauvinist parties of his time, Lenin wrote that with the outbreak of World War I "the boil burst"—the true essence of these parties and their disgusting nature broke into plain view. One such pimple has now broken in West Germany, and more will follow. This scrambling to openly fly the political banner of the bourgeoisie is a truthful act, even if it is not in any way motivated by honesty, and it's all the better when these forces drop even the pretense of Marxism-Leninism.

We realize that the unique dramatic touches of the West German congress make it a tough act to follow. But we suspect that the U.S.'s own social-chauvinists, the CPML, have enough pus and venom building up in their own rotten organization to put the KPD's suicide to shame.

Encore! Encore! Encore! □

## COMRADE DAMIAN GARCIA

Continued from page 5

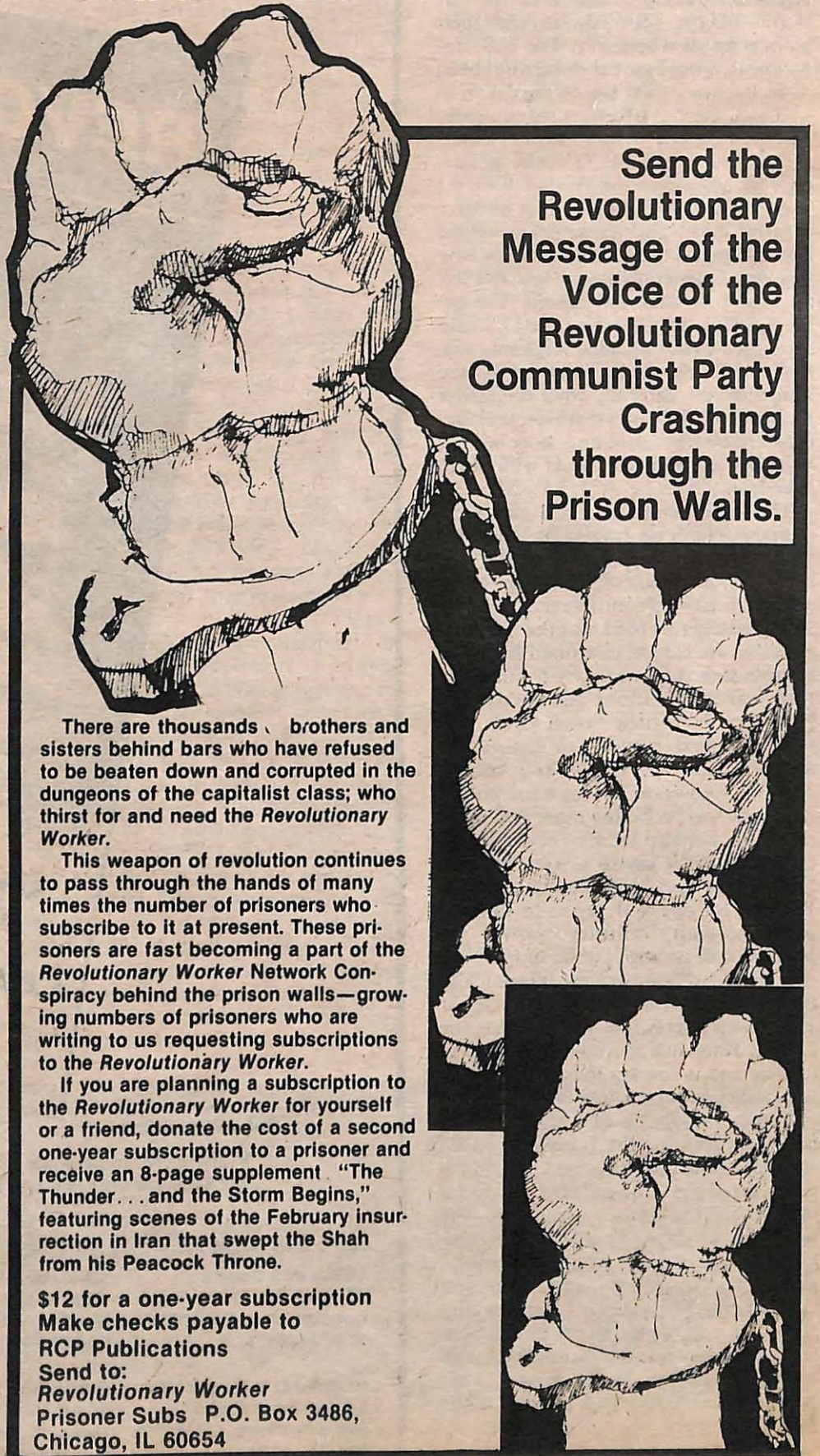
Alamo," "How did he get out of Texas alive?" "I'd have thrown you in a bayou," "We may still have a chance..." In addition, the facts of the murder itself—the targets being two of the three who raised the Red Flag at the Alamo, the professional manner of the execution, the police who dispersed and then reappeared to arrest the 10 other revolutionaries while conveniently missing the capture of the killers, etc. (see last week's *RW*)—all this and more prove just which "gang" murdered Damian Garcia. In fact, the method and coordination of various aspects of this case point clearly to the FBI's well-documented COINTELPRO operation, run by the highest circles of the ruling class.

But this gang has been extremely fearful from the beginning that the message they sent and the message received by the masses would be diametrically opposed to each other. Their press agents were mobilized, most especially those of the *Los Angeles Times*, to make sure the story was covered properly. Top management assigned the story to the editorial desk, with more people specifically trained for this purpose, rather than the city desk where stories like this would normally go. While much of the media was deliberately kept in the dark about the killing until the following day, the *Times* had the entire police version in their 3:00 a.m. morning edition, including the fact that Damian had been arrested on the Alamo. In fact, the ruling class was so worried that some sympathetic reporter might have slipped through their screening process and therefore might report the story "wrong," that at the RCP press conference held in the projects the day after Damian's murder, they stuck three flack-jacketed cops between the Party spokesman and the press. At a press conference two days later, there were 15 of these riot-clad goons, running ID checks on everyone around.

Meanwhile the media faithfully re-

ported the execution as being the result of a fight between residents of the project and the RCP, reporting that paramedics showed up before the police arrived, while the "melee" was still going on, to rescue Hayden Fisher, who had been stabbed. It would not serve their purpose to report that the uniformed police showed up first—after the murderers fled the angry crowd, that they immediately handcuffed some and arrested all of the revolutionaries, and that they then spent most of their time trying to disperse the "hostile crowd" (as police reported to headquarters). Somehow, the statement of the woman who went up to the *Times* reporter and told him, "I want you to write that we are against what they did and we're for May Day," never appeared in the newspaper, and neither did any photographs of the Red Flag flying or people giving fists in the project during the press conference the next day. However, the *Times* eagerly ran an article quoting the police, complaining that the RCP was not "cooperating" with them, while the same article contained an open threat from L.A. City Councilman Art Snyder that more violence was going to be unleashed on the Party.

Clearly, the bourgeoisie's combination of murder, further threats, and totally fabricated reporting is meant to isolate the Party from the masses, saying "everybody else is against them, and you'd better be too, if you know what's good for you." The fact that their desperate intentions are running aground is being borne out in the streets all over this country. But it was also expressed very eloquently on Red Flag/Internationale Day by a worker at a plant a few blocks away from the site of Damian's murder. When the foreman came over to order him to take down the Red Flag that was flying from his machine, the worker answered, "Too many people have died for this flag for me to take it down." The foreman stuck his hands in his pockets and walked away.



**Send the Revolutionary Message of the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party Crashing through the Prison Walls.**

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

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

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

**\$12 for a one-year subscription**  
**Make checks payable to**  
**RCP Publications**  
 Send to:  
**Revolutionary Worker**  
 Prisoner Subs P.O. Box 3486,  
 Chicago, IL 60654

# Kennedy

Continued from page 11

problem and save the nation!

As even Schlesinger admits, "the Blacks were in the streets, moreover, and the President felt he would lose control over an increasingly dangerous situation unless he exerted leadership."<sup>29</sup> Robert Kennedy was as candid: It was necessary to get

"...not only the passage of legislation, but what in my judgement was even more important, to obtain the confidence of the Negro population in their government... I thought there was a great danger in losing that unless we took a very significant step... There's obviously a revolution within a revolution in Negro leadership. We could see the direction of Martin Luther King going away from him to some of these younger people, who had no belief or confidence in the system of government... and thought... that the way to deal with the problem is to start arming the young Negroes and sending them into the streets, which I didn't think was a very satisfactory solution..."<sup>30</sup>

As Malcolm X said, "The Negroes were out there in the streets. They were talking about how they were going to march on Washington. Right at that time Birmingham had exploded, and the Negroes in Birmingham—remember, they also exploded. They began to stab the crackers in the back and bust them up 'side their head—yes, they did. That's when Kennedy sent in the troops, down in Birmingham. After that, Kennedy got on the television and said 'this is a moral issue.' That's when he said he was going to put out a civil-rights bill. And when he mentioned civil-rights bill and the Southern crackers started talking about how they were going to boycott or filibuster it, then the Negroes started talking—about what? That they were going to march on Washington, march on the Senate, march on the White House, march on the Congress and tie it up, bring it to a halt, not let the government proceed... It was the grassroots out there in the street. It scared the white man to death, scared the white power structure to death."<sup>31</sup>

And Martin Luther King said, the Blacks were already in the streets; better that they march under nonviolent leadership. Kennedy said call the march off, that's not what we want, that's not what we need. But King said that if they called the march off the people might turn to new and desperate leaders.<sup>32</sup>

Malcolm called it the "Farce on Washington." Schlesinger admits that "if the march could not be headed off, the Kennedys decided that it would have to be made a success."<sup>33</sup> Malcolm called it for what it was:

"'Call it off,' Kennedy said, 'look, you all are letting this thing go too far.' And Old Tom said, 'Boss, I can't stop it, because I didn't start it.' I'm telling you what they said. They said, 'I'm not even in it, much less at the head of it.' They said, 'These Negroes are doing things on their own. They're running ahead of us.' And that old shrewd fox, he said, 'If you all aren't in it, I'll put you in it. I'll put you at the head of it. I'll endorse it. I'll welcome it. I'll help it. I'll join it.'"<sup>34</sup>

And that's exactly what the Kennedys did. Robert appointed a man at the Justice Department to set up a team to plan and coordinate every aspect of the March on Washington that August in 1963.

The Kennedys wanted to make sure that King stayed at the head of the civil rights movement, and that they were right there surrounding him. "Bobby, Martin and John" droned the maudlin song a few years later. And as usual they wanted to be absolutely sure that revolutionaries who could dispute this leadership, who might lead it away from the dead-end street of bourgeois reformism were iced out. When J. Edgar Hoover warned that there was a communist close to King, the Kennedy brothers took the warning seriously. JFK took King aside in the White House rose garden and told him that he had to get rid of Stanley Levinson, a wealthy, liberal East Coast lawyer who had become a King aide and who was by no stretch of the imagination a real

communist, and most unlikely even a member of the Communist Party.

King dumped Levinson, but Hoover was still insistent. He wanted to put a tap on King to make sure that he had no "subversive" contacts. The Kennedys seemed at first reluctant to risk such a move, but eventually agreed it was a good idea and on July 24, 1963, Robert Kennedy authorized the tap. They didn't even need the "liberalized" wiretap legislation that JFK had voted against while in the Senate! The fact that Hoover kept the tap on King for the next five years, recording his bedroom adventures and playing them for his own enjoyment and that of the various government officials to whom he circulated the tapes, was "explained" by Schlesinger as something of an oversight. Bobby didn't realize that the tapping went on beyond the time period he had authorized. Oh, okay.

Among many people today, one key thing which the John F. Kennedy administration is remembered for and which contributes to the stuffing of the Kennedy legend is Kennedy's role in going up against the steel companies in the early days of his administration, jawboning them to back down from their price hikes. Among those who hailed Kennedy's action, and contributed to the myth, was the revisionist Communist Party USA. As the Chinese Communist Party analyzed their role: "They described Kennedy's action supporting the Rockefeller group in its attack on the Morgan group during the 1962 incident concerning steel prices as having 'awakened anew the anti-monopoly tradition of Americans' and 'rendered a great service.'"<sup>35</sup> The reality was considerably different. Kennedy had worked out a secret deal with Roger Blough, Chairman of U.S. Steel, and the USWA (steel workers union) that the union hacks would not ask for a wage increase in 1962 and U.S. Steel would not significantly raise its prices. A no wage increase deal like this with U.S. Steel would have been tantamount to an agreement with the rest of the steel companies, and would have had the effect of putting a lid on wage demands in most other industries. But Blough broke the agreement and substantially increased the steel prices. Kennedy got mad, this would blow the deal. So he put the heat on Blough and forced him to rescind, for the time being, the price hike. That was it. That was the basis for Kennedy to become David the giant slayer. It is ridiculous to say Kennedy was anti-monopoly, or anti-big business. Look at the people he gathered around him in government: Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara, president of Ford Motor Company; at the State Department, Dean Rusk, fresh from the presidency of the Rockefeller Foundation; John McCloy, former chairman of Rockefeller's Chase Manhattan Bank; for the CIA, John McCone, a big stockholder in the Rockefeller Standard Oil Company; Assistant Secretary of Defense, Roswell Gilpatrick, chairman of "Democrats for Rockefeller" in 1958; at Treasury, Douglas Dillon, head of the Rockefeller-tied Dillon, Read & Co.<sup>36</sup>

## V. "New Frontiers"—From Bay of Pigs to Vietnam

The Kennedys were establishing a new style, if not new strategy, for American political leaders. Recognizing the impossibility of ignoring the mounting pressures of the mass movements of the time, they rejected as futile solely relying on the approach of open force and intimidation to quell the movement of the people although they demonstrated time and again the readiness to use force and violence. They moved to declare their sympathy and support for such movements, to put themselves at the head of them in order to determine their pace and direction.

The international situation presented the U.S. imperialists and their bright young spokesmen with new opportunities and grave threats in the early years of the 1960s. Here as well as domestically the Kennedys employed the same pattern, although because of the sharpness of the contradictions it stands out more clearly as a one-two punch: the words of liberation to veil the weapons of war and repression.

In the immediate post-war period

conditions seemed extremely favorable for the American Empire. Although they had suffered some reverses in Eastern Europe, the U.S. exercised powerful influence in the war-prostrated countries of Western Europe. And the U.S. imperialists moved quickly to grab for themselves the dominant role in the colonies and former colonies of the European powers. In the wake of the war, the liberation movements in these underdeveloped countries signaled an end to the days of free-wheeling European colonialism and promised new possibilities for American neo-colonialism, which would attempt to march into the countries of Asia and Africa under an "anti-colonial" banner. "The world-wide struggle against imperialism—the sweep of nationalism is the most potent factor in foreign affairs today," John Kennedy said in 1960.<sup>37</sup> He spoke against continued French efforts to hang onto their colony in Algeria and had opposed John Foster Dulles' arguments for continued U.S. aid to France's failing colonial war in Indochina.

But when that struggle against imperialism, and the sweep of nationalism, threatened to deprive the U.S. of one of its own most cherished colonies, Cuba, Kennedy did not hesitate to use force to keep it. Before his election Kennedy had described Castro as "part of the legacy of Bolivar," and the Cuban revolution as the result "of the frustration of that earlier revolution which won its war against Spain but left largely untouched the indigenous feudal order."<sup>38</sup> After his election, Kennedy stepped right into the U.S. government plot to invade Cuba with a rag-tag CIA-trained army of Cuban exiles. Robert Kennedy later tried to justify the plan which ended in disaster for the U.S. imperialists at the Bay of Pigs: the advisors on the plan, he said, "had been trusted by his [JFK's] predecessor, so he thought that he could trust them and when they said it was much more apt to succeed than Guatemala [where the CIA had overthrown the popularly elected government of Arbenz in 1954 and installed a pro-U.S. military dictator], when the military looked it over and said it was a good plan, then he went ahead."<sup>39</sup> So much for their appreciation for the "legacy of Bolivar."

But Bobby had an even more amusing rationale for his brother's decision on this attempt to overthrow Castro: "there really wasn't any alternative to accepting it. These men [the exile army of invaders] had to be gotten out of Guatemala and Nicaragua [where they had been trained by the CIA]; and if we brought them back to the United States and turned them loose, it could be a tremendous problem both here in this country and abroad."<sup>40</sup> So, according to Bobby, the tail wagged the dog—an aberration of nature that was to become a real hallmark of Kennedy zoology.

But if the Kennedys were at all chastened by their defeat at the Bay of Pigs, it did not stop their various hare-brained and murderous schemes to dispatch Castro. Robert Sherrill describes JFK closeting "himself time and again with political cronies to discuss whether, and how, to kill Castro—poisoned candy? Juju. Sabre?"<sup>41</sup> Schlesinger goes to elaborate lengths to deny that the Kennedys knew anything about the CIA's numerous attempts to assassinate Castro after the invasion debacle. But in fact, putting an end to this challenge to U.S. hegemony in the Americas became an obsession. The Kennedy brothers called in General Edward Lansdale, at one point CIA station chief in Vietnam and the operative who had worked with Ramon Magsaysay in the Philippines to develop counter-insurgency plans against the communist-led liberation forces in the 1950s. Said Robert Kennedy:

"My idea is to stir things up on the island with espionage, sabotage, general disorder, run and operated by Cubans themselves with every group but Batistaes and Communists. Do not know if we will be successful in overthrowing Castro but we have nothing to lose in my estimate."<sup>42</sup>

The plan, dubbed Operation Mongoose, was finally aborted with the escalation of events around the Cuban missile crisis in October of 1962.

The U.S. imperialists were faced with two main threats internationally, which they linked together. The first was from the new imperialists of the Soviet Union. Since the seizure of state power by Khrushchev and his fellow revisionists after the death of Stalin, the Soviet Union had been launched on a course of capitalist restoration and imperialist expansion. Despite the fact that the New Czars in the Kremlin were in no position at that point to challenge the U.S. to a head-on confrontation—their policy in that period was accurately characterized by the Chinese as principally one of collusion, although they pointed out that this was also a form of contention—they were definitely pushing out, and having some success as in Cuba, where the revolution that had driven out the U.S. degenerated and became a pawn of the USSR.

The second threat came from the national liberation struggles in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, which posed a danger to the U.S. imperialists' determination to hang on to their own neo-colonies and firmly plant the American flag in the postholes dug by the European colonial powers. The Soviets, despite Khrushchev's cautions, were equally as anxious to make inroads into these countries, and while the U.S. posed as anti-European colonialism, the Soviets, by no means thoroughly exposed yet to the world as revisionists and pseudo-communists, posed as allies of the liberation struggles and opponents of U.S. imperialism. Both were trying to get their meat hooks into the masses in these regions. At the same time, any efforts of these countries to win real economic and political independence were inimical to both imperialist powers.

Kennedy may have been a new breed of Cold Warrior, but he was a Cold Warrior nonetheless. In his election campaign and afterwards he emphasized the importance of negotiations ("we will never fear to negotiate") and spoke in "enlightened" terms of "meeting at the summit rather than at the brink." Since the U.S. had decisive military superiority over the USSR at that time, there was a reason for such "summit conferences"—the Soviets could be bullied. In Laos in 1962, Khrushchev backed down in the face of U.S. threats to intervene militarily and pressured the Pathet Lao, who controlled most of the country, to accept a pro-U.S. "neutralist" government. In Cuba, Khrushchev withdrew Soviet missiles, much to Castro's apparent chagrin. But of course, even winning these confrontations made the U.S. realize it faced a growing rival—and made it all the more bloodthirsty. Kennedy launched a massive arms build-up almost as soon as he took office.

Even Kennedy's much heralded inauguration speech, which has been most promoted for its lofty calls to "ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country," was as fine a piece of Cold Warmongering as had ever been issued—and a tune and bit of demagoguery the U.S. imperialists would love to be hearing more from the Presidential rostrum today. It was addressed almost exclusively to foreign affairs. This was the "hour of maximum danger" he declared. "Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or ill, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, in order to assure the survival and the success of liberty" (read: U.S. imperialism).<sup>43</sup>

His main divergence from Eisenhower and John Foster Dulles was that he opposed complete reliance on nuclear weapons. Kennedy and his advisors argued for the necessity of upgraded and expanded U.S. conventional forces that could be used against the Soviets in Europe or in local wars anywhere in the world. In a speech nine months after his inauguration Kennedy had declared that "the United States is neither omnipotent nor omniscient—that we are only 6 percent of the world's population—that we cannot right every wrong or reverse each adversity—and that therefore there cannot be an American solution to every world problem."<sup>44</sup> But of course, in the imperialist view JFK's rhetoric was completely compatible with the demand made during the campaign that "We must regain the ability to intervene ef-

Continued on page 18

From the New Draft

# The General Line of the Revolution

## Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution

In early March, the Revolutionary Communist Party published drafts of its *New Programme* and *New Constitution*. Now, in the days and months following Revolutionary May Day 1980, it is possible and vitally necessary to distribute these documents broadly and deeply, to individuals and organizations who yearn for a way out of the madness of this imperialist system. As the great storms of the '80s approach—and with them the real possibility of revolution—it is crucial that revolutionary-minded workers, fighters from the oppressed nationalities, women engaged in the struggle against their oppression, prisoners, students, farmers and more—take up these documents, discuss and struggle over them.

"With these drafts," states the introduction to the *New Draft Programme*,

"... the Party is issuing a declaration of war, a call to action and a battle plan for destroying the old and creating the new. We are spreading these drafts widely and deeply so that many among the working class and others oppressed by this monster, imperialism, will seriously study them, take them up and help sharpen them. These documents are drafts, they are weapons in preparation. Study them, write us, meet with us to criticize and strengthen them—and unite with us to carry them out."

Reprinted here is a section from the draft of the *New Constitution—The General Line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA*.

The Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA is the political party of the working class in the United States, the vanguard of the proletariat in this country, and a part of the communist movement internationally, just as the working class in the U.S. is one part of the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat.

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA takes Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought as the theoretical basis guiding its thinking.

The basic programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is the complete overthrow of the bourgeoisie, the establishment of the all-around dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism in all spheres of society as the necessary transition to the ultimate aim of the Party: the realization of communism with the abolition of all class distinctions. This basic programme can be accomplished only on the basis of and through the unity and mutual support in revolutionary struggle of the proletariat of all countries; communism can only be achieved on a world scale through the final defeat and elimination of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes and of every vestige of exploiting class society throughout the entire world.

The roots of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA were established and nurtured in the mass revolutionary upsurges of the 1960s and early 1970s, in the United States and internationally, against imperialism and reaction. The party of the proletariat in this country was forged through and amidst fiery struggle, both in this society and throughout the world as a whole and within the communist movement in the U.S. and internationally. And, since its formation in 1975, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA has been tempered and strengthened through the fierce struggle, including within its own ranks, to defend and uphold the red banner of the international proletariat and to fight in accordance with its revolutionary outlook and interests in a situation marked by tremendous and increasing crisis, turmoil and accelerating developments toward both world war and revolution.



Farmworkers in the lettuce fields, Salinas, California, holding Draft

Most especially, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA has defended and upheld the historic lessons and achievements of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution waged by the working class and masses of people in China from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s under the guidance of Mao Tsetung to beat back attempts to restore capitalism under the command of a new bourgeoisie centered within the Communist Party itself at its highest levels. This Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, a political revolution carried out under the conditions of socialism and in the face of capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, represents the highest peak yet reached by the international proletariat in forging the ascent toward the goal of communism; and the contributions of Mao Tsetung, particularly in leading such an unprecedented revolution, represent an enrichment and development of Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary science of the international proletariat. All this remains true despite the fact that this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was in and of itself ultimately unable to prevent capitalist restoration and that, shortly after the death of Mao Tsetung in 1976, the new bourgeoisie inside the Communist Party of China seized power from the proletariat through an armed coup d'etat.

The experience of the proletarian revolution and socialist society, not only in China but in the Soviet Union and other countries, has shown that after the old exploiting classes are overthrown and deprived of ownership of the means of production, after they are isolated and defeated politically, there still remain for a long time many "birthmarks" of the old society within the new, both in the economic relations of the people in society and in the superstructure of politics and ideology. These can and must be increasingly struggled against and restricted by the proletariat in power, in moving toward the final goal of completely eliminating them. But until this ultimate goal is reached these "birthmarks" will continue to provide the

basis for a new bourgeoisie to be constantly engendered within socialist society and to wage struggle against the proletariat in an attempt to seize power and restore capitalism. Thus the proletariat can only maintain and further consolidate its political power and the socialist system by continually waging struggle against the bourgeoisie, most especially this new bourgeoisie, and by repeatedly overthrowing its representatives who usurp power from the proletariat in various spheres within socialist society.

Further, the experience of the proletarian revolution and socialist society has shown that this revolution cannot succeed all at once in every country, or even in a short period throughout the world, but must win victory country by country and over a fairly long historical period. Therefore in every country where it succeeds in winning power the proletariat will, to one degree or another, find its new state surrounded by hostile reactionary states which will use various means—outright military attack and subversion, as well as economic, diplomatic and political pressure—to attempt to destroy the socialist state. And these reactionary powers will also seek out agents within the government and the vanguard party in the socialist countries in coordination with their external aggression, subversion and pressure. Thus the continuing class struggle within the socialist country and the international class struggle interconnect with and influence each other, and the proletariat in power can only defeat attempts at capitalist restoration and continue advancing toward the goal of communism by continuing the revolution within the socialist country and actively supporting and assisting it worldwide, while resisting and defeating the attempts to strangle and crush it from outside.

Still further, experience has shown that the heart of the new bourgeoisie within socialist society, the greatest danger to the dictatorship of the proletariat and therefore the main target of the continuing revolu-



## ft Constitution

## tionary Communist Party U.S.A.



Programme and May Day leaflets.

tion under this proletarian dictatorship lies within the vanguard party of the proletariat itself, especially among its top leadership. This is because, with the seizure of power by the proletariat and the socialization of ownership of the means of production, the party becomes both the leading political center of the socialist state and main directing force of the economy, and the contradiction between the party as the leading group and the working class and masses under its leadership is a concentrated expression of the contradictions left over from the old society. Where and to the extent that party members, especially leading party officials, deviate from Marxism-Leninism, depart from the socialist road and divorce themselves from the masses, their position of authority turns into its opposite, is transformed from leadership guiding the masses in revolution toward the goal of communism into oppression over the masses, forcing them back toward capitalism—in the name, however, of “socialism” and “communism.”

Thus, throughout the entire socialist transition period until the worldwide victory of communism is finally achieved, the proletariat and masses of people, led by those party members and officials who continue to adhere to and apply Marxism-Leninism, must not only uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat but must continue to wage struggle in all spheres, both practical and theoretical, to distinguish genuine from sham Marxism-Leninism and the socialist from the capitalist road in order to expose and defeat the attempts of the bourgeoisie, especially the bourgeoisie in the party, to usurp power and restore capitalism, and in order to continue revolutionizing all of society. And, as a crucial part of this, the party itself must be continually revolutionized amidst the storms of this mass struggle and the interrelated struggle within the party itself between the two lines of Marxism-Leninism and opportunism and the two roads of socialism and capitalism. Through this continual pro-

cess, punctuated repeatedly by all-out struggles to determine which class in fact holds power and in which direction society is moving, unreformable opportunists within the party must be exposed and driven out, while broader and broader sections of the working class and masses are tempered and steeled in struggle and fresh forces from among them, and especially those who come to the fore in the mass revolutionary struggles, are brought into the party, so that the revolutionary line and vanguard role of the party is safeguarded and strengthened and new generations of revolutionaries are reared within the party and in society as a whole.

For all these reasons, the proletarian revolution and the advance to communism cannot be and has not been a smooth and even process, proceeding in a straight line, but one full of twists and turns, even temporary setbacks and reversals, and therefore proceeding in a spiral. But, this has been an upward spiral, with three major mileposts: the first actual seizure of power by the proletariat in the short-lived Paris-Commune in 1871; the successful consolidation of power and establishment of a socialist economy in the world's first socialist state, the Soviet Union, where the proletariat retained state power and remained on the socialist road for four decades, until the mid-1950s; and the Chinese revolution, in which one-fourth of humanity not only embarked on the socialist road but, through the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, made the greatest advances along that road so far.

Not only through its victories but also through its defeats the proletariat as well as the communist movement internationally, through the process of sharp struggle itself, has time and again summed up the historical lessons and made new leaps forward. This has been guided on the highest level by Mao Tsetung, who by applying Marxism-Leninism to both the positive and negative experience of the proletarian revolution, and deepening this revolutionary science in the process, summed up that the final victory of the proletariat and the ultimate achievement of communism throughout the world would inevitably be realized amidst earth-shaking storms and unprecedented struggles. Such is the stand of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought; such is the stand of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

In the United States today, rivaled as a bastion of reaction and enemy of the international proletariat only by the equally imperialist Soviet Union, the first great step of the proletarian revolution—the seizure of power by armed force—is not only a historic task that demands to be accomplished. It is also an urgent necessity, not only for the working class and the great majority of people in the U.S. itself but for the international proletariat and people of the world. It will constitute a tremendous blow against the imperialist system and reaction everywhere and will mark a tremendous leap toward the liberation of the proletariat and oppressed peoples throughout the world—toward the emancipation of mankind itself from the fetters of capitalism and every form and manifestation of class division in society.

To carry out this first, great step the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, as the vanguard of

the proletariat in the United States, must systematically and unceasingly take up the preparation of its own ranks as well as the masses for the eventual development of a revolutionary situation and then resolutely and uncompromisingly lead them in seizing the opportunity to win state power through the armed overthrow of the capitalist state in the U.S. when the conditions do ripen. Create public opinion, seize power—raise the consciousness of the masses and, when through the development of the objective situation and the work of the Party they become convinced of the necessity and possibility of proletarian revolution, organize and lead them in the armed onslaught against the military forces and political institutions of capitalism—this is the basic method through which the preparation for revolution and then the revolutionary overthrow of U.S. imperialism will be realized. It is the central task of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

Throughout this entire process, and beyond, until the final victory of the proletarian revolution and the attainment of communism—upon which the distinction between the Party and the masses will be eliminated and the Party will cease to exist—the Party must both learn from and lead the working class and its allies through the application of the mass line. This means to take the ideas of the masses and the experience of the class struggle, in the U.S. and internationally, and by applying the science of revolution to them concentrate the essential lessons, distinguishing what is correct from what is incorrect, and then return these concentrated ideas to the masses, propagate them widely and deeply among the masses and unite with the masses to apply them to transform the world through class struggle. This, too, is a continual process which proceeds in an upward spiral, in accordance with the development of the objective situation and the class struggle overall.

To unite the broadest ranks of the working class, together with its allies, both to carry out the armed overthrow of capitalism and to maintain the dictatorship of the proletariat and advance along the socialist road toward the goal of communism, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA must apply the strategic plan and principle of the united front. This means to unite under its leadership all forces that can be united against the enemy, which requires that the Party consistently direct the main spearhead against that enemy and just as consistently struggle to bring to the forefront the revolutionary outlook and interests of the proletariat and rely first and foremost on the class-conscious proletariat.

In the U.S. the firmest allies of the proletariat are the struggles of the oppressed nationalities in this country against their oppression as peoples. Given the whole history as well as the present-day reality of what is now the United States of America, proletarian revolution is not even conceivable here unless it takes up and carries through as a central and decisive question the fight to abolish every form of oppression and discrimination against these peoples and to uproot every basis for this, material and ideological. The revolutionary unity of the working class movement with the struggles of the oppressed nationalities against their oppression as peoples must and will be

Continued on page 18

Now Available!

**New Programme and  
New Constitution of the  
Revolutionary Communist  
Party, USA**

**(Drafts for Discussion)**

\$2.00  
Order from:  
RCP Publications  
P.O. Box 3486  
Chicago, IL 60654

# General Line

Continued from page 17

forged as the solid core of the broader united front. Such a united front is the strategy for proletarian revolution in the United States.

At the same time, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, as the political party of the working class in this country, must lead the masses of people in the U.S. to firmly unite with the working class and oppressed peoples and nations of the world in the common struggle against imperialism and reaction, especially where the spearhead of that struggle is directed against U.S. imperialism. Because the working class in the United States is but one division in the army of the international proletariat, because the historic mission of communism can only be achieved through the united and mutually supportive struggle of the workers of all countries, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA recognizes and is determined to carry out its responsibility to itself uphold and to educate and lead the proletariat and masses in this country according to the basic principles of proletarian internationalism. As Lenin stressed, for the proletariat there is one and only one genuine internationalism: to wage the struggle for revolution in one's own country while supporting this same struggle in all other countries—and this is of special importance in an imperialist country, particularly one like the U.S. today, which not only oppresses whole nations and hundreds of millions of people around the world but seeks to enlist the proletariat and masses in the U.S. in the filthy cause of maintaining this oppression. The proletariat in the U.S. will never overthrow and defeat the bourgeoisie in this country, it will never make its con-

tribution to the revolutionary cause of the international proletariat, until it breaks completely with the chauvinist "America first" stand, thoroughly renounces patriotic allegiance to U.S. imperialism, and unites wholeheartedly and fights side by side with the proletariat and peoples of the world in the struggle against imperialism and reaction.

As for the question of war, the only war the class-conscious proletariat in the U.S. wants to fight, the war for which the working class and masses in this country are being prepared through the work of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, is a revolutionary civil war to defeat and overthrow the bourgeoisie and the capitalist state and replace bourgeois dictatorship with the dictatorship of the proletariat. On a world scale, the proletariat supports the revolutionary struggles, including armed struggle as the highest form, of the workers and the oppressed peoples and nations against imperialism and reaction; it opposes the wars of plunder of the imperialists and reactionaries and actively seeks their defeat at the hands of the people. The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA will work tirelessly to educate the proletariat and masses in this country to the truth that they have no country to defend, that in a world war with the Soviet Union, while the proletariat has no interests in the victory of either imperialist, it can only welcome the defeats suffered by its own imperialist bourgeoisie—and more, that the proletariat must utilize such defeats and the weakening of the ruling class to prepare for and finally carry out its overthrow when the possibility ripens. Only this is consistent with proletarian internationalism, with the revolutionary interests of the working class and with its struggle to break free of and ultimately bury the capitalist system and all of its evils, including the monstrosity of war.

On the basis of proletarian internationalism, the

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA actively seeks to unite with the genuine Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations in other countries and to carry out an ideological struggle on the most fundamental and pressing questions confronting the international proletariat today, in order to achieve the greatest possible clarity and unity first and foremost within the communist movement internationally and also as broadly as possible with other forces struggling against imperialism and reaction. This is a crucial part of both upholding the general principles of proletarian internationalism and of meeting the urgent demands and requirements of the present and developing situation.

Today, the imperialist system is in its greatest crisis. This, as always under such a system, will mean even more intense suffering for the masses of people throughout the world. But it can also mean tremendous opportunities, including the possibility of making revolution in one of the most powerful imperialist countries and bastions of reaction. The proletariat and the communist movement internationally are regrouping—in the wake of a severe, if temporary, setback in China and its repercussions, but also in the situation of profound and intensifying imperialist crisis. Revolutionary waves are rising once more in many parts of the world, pounding more powerfully again at the imperialist system and both of its superpowers. Members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, who dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, must rise to the challenge and resolutely advance into and through the storms and stress—achieve the greatest preparation, strike the most decisive blows at our own ruling class, build the firmest unity with the revolutionary struggle of the international proletariat and peoples of the world, and make the greatest contribution possible to the cause of proletarian revolution and communism worldwide. □

## Kennedy

Continued from page 15

fectively and swiftly in any limited war anywhere in the world."<sup>43</sup>

The headlines were given over to the promises. "Africa for the Africans," declared Kennedy's Undersecretary of State Soapy Williams. "Who else should it be for?" the President asked with a straight face. At the UN Kennedy raised hopes when he had Ambassador Adlai Stevenson vote in favor of a resolution introduced by African and Asian states to investigate Portugal's war to beat back the liberation forces in Angola. Why not do a little exposure of those awful *European* imperialists?

Perhaps Kennedy's most famous "innovation" in the area of promoting the U.S. good guy image abroad was the Peace Corps. Thousands of idealistic young college students, along with hundreds of CIA agents, were sent abroad to prepare the infrastructure of these underdeveloped countries for the greater penetration of U.S. capital. Perhaps the progressive character of this program is best exemplified by one of its famous participants—Miss Lillian "Hire Me A Hit Man" Carter, whose slave mistress title is no longer expected to be used only by the Black people on their peanut plantation but is now supposedly a term of "endearment" by which the whole country calls her.

In Latin America the Alliance for Progress was given top PR billing. It promised to effect an economic and social revolution in the countries of the southern hemisphere. "If the Alliance for Progress goes into operation fully," said Robert Kennedy in 1963, "if reforms, social, economic and political are put into effect, then Communism and Castroism will collapse in Latin America."<sup>46</sup> According to the Kennedy scheme of things, the way to blunt the anti-yankee imperialist sentiment among the masses was to promote grandiose promises of reform and economic aid, and to bring about conditions favorable to an even more massive U.S. economic penetration.

Chile was chosen as a pilot country in which to test the Alliance. Chilean revolutionary leader Jorge Palacios analyzed its objective:

"Two fundamental objectives were pursued through this policy: on the one hand, to contribute to the development of dependent capitalism, putting the most profitable sector of manufacturing industry under the control of U.S. investors; on the other hand, on the basis of this capitalist development subordinated to monopoly capital, to enlarge the market for machinery, technology, raw materials, spare parts, etc. for certain sectors of U.S. industry. On the political level it was a question of

using the reforms necessary for this capitalist development (some of which went against the interests of the landed oligarchy and of certain national monopolies) to develop a populist movement through intensive demagogic publicity. This movement would act as a brake on any revolutionary opposition and on the exacerbation of nationalist anti-imperialist tendencies."<sup>47</sup>

Where they could not find suitable parties to act as instruments of their "reforms" the Kennedys created them with the aid of the CIA. In Chile, the Christian Democratic Party of Eduardo Frei was built with CIA funds. "This despite the fact that many of its supporters come from the ranks of the people. Deceived by multi-million dollar propaganda, they must have been the most surprised to learn the origin of the economic resources which their leaders spent to make the CDP the largest party in Chile both in influence and in electoral strength."<sup>48</sup>

But the Alliance did not bring the reform that it promised, nor did it forestall the growth of radicalism in Latin America. It did bring increased profits for many U.S. concerns and its promise enhanced the Kennedys' personal popularity in the region, at least for a while among some sections of the petty-bourgeoisie.

"Those who make peaceful revolution impossible make violent revolution inevitable," said Robert Kennedy in Brazil. Unfortunately for the Kennedys and all their friends in the ruling class, it is imperialism itself which makes peaceful revolution impossible. All their efforts to "distract attention from essentials by means of absolutely ridiculous schemes for 'reform'" could not change the fact that it was imperialism that needed and propped up the reactionary regimes in Latin America that strangled the masses of people to the point of rebellion.

They also had a plan for dealing with the uprisings and rebellions of the masses, however. They called it "counter-insurgency." In reality it was counter-revolutionary violence. In the words of another of Schlesinger's nauseous apologies: "Kennedy in 1961 saw counter guerrilla action as the way to plug the great gaping hole in the fabric of peace."<sup>49</sup> Special forces for guerrilla warfare were added to Kennedy's plan for beefed-up conventional forces for local wars. In March he told Congress that "guerrilla warfare had been since 1945 the most active and constant threat to Free World security."<sup>50</sup>

John Kennedy took two immediate measures to deal with this threat to U.S. imperialism. The first was the formation of a Counterintelligence (CI) Group, in which his brother Robert took a leading role. Its task was to over-

see the "prevention" of wars of liberation in key countries and regions. "It wasn't just a case of getting out and shooting guerrillas by any manner or means," said General Maxwell Taylor, another member of the group. "For the first time I, at least, sensed the tremendous political and social aspects to this problem."<sup>51</sup> As part of their social task of "prevention," the CI Group established schools in Washington and Panama to train police from throughout Latin America in "riot control." Another, less publicized course at these schools was in interrogation by torture.

The second measure was the enlargement of the U.S. Special Forces at Fort Bragg. John Kennedy took particular interest in this counterinsurgency unit, traveling to the base to give them pep talks and dressing them in their infamous green berets. "By June 1963 the Special Forces numbered nearly 12,000 men, counterinsurgency training had been given to 114,000 American officers and nearly 7,000 from foreign countries."<sup>52</sup> The mission of this highly trained batch of social reformers was "to win the hearts and minds" of the masses of people who had been so mistaken as to rise up in armed struggle against their oppressors. The Green Berets themselves were not terribly taken with the illusions of their "noble" role. Their adaptation of this slogan was much more appropriate for this gang of murderers unleashed by U.S. imperialism: "When you've got 'em by the balls their hearts and minds will follow."

The crucial test of the Kennedys' counterinsurgency theories was Vietnam. They failed miserably.

When John F. Kennedy took office in January 1961 there were 685 "military advisors" in Vietnam. When he left office and this world there were almost 17,000 American troops there. Kennedy put the war in Vietnam squarely in the context of the Cold War, the isolation of China, the blocking of Soviet influence and overall U.S. strategic interests. Schlesinger records that Kennedy was ambivalent and hesitant about a major commitment of U.S. troops to a land war in Asia. And well he might have been! He had been impressed with the toughness and discipline of the French troops upon his visit to Indochina in 1951. He had been even more impressed by the shellacking they took at the hands of the Vietnamese. General Douglas MacArthur, who certainly had plenty of first hand experience to draw from, advised him against it. Any hesitation on his part was whether the war would be worth the price. But Kennedy was determined not to "lose Indochina to the communists" and he thought that he had a plan. If he had any serious vacillations they weren't about the necessity of the U.S. to hang onto Vietnam and they

were not expressed in his public statements:

"We are not going to withdraw from [bringing about a stable government there, carrying on a struggle to maintain its national independence]. In my opinion, for us to withdraw from that effort would mean a collapse not only of South Vietnam, but Southeast Asia. . . . We can think of Vietnam as a piece of strategic real estate. It's on the corner of mainland Asia, across the East-West trade routes, and in a position that would make it an excellent base for further Communist aggression against the rest of free Asia."<sup>53</sup>

And on September 9 he added:

"I believe [the domino theory]. I think that the struggle is close enough. China is so large, looms up high just beyond the frontiers, that if South Vietnam went, it would not only give them an improved geographic position for a guerrilla assault on Malaya, but would also give the impression that the wave of the future in Southeast Asia was China and the Communists."<sup>54</sup>

Robert Kennedy had added his hurrahs in February 1962:

"We are going to win in Vietnam. We will remain there until we do win. . . . I think the American people understand and fully support this struggle. . . . I think the United States will do what is necessary to help a country that is trying to repel aggression with its own blood, tears and sweat."<sup>55</sup>

The heart of their "special war" in south Vietnam was the "Strategic Hamlet Program," the forerunner of Lyndon Johnson's "pacification program." Step one was to "clear and hold" strategic villages, which were cordoned off and turned into virtual concentration camps, supposedly to keep the NLF out. Meanwhile the tonnage of arms and equipment shipped to the Diem regime increased monthly. But it wasn't working. Kennedy sent delegation after delegation of his top level advisors over to see what the problem was. A consensus began to develop that the problem was Diem, their puppet dictator who was hated by nearly all Vietnamese. But opinion was split in the administration over what to do about him. Most of the military brass seemed to argue that "he is our boy and we have to support him to the hilt." Others, including Henry Cabot Lodge, U.S. Ambassador in Saigon, argued that he had to be dumped. Lodge worked closely with a band of south Vietnamese generals to carry out the deed. Finally on November 1, 1963, Diem and his brother were murdered. To the dis-

Continued on page 19

# Kennedy

Continued from page 18

may of the U.S. imperialists it turned out that Diem wasn't the problem after all. Kennedy's strategic hamlet program and the whole counterinsurgency plan collapsed after the death of Diem. The next step was full-scale U.S. military intervention.

By the time of his run for the Presidency in 1968 Robert Kennedy had become a vocal critic of Lyndon Johnson's prosecution of the war. If he was going to ride the mass movement against the war, and corral it, he damn well had to be. The myth has been propagated by Kennedy apologists that JFK before his assassination had decided to pull all U.S. troops out of Vietnam. In fact they discussed all sorts of alternatives as the situation grew more desperate. What he did say to his advisors was that he could not make any move until after the 1964 elections, because he knew that the U.S. ruling class was not about to roll up the flag in Vietnam. What he did do was make a show of restricting an all-out U.S. involvement by shuffling around paper work to show that a net withdrawal of 1,000 men had been ordered by December. The simple fact of the matter was that the bourgeoisie had not sufficiently prepared public opinion for a full-scale invasion at that point.

But the myth was useful for the role the remaining Kennedys played in the coming years, and became even more useful as the anti-war movement in this country grew. As U.S. imperialism became more and more exposed at home and throughout the world, it was increasingly beneficial for the bourgeoisie to have those among their spokesmen who could pretend to speak for the anger of the masses and say, "It doesn't have to be this way. My brother's legacy has been betrayed. It's all Johnson's (Nixon's) fault." Once again it became vital for the bourgeoisie to have someone to obscure the complete domination and the profound roots of imperialism. Bobby Kennedy played this role with extreme zeal and dedication. He boldly stood up and criticized U.S. imperialist policies in Vietnam, in Latin America and in the U.S.—especially the policies that had already failed. He was put forward as the champion of the oppressed even more so than his older brother had been. Of course he was spared the necessity of having to be in the position of formulating and carrying out those very policies from the Oval Office.

His righteous antics reached new heights as things went on. On a trip through Latin America at the end of 1965 he missed no occasion to traipse through the mud of a slum, visit poor peasants and complain about their miserable living conditions, descend into a coal mine and shake hands with communist-led miners, or debate leftist students in open forums. His technique was straightforward: admit to the "faults" of the U.S., claim that it all would have been different if his brother had lived, that his goals and intentions had been perverted, and challenge people not just to criticize the U.S. but to do something about their own situation themselves.

It would have been interesting if some of those students had known the story of Kennedy's visit to Brazil in 1962 and subsequent developments. Kennedy had met with Brazilian President Julio Goulart in order to enlist his support for the U.S. around the Cuban missile crisis. In passing, Kennedy told Goulart that the U.S. didn't like two of his ministers and told him to get rid of them. He also informed Goulart that the U.S. didn't think highly of his brother-in-law, Brizola, either. They felt these fellows were too left leaning and found their inclination to nationalize U.S. properties very distasteful. Goulart smiled and later reappointed the ministers to his cabinet. After the CIA, the U.S. military and embassy staff had helped engineer Goulart's overthrow by a military coup in 1964, the U.S. Ambassador Lincoln Gordon ran into Kennedy in Washington. "The Attorney General was still grieving over the murder of his brother, but he found cheer in the events in Brazil. 'Well, Goulart got what was coming to him,'

Kennedy told Gordon. 'Too bad he didn't follow the advice we gave him when I was down there.'"<sup>26</sup>

In one particularly ridiculous scene in Lima, Peru, Kennedy met with a group of Peruvian intellectuals who lambasted the domination of U.S. imperialism in their country and expressed bitter complaints about the Rockefeller-owned International Petroleum Company. Kennedy finally said: "Well, why don't you just go ahead and nationalize the damn thing. I mean, nothing is going to happen...The United States government isn't going to send destroyers or anything like that." (In fact several years later the Peruvian government did nationalize, with payment, the IPC, to the relief of Rockefeller, who had wanted to unload it and get his money out anyway, in order to dig his hooks in deeper in other areas of the Peruvian economy.) The Peruvians stared at Kennedy and responded: "The Rockefellers run the U.S. policy; the Rockefellers wouldn't permit it." Oh, come on," said Kennedy, "In our country we eat Rockefellers for breakfast." By the time the story circulated in translation, a journalist in Buenos Aires asked him if it was true that he ate breakfast every morning with Rockefeller.<sup>27</sup> The garbled translation was more accurate.

## Conclusion The Power and the Glory

To brush the Kennedys off as typical "say one thing do another" politicians would be a mistake. It would be to misunderstand the particular role they play for the bourgeoisie and to ignore the dangerous and deadly effect they have in promoting reaction while spreading the illusions of reform. And it would be to underestimate the danger that exists for the bourgeoisie in the stirrings of the masses, a danger they most certainly sense.

In the 1960 presidential campaign John Kennedy spoke about a certain "malaise of spirit" that beset America. This has been a favorite theme of the bourgeoisie in recent years. In his memoirs Henry Kissinger, recounting the difficulties the Nixon administration faced in pursuing their policies in Vietnam, bemoaned "the spectacle of a nation tearing at itself in the midst of a difficult war... The public malaise raised in a profound way the question of the responsibility of leaders to the public in a democracy."<sup>28</sup> Jimmy Carter's most memorable speech to date was when he appealed to the people to "say something nice about America." He spoke of "the true problems of our nation" as being a loss of confidence in this system and its future and again raised this malaise of the spirit that had set upon the land. In his campaign Teddy Kennedy has turned this around on Carter, charging that the "malaise" is due to ineffective and undynamic leadership, which he promises to provide.

For the bourgeoisie and their mouthpieces, this "malaise" is a euphemism for the anger and resentment among the masses of people in this country, a deepening disbelief in and cynicism toward the promises and leadership of the ruling class. Carter in his address went on to declare that "restoring that faith and that confidence to America is now the most important task we [the ruling class] face."

Enter Teddy Kennedy, with trumpets blaring. No wonder Teddy has decided to make his long-awaited run for the green in 1980.

If Kennedy was not what they needed in 1976, when they were casting about for a Mr. Clean, someone who could restore an aura of moral rectitude to the office, 1984 would be too late to try and do what they have to do. Things are heating up too fast. They have got to roll out their most effective gun now. This is not to say that Teddy will be their ultimate choice. They still have almost a year to gauge the performance of their various candidates and their effectiveness in mobilizing the masses behind their bloody banner, in gearing them up to accept what they have in store. And despite all Kennedy's weaknesses, among his competitors he still has impressive credentials.

But the situation which faces Edward Kennedy and the ruling class today is much different than that which they confronted in the time of JFK and

Robert Kennedy, or even FDR for that matter. Despite Roosevelt's demagoguery in claiming as gifts of his administration the advances won by the masses through fierce struggle against the capitalists and the government, still, conditions did not fundamentally improve for the masses.

It was only the stimulus of war production that enabled the U.S. economy to pick up a little. Most fundamentally, only the favorable redivision of the world after World War 2 provided the way out of the Depression, and underlay the comparatively long economic "boom" that followed. During JFK's time, the U.S. imperialists were still enjoying the benefits of this redivision to some extent, aided in their domination of key areas of the world and by the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union, which in its initial capitulationist phase aided the U.S. by working to hold back revolution without being able to challenge the U.S. head-on.

But today this situation has turned into its opposite. The Soviets now oppose U.S. expansion and press in upon the U.S. empire at every turn. And the U.S., exactly because of the present division of the world, will not be able to "sit on the mountaintop and watch the tigers fight" as it did during the First and to some extent the Second World War, because it and its empire are the focus of this coming war. The bourgeoisie does not have the material basis to make the concessions it was able to make, no matter how small they were, during previous periods.

Even though Teddy Kennedy comes wrapped in the legend of his brothers, there is simply not the same basis for him to be able to carry it off. The Kennedy legend is certainly hollow, but Teddy can only be hollower—the shadow image of reformism. The dead hand of capital that finds it necessary to beckon him forward at this time is in a deeper state of decay than it was when the Kennedy legend was born.

Just the opposite of being able to make concessions and create illusions of reform, the capitalists now need to retrench, intensify the exploitation of the working class, widen the divisions among the masses, preach austerity and sacrifice. So it is that all the current crop of politicians, from Brown to Reagan—and including Kennedy—warn that the days of "big spending" social welfare programs are at an end. Their theme is that "there will be less in the future and you'll pay more for it." The masses are told that too many of them now tend to worship self-indulgence and consumption. The call is for sacrifice, sacrifice and more sacrifice.

Check out what's happening to Kennedy's cradle-to-the-grave medical insurance plan, probably the most New Deal style piece of legislation on the market today—and the centerpiece of his liberal domestic record. As public hospitals close down in one city after another, as the level of medical care in major metropolitan areas continues to decline, what is this plan but a cruel joke? That's why, in fact, every year when he brings up this ethereal promise in the Senate, he chops off another piece, until now there is practically nothing left to it—and there's still no chance of it becoming law in its present form.

Today there can't and won't be any New Deal, and the only New Frontier will be in the theatres of war. But this doesn't mean that the Kennedy mystique, based on the past, has no use today. Teddy may do very well at making the past serve the present—without being trapped in the past. But this will principally be around the task of arousing patriotism, jingoism and a "gear up for war" mentality among the American people. Here is a square shooter that tells it like it is, his PR men will say. And his support for SALT and the "dovish" deceptions which form an integral part of the bourgeoisie's war preparations put him in an excellent position to say to the American people: "I've tried to walk the last mile with these Soviet warmongers. I've done everything I could to avoid this war, but we have no choice. The Soviets are impervious to reason. We must rally our national pride, our national unity and prepare to fight for truth, justice and the American way."

Whether Kennedy believes any of this or not isn't the point. The fact that he puts it forward is the role he plays for the bourgeoisie, just like Reagan and others play their role in more openly beating the war drums.

And he has another advantage for the bourgeoisie as well. It is no accident that as Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee he has been charged with the responsibility, and has taken special interest in formulating and guiding into law their "reform" of the U.S. Criminal Code, the infamous S-1 (Senate Bill 1, whose name they have changed in order to shield it from the exposure that was initially done of it). Similarly it was no accident that the "liberal Kennedys," those paragons of reformism and concern for the masses, were communist-hunters, union-busters, counter-insurgency enthusiasts, torture chamber academy founders and assassins of troublesome heads of state. Part of the treachery of bourgeois reformism is that it can more effectively mask the brutality and murderous intent of the capitalist class, it can sugar-coat reaction. Who better than Ted Kennedy, the defender of human and civil rights, the nemesis of the right wing, to insure legislation that provides the bourgeois state with all the "legal" justification it wants to jail revolutionaries, arrest strikers who threaten their national interests, and generally run rampant with repression?

At the funeral of Bobby Kennedy in St. Patrick's Cathedral there was a revolting scene, described by Schlesinger. In one of the front pews was Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, "his head bowed, the cords of his neck standing out, crying uncontrollably." In a back pew knelt Tom Hayden, "green cap from Havana sticking out of his pocket, weeping silently by himself."<sup>29</sup> This was a scene that must have delighted the bourgeoisie and it symbolized the role of the Kennedys, for in death as in life they unite open reaction and the illusion of reform.

26. Schlesinger, p. 309.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 332.

28. Quoted in Paul Sann, *The Angry Decade: The Sixties*, Crown Publishers, N.Y., 1979, p. 97.

29. Schlesinger, p. 372.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 374.

31. Malcolm X, *Malcolm X Speaks*, Grove Press, N.Y., 1966.

32. Schlesinger, p. 375.

33. *Ibid.*, 376.

34. Malcolm X, p. 15.

35. "A Comment on the Statement of the Communist Party, USA," *Peoples Daily*, March 8, 1963.

36. Robert Sherrill, *The Last Kennedy*, The Dial Press, N.Y., 1974, p. 23.

37. John F. Kennedy, *Strategy for Peace*, quoted in Schlesinger, p. 449.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*, p. 478.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 477.

41. Sherrill, p. 30.

42. Schlesinger, p. 512.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 455.

44. Schlesinger, p. 456.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 457.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 509.

47. Jorge Palacios, *Chile: An Attempt at "Historic Compromise," The Real Story of the Allende Years*, Banner Press, Chicago 1979, p. 128.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 131

49. Schlesinger, p. 495.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 496.

51. *Ibid.*, p. 498-99.

52. *Ibid.*, p. 500.

53. John F. Kennedy speech on July 17, 1963, quoted in *The Pentagon Papers*, Gravel ed., Beacon Press, Vol. 2, p. 162.

54. JFK, Sept. 9, 1963 speech, *ibid.*

55. JFK, February 1962 speech, *ibid.*

56. A. J. Langguth, *Hidden Terrors*, Pantheon Books, 1978, p. 116.

57. Schlesinger, p. 750.

58. Henry Kissinger, *The White House Years*, Little Brown, 1979, p. 292.

59. Schlesinger, p. 983.