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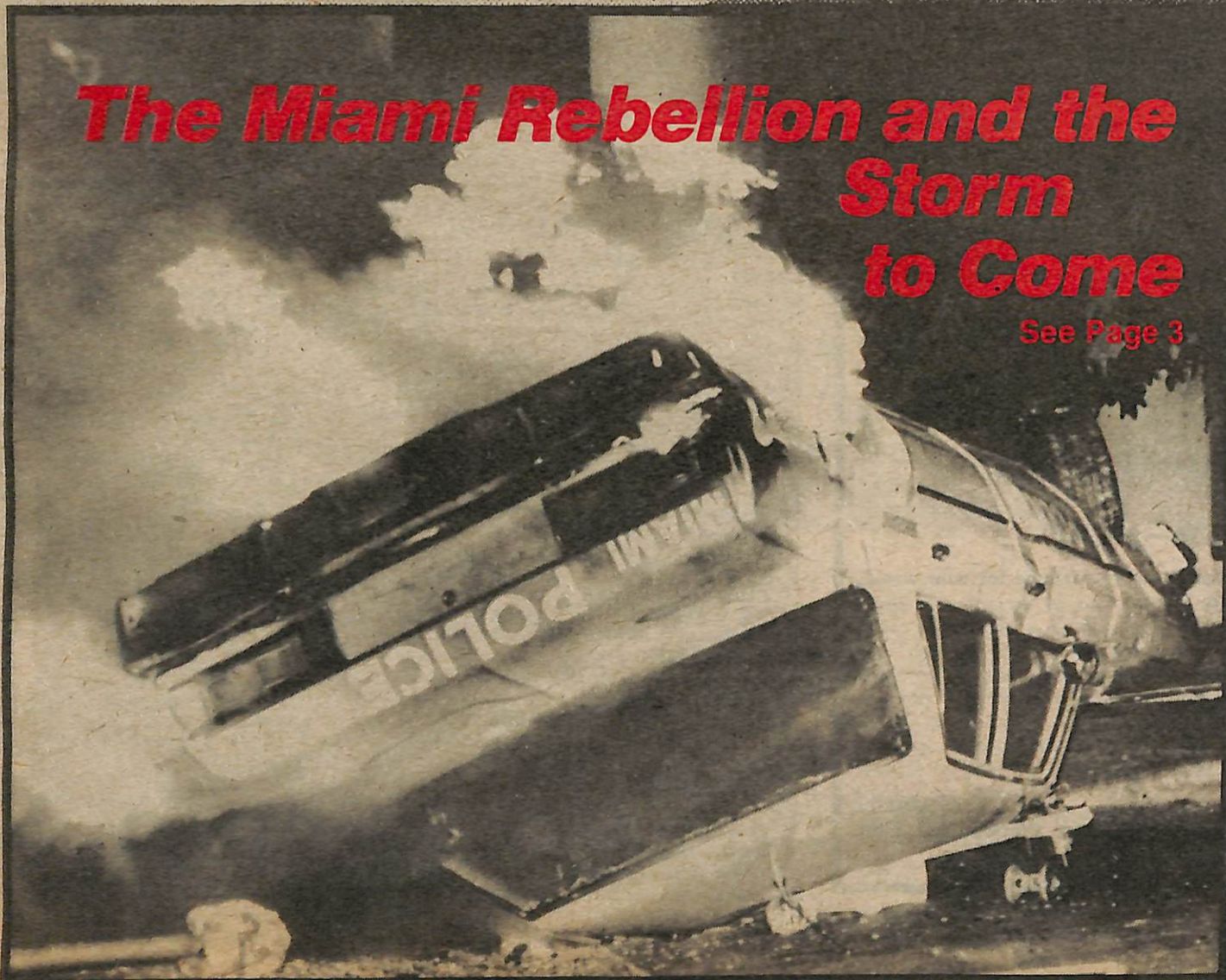


## Korea— Uprising in U.S. Stronghold

Armed rebels parade through the streets of Kwangju, South Korea in military vehicles they had seized earlier.

## The Miami Rebellion and the Storm to Come

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In a massive popular uprising on a scale unprecedented in South Korea since the end of World War 2, hundreds of thousands of students and workers seized control of the provincial capital of Kwangju, as rioting which followed a desperate new police state crackdown by the shaky Seoul regime spiraled quickly into an armed revolt which has begun to spread to other parts of this country. The rebellion is an event of tremendous political significance. The mass struggle has broken completely out of control, ushering in a new and complicated situation in an area in which both the U.S. and Soviet imperialists hold vital strategic interests.

The rebellion in Kwangju is on a qualitatively higher level than even the earlier massive demonstrations and riots which rocked South Korea and were answered by a new wave of fascist repression by the regime of Lt. Gen. Chon Too Hwan. Raids on one tank production facility and a number of armories provided the rebels with armored personnel carriers, heavy trucks and jeeps, and thousands of light machine guns, along with M-16 rifles, M-1 carbines and revolvers, and tens of thousands of rounds of ammunition. The masses are also reported to have seized eight riot control vehicles with tear gas launchers and hundreds of other vehicles. But thousands more also have armed themselves with axes, pitch forks, tire irons, rocks and bottles as the crowds of 200,000 battled and routed 10,000 troops of the Seoul pup-

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## Latest Outrage at Love Canal

# Chemical Warfare in Honeymoon City

**Niagra Falls.** In this "honeymoon city," the residents of the community situated on the Love Canal have been living with an unspeakable horror—stalked by the spectre of chemical misery and death unleashed upon them by the workings of the capitalist system. In 1947, the Hooker Chemicals and Plastics Corporation took over the abandoned 15-acre Love Canal site and used it as a dumping ground for toxic materials. By 1952, 188,000 tons of lethal chemical waste—like benzene and tetrachloroethylene—had been deposited into the canal and on the ground. After this crime had been committed, they dumped some dirt on top and sold the entire area to the Niagra Falls school board for the price of \$1.

The city knew all along what was underneath this deadly acreage since the deed contained a disclaimer on the part of Hooker Chemicals for any injuries that might occur because of the presence of the buried chemicals. But anxious to make a buck, the city went ahead and built two elementary schools right on top of this dump and sold off the rest of the land for the construction of residential housing. When bulldozers uncovered rusted and leaking chemical drums, they were simply covered over again in the hopes that nobody would notice. But as the years went by, the residents of this predominantly working class community could not help but notice that slowly but surely they were being maimed and murdered as the deadly poisons lurking underground began to seep up and exact their terrible toll.

People began dying of cancer. There were more and more miscarriages, babies born with four sets of teeth, liver and kidney defects, and so on. One couple had six out of eight children born retarded—yet the authorities just sat quietly by as more and more suffered and many died and the chemicals continued to bubble to the surface, reaching into the school playgrounds

and penetrating basement walls. A Hooker Chemical representative later testified that they deliberately decided not to inform residents of the situation because the company feared "a substantial legal liability." Those who could fled the area, but most families had nowhere to go, saddled with heavy mortgages and unable to scrape together the down payment on another home. In 1978, a highly toxic chemical—dioxin—was discovered in the area. Struggle broke out as 16 residents were arrested for protesting the government's refusal to relocate 54 families who lived there.

Then last week, on May 17, another page was turned in the horror story that is the Love Canal. 11 out of 36 residents tested were found to have chromosomal disorders that can affect future generations and which cause an extremely high frequency of cancer, miscarriages and birth defects. (A federal report in 1979 had already indicated that the odds of Love Canal residents contracting cancer were as high as one in ten.) With this announcement, the people who still live in this toxic community demanded to be moved out immediately. But right away the vampires who have been posing as state and federal government health officials began to whine about how the tests were inconclusive because they were conducted without a "control group" and how more scientific studies were needed.

The residents of Love Canal were outraged. They are hardly in need of any scientific studies to tell them they and their children are being subjected to slow and certain death while the federal and state "Environmental Protection" agencies wrangle back and forth over who will foot the bill for relocation. Fifteen out of sixteen babies born recently to residents were abnormal. Children and adults alike are subject to seizures caused by constant exposure to the chemicals that permeate the ground they walk on. Children playing in their

own yards cry out from the pain of skin burns, the result of contact with the seeping toxins—toxins so powerful they have been known to eat through the rubber tires of kids bicycles right down to the very rims!

Two days after the test results were released, the people who live in Love Canal angrily let the government know that they will accept nothing less than immediate and permanent evacuation. 50 people gathered to demand out and began to blast two Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) officials with questions about when action would be taken. After running the typical excuses and lies, these capitalist bureaucrats—who are little more than accessories to murder—ran for cover into the Love Canal Homeowners Association office as the wrath of the residents began to boil. The building was surrounded—the officials promptly declared hostage by Lois Gibbs, the Association president. As the word of these officials being held went out on the news, the crowd swelled to 300 strong shouting, "We want out! We want out!" Fifty city pigs, federal marshalls and FBI agents swarmed into the area and the fire department was put on alert as people talked of torching some of the contaminated houses. Six hours later, Gibbs came out saying that the federal government had promised to make a decision on relocation in two days and called on the furious crowd to let their prisoners go peacefully. The response from the people was "not until we are guaranteed out!" As the FBI finally rescued the terrified EPA officials, someone yelled, "If I could only get my hands on those bastards!"

On Wednesday the word came that the government would provide temporary relocation for up to one year for 710 families while further "tests" are conducted. But Love Canal residents have no reason to believe that they won't be forced back into this deadly dump. In the past year the government

has actually been moving people *in* to Love Canal. One woman on welfare with six kids—a non-resident suffering from diabetes—was forced by the state into a city housing project in Love Canal when she refused to live in another filthy rat-infested project in a "safer" area of Niagra Falls. Since then, her blood sugar has soared even with heavy medication and her kids have begun to have seizures. This is the kind of "choice" offered people by the capitalists—live with rats or die slowly from dioxin poisoning!

For all their lies about how the danger has yet to be confirmed, the authorities know full well the deadly effects of the chemical dump that is fermenting beneath the Love Canal. Last year, when the state finally moved out 239 families and purchased their homes (supposedly the only ones exposed to danger) they shrewdly brought in *retarded children* from a half-way house to clean up the yards until outraged residents forced them to stop! The plan was to sell these contaminated houses at a substantial mark-up and move the houses to other cities. Apparently, nothing is too low for these disgusting and parasitic vultures in their insane pursuit of profit—a pursuit in which the masses of people are little more to them than human garbage to be disposed of along with their chemical wastes.

As a postal worker who lives in Love Canal said: "I used to believe in America, the red, white and blue. I went to Vietnam proud to fight for this country. Never again will I think this way! Now I tell my teenage sons not to go and fight and die to defend this country. I'll do whatever I can to get them out of it. Whatever money I might get from suing Hooker Chemicals and the city will *never* make up for the crimes and murder against my family and the others who live here." □



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Forward From May 1st

# Stepping Up the Fight on History's Stage

The salvos sounded by the historic action of thousands of class-conscious workers in the U.S. on May First are still being felt throughout the country and are being carried to many parts of the world. But this great leap is precisely the conquering of a new position from which to carry forward and accelerate the class struggle. The declared and demonstrated determination of these class-conscious workers to mount and remain on the political stage must now be given sustained and

growing expression. It can be more and more clearly seen that the period ahead will be one of tremendous upheaval; and already mass protest and the eruption of mass rebellion is on the upsurge. But what must come to increasingly mark this period is the broadening and deepening of the role and influence of the Party—most especially through the *Revolutionary Worker*, and also through discussion and struggle over the Party's new programme and constitution drafts and in other ways—and the impact

of the revolutionary action of the advanced, class-conscious workers, rallying around the line of the Party, putting the revolutionary stamp of their class on major events in society, rallying forward broader ranks of the working class itself at the head of other sections of the oppressed masses, to fight with greater clarity, unity and strength against the enemy—the imperialist system and its bourgeois dictatorship—in firm solidarity with, and as a detachment of the international proletariat on a

crucial battlefield (the U.S.). This is a question that must be actively, urgently taken up now within the Party and more broadly as well—including not only those who made a decisive leap in taking history into their hands on May First but those many others who have come to see that they should have done so then and can be brought forward to do so now.

**Statement by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.**

## The Miami Rebellion and the Storm to Come

The following is the text of a leaflet by the Revolutionary Worker which was distributed nationwide this past week.

Miami, Florida, Wednesday, May 21. The uprising of the Black people in this city has been a mighty shock wave blasting through the area like an A-bomb. The authorities, stunned, have moved thousands of troops into the area. "Order has been restored," the officials have pronounced (and prayed) from their various safety zones—their mayoral offices, their TV studios. A tense calm hangs in the air and to many people here it seems like a lifetime has been crammed into a few short days.

"Not guilty," the jury had said only last Saturday afternoon as four murdering pigs were cut loose.

"Guilty!" the people had said only hours later; and then they blew Miami—and the whole U.S.A.—wide open. For three days the Black people of Miami were in the streets—up against hundreds of Florida cops; up against thousands of National Guard; up against the three-piece suits from the FBI to the Uncle Andy Youngs and Jesse Jacksons; up against the whole stinking system that subjected brother McDuffie to a quick death just like it subjects millions of other Black people, and people of all nationalities, to a slow death every day.

Thousands had stormed untouchable buildings of the state, attacking first Miami's Metro Justice building, then attempting to do the same to the Department of Public Safety—the pig station. Then came a night of the "worst violence and destruction in Florida's history," as the press described it. But even the newspapers had to admit that by and large, the targets of the people's rage were not corner grocery stores but institutions symbolic of the oppression of the masses of Black people.

Race riot! screamed the press in ever more deafening tones. Mobs of angry Blacks, they said, were ripping whites from cars and stomping them to death. Even Black against Black, they said. It supposedly testified to the "senselessness" of it all. But then their lies went up in smoke faster than the local rip-off food chain. As Florida Governor Graham was pleading for "just one night of brotherhood," the number of National Guardsmen

mounted to 4,000. The "tragic death toll" climbed all right—not at the hands of the people, but at the hands of the pigs. One Black man gunned down in a hail of rifle bullets as he rode his bicycle through a police roadblock. Another Black man shot to death as pigs pumped his pickup full of lead and then beat the hell out of his son who had managed to survive. Yet another Black man was shot for "looting."

A weekend of "senseless violence"? The armed might of the capitalist state concentrated in a fashion not seen in over a decade for the purpose of protecting the people from *each other*? No class-conscious worker could swallow all these tales. No, this was neither "senseless" nor "Black against white." It was a righteous rebellion against national oppression, and a blow struck by Miami's Black people objectively on behalf of all oppressed and exploited. Every oppressed Black person, every class-conscious worker, could walk tall these days. It was a time for rejoicing—for once it was the people who had the authorities on the run.

We got a glimpse of this festival of the oppressed as police cars were pictured burning and Black youth were pictured laughing and dancing behind stone-faced National Guardsmen. From beneath the life-squeezing assembly lines, from under the rubble of crumbling tenements, from behind the bars of cell blocks—we watched as the Black people of the northwestern area of Miami known as Liberty City were finally giving that name some meaning.

What the high and mighty couldn't stop with an M-16, they tried to stop with a smiling face. In flew two of their most distinguished firemen, "to try to translate rage into some kind of productive activity," as CBS news put it. Jesse Jackson was described visiting a Miami hospital and praying for the "riot victims." When a Black construction worker told Jackson how his car had been surrounded by four rabid cops who shot him in the hand, Jackson consoled: "Obviously you were an innocent victim. Do not let it embitter you." Later, hardly anyone showed up at a "peace rally" called by Jackson. Andrew Young, now the bourgeoisie's ambassador to the rebellious Miami Black people, appeared on TV and then at a rally of 1,000 people in the Miami ghetto. He was angrily booed off the stage, as people yelled, "Get that puppet out

of here!" As Young tried to scurry away, he was quickly cornered by the crowd. "What the hell are you doing here?" screamed one furious Black man who had to be restrained from tearing Young apart.

And then, another "reason" was

discovered for the smoke over Miami's skyline. A Harris poll, widely publicized in the press, announced that the majority of Miami's Blacks believe that the rebellion was triggered by the recent arrival of thousands of Cuban refugees

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Miami youth give occupation troops all the respect they deserve.

# African Liberation Day—1980

As this year's African Liberation Day approaches, there is much struggle focused on the questions: What has happened in the recent period in Africa? Where have the liberation struggles led and why? What are the roles of the superpowers?

In the mid-1960's and throughout most of the 1970's many drew inspiration and built righteous support for the armed liberation struggles in Africa, particularly the revolutionary wars against Portuguese colonialism (financed and armed by the U.S.) in Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Angola and against the white settler governments that preserved imperialist domination in southern Africa, especially Zimbabwe. Many hoped that these armed struggles would end differently than the early period of anti-colonial struggles in the 1950's and early 1960's, when neo-colonial black faces trained and groomed by the imperialists replaced the former openly colonial governments. Then came Angola in 1975, when, just as the Angolan people beat Portuguese colonialism guns in hand, they were ushered into the arms of Soviet domination by the leadership of the MPLA, which had led the anti-Portuguese struggle. "We don't have any colonies in Africa, we just want to help you win independence and develop your economy," said U.S. imperialism as it snatched up the former colonies of its imperialist partners in the 1950's and early 1960's, and this song was repeated by the Soviet imperialists with only the slightest changes as they too began to feast on the African people.

Now in Zimbabwe the last of this period's major anti-colonial and anti-white settler struggles has ended in capitulation, as the likes of the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Economist*, the *New York Times* and other enemies of the people greet Robert Mugabe as someone who at least can really run Zimbabwe—for them of course. The depths to which some formerly anti-imperialist African leaders have fallen is illustrated by the President of Guinea, who in the late 1960's pointed out that the only answer to the oppression of Black people in the U.S. was armed revolution. In August 1979, speaking in Harlem, he changed his tune: "Change has brought happiness to our Black brothers and sisters who are more and more rehabilitated within American society." Of course, it wasn't the brothers and sisters who changed, but Sekou Touré.

It is clear that for many who at one point seemed to be revolutionaries, the armed struggle of the masses was no more than a Visa Card to get them where they wanted. But these weaknesses can't be understood simply by saying that "the brother sold out."

The forces who took the lead in the struggles against colonialism and the white settler regimes represented *classes* and *classes* have interests—material interests and material stakes. Most of them have represented the emerging bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie who, while opposing the old imperialist set-up, restricted the masses to serve their own interests, rather than leading and unleashing the masses to thoroughly and completely rip out imperialism and the structure imposed on these countries, eliminating all its remains and every form of oppression and inequality and ultimately moving on to communism. This is true even though the leadership in most of the armed struggles was made up of people who claimed to be Marxists—a fact which testifies to the prestige of Marxism and to the revolutionary determination of the masses of people who fought these liberation wars and not to the actual political and ideological outlook of those who led most of them.

Those who justify the way things have ended up and others who don't like it but don't know what else could happen raise all sorts of objections. Some now say "Doesn't Mugabe need the U.S.?" Many others, even some of the same people, say "How could Africans have waged armed struggle without the Soviet Union? Wouldn't that mean fighting rockets with knives?" Yet it is Soviet "aid"—and the guiles and mercenaries of Fidel Castro—that have delivered up much of Africa to Soviet domination. Just how little this domination differs from that of the U.S. can be seen in the hungry comments of the U.S. imperialists—for instance in the May 2 *Christian Science Monitor* article drooling over the prospects that puppets such as the MPLA in Angola who have served Soviet

masters could just as well serve Americans if the price was right and the wind in the right direction.

The idea that only Soviet/Cuban tanks can win battles flies in the face of what reality has already proved in Africa. After all, up until the very end of the wars which drove out Portuguese colonialism, Soviet aid ranged from small to insignificant. And in Eritrea, under the heel of Soviet/Cuban divisions and their Ethiopian puppets, the people have not only successfully held off 15,000 Cuban troops and \$1 billion in Soviet arms, but have delivered such serious losses to the Soviet/Cuban Ethiopian forces that this situation can be compared to what the U.S. faced in Vietnam.

What is going on in Africa today is part of what's going on in the whole world. The U.S. and the USSR are scrambling for its wealth and strategic locations as part of their overall scramble for a global showdown to settle who gets what on a world level. While many bourgeois forces would carry out vacillating resistance to imperialism in the previous decades, today the wind is blowing very hard and the weak are bending. The only thing that could enable a Guinea or an Angola to stand up to the mortal threats and empty promises of the two superpowers is by unleashing and relying on the masses in a way that the bourgeoisie who live off the masses can never do, even though such forces have played and could play a more progressive, if vacillating, role, especially under the firm leadership of the proletariat.

But does this prove that revolution in Africa is impossible and that Africans may as well sell themselves to the Soviets—or once again to the U.S.—for weapons which they will be allowed to wield in the service of the new op-

pressors? Just the contrary. It proves that the revolutionary wars which have been so heroic so far have not sufficiently tapped and brought forward the revolutionary heroism of the people. It is not that revolution has failed, but that it has not gone far enough, and not that revolutionary leadership has led only to new oppression, but that the African people need even more thoroughly revolutionary leadership.

The meddling of these superpowers, too, while it brings misery, also brings further opportunities for revolution. Africa, and the African masses are increasingly being pulled into the whirlpool of international events. All this, in the context of sharpening rivalry and impending war between the superpower blocs, makes the situation all the more volatile and opens up new revolutionary possibilities.

The flame of revolution in Africa, far from dying out, is spreading. Fresh forces are bursting into battle in French West Africa. Soviet domination is bleeding in East Africa. And South Africa, that Grand Wizard of white colonial domination, is once again being shaken. The struggles in Africa over the last decade have had one lasting effect that in fact is more important than the setbacks they have suffered—they have inspired and propelled forward millions of people around the world, including within the U.S., one of the two main pillars of oppression in Africa.

In the current world situation, the need for genuine revolutionary leadership to steer through the storms stands out all the more as the key to victory. For this reason, as part of intensifying the worldwide struggle against imperialism, revolutionaries on all continents, while supporting every sort of blow—even vacillating resistance—against the imperialists, will give special encouragement and support to the development of proletarian communist leadership in the struggles everywhere, including in Africa.

## Kalamazoo, Michigan

### A Tornado Hit— But Capitalism Was The Crippler

Explosions everywhere, buildings crumbling, debris flying, the dead and injured buried under tons of rubble. Later a curfew and troopers with guns stalking the streets to prevent "imminent looting."

This was the aftermath of the killer tornado that struck Kalamazoo, Michigan on Tuesday, May 14, leaving 5 dead, hundreds injured and more than 1,000 without homes.

Immediately after the tornado, the people of Kalamazoo emerged from where they had been taking shelter. The main concern was for human lives—to search for possible survivors in the rubble and to get the injured to hospitals. In the neighborhoods, teams of 10 or so people went from door to door to make sure no one was hurt. On every street where there were downed traffic lights people spontaneously jumped in to direct traffic.

The ruling class's dogs were in the streets too—hundreds of police, deputy sheriffs, state troopers—up to 600 by nightfall. And what were they doing? In some cases, the pigs just stood around scratching their asses while the people took charge. But more typical was an incident at Gilmore's, a big department store, where a wall had fallen burying 5 workers beneath it.

Bystanders had rushed to the collapsed wall digging as fast as possible through the rubble where they could see the arm of at least one victim; they were frantically trying to get her out. James Gilmore, one of the millionaire owners of the store stood by passively, never attempting to help. The police arrived, and began pushing people around and barking orders. One state trooper climbed up on the rubble heap *right on top* of the buried victim. He shouted threats and orders at the people to stop their rescue attempts! What did it matter that someone was dying under his feet as long as the rabble was kept away

from the clock radios, men's suits and winter coats that were lying strewn all over Gilmore's?

The downtown area was put under a "state of emergency" (read: martial law) with a 9 p.m. curfew and passes were required for anyone to enter the area. One woman, carrying an injured child, was told by police that she *could not cross* the downtown area to get to a hospital a few blocks away. Instead she had to walk around, a much longer distance. Workers at the Hilton, made to work past the curfew over their protests, were told by police that they would have to "run a gauntlet for being out on the street without a pass." Several people were arrested for curfew violations.

The number of police stationed at big stores like Gilmore's and at the Industrial Bank Building made it clear what these pigs were there to protect. All the city's resources were directed at cleaning up the downtown area and getting it back to "business as usual" while people's devastated homes remained untouched. Crews worked day and night so that stores would open and people could have their pockets picked again as soon as possible. The day after the tornado, Gilmore's opened its men's department and invited people in to shop in the store that had been a tomb for 2 workers.

But what the capitalists couldn't clean up or paint over was the truth about how they had conducted their murdering "business as usual" as the life-threatening tornado was approaching. Again Gilmore's is a disgustingly sharp example.

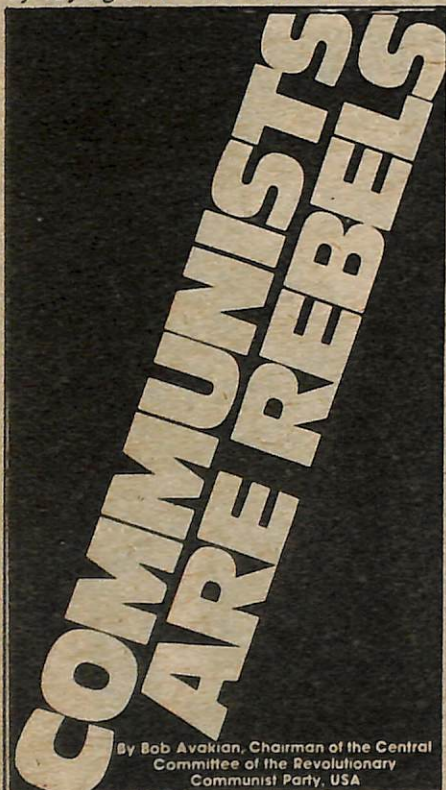
Management had heard the tornado warning, but decided to let their workers finish totaling up their cash receipts and taking them upstairs before these workers were warned. When a warning was finally sounded a few seconds before the tornado hit, instead of

putting people in the basement which they claimed would be unsafe, they pushed people out the back door towards a nearby parking structure. As some of the clerks, who had been counting money as the storm approached, were leaving the building the back wall collapsed. Two were killed and 3 seriously injured. Many had leveled accusations that Gilmore's management drove the workers outside to avoid lawsuits from injuries incurred inside this building. Gilmore's is now trying to get the workers to sign a statement defending management's actions during the tornado!

But Gilmore's was not alone in these crimes. At the Fisher Body Plant in Kalamazoo, no warning siren was even sounded. A motorcycle shop right nearby was flattened. If there had been a direct hit on Fisher Body 1,000 workers would have been caught in the middle of flying sheet metal and machinery.

At the Reynolds Metal Company near Kalamazoo, management openly refused to sound the siren because it would disrupt production. Some workers walked out in protest and 3/4 of the 200-men workforce have filed grievances over the company's wanton disregard for their lives.

None of this was brought up in the media. Instead, the authorities were praised for their handling of the situation and the destruction summarized as the result of powerful natural forces beyond the control of man. But when the dust had cleared, a force was revealed standing as a savage obstacle to the ability of the masses of people to deal with the disaster: the life-damning drive for profit of the capitalist system—and the dictatorship this class wields to protect their profits—was exposed as a force more responsible for the loss of life and potential loss of life than the tornado itself.



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

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

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# Iranian Revolution: How the People See It on the Streets of Tehran

It is refreshingly impossible to get out of the airport in Iran without at least a one hour discussion with half a dozen or so different people on the recent U.S. attacks on the Iranian revolution, the present state of the movement in Iran, and the future strategy of U.S. imperialism in Iran. But it is when you drive through the streets that you get an inkling of what kind of massive revolutionary movement has engulfed the country. The walls alone tell part of the story. It is as if a huge wave of revolution rushed through the whole city, leaving on every wall, on every smooth vertical space—up to the height of an outstretched arm—a layer, often five or six layers deep of political posters and graffiti. 101 ways to say down with U.S. imperialism and that the Iranian revolution will not be stopped.

But as one becomes more familiar with the present state of the struggle, it becomes clearer that the massive movement, the unity and euphoria that characterized the period immediately after the seizure of the embassy, and raged over those battles over the fate of the captured U.S. spies, has given way to a new dynamic in the ever changing, topsy-turvy ebbs and flows that characterize a revolution.

After the U.S. began to apply pressure in earnest upon Iran, the government, which was never happy with the massive outburst of popular struggle when the embassy was taken, took steps to crush the revolutionary Left—their main source of opposition and continued anti-imperialist struggle—and to consolidate power. The embassy struggle was dangerous for Iran's bourgeois forces since it raised the ques-

tion of what it will take to completely break off the grip of imperialism on Iran—it placed this question on the agenda for millions.

The Revolutionary Council attempted to take the struggle around the hostages off center stage—leaving the decision to the parliament in June with Khomeini's blessings. New attacks were unleashed aimed at dividing the masses and crushing the Left in Kurdistan and at the universities. And a new round of in-fighting, especially around the parliamentary elections and the appointment of a new prime minister, began among the ruling classes in Iran.

The whirlwind of activity of several months ago has been replaced with a funny sort of intense calm; an uneasy combination of confidence and foreboding, a mixture of trust for the leadership of Khomeini and awareness that there are serious problems in the directions that he and other leaders of the "Islamic Republic" are leading things.

Knots of people cluster on street corners, especially near Tehran University, intensely debating sometimes into the night the future of the revolution, the recent attacks on the Left and the strategy of U.S. imperialism. People avidly read the big-character posters, usually on the latest developments in the Kurdish fighting (since none of the official newspapers carry anything remotely true about this struggle). The recent attacks on the revolutionary forces don't seem to have taken hold on the masses as they have in the past. Someone seeing a big-character poster around Kurdistan yelled to the crowd

of thirty or so reading it to "tear this anti-revolutionary trash down." He was ignored. (There have been other examples of reactionaries trying to carry out this threat being stopped by crowds of people on the street.)

We later passed a funeral near the embassy honoring one of the government's "revolutionary guards" (Pasdaran) killed in the Kurdish fighting, but the crowd is a small 2000-3000. Even the uniformed Pasdaran look downcast over the situation. When the chant "Death to the Fedayeen" is raised, people along the street grit their teeth. Instead, someone else begins to shout "Death to U.S. Imperialism." The sidewalk opposite from Tehran University has virtually been taken over by tables of Marxist-Leninist literature. Traffic is brisk. "All the educated youth are turning to Marxism," a clerk at the airport told us despairingly.

At the same time many people still have faith in the present leadership, most strongly in Khomeini. This comes not only from the experience of the revolution that brought down the Shah's hated dictatorship and from the actions around the captured U.S. embassy, but is also due to the constant ideological barrage aimed at proving Islam to be the true revolutionary ideology that is alone capable of eliminating the oppression of the masses. "Our people's ideology is Islam," one student told us, "we follow this ideology to be free from the influence of imperialism, either East or West. It has shown itself in Iran to be more revolutionary than Marxism."

But the trend is toward more serious questioning about where the Iranian revolution is headed. It is becoming obvious to millions as inflation is running over 25% with millions unemployed, that it will take more than seizing the U.S. embassy—as important as it has been in frustrating U.S. attempts to rally the forces of reaction in Iran—to wage a thoroughgoing revolution that will break imperialism's hammerlock, more than a half century strong, on their country. And it is becoming increasingly obvious through their talk and action, that the present government

must not only cannot answer these problems, but is an obstacle to doing so.

This debate also rages around the content of the so-called "Islamic cultural revolution" in the universities: to eliminate everything "western" from the universities—including Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the oppressed everywhere in the world. Or to eliminate everything *imperialist* from the universities. I was riding in a taxi with a man reading *Inside the People's Republic of China*. He explained, "I got it to find out what was going on with this cultural revolution," determined to learn about revolution the world over and not simply the government's latest definition of the "Islamic revolution." The government is now threatening to close down the country's universities for the next year and has set June 4 as the date for doing so. Everyone in Tehran is looking toward this day—and many believe that this may signal an all-out attack on the revolutionary Left on the part of the government in the near future.

Since the capture of the U.S. embassy and the fiasco at Tabas, there is a new sense of confidence in strength of the Iranian revolution. "Afraid of a U.S. attack?!" one woman asked us in disbelief, "why that is the best thing that the U.S. could do for our revolution." "The U.S. cannot do anything," proclaimed a five foot high wall near the embassy. Another man asked us to encourage Carter to send another mission to Iran since "our helicopters are running short of spare parts." Another man spoke for the thousands and millions who are ready to sacrifice their lives in defense of the revolution, "Look they can bomb and kill people but they can't win!"

There is widespread apprehension about an attempted coup d'etat led directly by the U.S. in the immediate future. The U.S. attack on Tabas revealed not only the U.S. imperialists' growing desperation but the active presence within Iran itself of pro-imperialist Iranian reactionaries. It has become widely known that days before the attack, all the anti-aircraft guns had been removed from Tehran. Many

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(Left) Peshmergas—Kurdish freedom fighters—stand guard in Baneh, one of the cities where fighting between Kurdish revolutionaries and government troops has been sharpest in recent weeks. Throughout Kurdistan, the civilian population has been subject to repeated government aerial bombing and artillery attacks. (Below) Hospital in Baneh.



Revolutionary Worker

# The Conflicts Beneath Quebec Referendum

The Quebec referendum vote on May 20 is being called a "landmark" decision for Canada, a solid rejection by Quebec voters of the ruling Parti Quebecois (PQ) proposal to negotiate pulling Quebec out of the federal government through "sovereignty-association." In essence, however, this "historic" bid for the resolution of the long-standing oppression of this French-speaking province was little more than a public political stage for the tug of war between Canada's capitalist ruling class and Quebec's budding capitalists battling for a better deal. The referendum was thoroughly reactionary: both the "yes" and "no" options represented outright attacks on the Quebec people's struggle.

For the referendum authors of the "yes" camp—PQ chieftain René Lévesque and fellow profiteers—supposedly going to bat for Quebec, the campaign was an undisguised attempt to ride the crest of the genuine and widespread hatred among French-speaking Canadians for national oppression and inequality, in order to set up their own "sovereign" state which would give them more freedom to build up their own national bourgeois interests. The "no" clan—which included the Quebec Liberal Party and French capitalists already closely tied to the rest of the Canadian ruling class, as well as nearly unlimited funds and volunteer help from the Canadian federal government and media—used the referendum campaign both to drum up prejudice against the French-speaking minority among English Canadians, and to reaffirm the authority of Canadian imperialist rule in the name of one united Canada, "beautiful and diverse"—"Let's solve our differences together under one roof" (and you be the floor).

Despite all the fanfare, the referendum itself was neither far-reaching nor binding. Billed as a "People's Mandate," it was about as liberating as voting for draft notices and layoff papers in French instead of English. The scope of Lévesque's dream is limited to creating a sovereign political government that would levy its own taxes, make its own laws, have its own seat in the UN and its own relationship to NATO. However, sovereign Quebec would maintain an economic association with the rest of Canada, the same system of currency as Canada, and would not restrict trade back and forth. In other words, since nothing would

change economically, Quebec would still be dominated by Canada's ruling imperialists (although an independent Quebec might fall even more deeply into the clutches of U.S. imperialism, which already owns a good chunk of Canada). And even if the referendum had passed, it was only a referendum on whether or not to negotiate the terms of another referendum...and so on. The bottom line of the great referendum hoax is that it changed nothing, and the changes that it called for would certainly not have led to self-determination for Quebec nor put Quebec's people in any better position to overthrow the Canadian bourgeoisie, which is the only way that national oppression and all other oppression they face can be ended.

So why the big flap about this toothless bill? It became the major political question in Quebec and a subject that everyone had an opinion on throughout Canada. It was the target of massive PR campaigns, slick full-color propaganda brochures by some of the biggest Canadian corporations, and the focus of labor conventions and nightly political gatherings for months. Any francophones (French-speaking people) who voiced scepticism of the value of the referendum and the PQ's intentions were labeled traitors to the nation. Opponents of the "yes" position had to consider facing right-wing former boxer Reggie Chartrand's Chevaliers (knights) de l'indépendance—or the "Quebec National Guard" as they like to call themselves—if they showed up at a PQ-organized event to put out a different view.

The rival Liberal Party spearheading the "no's" in Quebec, brazenly stated that it intended to grab power back from the PQ in the coming year anyway and will ignore the referendum, all the while branding the separatists as communists or fascists according to their audience. Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau himself, speaking for the British Canadian ruling class, made passionate oratorical pleas to his fellow francophones to remember the old saying: "Either we're Canadians, or we're not," at the same time pledging that he would fight to make things better for Quebec under renewed federalism. And when this prose wore thin, he laid it out straight: Quebec can have referendums every day if it wants, but he and the other government officials who rule all of Canada will never negotiate Quebec's separation.

Exactly the reason this debate has

sharpened up so intensely and bitterly is testimony not to the referendum's content but to the depth of the contradictions between the Canadian ruling class and the French-speaking masses, who make up nearly one-third of Canada's 24 million people. The question of national oppression for Quebec—an oppressed nation within an imperialist country—is very real for its 80% francophone population.

Quebec, Canada's largest province, was first colonized by the King of France in 1608, but finally fell to British troops in 1760 as Britain moved through Canada cleaning up territories gained from tradeoffs with rival Europeans during the early colonial wars. The British practiced a policy of gradual but forced assimilation to try to wipe out French language and culture. In 1840 this took the form of the Union Act, which guaranteed the English-speaking province of what is today Ontario privileges to ensure its political and legislative control over then Upper Canada (Quebec). Early on, the distinct national character of the French-speaking people became the basis for imposing worse living conditions and fostering divisions among the English and French settlers. As capitalism developed in Canada, so did national oppression of the French minority and the many other minority nationalities—Native Americans and numerous European immigrants—who were used as a cheap source of labor and denied the right to English-only jobs and positions.

Still today, a main focus in the struggle against national oppression is the right to work in French. For instance, the GM plant at Ste. Therese has for years refused to translate its manuals into French so that the workers can read them. Job discrimination is still very sharp. At Air Canada in Quebec, 70% of the employees are English-speaking, while 80% of the population is French-speaking. Only the janitors are majority French. Wages of francophones are lower than the national average, and within Quebec are more than 18% lower than those of English-speaking Quebecers. The education and health systems are based on separate networks for English and French-speaking people. Anglophones have twice as many university degrees as francophones. In 1979-80, grants to private English schools were increased by 8%, while the public education budget was slashed. Unemployment, nearly 10% in Quebec, is higher by 2.5% than in the rest of the country. Inequality in housing, a higher infant mortality and death rate among the French-Canadians—the list goes on.

It is these conditions and the historic desire not to be assimilated that have given rise to breakouts of sharp struggle against British Canadian rulers over the past 200 years. As early as 1837, a rebellion of French-speaking settlers in Quebec and English revolutionaries in lower Canada against the British was brutally suppressed. Significantly, on the eve of both imperialist world wars, Quebecers refused with a vengeance to be drafted into military service on the side of the British, as part of the anti-conscription movement organized by labor leaders throughout Canada. By the end of 1917, nearly 4,000 English and French rebels had been imprisoned and 4 were killed when the Canadian troops were called in to quell the resistance. In 1939, over 71% of Quebecers voted against conscription.

The 1960s and early '70s in Quebec were a period of militant, mass struggle, influenced heavily by the anti-war movement and the Black liberation movement in the U.S., and by armed struggles taking place in Africa and Asia. The national movement, which had previously been shaped by reactionary Quebec politicians in the '40s and '50s, began to take on a revolutionary character. Frustrated with the partial reforms of the Liberal Party's "Quiet Revolution" in the early '60s, groups like the FLQ—Quebec Liberation Front—were involved in a series of bombings and kidnappings that for a short time sparked popular support

against the French bureaucrats. There were also massive student demonstrations against the inequality between French and English universities. When the economic recession of 1966-70 hit, the Quebec government showed its true colors and began yanking back its reforms quickly, prompting the eruption of strikes in a number of different sectors. In the overall ferment of the period, the economic struggle of the working class became very tied to the growing militancy of the national movement, as thousands of workers joined students in the streets. Huge demonstrations in the late '60s met with brutal repression. This also coincided with student protests and the struggle against national oppression beginning to target the multinational corporations and capitalist system more directly. All hell broke loose in May 1972 when the Liberal Party jailed three union leaders for organizing strikes to protest wage controls, and a general strike broke out in dozens of Quebec cities that lasted a week, shutting down major industries and bringing many thousands of workers into political action.

The Parti Quebecois (PQ) was formed in 1968, emerging indirectly out of forces vying for control of the national movement. It brought together the more dedicated nationalist bourgeois elements who were convinced that complete political control over the government and resources of Quebec would do a lot more to promote "indigenous capitalism" than the halting reforms of the provincial ruling party at the time, the QLP (Quebec Liberal Party), and the restrictions that being tied into the federation imposed—but that it was "unrealistic" (in terms of their aspirations) to fight for an economic break with Canada's monopolists. So they set about channeling the fiery militancy of the national movement into its electoral "sovereignty association" solution. This included having to pay some attention to struggles of the working class in order to win union leaders' support away from the increasingly exposed Liberal Party. At the same time, the PQ took great pains not to step on the wrong toes or isolate itself from key links in big business; by 1976 it had gained enough of a popular base to win the provincial elections.

Lévesque's model of a French-speaking junior partner in imperialism is perhaps best illustrated by the blossoming Hydro-Quebec monopoly, the province's nationalized electrical power company, which is the biggest state corporation in all Canada with assets of \$12.8 billion. It has a policy of "buying Quebec," meaning that 80% of its investments are spent in the province to build up other indigenous enterprises, particularly ones that are major power-users. By 1978 it was ready to fly the coop, and HQ International was formed, exporting its capital to Argentina, Panama and South Korea, with plans to go to China and Saudi Arabia as well. Its "indigenous loyalties" to the masses on the other hand, have meant relying on the PQ to draft a law and order HQ workers back to work this past winter instead of meeting their demands, putting huge sums into construction of dams which will flood the land used by the native Atikamek-Montagnais people in the North Shore area of Quebec, and the outright seizure of native Inuit lands in 1975 for construction of the James Bay hydro-electrical project.

There is little ambiguity in the PQ's intentions with its referendum, one of the few in its ocean of platform promises from four years ago that it actually delivered, obviously because it has everything to gain in this attempt to carve out a little corner away from the bigger imperialist forces that control things tightly today. While using the masses in a bid for more leverage, the PQ—like the Liberal Party and major capitalists—has every interest in harnessing and holding back the struggle against national oppression. All of these slavemasters—whether big-time or budding wishful—are well aware of the powderkeg that could erupt from the national movement and are terrified of a repeat of the massive and militant outpourings of the 1960s and early '70s, which clearly would and will take on a different and higher form in this decade

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## This System Is Doomed Let's Finish It Off!

Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party at May Day rally, May 5, 1979 in Washington D.C. Includes historic call for revolutionary May Day demonstrations on May 1st, 1980.

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# NEW EVIDENCE OF PRO-U.S. COMPLICITY IN IRAN

Recently, the *Revolutionary Worker* has received first-hand reports from Iran and has obtained copies of startling maps found on board the U.S. helicopters abandoned in the Iranian desert. These show beyond doubt that reactionary forces in the Iranian military and government were involved in the recent U.S. military raid to "rescue" the American diplomats, CIA agents and other government personnel being held in Tehran at the time.

**Item No. 1:** According to an *RW* reporter who was on the scene in Tehran in the days immediately after the abortive raid, reliable sources revealed that on the weekend after the abortive raid, reliable sources revealed that on the weekend that the raid was supposed to take place, April 25-26 (Friday and Saturday), the city's anti-aircraft batteries had been removed, many radar operators were off on leave, and finally, someone just happened to leave the lights on in the stadium adjacent to the U.S. embassy compound, which was the "primary landing zone" for the U.S. helicopters that were supposed to fly into Tehran. Daily, more and more evidence is being brought to light about the active complicity in the U.S. raid of high-ranking officers in the Iranian army and air force—nearly all of whom were trained and worked hand-in-glove with the U.S. military under the Shah's 27-year dictatorship. These revelations go a long way toward explaining why Defense Secretary Brown has maintained repeatedly that he, President Carter and the Joint Chiefs of Staff expected the actual raid inside Tehran to be the "easiest" part of the operation.

**Item No. 2:** Only hours after the "great embassy raid" went up in smoke, Iranian President Bani-Sadr ordered the Iranian air force to bomb the abandoned U.S. helicopters at Tabas. In the newspaper *Bomdad*, Bani-Sadr offered the lame excuse that he did so to prevent the U.S. from retrieving the helicopters. Unfortunately for Bani-Sadr and the U.S. imperialists, this bombing raid failed, and his rivals on the Revolutionary Council got there first and scooped up the classified documents and maps on the planes. In addition to the bundles of Iranian and U.S. currency slated for paying off remaining collaborators, there were maps of the helicopter and C-130 landing zones to be used in the Tehran raid. The plans to land the C-130 transports ("bus stops" 13 and 14 on the map) so close to Tehran's main military bases demonstrates clearly the kind of "resistance" key sections of the Iranian military were going to put up to U.S. attack.

Faced with this mounting evidence of active collaboration of the Iranian military with the U.S., Bani-Sadr has tried to defend the military, quite unconvincingly, to the masses. After being forced to confirm rumors that a major radar installation located in the city of Kerman in southeastern Iran was shut down the night of the raid, Bani-Sadr said this was solely the result of "negligence." He added, "We cannot use the existence of these things to arouse suspicions that the whole army is working for foreigners, which is not true." If not the "whole army," Mr. Bani-Sadr, how about the generals who report directly to you?

**Item No. 3:** The map reprinted here was found in one of the abandoned U.S. helicopters, taken to Tehran and posted in the liberated U.S. embassy. A British newsmen photographed it there. These maps have been all but blotted out in the U.S. bourgeois press, and for

good reason. They clearly show, by the location of the helicopter landing areas inside Tehran ("EXTRACTION HELO LZ'S") that in addition to storming the captured embassy, the U.S. was also planning to spring the three U.S. embassy employees—including the No. 1 American diplomat in Iran, charge d'affaires Bruce Laingen—who had been officially "detained" in the Iranian foreign ministry since November 4, when the embassy was seized. Of the four helicopter landing zones in the center of the city (cleverly called "bus stops" on the map so no one could possibly figure out what they were referring to), two are right by the U.S. embassy, one is half-way between the Iranian foreign ministry and the embassy, and one is right down the street from the foreign ministry in front of the old prime minister's office.

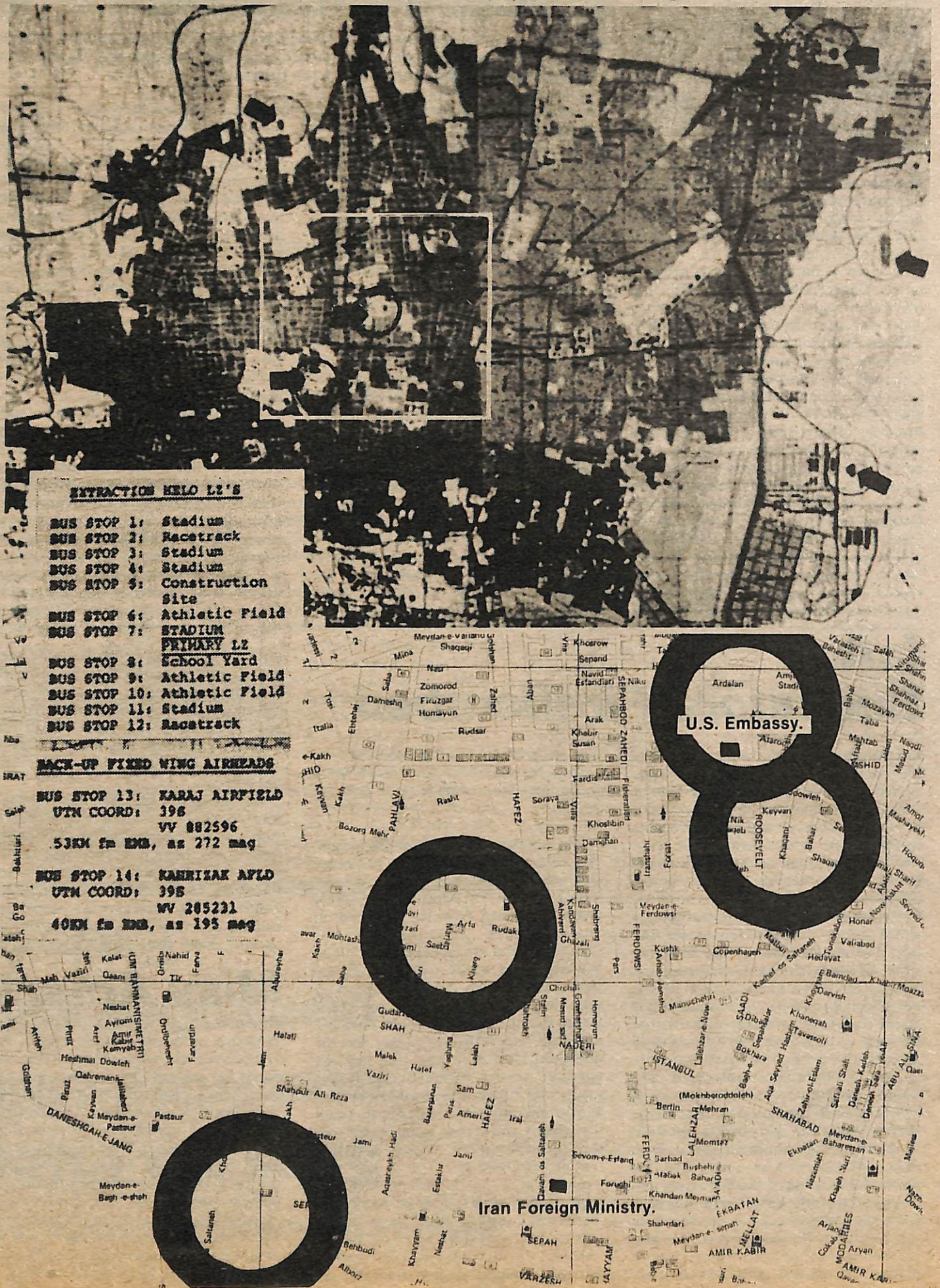
This raises some obvious questions that neither President Carter, the Joint Chiefs of Staff nor their handsomely bought-off "antagonists" of the press have seen fit to discuss. Just how were they going to retrieve these three U.S. diplomats? Were Col. Beckwith's ex-Green Beret stormtroopers going to blast into the Iranian foreign ministry? Or, were their people high up in the

Iranian government going to have them sitting on the front porch? The scene leads straight to Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh, for one, who has consistently been the leading advocate within the Bani-Sadr cabinet of bending over to the U.S. imperialists and returning the hostages without the return of the Shah and the billions of dollars in wealth that were his reward for doing the U.S. imperialists' bidding for more than two decades.

The attempts to divert attention from the part of the raid that was supposed to take place at the Iranian foreign ministry are clearly directed at shielding Ghotbzadeh and his boss, President Bani-Sadr. In fact, there is strong evidence to believe that Ghotbzadeh knew of the raid as early as April 11. The news magazine *Asiaweek* reported that it had learned from its sources in Paris that Ghotbzadeh had received a message, through an intermediary, from White House Chief of Staff Hamilton Jordan that a raid would be carried out before May 16. Though it is not clear if Ghotbzadeh and Bani-Sadr knew of the exact timing of the raid, the Iranian government had clearly been put on notice. Since their repeated efforts to derail the uncompromising anti-imperialist struggle of the Iranian

people for the return of the Shah had failed miserably, such a message was meant to gain the cooperation of the Iranian government and to warn them not to dare mess with the mighty U.S. armed forces.

In the days leading up to the raid, as hundreds of U.S. covert agents made their contacts with upper-class Iranians and officers, as the U.S. strike force assembled in Egypt and on the U.S. Fleet in the Indian Ocean, forces high up in the Iranian government betrayed the people of Iran and, either actively or by keeping silent, assisted the U.S. attack. Through a combination of external pressure and internal intrigue, forcing the Iranian government to fall back into line with the U.S. and to clamp down on the continuing revolutionary struggle of the masses has been a key objective of the U.S. imperialists since the fall of the Shah in early 1979. The whole story of the complicity of top Iranian officials has not been completely written, but they are already on the hot seat. Even as the government promises all sorts of "investigations" into the raid, the Iranian people are launching their own investigations that will surely turn up the rest of the evidence they will need to pass judgment and carry out the sentence. □



Above Right: Aerial map of Tehran found on abandoned U.S. helicopter, with landing zones for U.S. attackers circled.

Below: Close-up of the area around the U.S. embassy and Iran's foreign embassy and Iran's foreign ministry (marked by square above).

# Free the UN2!

Splash! went the red paint on the faces of the representatives of the two superpowers at the UN on the eve of May Day. This powerful action exposed before the world the moves towards World War 3 by the U.S. and the USSR. Two revolutionaries, Steven Yip and Glenn Gan, were arrested and held on \$100,000 bail. Steven Yip is out after signing a \$50,000 personal bond and putting up \$3000 in cash. But Glenn is still being held. On May 23 at the bail reduction hearing, the judge refused to accept €1800 in cash, a house as collateral, as well as a co-signer for the bail. Finally, the judge agreed to let him out only when \$5000 in hard cash is paid.

The incident at the UN has greatly stung the imperialists. And they are plotting for a speedy trial—a quick railroad, now set to start on June 23. One of the defense lawyers requested a delay in the trial to study the nature of the press coverage for prejudice and because of other pending cases. The judge was visibly angered and delivered a flat denial, saying that the trial has been set and should last no more than two days. The government is trying to make it an open and shut case, hoping for an easy conviction. The judge also blurted out, "Why can't people pursue the conventional forms of protest and not do things in bad taste?" He came very close to delivering a guilty verdict right on the spot.

A few days earlier, outside a hearing on terrorism in Newark, the FBI had other comments to pass on to the press. The assistant deputy for the FBI, Charles Monroe, was interviewed by a TV newscaster from New York City's Channel 11. That night the reporter gave her account of the hearing, and also, based on her interview with Monroe, the list of organizations targeted for investigation for terrorist activity, concluding that "with the political conventions coming up this summer, the FBI is watching the Revolutionary Communist Party, whose members tossed red paint at the Russian and American ambassadors at the UN." The video background for this report was a film clip of the bombed-out Cuban mission, accomplished by



United Nations, April 30th—Fashionably attired in banker's pinstripes, Brooks Brothers tweed, and red paint, the UN ambassadors from the Soviet Union (left) and the U.S. (right) are visibly upset as they discuss the most recent international incident with the press.

the Omega 7, a right-wing Cuban terrorist group, followed by a shot of U.S. envoy vanden Heuvel dripping in red. The image being conjured up here was quite obvious and deliberate—they are trying to slap a label of terrorism on the UN action and the RCP.

When asked about this three days later, the FBI's Monroe denied ever saying this. He said, "That's inaccurate... the FBI is not under investigation." Leo Gordon, counsel for the Judiciary Committee on Terrorism, said that the Party was not mentioned during the committee hearings—also stating, "I know the RCP is not a terrorist organization." Yet the reporter from Channel 11 who interviewed Monroe adamantly maintains that the report she gave was based on exactly what the FBI told her.

Foul plots afloat. It smacks of the same kind of sneaky tactics the Secret Service and the press tried to pull on the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, Bob Avakian, when the *L.A. Times* ran an article attributing to him a so-called quote threatening the president, a quote they were later forced to print a partial retraction of,

but which became the excuse to launch the nationwide Secret Service hounding of Bob Avakian.

In this case, the FBI and the ruling-class press are pulling similar tricks. The FBI floats out a little information to a person in the media, and then denies it, not publicly of course, and after it has been aired on TV. The TV station gleefully provides the visual effects to cap off the point. These connivers are out to frame the two revolutionaries arrested at the UN. Exactly what implications all this has for this case and for other things in the future still remains to be seen, but the government's intentions are clear.

The FBI says, yes, it did investigate the UN incident, but that was "routine" and is over with, and the UN action did not warrant an investigation into the entire group. Like hell! When they and a grand jury finished probing around, charges against the two were raised to conspiracy—conspiring between themselves and unnamed others, as well as assault charges—charges which carry possible sentences totaling 13 years for each defendant. The indict-

ments themselves have been signed by FBI agents.

What these back-handed ploys reveal is exactly the profound impact the action at the UN has had. It was an internationally acclaimed incident and a source of tremendous embarrassment to the two superpowers. It is precisely because this action spoke to and has aroused the revolutionary aspirations of millions throughout the world that they must now of necessity crawl around trying to slander it.

The trial will start in a month, with U.S. envoy vanden Heuvel scheduled to make a personal appearance. But the spotlight will not, however, be on him, but on the powerful action that occurred at the UN when red paint and red flags flew, and on the UN 2 revolutionaries.

To reach out to all the forces that have been touched by this action, for bail and for legal expenses, funds are needed. The statement of support and a poster are forthcoming. Send contributions to the National May Day Committee, P.O. Box 12039, Detroit, MI 48212. □

## L.A. Bookstore Firebombed

Los Angeles, May 20. In the early morning darkness just before 2 a.m., the barred shuttered window in the rear of Liberation Books was bashed in, and a firebomb was exploded just inside the window. The flames from the intense fire spread through the back half of the bookstore, destroying most of the posters (including many from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China—now irreplaceable), while the heat and smoke from the fire filled the store, severely damaging many of the books. Only the quick action of the neighboring residents, who sounded the alarm and then gathered to insist that firemen protect the books, enabled most of the stock to be saved.

This cowardly attack had the signature of the supposedly defunct FBI COINTELPRO program written on the flames. Just two nights before, an RCP spokesman had appeared on a local radio talk show and announced the name and location of the bookstore as a place to purchase Party literature. May 20 was exactly 4 weeks to the day from the murder of Damian Garcia; it is also the anniversary of the turning over of Cuba from the U.S. army to U.S. pup-

pets in 1902—a holiday celebrated by Cuban reactionaries who make up a well known labor pool for U.S. political police.

The fire department which had originally told neighbors that the bookstore fire was deliberately set and that there would be an investigation, suddenly changed its tune. Now the supervisor in charge claims that the fire was "routine," and the report on it won't be available for 3 weeks, with no investigation planned. The insurance agency is now claiming that it never received the last payment on the insurance premium and they are refusing to pay for the damages. If it is in fact true that the agency never received the payment—which was sent through the mail as all previous payments had been—then it is clearly more than coincidence that this particular piece of mail failed to reach its destination.

In recent weeks, a large number of undercover police have been nosing around the bookstore, checking out the outside as well as actually looking around inside the store until they get

booted out. Uniformed police have been heavily patrolling the block in front of the store, on a number of occasions ripping copies of the *Revolutionary Worker* out of the hands of those who had just bought them. It has even led to the arrest of several of those who protest this harassment.

But if they thought that firebombing a revolutionary bookstore would put a stop to the spread of revolutionary theory and literature, they had better think again; in fact, the ashes left are giving rise to something new. In the first 2 days after the attack, many people, including a number of carpenters and electricians, have come forward to donate

time and money to help rebuild the store, pressing to reopen it as soon as possible. Another bookstore in L.A. has promised to put together a "real nice display" of the Party's literature, including the draft of the *New Programme* and *New Constitution*, in the wake of the attack. And very significantly, a number of people who have been regular customers at the store, including many foreign born, have pledged to set up book tables at street corners, campuses, and political events all over the area. Once again the ruling class has lashed out only to find that they have picked up a rock to drop it on their own feet. □

## Miss America in Decline

Miami. Anita Bryant, former Miss America runner-up, plastic-smiled, patriotic warbler, and fundamentalist crusader for god, white America and the sacred inviolability of the American family has filed for divorce and declared her 20-year marriage to former disc-jockey Bob Green "irretrievably broken." It seems that Bryant, best known for her anti-homosexual pro-family *la Father Knows Best* and *Leave It To Beaver* crusade and her orange juice commercials, was no longer able to maintain the hypocritical happily-ever-after image she has worked so hard to

promote. She has been and is nothing but a mouthpiece for the ruling class spewing out their house-in-the-suburbs garbage. It is indeed fitting that this disgusting spokeswoman for the very dying class whose rule is ruthlessly tearing apart the family and promoting every form of pornography, degeneracy and degradation including homosexuality, while trotting out such ridiculous backward fools as her, should herself become an example of the reality behind the hypocrisy she has dedicated her life to promoting.



## Bob Avakian in D.C. in November—Part I

Beginning this week, the Revolutionary Worker is serializing the speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA at the Free Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants rally held in Washington, D.C. on November 18, 1979. Only a few days before the rally the case against the Mao Tsetung Defendants was dismissed in a lower court and immediately appealed to a higher one. This was a real victory—the government had been forced to back off, but it continued to plot and maneuver and charges totaling up to a possible 241 years of jail time for each defendant are still pending in the appeals court as the ruling class decides its next move. More attacks, including a Secret Service “investigation” of Bob Avakian have mounted in the meantime. Parts of this speech have already been printed in the Revolutionary Worker and in the pamphlet “Iran: It’s not our Embassy.” The text has been slightly edited for publication.

Thank you. I’m very glad to be here especially under these circumstances. (Wild Applause)

But I want to explain today what I mean by that, why I’m glad and more than that, what are the circumstances that we’re in today. Because it’s been repeatedly said that we won an important victory, we forced them to back up when they didn’t want to back up. We forced them to do what they never want to do, which is to recognize, even in their own perverted and twisted vision, a little bit the strength that we’ve already mobilized, and more than that to recognize and to try to find any kind of way to stomp down on, diffuse, and cut down the potential strength of the masses of people in this country. Because that’s what they’re afraid of. We should be very clear on that and have no misunderstanding about that.

You know, when all these posters went up all around the country with my picture on it, some of these little kids of some of the comrades here including some of the defendants asked me a question. You know how little kids are and how they’re conditioned from the TV from all the, what are they called, Superheroes fighting the legion of death, and the way in which those cartoons and in every other way history is presented as being made by a few supermen—not even hardly ever a few superwomen, though I guess they got a token, Wonder Woman, in there. But history is always presented even to little kids from the time they start watching the TV, even before they learn to read and write, even before they go to school to get officially brainwashed, they start conditioning them on the TV that history is made by a few great individuals. Some of these little kids come up to me and look at all these posters and they said, “Bob Avakian, can you whip Superman?”

You know I went and saw this movie not too long ago, “Enter the Dragon,” and Bruce Lee looked like he could whip up on everybody. Twenty or thirty dudes got around him and he could still deal with it. But Bruce Lee’s dead. See that shit don’t stop no bullets, and more than that, it doesn’t do what has to be done. I’m not saying that we shouldn’t be able to defend ourselves. And if people want to mess with our Party—with the collective strength of our Party, the ruling class has already found out and got a taste of what it means to mess with our Party, and more than that, to mess with the working class and the masses of people that we represent. But the point is, no, I can’t whip Superman and neither can anybody because there ain’t no Superman. There ain’t none of these superheroes out here. Nobody’s going to come down from Krypton or Massachusetts or anywhere else and give us our salvation. The real strength that we have—the strength that’s been shown in actuality, and much more than that, the potential strength that they can recognize, that struck fear in them, that they had to back up from and try to tactically maneuver—was the strength of the masses of people becoming aroused and conscious and guided and struggling behind a correct political and ideological line and understanding. That’s what they’re afraid of. And they got goddamn good reason to be afraid of it because that’s the one thing that will be invincible and guarantee our victory—the masses of people becoming politically aroused.

You’ve heard many different messages here today at this rally, I particularly want to refer right now to the messages that came from among our own class of people—the messages that came from the people who are enslaved, the exploited, the oppressed, the degraded people under this society. What was the most important point, what was the essence of those messages, what were they really getting at? What were they really talking about? That’s right, they were talking about freedom. But why did they step forward in this particular battle? What was it they recognized in our Party and in this battle that brought them forward? Because they see in this battle, they see in this Party, and they see in the revolutionary message that it has uncompromisingly carried forward, their own future. You see this is why people have opened their doors, this is why people who have no coats for their kids in winter have come forward and donated their lives and donated their resources and donated their energies to take up this battle. They recognize that what we’re talking about here, is not simply or even mainly the question of one individual or even simply the Party in and of and by itself. Because there’d be no reason for people to make sacrifices, there’d be no reason for people to struggle—to rise in defense of myself and of our Party, if in fact in turn our Party didn’t represent and didn’t concentrate the highest hopes and aspirations, and

# They Can't Believe We'll Rise Above the Muck and the Mire

more than that, the strivings and strugglings of people to be free of all this madness, and represent the goal of helping move ourselves and people all over the world beyond this mad-dog condition.

If our Party didn’t represent that; if this line of the Party wasn’t the line that enabled us to correctly analyze the world, and on that basis develop the policies and the program and the strategies and the tactics to change the world for the first time fully in accordance with our own interests and with our interests of emancipating the oppressed people all over the world and advancing mankind to a whole new stage of history; if that isn’t what we represented and concentrated in our Party and in the line it takes out to the masses of people, then our Party wouldn’t be worth people sacrificing for. My leadership and the leadership of the Party wouldn’t be worth a damn and it wouldn’t be worth people struggling. It wouldn’t be worth people coming forward putting their lives on the line, or opening their doors and welcoming these fighters who’ve come forward—joining with thousands all over the country who’ve stepped forward in this battle. But that is precisely what our Party *does* represent. And that is exactly why people have stepped forward. And that’s the very thing that the ruling class could never believe would happen and the very thing that, yes indeed, literally makes them tremble and back up in fear and scratch their heads, and more than that, moan and weep trying to figure out how to deal with it. The very thing that they never counted on.

They didn’t count on it in Iran, they didn’t count on it in Nicaragua, and they don’t count on it here—and that is the masses of people that they hold in the most miserable conditions of slavery and treat literally like so many animals to be worked to death and then be cast aside and be sent off to the glue factory to have their last bit of wealth pulled out of even their deaths. Those masses of people who they count as unthinking beasts, count on being unable to think and rise anywhere above the animal level that they are continually forcing us down into in this dog-eat-dog society. They never can calculate and they never can understand, though they fear it through their own blind desperation, *how it is* that the masses of people—the working class and other oppressed people of society—can raise their heads up and look to the farthest horizons, look to the vision of the future, and more than that, can actually take up and wield as a mighty weapon this revolutionary line, this revolutionary science that we have learned from Marx and Lenin and Mao Tsetung.

### Condescending Oppressors

See, I went around and I had the distinct displeasure—and I have to say overwhelmingly with a few exceptions—the distinct displeasure of having to be interviewed by and talked to by hundreds and hundreds of these media people in the last couple of months. Although some of them are honest, are trying to understand the world, and some of them are even taking a positive or progressive stand or at least have some sense of integrity, overwhelmingly at this point most of them have to be characterized as paid prostitutes and cheap prize-fighters for this reactionary system. And the one thing that they uniformly told me—in one way or another all of them tried to drive home to me from Hawaii to Boston to Los Angeles to Atlanta and everywhere in between—was, “Listen what makes you think that the working class and the people you say are the oppressed people in this society are interested in all this politics and more than that all this philosophy—all this revolutionary science? *What*

*makes you think they give a damn about Marx and Lenin and Mao Tsetung?”*

One reactionary idiot in Hawaii, one of these megaphones, one of these bullhorns for the ruling class, mid-morning talk show host, got up and said it the way they *always* talk about it—he just put it straight out there. Speaking about our meeting we were having there on the speaking tour he said, “Listen, the biggest mistake that the Revolutionary Communist Party is making is charging people some money to come down and hear this man speak.” “*I know my audience,*” he said like the typical condescending oppressor. “*I know all those poor people out there, I understand ’em and if there’s one thing they want, if there’s one thing they’ll go for it’s a freebie! Give ’em somethin’ free and you can get them to do any goddamn thing.*” You see this is the way they look at us. This is the way they look at the working class. This is the way they look at the oppressed people in this society and throughout the world: “They don’t give a damn! They don’t know about and they don’t want to know about what’s going on in this society and around the world. They don’t care about taking history into their hands, they are incapable of and unconcerned with getting a scientific view of nature, of society and of people’s thinking and how these things move and develop and change! They are in no way capable of and don’t give a damn about grasping revolutionary theory and revolutionary politics and rising up to change the world! It’s a hopeless dream you have.”

Some of them say, “It may be nice. It may be idealistic, you’re very visionary, you have a few good ideas, it’s nice to have a vision but it’s completely unrealistic ’cause you gotta understand the masses of people are a bunch of selfish, ignorant foolish slobs and that’s all they ever wanta be and that’s all they’re ever gonna be!” One after another in one way or another all of them came forward to put out this message.

I told one of these interviewers about when we were in a housing project in Atlanta—I told him: “Listen, I don’t believe what you say because I went out in Atlanta into a housing project among the people you say are the most ignorant, the most incapable of grasping or even caring about these things, and I sold our paper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, and the main thing that I talked to people about in that whole paper, out of all the articles we had in there, was this article we had explaining the theories of Einstein.” And all of them laughed mockingly, one after another when I told them this. And they’d say, “You mean to tell me that not only yourself but members of your Party and people in a housing project actually care about and can understand Einstein’s theory?”

Now you understand the way the bourgeoisie puts it out. They try to wrap everything in mystery to make it appear that nobody but a handful of geniuses can possibly understand the world and therefore can possibly be entrusted to rule in society and to change the world in one direction or another. Only a handful of “geniuses” (like the people whose flunkies they are) can possibly understand the world and change it consciously. The bourgeoisie has a saying about Einstein’s theory. They say that only 13 people in the whole world have ever understood him—and Einstein isn’t even one of them. And that’s just a way of trying to take something that is a scientific principle, something which as far as Einstein’s theories are concerned are partially true and in fact advanced mankind’s knowledge, but run up against their limitations, run up against the reactionary and backward, limited philosophies of the ruling class in this country which turns things upside down, which tries to say that things are always the same and may be changed in a minor degree—things may change in quantity, bigger or smaller—but they never fundamentally change from one thing into another from a lower to a higher level. This upside down and reactionary view of theirs even infected Einstein and made him incapable of carrying through on some of the revolutionary scientific discoveries and theories that were being made at that time and which he, in a certain sense, pioneered in making. But that’s not something that can’t be understood. Once we get hold of this scientific understanding and this liberating science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, once we get a hold of this scientific method, we can analyze, we can investigate, we can understand and we can change, on that basis, every aspect of nature, society and even the people’s thinking.

And what we pointed out going into this housing project was, “Look, we’re talking about rising up and taking the whole world into our hands. We’re talking about overthrowing the reactionary bastions that are keeping the people in these miserable degrading conditions in the midst of all this wealth and all the means to produce vast wealth and distribute it among the people. We’re talking about rising up and overthrowing that, and more than that, continuing revolution to bury it once and for all. We’re talking about doing that. And *we are going* to understand, we are going to *struggle* to understand, because it *is* a struggle. We are going to *grasp* the theory of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. We don’t give a damn if the bourgeoisie told us we never can do it. In fact, we’ve learned, living the lives of slaves in this society, that so soon as that man ruling over you tells you this is something

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that you shouldn't have nothing to do with, that's the first goddamn thing you should go and check out!

In fact, the more they tell us to stay away from revolutionary theory, the more they mock and say, "Oh, Marx and Lenin and Mao Tsetung, what's that got to do with American people with their color TV"—the more they run all that old reactionary, tired, replay bullshit, the more we're going to go deeper into Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the more we're going to take it out to the masses of people. We're going to arm them with it so they can step forward consciously and do what has to be and needs to be and will be done which is to rise up consciously, millions strong and join the whole international working class and oppressed people throughout the world; rise up to make revolution, take this whole world into our own hands and transform it in the interests of the great majority and ultimately all of humanity.

## Understand and Change the World

So we're going to understand Einstein. We're going to study Einstein. We're not going to let the bourgeoisie have a monopoly on this understanding. We're not going to let them twist and pervert even scientific discoveries and knowledge to use them as weapons to keep the people ignorant, backward, divided and oppressed and exploited for yet another generation, yet another century, yet hundreds of more years. No! I agree wholeheartedly with the sentiment that was expressed earlier today in the message from brother Carl Harp [a Walla Walla prisoner—RW]. I agree fully and completely with what he meant and the sentiments he expressed, and the way he interpreted Marx when he said the point of all this is to *change* the world. And we have to get down a little deeper on that because Marx certainly did not deny the importance of understanding the world. What Marx did, what Marxism does, and what Mao Tsetung further developed it to do and to enable us to take up and do is to understand the world as it actually is and as it's actually changing and on *that* basis to act in accordance with and change and accelerate the process of history in order to make revolution.

So we have to analyze the world, we have to understand the world and we have to change the world. We have to do in fact what Marx did, what Lenin did, what Mao Tsetung did, and what our Party stands on—that is, constantly drawing the links between understanding the world and changing the world. We've got to study the world, we've got to understand everything about nature, we've got to understand everything about society and the way it's divided into classes, and how those classes struggle. We've got to understand how people's thinking is a reflection of the society they live in and of the nature they're interacting with and, on *that* basis and together with that, we have to constantly struggle and bring masses of people forward to consciously and ever more in a conscious way rise up and conquer every sphere. We're not going to leave a single sphere, we're not going to leave a single area, we're not going to leave a single field of investigation, whether it's philosophy, science, culture, politics, economics, social relations or personal relations, or anything else—we're not going to leave it to the bourgeoisie to have domination there. We're going to challenge them in every sphere as part of building the struggle towards the time when we can rise up and overthrow them and once we've overthrown them we're going to take hold of the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and I'll never tire, and our Party will never tire, of talking about this. But more than that, in unity with what brother Carl Harp said, we'll never tire of applying this to actually change the world and to lead masses of people to rise up and grab hold of every sphere, of every branch of knowledge, and use it as a tremendous material force with millions of people grasping and taking up, debating and struggling over the way forward, and then uniting on the way forward to consciously advance the cause of revolution and the cause of emancipating the people all over the world.

## Can We Rise Above the Muck?

What went on in this battle that we've been waging now for almost a year, what was concentrated in this battle, what came down between the two opposing sides in this battle, was a very important question which has been spoken to before and which I've just been speaking to. And that's the question of who, in fact, has the real power to take hold of and reshape society, and *can* the masses of people consciously grasp and on that basis fight for their own real interests? *Can* they unite in their higher interests? *Can* they rise above the muck and the filth and the mire? *Can* they see beyond the petty divisions, the crumbs and concessions they throw out, now to one group and now to another, the ways in which they divide and conquer and rule over us, the obstacles they place in our way, the way in which they send their agents out into our ranks to constantly detour us from the forward path? *Can* they in fact advance through all the twists and turns, even the setbacks and reversals, not just here but internationally? *Can* they rise above all that, unite in their higher interests, and move forward to change the whole world? And as I've said, the ruling

class has a very clear answer on this. It actually believes it. They actually see the world in this upside down way and they are determined that the masses of people will be indoctrinated with and will go along with this very idea. And it stems from the nature of their society, how it is divided into classes and how a handful under their system does monopolize and does use for its own private interests, for its own private gains, and its own private capital, the various spheres of knowledge. The masses of people are shut out from and sheltered away from being able to grasp and struggle over the road forward in all these various spheres of society and are told that they're only good to be workhorses, to be animals used up, to be a piece of machinery until its too old and thrown on the scrap heap or sent off to war when the inevitable workings of this system plunge it into crisis and the rulers have to mobilize the people to go out and fight and die to preserve this system and breathe a few last dying gasps into its rotting corpse.

That's the answer of the bourgeoisie: that the masses of people are incapable of grasping these things. And that's what they acted upon. Because I think we have to sum up the course of this Mao Tsetung Defendants battle so far and what were the lessons of this battle that we've been waging—of the victory we won and of the fight that lies ahead, not only around this particular battle but in a much more important sense and a broader way, the overall struggles that build toward revolution in this country.

## The Mao Defendants Battle

You see, when we had this demonstration on January 29th, 1979, the ruling class of this country thought when they came down and attacked that demonstration, when they brutalized us, maced us, beat us again in the jail, then started upping the charges and escalating them from a misdemeanor to a felony to 12, 15 and then 25 felony counts—they thought they were going to have a cheap and easy victory. They thought they were going to be able to wipe out, or to shatter and cripple, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the leadership of the revolutionary movement in this country, the vanguard of the working class and the masses of people in this country. They thought they were going to be able to do that, in a quick and easy way, in isolation, in the darkness, the way thieves like them always like to operate. They thought they could quickly grease up this legal railroad and run it through before anybody ever noticed. And what were they counting on? What in fact, were they basing these calculations on? Precisely and fundamentally, their understanding, their upside down, twisted, inside-out, perverted belief that the masses of people in this country—that the people in D.C. and the people in the factories, the people in the mills, the people in the shipyards, the people in the housing projects, the people in the ghettos, the slums and the barrios of this country could *never be concerned* about the questions that were being raised in that demonstration that night of January 29th when we went up in the face of this reactionary dog and boot-licking traitor Teng Hsiao-ping, who came here to set the world's record for belly-crawling on his knees before the ruling class of this country.

They were convinced that what they had not only on their hands but in their hands was simply and only a handful of fanatics, an isolated sect of maniacs and terrorists—people who didn't even know how to talk to the masses of people, people who had already written off the masses of people, who had adopted the very ideology that the ruling class based itself on, and promoted, inculcated and indoctrinated into the masses of people. They thought that we were going to follow their very ideology. They thought that we were going to agree with them. That the masses of people were too stupid to care about, too selfish to be concerned about, and totally incapable of grasping the issues that were represented and concentrated in that revolutionary stand of that demonstration on January 29th, 1979, and the whole overall revolutionary stand and work of our Party. They thought we were going to fight them with their very ideology. They thought that we were going to be convinced or that we were already convinced that we were badder motherfuckers than Superman. They thought that we were convinced that we could go up in their face all by ourselves, not concerned about, not going out and not standing on the strength of the conscious action and struggle of the masses of people. They thought we would attempt to go straight up against them in a wild, maniacal, fanatical and isolated way, that we would try to deal with them all by ourselves.

They thought that they would rip off a hunk of the RCP—looking to the future, looking to what they have in store, the misery and oppression that they're going to bring down even more on the masses of people in this country and what they are going to unleash throughout the whole world. They thought that they were going to sit down in preparation for that, in preparation for devouring the masses of people in this country and around the world like a piece of meat. They thought that they were going to sit down and have themselves a nice appetizer before the main

course. They thought that they'd bite off a little piece of the Revolutionary Communist Party, they would chew it up finely and with nice etiquette and manners, through their nice legal system they would chew it up, swallow it down and devour it, and that would be that. But what did they find out? The more they chewed, the more they gagged and right now they had to throw it back up! Cause they couldn't deal with our Party that way. And the reason that they couldn't deal with our Party that way, is because we weren't what they thought we were. We weren't a handful of fanatics, an isolated sect of maniacs or terrorists who didn't give a damn about, who didn't stand with, who didn't go out to and rely on and mobilize the masses of people. We were just the opposite.

Yeah, they thought that they were going to sit down and chew up the RCP and swallow it down, and then proceed to devour the masses of people like a piece of meat and chew them to bits in the next period ahead. They know very heavy things are on the horizon. They know it, as much as they try to lie about it. At the same time they have to let some of it out in order to try to whip up a social base of support for them. Even while they're preparing financially, even while they're preparing militarily, they have to try to whip up and prepare the people and public opinion. They have to prepare people's thinking and regiment people for the very things they have in store, *not only* bringing the ax down across the people's necks even more viciously—*not only* bringing the whip across the people's backs even more desperately—but in order to try to save themselves and come out on top once again and reorganize as much of the world as they could under their control in order to once more prolong their dog-eat-dog and their deathbound system.

They thought and they know. They *thought* they could devour the RCP, but they *know* they have to chew up the masses of people in the period ahead. And what they put us through—what they put the masses of people through in this country, living in this hell-hole day in and day out, is nothing compared to what they in fact do have in store for us and for people all throughout the world in the next period ahead. In this past period they have been able, for a time, owing to their position coming out of World War 2, to stride across large parts of the world under their domination, unchallenged and unrivaled among their fellow imperialist gangsters, able to beat down the struggle of the people even though they were battered by struggle inside and outside, able to hold it back and hold it off. They were even able to engineer coups in various countries to disrupt revolutionary movements, to induce revolutionary leaders to give up the revolutionary cause here and even in other parts of the world. They work hand in hand with and give their backing to reactionaries even in the face of tremendous storms of revolutionary uprising in various parts of the world and, especially in the 1960s, right in this country.

But this isn't their position any longer and they know it very well. You see, when they're talking to themselves and when they're talking to those people they think are safe, they let a lot of the *real* deal, a lot of the *real* shit they got in mind and that they're cooking up come out. If you read their newspapers and their magazines like the *Wall Street Journal* and *Fortune* magazine and the rest of it where they talk among themselves, they let a lot of the real truth come out. That's where they talk about the facts—that they know there's deep crisis on the horizon and that they got no solution to it other than to go to war. And the key thing even in their economic policies is to manipulate and to maneuver and to tighten up their bloc in preparation for World War 3. Among themselves and among their allies in Europe, Japan and other parts of the world—that's where they talk about the fact that even in *this* country, *not only* in other parts of the world, they are more and more worried about the fact that there may be revolutionary struggle in the decade ahead. The *Wall Street Journal* had an article not too long ago where all these various businessmen stood around and speculated and moaned that there very likely might be an attempt at revolution in this country in the next five or six years. See, that's the way they talk among themselves.

## The Hope of a Way Out

Of course, they don't want you to know that. They don't want the masses of people out here to know that—the people who are suffering under the misery of this system every day, who have suffered a whole lifetime and who have a deep hatred for this, but don't yet see that there's a possibility for revolution and there is a leadership to guide people in revolution. They don't want to awaken those people to that reality, because right outside this building and all up and down the streets of the ghettos of D.C. and throughout the country, right today, there are not just hundreds, there are not just thousands, there are millions of people who, if and when they see the chance to come forward and join in a revolutionary upsurge and particularly one they see has a chance of going all the way to victory, will jump at the chance right now. But these same people are out here today, drinking wine, shooting dope, sitting in front of the television with a glazed look across their face, trying to survive for the next day—getting ready to go to work if they can get a goddamn job. And many of them, when they're approached at first about the question of revolution, have buried the hope of ever seeing a way out of all this so deep—it's so painful to raise up that hope only to see it dashed once again—that many people don't even want

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Excerpt from Central Committee Document

# THE QUESTION OF DEMOCRACY AND THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

In late 1978 Comrade Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, submitted a paper, "Thoughts on Points for Discussion," to a meeting of the Central Committee. This was a broad and sweeping report, taking up many of the basic questions facing the Party and the international struggle as well. This meeting came less than a year after a revisionist, economist group ("the Mensheviks") split from our Party when it took its position that a counter-revolutionary coup had taken place in China after Mao's death.

The 1978 Central Committee meeting made further radical breaks with the backward drag exerted by revisionist tendencies, coming not only from "our" Mensheviks, but influencing the communist movement, even internationally, for decades. It laid an important foundation for further advances since then. Following is a short excerpt from the "Thoughts" document.

Marx and Engels spoke in the "Communist Manifesto" of two radical rup-

tures, [with traditional property relations and traditional ideas—RW], and Lenin stressed that in achieving the victory of socialism over capitalism and advancing to communism after state power is won it is necessary to wage a persistent, stubborn, complex and many-sided struggle against the forces and traditions of the old society. I think this has an important application to the struggle to take the first great historic step—to build up the strength and then seize power—especially and specifically in a country such as ours, with its whole history and with its present status as an imperialist superpower.

In particular the question of democracy is a big question, which I want to touch on, in terms of what that means in this country and somewhat in comparison with other, previous revolutions leading to socialist society. (Here, comrades should find the article in *The Communist*, Vol. 1, No. 1 on "Bourgeois Democracy and the U.S. Working Class" helpful as background.)

All previous socialist revolutions have, in one way or another, involved a

democratic stage, a democratic program for a certain period (this is true of Russia, China, Vietnam, Korea, Albania and the rest of Eastern Europe—Cuba is a peculiar case, but basically does not change the general phenomenon discussed here). At the same time, the attempts at making democracy a—or even *the*—program in the imperialist countries have, naturally, led to disastrous results. And in those countries where this was correct, the transition from this, the (new) democratic, to the socialist revolution and the continuation along that road has proved very difficult in almost all cases. (Russia needs to be summed up in broad terms in relation to this question.)

This seems to be closely linked with the question of "production above all else"—that is, with the backwardness of the country and the strength this lends to the argument that developing the economy must be the key link. (A question: do the capitalist-readers see "socialism" as playing the role played in—earlier—capitalist societies by private capital, and "socialist revolution" as a "collective" substitute for the classical bourgeois-democratic revolution? It seems so—the revolutionary struggle of the masses is seen by these opportunists as their own "ride to power" and they attempt to turn the gains of the revolution into their own personal capital.)

In any case, democracy in the U.S. (and other imperialist states) is, in the main and essentially, an *obstacle*—that is, bourgeois-democratic prejudices, illusions, etc. We must concentrate on exposing democracy (bourgeois democracy). This is also most definitely true of patriotism. The workers in this country can never make revolution by

"claiming the American flag as their own"—it is not—but only by learning to *hate* the American flag and all it stands for, and to take up the red flag. (This doesn't mean there won't be a particular flag developed to represent the revolution and socialism in the U.S., as there has been in other countries; it means that, unlike China, Vietnam, Albania, etc., the proletariat cannot make its revolution as the leader of the "nation" but against the actual leader of its nation—the bourgeoisie.)

In our revolution, while there are specific democratic tasks and demands—for example equality for oppressed nationalities, women, etc.—there is no democratic stage. And more, democracy as a program, as well as an ideology, must be fought. Socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, does indeed mean unprecedented democracy for the masses, but this is precisely not a quantitative extension of what exists under capitalism—as the revisionists, including the old Communist Party in this country (even before it went thoroughly revisionist) have presented it. It is instead a qualitative leap—an overthrow of bourgeois rule and suppression of the overthrown bourgeoisie and all exploiting class elements and, for the first time, actual democracy for the masses. And even this is only the transition to a higher form of society where, as Lenin stressed in "State and Revolution," democracy itself will be abolished—that is, to communism. We must constantly educate the masses in this country in this understanding and this spirit. Otherwise socialism cannot be won; or, if won, will be lost. □

## THE ALAMO—HOLY SHRINE TO U.S. PLUNDER AND MURDER

"This is the best thing that has happened to it since Santa Ana burned it down!" said a member of the May Day Brigade after the seizure of the Alamo by Damian Garcia and two other comrades. The message flashed across the U.S. and it especially stung the true and blue Texans—and others like them—who have enshrined this heap of rubble as a monument to the history of the boot they wish to keep on the necks of the oppressed. The seizure was a sacrilege! How dare anyone—and especially a Chicano—scoff at this sacred shrine! Damian, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, was murdered only weeks later by police agents, singled out for his action at the

Alamo. Hayden Fisher, another of the three, was stabbed at the time. Trials in the Alamo seizure are due to begin in early June in San Antonio. What has been glorified by a crumbling ruling class in the 260 year old crumbling shell of the Alamo—originally built by the Spanish as a mission for enslaving the Indians—is a history of failures never told, replaced by fantasies which extol aggression, oppression and murder. The ruins of the Alamo have long served colonialism and imperialism.

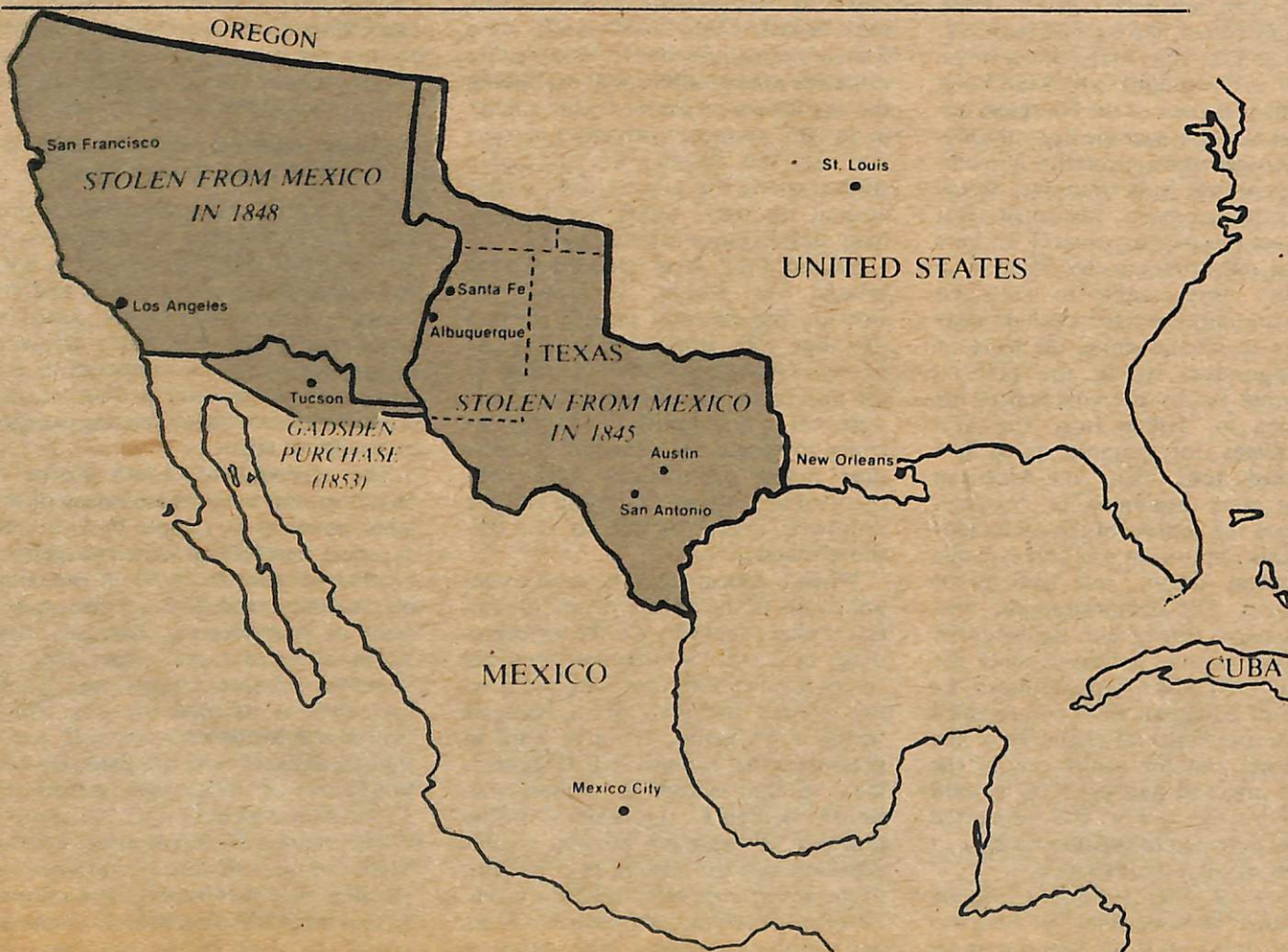
The San Antonio garrison, with the Alamo mission a part of it, was set up in 1718 by the Spanish colonialists as part of their plan to "civilise the Indians and take over the new world."

But the resistance of the Native Americans, especially the Comanches, proved to be more than the aggressors had bargained for. Out of 25 garrisons that were built in Texas in the 18th century, the Spanish could only hold onto 3. The San Antonio garrison was one of these, a miserable colonial outpost, constantly threatened with extinction at the hands of the Indian warriors. The mission was known to be a terrible failure, unable to capture any Indians who could be forcibly converted and turned into slaves for Christ. From its very beginning, the Alamo was a symbol of the failure of the oppressors to break the spirit of those it was supposed to help subjugate.

In the early 1800s, American slave holders and land speculators began hiring private armies of mercenaries—mainly made up of petty criminals—to fight their way into Texas. The southern slave system constantly needed new land to perpetuate its decrepit social order, and the whole southwest territory looked very promising. Meanwhile, the northern capitalists were eyeing this area for opening of trade to the west, as well as the land and minerals there. Texas, part of Mexico, was the gateway and especially important to the expansion of slavery. However, with

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Between 1845 and 1853 the U.S. ripped off 45% of Mexico's territory. Right: This 1844 cartoon depicting presidential candidate Polk's campaign to annex Texas was an early entry in the American tradition of cloaking bloody deeds with patriotic words.



# DARE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE BATTLE PLAN FOR REVOLUTION

"If there is to be a revolution," said Mao Tsetung in 1948, "there must be a revolutionary party." Today in the U.S., there is such a party, a party based on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

With the recent publication of draft documents of the *New Programme* and *New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party*, the RCP has issued a declaration of war. These draft documents are a battle plan for destroying the old—rising in armed revolution and overthrowing the U.S. imperialist ruling class—and then building the new—the consolidation of the rule of the proletariat and the establishment and construction of socialism in this country.

These new documents are *drafts*. While they represent the most correct and highest concentration of the understanding of the RCP, broad discussion and struggle must take place to hone them into an even sharper weapon in the revolutionary struggle.

For a short period over the next months, the RCP is calling on all revolutionary-minded individuals and organizations and others to take up concentrated discussions of these documents. It is within reach to draw literally tens of thousands into this process; propagandists assigned by the Party will travel to meet with people. From discussions on the factory floor, to study groups behind prison bars, from struggle over the line among forces in the national movements to discussion among radical and revolutionary students; from the farm-workers of California's Salinas Valley to the wheat farmers in South Dakota—the *New Draft Programme* and *New Draft Constitution of the RCP* will circulate. Meetings in housing projects and neighborhoods to discuss the new drafts should be held; women's organizations, anti-nuke groups—wherever people are in struggle against this capitalist system we are calling for broad attention to be focused on the *New Draft Programme*

and the *New Draft Constitution* of the RCP. We call on people to bring forward their own ideas, too, about the best ways to popularize and carry on discussion over these documents.

Over this period, the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker* will be opened as a forum for the thoughts, agreements and disagreements of those thousands entering this discussion and struggle. The newspaper will regularly print letters and articles of this nature and will invite response.

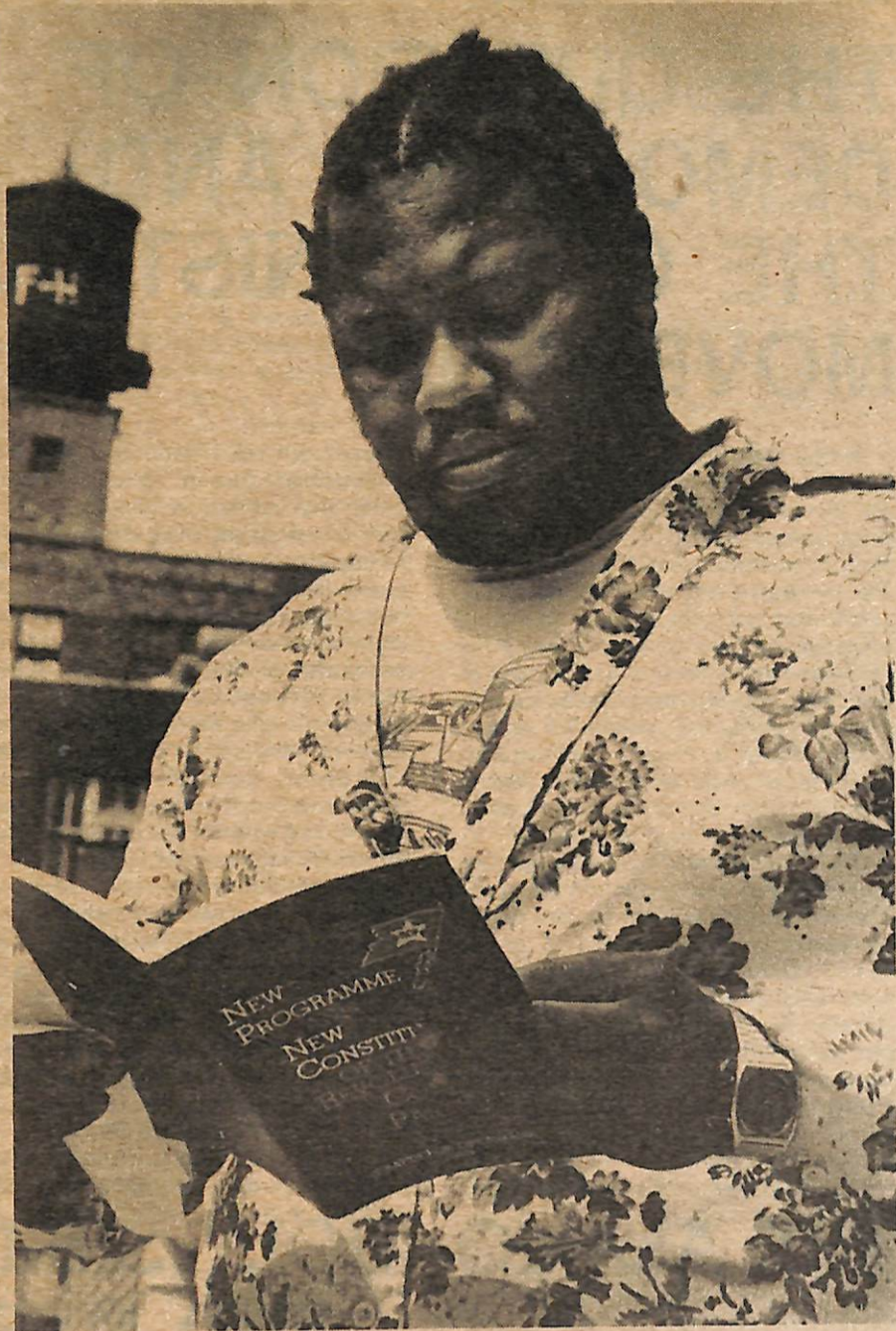
The synthesis of this process will be the final *New Programme* and *New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party* some months from now. The result—the battle plan for revolution!

\* \* \* \*

World events are rapidly escalating. Crisis and war are upon us. Along with this, we may well be approaching an extremely rare moment in history—the development of a revolutionary situation.

The victory of May Day 1980, the tremendous expansion of distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker* and now the process of broad, deep and thorough discussion of the *New Draft Programme* and *New Constitution of the RCP*—all this has and will continue to make a revolutionary political line the property of increasing numbers of people. It is therefore necessary and possible to call on class-conscious workers and others—all those who hate this system, burn with a desire for revolutionary change and want to devote their lives to the struggle for the emancipation of all mankind—to step forward and apply for admission to the ranks of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Article One of the draft *New Constitution* reads as follows:

\* \* \* \*



## MEMBERSHIP

### Article 1

Any worker or any other person involved in the revolutionary struggle who accepts the Constitution of the Party, is committed to working actively in a Party organization, to carrying out the Party's

decisions and to observing Party discipline and paying Party membership dues, may become a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

**Revolutionary Fighters Step Forward! Join the Revolutionary Communist Party!**

## Korea—Uprising in U.S. Stronghold

Continued from page 1

pet regime in the streets of Kwangju. Thousands of people from the surrounding countryside, including miners armed with explosives, descended on Kwangju to support the rebellion.

The city hall and the provincial administrative offices have been occupied by the rebels. Dozens of other government buildings, including a number of police stations and the state-run broadcasting agency, have been burned down. Provincial and city officials were airlifted from the city by helicopter.

The fighting has been extremely bloody. The official death toll was 34 at press time, but the actual toll is believed to be far higher. Some witnesses, according to the *New York Times*, maintain that 600 people have been killed in the last four days. "Trucks filled with demonstrators and youths with headbands, their faces covered with towels, raced around the city, picking up the injured and transporting them to hospitals as the riot continued. Police stations were empty, and troops took over, as military vehicles burned unattended and rioters took over gasoline stations, helping themselves to fuel," reported the *Times*.

The mass uprising in Kwangju came in the aftermath of "martial law decree no. 10" under which Gen. Chon, head of both the army security command and the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, and the leading figure in the military regime, ordered the arrest of leading opposition figures and hundreds of students and other protest leaders, the closure of the headquarters of all political parties, a ban on all political activity, political assemblies, strikes, and criticism of the government, and the cancellation of the national assembly. Chon's crackdown came in response to massive political

demonstrations that had rocked South Korea for a week.

The demonstrations, many of which had turned into bloody battles with police and troops, had been organized by the "opposition" wing of the South Korean bourgeoisie in support of their demands for political liberalization and early elections to hasten the formation of a civilian government in which they hope to gain substantial power. These bourgeois forces, led by such pro-U.S. figures as Kim Dae Jung (whose home base is in Kwangju) and Kim Yung Sam, the president of the bourgeois opposition New Democratic Party (NDP), had been generally successful in maintaining political leadership over an extremely broad mass movement. But things got out of their control. In spite of being able briefly to cool things out a bit, they were unable to keep the demonstrations peaceful and limit their purpose to strengthening the hand of the opposition within the political framework set by the government for transition to civilian rule. The *New York Times*, for example, noted in a concerned tone that anti-American slogans were beginning to circulate. And even the activity of the comprador bourgeois opposition was unacceptable to General Chon, and had to be eliminated. The demonstrations, even at this stage, turned into the bloodiest and most intense upheavals since the riots of 1960 which brought down the regime of Syngman Rhee and revealed that the fundamental character of the movement and the aspirations of the masses involved had gone far beyond the desire for a few U.S.-supported reforms designed to broaden the base of support of the existing regime.

Following Gen. Chon's bloody crackdown, in which Kim Dae Jung was arrested and Kim Yung Sam put under house arrest and hundreds of other

leaders arrested and hustled off to unknown "detention centers," the disturbances, far from dying away, grew again in intensity after only a momentary lull. In Kwangju, Kim Dae Jung's political stronghold, the resistance was particularly strong. In an attempt to suppress opposition, government troops entered the city and forced protesting students to strip and lie face down on the ground. Some students were killed when their skulls were beaten in by rifle butts. Many other atrocities were committed, including the mutilation of corpses. One soldier in an APC (armored personnel carrier) was observed dragging the body of a student along the ground with a rope around his neck. Other bodies were hung upside down in a city park.

As word of these atrocities raced around the region, thousands of workers and peasants outside the city left their jobs and swarmed into the streets of Kwangju to swell the ranks of the protestors. Truckloads of agitators were sent to neighboring towns in an attempt to spread the rebellion; at press time major disturbances have been reported in 16 other towns and cities in southwest Korea, as well as one off-shore island.

While it appears that the most recent upheavals in the seizure of the provincial capital could very well be the beginnings of a mass insurrection, political forces loyal to Kim Dae Jung are striving to keep the goals of the struggle within strict limits. There is word at press time that a committee of students loyal to Kim is seeking to meet with South Korea's figurehead prime minister to negotiate an end to the rebellion and the turning over of arms to the government in return for a promise of no reprisals, the release of Kim, and action on a series of other demands designed to seek an accommodation

with the regime.

This contradiction between the level of the current struggle in South Korea and the thoroughly bourgeois leadership which thus far has managed to keep somewhat of a grip is one of the key contradictory features of the political situation that can only be understood by referring to South Korea's current deep economic crisis and the political objectives of the U.S. imperialists within South Korea, as well as the objectives and interests of the military regime, the pro-U.S. bourgeois opposition and the broad masses.

### U.S. and Japanese Imperialists Bleed the Korean People Dry

South Korea's economic crisis is one which the imperialists themselves created—and one which is subject to dramatic intensification as the U.S. and Japanese economies head into a slump, due to South Korea's absolute dependence on the two imperialists for both trade and investment. Further, the economic crisis is today passing over into a political crisis.

The economy of South Korea is based entirely on the exploitation of the labor power of its people by U.S. and Japanese imperialism. The two powers together account for 85% of the commercial loans and 83% of the investment in South Korea. The U.S. and Japan alone take well over 50% of South Korea's total exports, and deliver over 50% of its total imports. These two imperialist powers feed off South Korea's workers, who are paid about \$2 to \$3 a day on the average in 1975, for 10 to 12-hour days.

The rapacious exploitation of this "labor power bonanza" by the imperialists produces impressive economic figures for South Korea that conceal the actual utter ruin of the economy, the

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# They Can't Evict The Sparks Of Revolution

With sirens wailing and blue lights flashing, Chicago police squad cars zoomed in to cordon off a several square block area surrounding the Robert Taylor Homes, a Black housing project. With the area sealed off, a horde of uniformed cops and FBI agents descended on one building and then zeroed in on the targeted apartment. The object of this carefully planned and executed raid was to bust up a conspiracy of slaves who had gathered at this apartment for a house meeting three days before May Day. The dangerous weapon being sought was the *Revolutionary Worker*.

"What do you know about the *Revolutionary Worker*? What do you know about a May Day meeting?" a group of not-so-undercover pigs demanded of a woman as they barged in to inspect her apartment. They ordered her daughter down to the police station. Meanwhile, cops and FBI agents swarmed all over the place until they nabbed three revolutionaries heading for the meeting, who were immediately busted. The building manager and the Chicago cops then returned to the woman's apartment and threatened to evict her if she ever had

anything to do with the *RW* again. Just in case the message of this gestapo-style raid didn't sink in, the building manager circulated a notice right before May Day which warned tenants that *anyone* having anything to do with the *RW* or May Day would face eviction.

"All the police they had on that day, they don't have that many even when someone gets murdered," one resident observed. "That's how you can tell May Day is effective," she concluded. This assault, planned by top-level federal agents, was one of the bourgeoisie's many blatant attacks to stop May Day in Chicago through police harassment, through more than 60 arrests of people organizing for May Day and selling the *RW*, through threats of firing or suspension from the job, and through the use of brute force at the march itself—where cops formed a human wall to prevent people from joining and then attacked and arrested 13 demonstrators.

But just as repression around the country didn't stop a class-conscious force from emerging on May Day, the threat of eviction didn't stop several residents of the Robert Taylor Homes from coming to the demonstration.

There is plenty of fertile soil for

revolution in the Robert Taylor Homes, the largest housing project in the U.S. 23,000 people are crammed into several square miles, stacked layer upon concrete layer, caged in buildings whose open-air corridors are encased with heavy chain-link fencing. The housing project, concentrating thousands who barely subsist through the degradation of welfare and unemployment lines or through being exploited in the worst jobs, is a giant crucible of anger and rebellion.

When the *RW* first hit the projects several weeks before May Day, over 300 copies of that issue were sold. This is why the authorities wasted no time in moving their pigs and modern-day overseer/building manager, with eviction whip in hand, into action. On May 2 the building manager pulled a surprise inspection on an *RW* reader. Poking around his apartment, she flew into a rage when she saw a copy of the newspaper lying on his dresser. "I could have you put out for this!" she threatened, storming out. Several days after this, a meeting was called for two buildings under the innocuous heading of "Federal Funding for the Robert Taylor Homes." Featuring the special enticement of a door prize, the meeting

attracted about 80 people. Once the people had gathered, the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA) official who manages the projects issued a veiled threat. "There are tenants in the building working with the *Revolutionary Worker* people that are against the state. We are for the state because the government is giving us \$20 million to fix up Robert Taylor Homes. Stay away from these troublemakers," he warned. After this, a statement from the CHA containing the threat of eviction was again circulated.

In the face of this intimidation, some residents have become even more determined to take out the *RW*. "Yes, the building manager is telling people they'll get put out for associating with this paper," said one woman, "but I'm going to get it out to my neighbors." She immediately started knocking on their doors. At the most recent meeting, called exclusively to talk about banning the *RW* from the projects, six or seven people spoke out angrily against this straight in the face of the CHA authorities.

Try as they will, and certainly they will try, revolutionary politics cannot be evicted from the slave quarters. □

## VVAW Trial Set to Begin

On May 27, six members of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) and one revolutionary youth, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), will go on trial in Washington, D.C. for seizing the Washington Monument last November right after the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Tehran. At the very moment when the U.S. ruling class was trying to roll over all opposition with a massive campaign of flag-waving, bell-ringing, and national chauvinism, these seven stepped forward and boldly took action in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian masses.

The rulers were furious. And they were doubly mad that this action had been taken by veterans with first-hand experience in the last war and youth whom they are attempting to prepare for the next one. When hundreds of leaflets showered down from the monument top, police cordoned off the

whole area. And at dusk, when a banner reading "U.S. Imperialism, Get Your Bloody Hands Off Iran!" was hung out of the monument windows facing the White House, government officials ordered the light illuminating the monument cut off. But the light of this bold action shone round the world as Radio Iran broadcast the news of the seizure to the people of Iran and the world.

The 7 were originally charged with one felony and one misdemeanor, charges which were lowered to three misdemeanors. The government is of the opinion that misdemeanor convictions will be easier to obtain. Now is the time to step forward in support of the Monument 7. Send contributions and letters and telegrams of support to:

Vietnam Veterans Against the War  
P.O. Box 87400  
Chicago, IL 60680

## NEWS ITEM . . .

We received the following news clipping from a reader in Texas. The newspaper it was clipped from was not identified.

...New Minnesota relief pitcher Albert Williams isn't a bit nervous when he takes the mound. After all, the Nicaraguan-born right-hander has already survived an earthquake, 16 months of guerrilla fighting in the jungles of Nicaragua and a number of assassination attempts. Why should facing Jim Rice or Rod Carew trouble Williams?

Certainly Williams, a right-hander, boasts one of the most bizarre backgrounds in baseball. He was pitching for a service team in Nicaragua in 1977-78 when he switched sides, joining the Sandinista guerrillas in their revolution to overthrow dictator Anastasio Somoza.

Williams, who pitched in the Pirates' organization in 1975 and '76, was about

to leave for spring training in '77 when the army canceled all visas.

"That made me mad," Williams said, "so I joined the Sandinistas. I had to wear a mask so no one would know who I was. It wasn't fun, the fighting. It was war—attack and withdraw, attack and withdraw. But it was all for the cause, for the revolution."

Williams was shot in the leg during one assassination attempt. "The army wanted to kill me several times," Williams admitted. "And they came close. One time they came right to my house, pulled up and opened fire. But I just went out the back door, flying."

Boston columnist Lee Montville asked Williams if he was able to throw during his time with the guerrillas. "The only exercise I got," answered Williams, "was with my (trigger) finger."

And was he good? "Let me put it this way," Williams said. "I'll give you a 500-yard headstart."

### "I Will Never Put the Red Flag Down"

Greetings New Found Comrades,

As a fairly new person to the Revolutionary movement, I want to take some time to express my feelings regarding May Day. Tremendous, exhilarating, uplifting. I could go on and on. This was the 1st time for me to actively participate in any progressive movement. I let the '60s pass me by. It was definitely a struggle for me to face a police line but I was (am) determined not to give those lap dog bastards an inch. Many people ask me what May Day is about. I feel really great in letting them know how May Day is just the beginning. I'm working right now for May Day '81. I've waved the red, white and blue in my day, but it can never be compared with the feelings I had when I picked up the Red Flag, my flag. I will never put it down.

A Revolutionary Worker in D.C.

We received this note from the Bay Area in California.

As MAY DAY looked to a 90 year old woman from her wheel chair—

It was a beautiful, an inspiring sight, the MAY DAY march winding its way through the streets of Oakland, five miles, I think it was. With hundreds of little red flags fluttering in the breeze and the chants of revolutionary songs filling the air with the joy of their militance. A PICTURE OF THE FUTURE!

On the sidewalk beside them three or four zealots trailed along holding great heavy signs, one advertising that old perennial best seller, the Bible. The other telling us that Christ would lead us into eternity and urging us to repent. A DISMAL PICTURE OF THE PAST!



Revolutionary Worker

"I" as the Los Angeles May Day demonstration marches past.

# They Can't Believe We'll Rise Above the Muck and the Mire

Continued from page 10

to hear about it, don't even want to talk about it the first or the second or even the third time you go out and talk to them.

I remember something that George Jackson wrote about his father shortly before he (George) was killed. He sat down and had a serious talk with his father, for the first time in his life, about where he was coming from and why he was totally dedicated to revolution—why that was the only way forward. He went through the history of the suffering, not only of their own family but the history of Black people and other oppressed people here and around the world. And he said the thing that came across him—the thing that he recognized when talking to his father was that this was a serious challenge for his father to actually recognize the truth and the reality of what George Jackson was saying, because his father couldn't deny the reality of it. He couldn't deny the righteousness of it. He just said, "Yeah, but what can you do, they're too powerful." What George Jackson commented, I think, is something we can learn from—he said, "It struck me, right in the gut. Right then I realized that for my father to, not only say in the abstract that it was righteous and that I was correct and that it would be a good idea, but to actually awaken to the necessity to become part of working and struggling to bring this about—for him to do that—would pose a serious challenge to his whole life." It would cause him either, once he recognized the need for revolution and the possibility of revolution, to have to become committed to it and put himself all the way into the struggle for it, or else to have to cover it up and rationalize everything that his whole life and all the misery he had gone through had ever been about. And that's what millions of people out here are still doing right now. People who, just like the rest of us, have absolutely nothing, no stake under this system, nothing to preserve or protect by fighting for these motherfuckers or going along with their system and all the misery they put us through everyday. People who have absolutely nothing to gain from holding on to any part of this system, and, as Marx did say, and is true in some ways even more so now than it was then, "nothing to lose but their chains."

But people who don't yet understand, don't yet see, don't have a scientific view, haven't yet grasped the revolutionary line that we're talking about, therefore can only look at the temporary—the temporary remaining reserves, maneuvering room and strength of the enemy—and can only conclude that they are too powerful, that nothing can be done, that you can't go up against them and defeat them, that even if you beat them back here they'll come back with twice as much force and crush you the next day. And this is the rationalization that millions of people still have—millions of people who still have a thirst that has not yet been quenched, to rise up and move beyond all this. For millions of such people, everyday the ruling class is pumping their heads full of the lies and propaganda that tear people's dreams apart—the lies and propaganda that are the most vicious and cruel blow of all. On top of all the oppression, on top of all the misery that they grind people through everyday, they put out vicious lies that when all is said and done it's your own goddamn fault, or it's your father's fault, or it's your mother's fault, because they didn't do what they were supposed to have done to give you a better kind of life, or you didn't do what a man is supposed to do or what a mother is supposed to do to provide for your kids and your family and make a better life. Through all the lying propaganda from the media to the church to the schools and everything else, people are still believing that, when all is said and done, the cause and the reason for all the misery that they've gone through is their own selves and their own failures, their own inability to be somebody.

And all the lying pimps from Jesse Jackson down to all the rest try to cover up the reality of this system—try to give people a little consolation for all the misery they have to go through and get out and lead people in these chants that don't do a damn thing but get people even more miserable. They tell people, "You may be poor, you may be Black, you may be miserable, you may be on welfare, but you are somebody." This is a goddamn lie and more than that it's vicious poison. Yeah, you're somebody, and let's face exactly what we are under this system—the somebodies we are—millions and millions of slaves. And if we're going to change reality we have to recognize and we have to analyze it ruthlessly and cold-heartedly. Now sometimes people say, "That's what I don't like about you communists—you're cold-blooded, you're cold-hearted. You don't care about the misery and suffering of the masses of people. You don't want to see them have any kind of consolation for the pain and agony they have to go through everyday. You're not concerned about easing the pain, you're just cold, calculating, cold-blooded and cold-hearted." That's a GODDAMN LIE! Nobody understands better than the enslaved class in this country and the enslaved class throughout the world, and its vanguard leadership, and has a deeper hatred, and a more conscious understanding and a more burning desire to rid the masses of people here and throughout the whole world of the agony, the pain and the misery and the degrada-

tion and humiliation that hundreds of millions of people still are forced to endure at the hands of these bloodsucking beasts who call themselves lords and statesmen and ministers and propaganda heads and all the rest of it.

## No Consolation

But you see, the thing that distinguishes us from the social workers, the thing that distinguishes us from the bleeding-heart liberals and the missionaries, the kindly condescending saviors, and most of all from the leering, lying, hypocritical enforcers of this system and their political representatives, is that we're conscious of the fact that we don't have to go on living any longer in this misery and this pain and this agony. That it's time and long since time that we can rise up together with our brothers and sisters, oppressed and working-class people all over the world, and move society and move the whole world beyond this. And more than that, because we understand that, we're not interested and we're not going to promote among the people any notion of consolation! We're not dope peddlers! We're not pimps and hustlers trying to give the people some ease for their pain only to have it come back twice as bad tomorrow, or lying to them about some easy cut-rate way to get out from underneath all this, or saying that if they just repeat to themselves often enough, no matter what hell they're put through, no matter how they're degraded and oppressed, exploited and humiliated—if they just keep repeating over and over again—I am somebody, that somehow this is going to make it all better!

You see, the fundamental thing that distinguishes a class-conscious worker, a class-conscious member of the enslaved class in this society, from the rest of the people in that class, is not that they're brighter, not that they're heavier, not that they're deeper, not that they're supermen while the others are regular men or women. That distinction is not a distinction that we want to maintain, it's a distinction that we want to break down and overcome by consciously arming the masses of people with the understanding that we have, with the understanding that we have been able to gain, when we take up and wield and study and apply this weapon, this scientific weapon of Marxism. The understanding is that we're on the threshold of history and the whole struggle of mankind going back thousands and millions of years through various and successive stages of society has brought us to the threshold where the suffering, degradation, misery, hunger, cold, and the pain of the masses of people no longer have any justification and no longer need go on once we've risen up and removed, through the revolutionary overthrow, the last remaining obstacles of the capitalist system and its enforcers and its dictatorship over the people. No! We don't want any consolation! The class-conscious slave does not want consolation for his or her enslaved condition! The class-conscious slave and the stand of our Party and of communists throughout the world, of vanguard parties in every part of this globe—the class-conscious slave does not want consolation for his or her enslavement—the class-conscious slave wants to unite with the masses of slaves and rise up and bury slavery once and for all so we don't need any goddamn consolation! We're not interested in consolation for our misery—we're only concerned with, and determined to bring about, the end of our misery by ending the system which alone is responsible for and enforces and maintains it!

And sometimes people say, "Goddamn, you guys talk about crisis, you talk about all these heavy things coming up in the decade ahead, you talk about what people can be put through and you almost sound happy—don't you care about the fact that people are going to suffer more? Again, you're cold-hearted and cold-blooded. When you're talking about economic crisis you're talking about people being thrown out of work, you're talking about people's hunger increasing, you're talking about people on the verge of starvation, they're being shoved literally into starvation conditions. When you're talking about war you're talking about tremendous destruction and massive suffering for people not just here but throughout the whole world. And yet somehow you almost look forward to this with anticipation. You almost seem glad when you talk about this." And let's understand this, you see what distinguishes us and it is not something we want to keep as a distinction—something we want to break down and overcome—is that we understand that because of the very workings of this system and as long as we live under it, there is going to be crisis and war, perhaps temporary recovery, a few crumbs, and then worse crisis and more devastating and destructive war, until we finally rise up, break through this, overthrow it and bury it once and for all. We understand that this system holds and can hold nothing, nothing at all over any period of time, but ever greater misery and oppression, devastation and destruction for not just people here but people throughout the world!

And yeah, I'll put it this way—and most of you all can judge from your own experience. I'm sure all of you—when you've got a really bad stomach ache, when you're sick to your stomach, when you're so nauseated you can't stand up and you're dizzy, when all this is churning inside your stomach and when the

nausea is dragging you down—goddamn right you're waiting for the time when you can throw up! And we're living under this fucking system that makes us sick to our stomach. We're sick and tired of living in it and we're waiting for the time when we can throw it all up! We want to throw it all up once and for all!

And when you're sick to your stomach, you know when the time comes, you can recognize there are certain laws to this thing that you ain't going to get no better till you throw up! I don't care what you do—Pepto Bismol, all the rest of it ain't gonna do a goddamn thing! You're just going to have to go and throw it up, even though it's violent, even though you retch, even though it's painful. You're going to feel better when you've done all that retching and violence and got done what needs to be done! And the role of our Party, if you want to get right down on the ground, that's what we're all about! Some of these people say, "Oh, you talk so nasty. How can people like that run a country?" Well, I'm gonna tell you, we just talk like all the rest of the masses of people talk and the time's gonna come when all these nasty-talking people out there are going to run the whole goddamn world! And we're not going to talk nice and polite the way you tell us to talk. We're going to talk the way it actually is and the way we feel about it. But it's going to be scientific and that's what's going to really drive you crazy. But just to get right down on the ground with it, just to carry this out a little further—the role of our Party is precisely to stick the finger down the throat so that we can throw up all the sooner and get done what has to be done!

You see, if there wasn't something fundamentally wrong, if the whole thing wasn't fundamentally sick, if it wasn't incurable except to get rid of it and throw it all up, masses of people wouldn't unite with us. They would say, "Motherfucker, get your finger out of my throat!" But when people begin to understand that this sickness ain't gonna go away, it's not gonna get cured, except we gotta rise up and do what has to be done, and anybody that helps accelerate it—that's who you gotta look to for your leadership, people that can explain it to you, not because they're geniuses, not because they're supermen or superwomen, but because they have grasped and have an understanding of where the world is going anyway and can enable you to come forward and consciously struggle to accelerate that process and hasten the time when we can bury this system and all the suffering it does bring to the people.

Nobody has to tell us, nobody has to tell the enslaved class and the oppressed people and most of all the vanguard, the class-conscious section of that enslaved class, nobody has to tell us about the suffering this system brings down on the masses of people. And we're tired, we're sick and tired, and sick and tired of being sick and tired, hearing all these goddamn woeful moaning people out here talking about how miserable we are. We know that! Doesn't anybody have to tell us that!

## Unity and Struggle

Of course, we know some people are well intentioned, we know some people come from a genuine concern to alleviate the suffering of the masses of people and to help people improve their conditions. And we'll unite with people who take a genuine stand and we have united in this particular battle. We'll continue to unite more and more broadly with all different forces in society who take a genuine stand in struggling against the oppressor of people and joining with them to fight back against their oppressors. But at the same time, one thing I'm gonna say, and the stand of our Party is clear on this, I'm going to just give a warning to all these liberals, all these other people who agree with us up to a point and don't agree with us all the way, I'm going to give you a friendly warning—we're going to unite with you and we're going to seek a broader and broader basis to unite, but we're also going to struggle with you. We're not going to leave it at that, we're going to struggle with you. We're going to argue. We're going to debate, we're going to bring the questions out into the light of day. We're going to struggle, argue and debate about what is the only way to solve all this.

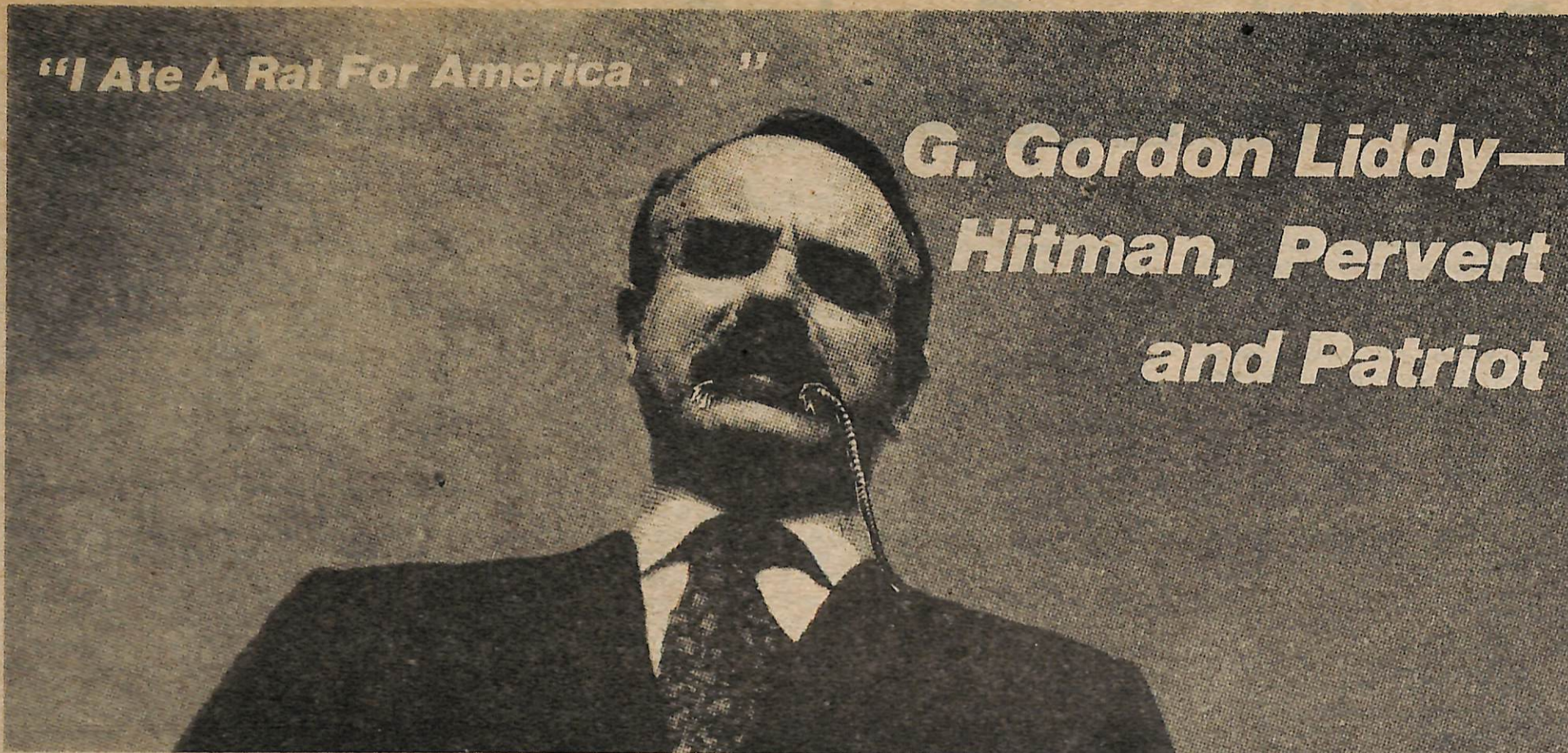
Because what unites us and what enables us to unite broadly is that we share a common desire to see the world rid of all this madness, to see the world rid of the suffering of the great majority of people, to see humanity be able to rise above and advance to far higher things than this. And we can unite on that. And we can unite in particular battles when we fight towards that aim, but at the same time we can never stop struggling about what is the final answer to this. What do we have to build our struggle to? What is the only solution to all this? And it's very healthy, it's very positive that we not only unite, but at the same time and in order to develop and broaden and deepen that unity that we also continuously struggle and argue and debate about what context this unity is taking place in, what is the larger picture of the struggle, and what is the ultimate solution to the very outrages that we seek to eliminate and that we're uniting to fight back against.

And that's been the very process that's gone on in this battle we've waged around Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants and Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian. It's been a question of unity and struggle, it's been a question of breaking through a lot of barriers that our enemy and his agents within our ranks, within our movement, have tried to erect to keep us from being able to unite broadly and at the same time to maintain a clear and uncompromising revolutionary stand.

(To be continued)

"I Ate A Rat For America . . ."

## G. Gordon Liddy— Hitman, Pervert and Patriot



One of Gordon Liddy's earliest memories, recounted in his recently released autobiography, *Will*, is of saluting the flag at St. Peter and Paul's Parochial School. Since Liddy never did much else, such experiences are related with intense passion:

"... we stood at rigid attention, facing the flag in lines straight enough to rival those of the massed SS in Leni Reifenstahl's *Triumph of the Will*.

"I pledge allegiance . . ." we began. At the words 'to the flag,' we shot out our right arms in unison, palms down, straight as so many spears aimed directly at the flag. It was the salute of Caesar's legions, recently popular in Germany, Italy, and Japan . . .

"... I enjoyed the mass salute, and performed it well, unexcelled in speed of thrust and an iron-shaft steadiness throughout the remainder of the pledge. That habit became so deeply ingrained that even today, at assemblies where the pledge is made or the national anthem played, I must suppress the urge to snap out my right arm."

Yes, G. Gordon Liddy, the Watergate operative "who wouldn't talk" is talking. Read his book, and find out that he's a Nazi. So tell us something we didn't know. What's new is that the media has attempted to transform G. Gordon Liddy from a villain of Watergate into a cult hero—with the fact that he's a Nazi as the main selling point. Liddy's \$13.95 autobiography, spurred by a massive hype job and a heavy tour of the talk show circuit by the author, just crashed the best-seller lists in the Number 5 slot.

Aside from the various passages of fascist propaganda that litter Liddy's memoirs, there's not much else in the book. The guy really hasn't led much of a life. The whole purpose of the book is to trade on Liddy's reputation as the loyal, unquestioning operative and use it as a platform to get across the message that first came to Liddy while listening to Adolf Hitler on the short-wave radio:

"... for the first time in my life I felt hope. Life need not be a constant secret agony of fear and shame. If an entire nation could be changed, lifted out of weakness to extraordinary strength, certainly so could one person . . .

"From listening to the priests at Sunday mass, I knew that it would take will power. Even Adolf Hitler agreed. He and his people would triumph to the power of their superior will. But I knew from the priests that the price would be terrible. God gave us a free will, but to strengthen that will to meet the temptations of life required denial, 'mortification,' suffering."

In between such moral preparations for the ruling class' program for the 1980's and lectures on the virtue of blind, unquestioning obedience to authority, the story of Liddy's life limps by in a haze of destroyed nerve tissue (due to his habit of burning his flesh with candles and cigarette lighters), ruptured appen-

dices (he did it in a sit-up contest), and a dull stint with the FBI. Also featured are stories of how Liddy as a youth performed a number of wierd rituals such as eating a rat to strenghten his will. The main dramatic incident during his tour with the FBI, which ended in 1962, has to do with his fending off a gang of toughs in a bar in southern Indiana, who he claims tried to gang rape him.

Liddy's career in the Nixon administration, culminating in the Watergate affair, is interesting in a few respects: one, Liddy apparently found that his own enthusiasm for Nazi ideology was shared by much of the White House staff. He suggested the code name "Operation Odessa" for the Nixon covert campaign against Daniel Ellsberg, who leaked the Pentagon Papers to the *New York Times*; Odessa is the name of the clandestine Nazi officers' veteran association. He arranged the showing of "Triumph of the Will" for the White House staff; 15 staffers showed up, and at the end of the showing one staffer whistled in appreciation and exclaimed, "Wow! What an advance job!"

Much of the story of the Nixon years, including those items that have received sensational press coverage, concerned planned operations that were never carried through or stalled halfway. One such operation was a supposed "plot" to kill columnist Jack Anderson. Here, as in most of the book, the main service Liddy performs for his masters has nothing to do with anything he actually did in his useless life, but the political message he puts across. Take the following passage, for example:

"I also failed to see any distinction between killing an enemy soldier in time of declared war and killing an enemy espionage agent in cold war, or even killing certain U.S. citizens. For example, were I back in my Odessa position and were given the instruction from an appropriate officer of the government, I would kill Philip Agee if it were demonstrated (as it has often been argued) that his revelations have led directly to the death of at least one of his fellow CIA officers, that he intended to continue the revelations, and that they would lead to more deaths. . . . It is the same rationale by which I was willing to kill Jack Anderson."

It is obvious what Liddy's superiors let him out of prison to create public opinion for.

Liddy's Watergate tale itself is a rambling collection of bitches about this or that partner that Liddy considered a wimp or unreliable, and so on. The actual break-in, as is known, was hopelessly bungled. Our "hero" first attracted broad media attention because he wouldn't talk or testify at the Watergate trials; he was described as the "ultimate operative" who wouldn't break, standing by the old-school code of absolute loyalty while all his collaborators scrambled to save their own skins.

But of course, with *Will*, Liddy has lost this distinction as well. He himself is a mediocrity and a bungler, who relates with relish prison incidents such as standing naked in front of Black prisoners in the hallway. When the Blacks tell him to cover himself with a towel to show some respect, a custom in prison for obvious reasons, Liddy claims to have silenced their yells by bursting out in a chorus of the "Horst Wessel" song, the anthem of the Nazi youth movement in Germany. It is not surprising that such a performance would have left everyone staring in silence.

Liddy's book ends with an "epilogue" recounting his sons' athletic triumphs in school—which he intends as a vindication of the genetic theories which guided him in the selection of a mate. The epilogue closes with the slogan "Tomorrow Belongs to Them"—a paraphrase of the theme of the Horst Wessel song. Clearly, with *Will*, he has repaid his debt to President Carter, who commuted his sentence in 1977.

Certainly, many will buy *Will* as a curiosity. But the political and intellectual atmosphere in which such a book can achieve massive fanfare and attractive packaging is the same atmosphere that has produced a whole range of books, films, and other "artistic" works which push the same basic line in a variety of more or less sophisticated forms. Arthur Jensen's latest "scholarly" work

"proving" the intellectual inferiority of Blacks is receiving serious and respectful critical attention. The *Deerhunter*, similar in a great many respects to *Will* in its emphasis on Nazi mythology dressed up to appeal to American national chauvinist instincts, won the Academy Award in 1979. *Will* too is written in such a way as to hold its maximum appeal as a "hero book" for adolescents—the sort of book a (reactionary white) father might decide to give to his son.

That inane garbage like this could be Number 5 on the non-fiction charts is a striking indication of the moral and intellectual degradation of American society. But more than that what this neurotic fool and stooge's book is another indicator of is the desperate need of the imperialists to ideologically prepare the masses of people, to prepare them to blindly follow authority, to "offer themselves up" to suffer, to allow themselves to be nailed to the cross of war, unquestioningly, "gratefully." President Carter's recent rhetorical tone has borrowed much of the same imagery. The purpose of such "striking admissions" as Liddy's casual talk of "killing U.S. citizens" is also crystal clear. The message contained in this "autobiography" isn't simply the drivel of one of those quiet guys who collect Nazi helmets and daggers. Stripped to its essentials, Liddy's book is nothing but a statement of official administration—and ruling-class—policy.

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# Revolutionary Speaks Out on Miami Rebellion

While it is clear that the rebellion which rocked Miami last week was extremely broad, and drew in thousands of people with different political ideas, it is also clear that openly revolutionary sentiments characterized the thinking of many involved. The RW spoke with a revolutionary Black man—D.—who offered a first hand account of events in Miami as well as some political observations. The interview follows:

**RW:** Tell us about the rebellion.

**D.:** As far as the rebellion in Miami city—it's been long overdue. It's been going on for the last five years. The police department here in Miami and Dade County is representative of just about any police department in any major city in this country—or small city too... Indianapolis, Detroit, Chicago. The uniforms are a little different, but it is the same tactics.

One thing I noticed about the rebellion was the difference between this one and the one in '68 (another rebellion in Miami sparked by a police outrage—RW). The police are more repressive and more brutal in their attacks. The ferociousness, the atrocious shootings, and the attack dogs, their whole general police campaign, was one of alien force to penetrate our community.

**RW:** What happened at the Justice Department when people took over the building? Why did people go down there instead of somewhere else?

**D.:** Because we looked at the Justice Department as not only where the rulers dish out their "capitalist soufflé justice" but also like a sign of our oppression. Because right next to the Justice Department is the Dade County jail. It holds 900 brothers. It is almost 90% Black, some of our best brothers and best fighters are incarcerated there. The Justice Department signifies the government, not only our local government, but the whole justice system of this country and the whole ruling system of this country. The brothers and sisters on the front lines of the streets, felt we could hit more at the central root at the Justice Department rather than just parading up and down

the streets, or organizing a sit in, laugh-in, or a pray-in.

**RW:** A sit-in, laugh-in, or pray-in?

**D.:** One difference between this and '68 was how Andy Young and Jesse Jackson weren't perceived as in '68. Then, we were looking for Black supermen who could fly in from Washington and Detroit to "save us poor Blacks and give us Black folks a plan"—"our chosen leaders." But this time, the Black community in Miami looked at Andy Young and Jesse Jackson being sent down here by the power structure for the power structure, not as Black representatives, but racial diplomats. Just like Muhammed Ali being sent to Africa by Jimmy Carter to do his dirty work. The brothers in Africa ran Muhammed back home and we ran Andy Young back to Georgia and Jesse Jackson back to Chicago...

**RW:** Something was announced the other night about a "leadership core" being formed in the community.

**D.:** That's the same old play, the same old tactic, the same old program that they tried to stuff down our throats, in the '60s. This leadership council that Jesse Jackson has been talking about met in some house and drew up this list of demands for all Blacks. I know on this leadership council that their faces were Black all right, but one of them works for the police department, one of them worked for Dade County. The one that worked for Dade County also is in charge of NAACP and the SCLC. These type of things keep us biting our tails, running around in circles, because there is no way that they can work for both of us. These type of leaders try to thwart and put out the fire of our rebellion, trying to subdue our historical significance. At the meeting last night, a lot of these younger brothers denounced Jesse Jackson and the NAACP. Because in the last five years, young Blacks have been shot down in the streets. These "leaders" never said nothing until recently, until we started to rebel. Now they all of a sudden want to jump up on

the bandwagon.

**RW:** The media has portrayed the Miami rebellion as a "race riot."

**D.:** That is one of the misconceptions about our rebellion. There were Puerto Ricans who were part of the rebellion. Miami has a large Puerto Rican community and a number of them were arrested. Many whites we know who are revolutionary minded were willing to die for our liberation. Our liberation is linked to their liberation and the working class of this country. See, it is not a race issue. It is an issue against this capitalist system. It is a decadent system. It's just like if we were cowboys on a range, and my horse dropped dead. I would have to be a fool to try to keep on trying to ride that dead horse. Instead, I would have to jump on a new horse—and we see that horse as being the horse of revolution. Blacks will be a large part of it, but we know we have to reach out to other sections.

I think that one of the missing factors in the rebellion was the lack of a revolutionary party and the lack of a revolutionary organ. All we had were 2 disco stations and the only thing they were giving time to was the NAACP and three chapters of "We Shall Overcome" and 10,000 Amens. We didn't have an agitational apparatus or an informational apparatus, so logistically we were at a shortcoming. So I think a strong revolutionary political organization would have been a real decisive advantage in our favor and would have sustained our rebellion even more intensely.

**RW:** What did you witness during the rebellion and in the jails?

**D.:** I had a shotgun shoved in my face. I was made to lie down on the ground with a hundred other Black men, women, and children—hands behind our backs and laying on our stomachs. It looked just like one of the pictures of when the U.S. army was in Vietnam and would go into the villages and how they used to make the Vietnamese lie down and then tie them up. It was the exact same scenario, only with different people. I saw a couple of police who

had Pit-Bulls, Shepards and Doberman Pinchers. They would let a dog loose on a brother, child or a sister. A block and a half away, they let this dog loose and just pointed it to attack and watched the dog's teeth tear a brother's pants and drawers off. This Pit-Bull locked his jaw in the brother's buttocks and while he was running down the street, the dog was still gripping at his flesh. Police shot a brother in the face with a shotgun, standing in front of the Grand Union, one of the corporate supermarkets. There was also a brother shot off a bicycle. There were atrocities again and again and again.

One thing that the police department would do was to run through a whole apartment complex. All the men were dragged out. We had some brothers down there in jail who were arrested in their underpants. Some of the men were butt naked and they wouldn't even give them a chance to put a towel around them. I mean it was a sight. I mean they were just dragged, being Black, being mostly male. But quite a few sisters were arrested too, maybe one of eight was a sister, but the majority were Black males and wherever they could find a healthy Black male, he was down. And if they could put their paws on him and lasso him, they would automatically take him down to jail. What they would do they would have one officer take a turn for every span of three or four hours. For all arrests made in that period of time, they would put his name on the arrest sheet, no matter if he was there or not, and he would make up the charges. And those brothers and sisters who were more progressive and more revolutionary, they would dump more charges on them and they would have higher bail, so they could keep them in jail longer.

**RW:** What kind of leadership developed during the rebellion?

**D.:** ...I noticed a lot of younger brothers, brothers and sisters, who have taken leadership. I should say that it was almost 50% between men and women. A lot of the younger brothers came from colleges, came down and participated in the struggle. There were some different progressive and revolutionary organizations. Some brothers and sisters who were part of the movement (in the '60s—RW) that I haven't seen for 10 years, I saw in the streets in the last couple days. One good thing we could see in our rebellion was that victory can be accomplished here in this country—to bring it down... □

Dear RW:

Tonite I flipped on the TV before the 10 p.m. news. What greeted me is not hard to describe but it was certainly impossible to swallow. What popped onto the screen was the biggest propaganda show for World War 3 that I have yet seen. It was some GE Theater Cheryl Ladd Special. Here were these dancing cuties with all their blonde curls, dancing on a stage that was supposed to be a warship in scanty skin-tight star-spangled red, white and blue outfits with big Miss America flashy smiles singing a song with a dancing Uncle Sam called, dig this: "We're doing it for Defense"!!! It went something like this, "We're doing it, we're doing it, we're doing it for Defense." Now I tuned in in the middle of the song, so I didn't catch what exactly it was they were doing for defense (although you could guess) but they sure were dancing it up for WAR. It was like a USO show for the American people.

Then the real killer came on, ol' down home Charlie Daniels playing a hard-driving country rock song that went like this:

*"Never did think that we'd ever get together, in America again.  
We're walking proud and acting loud again, in America.  
We may have done a little bit of fighting among ourselves  
But outside people best leave us alone.  
Cause we'll all stick together and you can put that in the bank.  
The cowboys and the hippies and the rebels and the yanks.  
You just go and lay your hands on a Pittsburgh Steeler fan  
and I think you're gonna finally understand."*

The beginning had a verse about "and if the Russians don't believe it we'll prove it to them." General Patton couldn't have written a better one. I wonder how much the army paid him to sing that. If he didn't get any he missed some easy money.

There was only one problem with ol' Charlie's tune. It's airing was rather embarrassingly ill-timed. Because right following this show came the news: Miami Erupts Like Mt. St. Helens.

Are we really all together again in America, Charlie? You think that's what Black people in Miami are saying tonight? How you and the U.S. imperialists wish!

In fact following this star-spangled show was a news special on Miami which started, "a creature that once stalked the streets in the '60s, a creature we had thought was dead, now stalks the streets of Miami." Like Mt. St. Helens blowing a BIG lateral hole in their war preparations, Miami erupted, openly revealing the magma of social contradictions that can never be plugged up by calls for "American unity". Maybe this volcano is quiet on the surface for periods of time, but like the news commentators and government spokesmen said about both these explosions, "It could erupt at any time and there's nothing we can do about it."

But there is something the class-conscious workers and people can do about it: fan all that rebellious volcanic ash like a cloud across the country building INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAN unity, 'cause like the May Day chant goes, we're not Americans we're proletarians, and you can put THAT in the bank, bourgeoisie.

Y.N.

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## AMERICA IN DECLINE

IMPERIALISM'S GREATEST CRISIS:  
AN ANALYSIS OF THE DEVELOPMENTS TOWARD WAR AND  
REVOLUTION IN THE U.S. AND WORLDWIDE IN THE 1980S

Do you want to really understand why Bob Avakian said "the imperialists are in a lot of trouble... you may not think that revolution is a serious possibility, but the rulers of this country think that it is a real possibility..."? ("Opening Remarks" at the recent RCP Central Committee meeting). This book analyzes why this is so. When you read it, including this chapter, the possibility of revolution, the urgent necessity—and basis—for preparation now like May Day 1980 jumps off the pages at you.

One chapter from this extraordinary new book, a path-breaking effort, written by a writing group under the leadership of the RCP Central Committee and its Chairman Bob Avakian, is available now in the Feb./March issue of *Revolution* magazine.

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# Korea

Continued from page 12

distortion of the society, and the unbearable misery and grinding poverty of its people. South Korea is currently \$10 billion in debt to U.S. banks and runs a consistent heavy trade deficit. South Korean agriculture has been destroyed as part of a deliberate policy by the imperialists and the puppet regime designed to encourage a steady flow of agricultural laborers into the cities where they can meet the ever-increasing demand for labor power in light industry. Incredibly, South Korea today ranks second only to India in receipt of rice from the United States, while agricultural production decreases in absolute terms every year.

The steady stream of refugees from the land has swollen the major cities of South Korea into distended, freakish sinkholes of horror. The population of Seoul, 2.5 million in 1969, had doubled by 1970 and is pushing 8 million today—many of these without any housing at all, or crammed into shacks without water, sewage systems or electricity.

Life for the working class in South Korea is far more nightmarish than even the long hours and the low subsistence wages would indicate. Neither health insurance nor safety provisions exist at all. The amputation of limbs on the job and death in industrial accidents are an everyday occurrence. Japanese chemical industries have taken advantage of the total absence of pollution controls in South Korea to set up industries with pollution rates illegal in Japan. Seoul's drinking water is slowly turning to poison: deformed and dead fish turn up on the river banks and seashores continuously. The low wages are constantly slashed to the vanishing point due to an inflation rate now exceeding 50% per year. Unemployment, regardless of heavily falsified government figures, is actually near 30%.

## U.S. Imperialists and Lackeys Scramble to Maintain Rule

These conditions have been borne by the working class and the masses in South Korea only under the most extreme coercion of the brutal dictatorship of Gen. Park Chung Hee—and even his fascist machine of intimidation, terror, torture and execution was unable to prevent frequent spontaneous outbreaks, illegal strikes and periodic campus turmoil. As long as the regime was able to maintain relative stability and continue to guarantee miraculous profits, the United States was happy to let Park do things this way, and backed him in doing it. But in the last few years, as the economy slowed down and unrest intensified, the U.S. began to see the handwriting on the wall.

The emergence of a revolutionary movement in South Korea would have devastating consequences for the U.S. imperialists. It is a major U.S. military outpost in East Asia, with great strategic significance. The 40,000 U.S. troops stationed at the 38th parallel dividing South and North Korea, where they have been ever since the end of the Korean War, are supposed to be a symbol to the whole world of the U.S. imperialists' "resolve" and "commitment" to their allies. The crumbling of South Korea would have grave implications for Japan, and would strike panic into the hearts of U.S. imperialist puppets throughout Asia. There is no question but that U.S. troops would be drawn into the fighting in order to prevent the revolutionary overthrow of a pro-U.S. regime. At a time when the U.S. is desperately trying to tighten up its allies in preparation for the coming war with the Soviet Union, one of the worst things that could happen to them is starting to happen.

When the U.S.-backed regime of the Shah was toppled in January 1979, the State Department was thrown into a panic. The U.S. began to put strong pressure on Park to reach an accommodation with the influential bourgeois liberal opposition, the leading force of which was the New Democratic Party. The two most prominent oppositionists, Kim Dae Jung and Kim Yung Sam, both had (and still have) reputa-

tions among the students and the masses generally as strong critics of the autocratic Park regime. At the same time, they maintain close ties with both U.S. and Japanese imperialism.

Kim Dae Jung ran for president in 1971 against Park and narrowly missed beating him in a heavily rigged election. Subsequently, Kim went to Tokyo—where agents of the CIA kidnapped him in 1973 in an incident which caused a severe strain between Japan and the Park regime. Park had Kim put in jail, and he was not released until 1978. He maintained throughout a posture of criticism of the dictatorship and continued to advocate democratic reforms and a transition to civilian rule.

Kim Yung Sam, currently the president of the New Democratic Party, has generally played the role of the "loyal" opposition to the regime, advocating cooperation with it while criticizing it. Kim Yung Sam and Kim Dae Jung, who talks a somewhat more militant line, are rivals within the opposition movement. But both are united on one thing: their opposition to the policies of the Park regime and its successors is in no way a challenge to U.S. imperialism; rather it is something they want to sell to the U.S. in return for its backing in their bid for power.

This is not something that either man attempts to conceal. When President Carter announced plans to visit Park in July 1979, Kim Dae Jung requested an opportunity to meet with him. This was at a time when the U.S. was urging Park to make major concessions to the reform wing of the bourgeoisie in order to head off impending disaster. On September 15, Kim Yung Sam held an interview with the *New York Times*, in which he said: "The time has come for the United States to make a clear choice between a basically dictatorial regime, increasingly alienated from the people, and the majority, who aspire to democracy... Iran was America's supreme diplomatic disaster. I want the U.S. embassy to avoid following the same track here."

Clearly, Kim Yung Sam was not only pushing a line to the U.S. imperialists—he was also echoing the view towards which the State Department and Carter himself were leaning at the time.

But Park Chung Hee wasn't playing ball. He figured (probably correctly) that any concessions to the opposition would just pave the way for his own eventual downfall. Furthermore, he also opposed any real reforms of the political system of South Korea because they would inevitably lead to demands for economic and social reform, which would lessen South Korea's attractiveness to foreign investment. While the U.S. imperialists, taking the broad view, might even be willing to allow a few two-bit reforms in the short run in order to preserve the basic stability of the East Asian outpost, Park saw anything but the status quo as a losing proposition.

In August 1979, Park launched a major offensive against his opposition in the NDP and other liberal opposition circles. Things came to a head in the national assembly on Sept. 22, when members of Park's Democratic-Republican party submitted a motion for the expulsion of Kim Yung Sam, charging (ironically) that in his *New York Times* interview he had advocated U.S. interference in South Korean affairs. An interesting charge since Park's regime itself was nothing but a U.S. goon squad. The assembly erupted in a fracas, and finally the NDP members were removed by Park's police. The U.S. State Dept. issued a blast at Park's move, condemning it as "inconsistent with the principles of democratic government." The U.S. ambassador was recalled to Washington for consultation. Collaboration between the U.S. and Park's opponents came more and more into the open.

Then came the riots in mid-October, which kicked off and were largest in Pusan, South Korea's second largest city and Kim Yung Sam's home territory. Many workers joined the riots; martial law was proclaimed, a number of people were killed and about 4,000 were arrested. Unrest spread throughout the country. On October 18, U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown flew to Korea

and handed President Park a letter described as "highly critical" of his policies.

On October 25, the U.S. military commander in South Korea was recalled to Washington for consultation. On Oct. 26, Park was assassinated by the head of the South Korean Central Intelligence Agency, Kim Jae Kyu. It is clear that Kim Jae Kyu acted with at least implicit approval, if not at the active instigation, of his opposite numbers in the United States. (One of the demands that has been frequently raised by pro-U.S. elements in the recent crisis is for clemency for Kim Jae Kyu—a campaign that has received backing in a recent prominent guest editorial in the *New York Times*.)

## Gen. Chon Takes Power

The period following Park's death, the U.S. hoped, would be one of consolidation and accommodation between the opposition and forces within the regime who had "seen the light." The announced objectives of the transitional regime—a gradual move towards civilian rule and free elections—were enough to satisfy the opposition, at least for a while. They cooled out the demonstrations of the Korean masses.

But on December 12, Lt. Gen. Chon Too Hwan, a close associate of Park's and the head of the investigation into his death, launched a bloodless coup in Seoul, using as his main backing South Korean troops which were formally under the command of U.S. General Wickham, commander of U.S. forces and of the U.S.-South Korean combined command. All the evidence indicates that this was a unilateral move on Chon's part. The coup was protested by the U.S., and while Chon's regime is still a U.S. lackey (putting, for example, half its army under U.S. command), Chon's particular policies since then have run counter to those wanted now by the U.S. While the coup was initially seen as a setback, but not fatal to the transition process supposedly underway, Chon soon consolidated increasing power in his own hands and named himself head of the K-CIA.

In the months since, it gradually became clear to the opposition that Chon had no intention of actually following through with the process which was supposed to culminate in free elections next year—with Kim Dae Jung once again the leading opposition candidate.

The demonstrations which began in May of this year had been planned for months, and an expensive organization had been prepared to lead them. Their announced objectives were to force out Chon, or at least require him to yield one of his two major posts; to gain a definite timetable for the transfer of power to a civilian government; and to lift the martial law restrictions which had been eased only slightly since Park's death.

The demonstrations were a great success—except they quickly exploded out of control. The United States desperately tried to get Chon to keep his cool and not send in the troops. But the riots grew worse, surpassing the huge demonstrations of last October that finally sealed Park's doom. Chon appeared to be exercising some restraint, however, and finally the opposition called a halt and succeeded in producing a brief lull.

Chon had been waiting for just such a lull before he made his move. His objective appears to have been the complete elimination of the opposition leadership, from the top to the grassroots. Not only was Kim Dae Jung arrested, he was subsequently charged with leading a plot to overthrow the government, a charge which obviously carries with it the death penalty. The sweeping clampdown announced in Martial Law Decree No. 10 was clearly not going to be lifted for some time; the "transitional" process was dead. Undoubtedly, this turn of events left the U.S. aghast. But Chon had pulled off his *fait accompli*; there wasn't much the U.S. could do except file a meek statement claiming to be "deeply disturbed by the extension of martial law throughout Korea"—while in Miami, U.S. national guard troops were shooting down Black people in the streets following the declaration of a

"state of emergency" there. General John Wickham Jr., returned to Washington for "consultations," once again scrambled back to his post in a replay of last October. The State Department, as it did last October, issued a warning to North Korea that the U.S. would react strongly in accordance with its treaty obligations to any attempt to exploit the present situation. There has been, in fact, almost no indication that North Korea has had any direct involvement in the current rebellion, as had been repeatedly suggested by various U.S. agents and lackeys, including Chon himself.

Meanwhile, the "present situation" steadily grows worse for the U.S. The arrest of the leadership, which in general has striven to keep the earlier riots within bounds and had finally taken the initiative to bring them to a halt, did not paralyze the mass movement; rather it has led to the first armed uprising and the seizure of a provincial capital.

Clearly General Chon's moves have put the U.S. between a rock and a hard place, and the exploding struggle of the people of South Korea has changed the whole political scene in the country, creating a new and much more precarious political situation for the U.S. Things have been busted loose, and it will be impossible to put things back together, to stabilize things again the way they have been in the past. While no U.S. troops have yet been committed to the fighting, General Wickham announced that South Korean troops under his command were being formally relieved from duty near the 38th parallel to deal with the disturbances. This formal declaration appeared to represent a *de facto* backing of the regime under these circumstances.

With Kim Dae Jung under arrest and charged with a capital offense—treason—and Kim Yung Sam confined to his home under house arrest, with the NDP and all other parties again banned, and with armed rebellion not only a fact of life but still spreading, the U.S. has little choice. The only other alternative would be to instigate a coup against Chon. But this course holds little appeal, probably only inviting further chaos. In any event, there can be no return to the farce of "gradual democratization" now; the U.S.'s only interest in promoting this game in the first place was to deceive the masses and prevent a "new Iran" in South Korea.

Why did this game blow up in everybody's face? Fundamentally, what has happened is that the mass movement, which the opposition has tried to carefully employ for its own limited purposes, and which the regime has sought to terrorize into submission and crush by force, proved to be a movement of people who "would rather die than live one more day like this." Even while shouting the slogans of Kim Dae Jung, who was working hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists, the miners who rushed into Kuangju bearing explosives, and the crowds who overran defense plants and drove out APC's, clearly had more on their minds than an early date for free elections.

Today, while the workers and students are still fighting under the banner of the "liberal bourgeoisie," which ironically are the very forces which the U.S. imperialists had hoped to ease into power, the objective basis for the struggle to advance and break out of the shackles of bourgeois domination is rapidly being laid. The greatest fear of the imperialists would materialize if a genuine revolutionary leadership were to emerge. The uprising in Kuangju, regardless of its eventual outcome and the possibility of its betrayal by bourgeois forces, is a magnificent event which, in its insurrectionary character, points the path forward for the struggle of the Korean people to break into a revolutionary struggle. Another vital stronghold of the U.S. imperialists is being shaken to its foundations by the very force that they always count out of the picture—the invincible force of the masses of people. □



**May Day 1980, Detroit**



Revolutionary Worker

1° de Mayo 1980, Detroit

## Miami Rebellion

Continued from page 3

and not the acquittal of McDuffie's murderers. Black people vs. white people; Black people vs. Black people; now Black people vs. Cubans—anything, anything besides Black people vs. the ruling system of imperialism! The Cuban refugees have been a political goldmine for the rulers of this country. They have been welcomed and propagandized as "refugees from communism" and some given a few privileges while most catch the same hell as the rest of us. And now, after running up the ideological anti-communist mileage, the U.S. imperialists have figured out a way to skin the ox twice. Presto! The Cubans have become the "cause" of the Miami rebellion. (And for those Cubans who labored under the illusion that the hell of capitalist Cuba could be escaped by sailing 90 miles north to the land of milk and honey—what they have found is not the Statue of Liberty but Liberty City! The flames which rose behind Miami's beachfront towers have flashed a message to this so-called "freedom flotilla": Welcome to the real America!)

On Tuesday night, Dan Rather

surveyed the situation in Miami for CBS news. Grim faced, he noted that "An ugly, unwanted creature from our recent past has returned full grown to haunt us in this new decade." Indeed it has. A righteous rebellion of the masses of people has come to haunt not only Mr. Rather, but the capitalist slavemasters who pull his strings. For them there is no worse possible time for this "unwanted creature" to return than the beginning of the 1980's—a decade in which they are planning to settle accounts with their act-alike rival imperialists in the Soviet Union by plunging the world into yet another world war. Miami has exploded smack in the middle of their pleas for "national unity"—their calls for a massive orgy of patriotism over the "Iran crisis," their hypocritical protests over the "intolerable" and "unacceptable" stationing of Soviet divisions in Afghanistan. The irony is unmistakable: this "national unity" must be brought about by the stationing of *close to a division of pigs and troops* on U.S. soil, to stamp out a rebellion of Black people!

But the troops with rifles were supplemented by troops armed with a different weapon, but one sometimes just as deadly. Commander Benjamin Civiletti, Attorney General of the United States, leading an advance from the U.S. Justice Department, arrived in Miami. He had come, too, to try to restore some of the righteously shattered "national unity." "It appears

that an injustice was done in the state proceeding," said Civiletti, in reference to the "OK" given McDuffie's killers two days earlier. He neglected to mention that the Justice Department participated in the court proceeding as "observers." "I pledge a full review," he continued, "All members of the community will get a fair shake and fair play." Civiletti's message was to "have faith in America." But the Black people had already shown their "faith" in the streets—faith in America to deliver insult on top of oppression and murder; faith that this system will demand that its victims go out and fight to defend all that shit. As one Black youth put it at the height of the rebellion, "They want to draft Black people into their Army, but they won't even treat us like people here."

The Man would love to have us sum up the Miami rebellion as "another senseless act"—a failure. How ridiculous! Of course this rebellion will ebb and end, as will all such spontaneous acts until the conditions ripen still more and the masses go over from rebellions to mass, armed proletarian revolution. Only this will finally wipe out the system that is the source of all this oppression, crisis and war.

Yes, the rebellion has, at least for now, ebbed in the absence of these conditions and in the face of a massive assemblage of troops. But far from showing futility, the Miami rebellion has revealed another glimpse of the

possibility of revolution. The "revolutionary potential, the glimmer of the future" that can be seen in rebellions like Miami was spoken to in a recent talk by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party:

"...it even comes out—once you have scientific viewpoint and method—in less overtly political events. Look, for example, even at such things as blackouts, where authority no longer holds, even if it's only for a few hours, and you see all sorts of people, whom the authorities look at like creatures of the night, they come out and begin to stalk the authorities, until finally, they put the lid back on, and drive them back into quiet submission for a while. But what about when they can't do that any longer? What about when they are stretched to the limit, fighting their enemy, their rival imperialist gangsters, while trying to clamp down on all the 'social unrest' (as they call it) that the war and everything they'll be putting people through will give rise to?"

These are the opportunities that this mad-dog system is going to provide us—and it may well be in the decade ahead. It is up to the revolutionary fighters, class-conscious workers, to work toward this goal—to prepare today for when it is time to seize the time.

**Wear a Red Arm Band in Solidarity with the Miami Rebellion! Get Down and Discuss the Battle Plan for Revolution, the Drafts of the Programme and Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party. Read, Subscribe, Distribute the Revolutionary Worker Newspaper.**

## Iranian Revolution

Continued from page 5

radar operators had been given vacations. Mysteriously the lights at the stadium near the embassy had been turned on. Many people estimated that there were up to 2000 men on board the C-130s that landed in Iran, not 90. And the Iranian government never did reveal details on their "investigation" of the raid. One night a Phantom jet buzzes Tehran and the city is immediately awake and watching. It turned out to be from the Iranian air force.

But despite their plans and plots, attacks and maneuverings, it is obvious from the actions of the government from the highest levels to the lowest office that no one has a firm grip on power in Iran. When the revolution toppled the Shah and smashed the established order of classes last year, the Iranian bourgeoisie was weak and divorced from power. Since then, it has been rent with internal struggle and most importantly has been unable to contain the burning desire of millions to continue the revolution. What one high government official states about the embassy situation, another contradicts the next day. A plan for the economy is announced, but somehow it never manages to materialize, or is tabled by another faction of the ruling class. Even the government offices seemed paralyzed. No one is sure just what the official policy is, and everyone is afraid his head will roll if he takes it upon himself to make a decision. Everything seems to operate on a case by case basis. "I waited in an office from 8 a.m. to 2 p.m. for a simple yes or no," one job seeker told us. "When I finally did get the answer, it wasn't for sure anyway."

The focus of the power struggle inside the government for the moment, is the struggle between the forces around President Bani-Sadr and those grouped around the Islamic Republic Party (IRP) and Ayatollah Beheshti. Since his overwhelming victory in the presidential elections, Bani-Sadr has talked mainly about eliminating other "centers of power." But the more he talks about it the more centers seem to pop up. The IRP, unlike the Bani-Sadr forces, does have an organized political party that functions on the grass root level. This has helped them recoup their losses with overwhelming gains in the recent parliamentary elections. (Of course many of these mullahs and their supporters were not above cheating on a large scale. For instance, a number of ballot boxes took some 20 hours to get from the polling places to the place they were to be counted, and the seals on many of the boxes were broken on arrival.)

While Bani-Sadr represents mainly the national bourgeoisie with continu-

ing ties to the Western imperialist countries, the IRP is a conglomeration of landlords, a section of the clergy and the merchants in the bazaars. The main thing that has divided them is who is going to be on top and how to go about suppressing the revolutionaries. Talking to a western-educated aide to Bani-Sadr it became obvious that the President has no fundamental opposition to imperialism, only some fear of U.S. imperialism (and the Soviets' brand of the same as well). In fact their program for Iran's economy is to try to expand contracts between Iran and the imperialist countries of Western Europe and Japan. Internally, Bani-Sadr takes a more "political" and at the same time gradual approach to dealing with the revolutionary forces in Kurdistan, the universities and elsewhere. In other words, he favors trying to politically isolate the Left among the masses before delivering the *coup de gras*.

The leaders of the Islamic Republic Party are impatient with such maneuvering and favor frontal assault. But as the recent fighting in Iran has shown, both will rely on brute force, on reactionary violence when necessary. (Interesting enough, in the interviews with both forces, neither would admit any philosophical or political differences with the other.)

Even on the subject of the U.S. hostages, the differences between them are more apparent than real. Bani-Sadr made it clear that the embassy seizure was in his mind a mistake from the start—a useless provocation of the U.S. imperialists, who could otherwise be a source of military "aid" and economic "expertise." The IRP has also said from the start that they didn't like the seizure but had no alternative but to go along with it. In fact, they have used their professed public support for the students to try to gain some ground against Bani-Sadr, who has been more openly working to strike up compromise with the U.S. But recently Beheshti claimed that the parliament should approve a show trial for the U.S. hostages (supposedly a trial of U.S. activities in Iran), and then they should all be freed, punishment was not an important question. According to many people, the students holding the hostages in a number of cities around Iran are also demanding trials for the U.S. embassy personnel, but they are opposed to letting go the CIA operatives and other spies among them.

There are other new splits emerging within the ruling class as well. Perhaps the most significant is the pro-imperialist faction emerging centered around Admiral Madani, who received

a surprising 2 million votes in the presidential election on a "law and order" platform. Along with Defense Minister Chamran, Foreign Minister Ghotbzadeh and a number of other secular politicians (although everyone now says they are "Islamic"), they say they are fed up with the political pussyfooting of the Bani-Sadr group and feel he can't control things. They are also opposed to the excessive religious restraints placed on things by the mullahs of the IRP. The basic program of Madani & Co. is to drown the revolution in blood and come to terms with U.S. imperialism now.

At the same time a group around Khomeini's relatives and some lower government officials—with strong ties to the Moslem students who led the U.S. embassy takeover—has come into existence. Reflecting its base among the urban petit-bourgeois, it has sharper contradictions with imperialism as well as the other ruling circles. While everyone is looking to the upcoming parliament to resolve the current struggle for power, it undoubtedly won't be so simple, as past experience has shown.

It is against this backdrop that increasingly open attempts by the U.S. to organize reactionary attacks on the Iranian revolution are surfacing. In Paris, both the monarchists, centered around some of the old Shah's generals, like Ovassie, and the Bakhtiari forces are now openly organizing to overthrow the current government. With the first U.S. raid on Iran, as well as several helicopter and jet incidents since then, the U.S. had made it clear that it is considering active military support for such a coup d'état. Exactly how this may come down is not yet clear. The U.S. imperialists do not have a clear shot in this, because their main allies in the army and the old ruling class are extremely exposed and isolated politically; and any attempt to openly restore the monarchy or a similar openly pro-U.S. regime, backed by U.S. weapons, could spread the fighting on a massive scale and give Iran's growing Marxist-Leninist forces new freedom. At the same time they are having great difficulty in aligning these old-line reactionaries with any of the other sections of Iran's present ruling classes to give them a more nationalist and Islamic political cover. While the U.S. may be hoping to influence the outcome of the parliament's deliberations on the U.S. hostages, they are at the same time actively rallying the forces of reaction inside Iran. Their real goal is not to "rescue" the hostages but crush the life out of the Iranian revolution itself.

Rising in the western part of Iran in the province of Kurdistan is a mighty challenge to all this intrigue and conspiracy. Here an unprecedented revolu-

tionary upheaval threatens to wreck the best laid reactionary and imperialist plans and push forward the whole Iranian revolution. Over the past months, the whole province has become virtually a liberated area. The central government has lost all credibility with the population and is unable to control anything but their own military bases. In the face of this the government has resorted to whole scale bombing and shelling of the civilian population, in cities such as Sanandaj, Saqqez, Baneh and Marivan. Many Kurdish cities have been reduced to ghost towns, creating over 100,000 refugees. The situation is complex due to the various political forces involved—from the compromising pro-Soviet KDP and their new-found allies the Fedayeen—to the revolutionary organizations such as Komalah and the Peshmergas of the Oppressed and Toiling Masses, who have borne the brunt of the government's attacks. But one thing stands out in sharp relief, the masses of Kurdistan are united as never before and are determined to win their liberation whatever the cost. (A full first hand report on the fighting in Kurdistan will be run in the *RW* soon.)

In this new round of class struggle, it is once again clear that the ruling classes presently trying to hold power in Iran are incapable of doing so. In fact, this is creating a favorable situation for the Iranian people to continue the revolution through to the final defeat of imperialism and feudalism in Iran.

In this volatile political situation, genuine communist forces are putting forward a clear proletarian revolutionary banner and program in all the political and ideological conflicts in society in opposition to the indecision, paralysis and reaction that characterizes the ruling classes. It is no longer enough to be against the Shah and U.S. imperialism. More, much more, is being required in this complex and tumultuous situation. And it is in the furnace of sharpening class struggle inside Iran that answers to these questions are being forged among the people.

# REVISIONIST CRISIS AND THE CUBAN REFUGEES

The recent Cuban mass migration to the United States—which reached 60,000 before the Carter administration moved to cut off a flood which it had estimated could rise to 250,000 or more—has its roots in the most severe crisis to grip the neo-colonial, Soviet-dominated economy of Cuba since the Castro regime took power. But the mass exodus from the island of 9 million people is also partly a consequence of an officially sanctioned stream of travel to Cuba by over 10,000 U.S. Cuban exiles a month over the last two years—one of the “fruits” of direct negotiations between the Castro regime and reactionary exile leaders.

21 years after the overthrow of the U.S. backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista, the economy of the island under the Soviet hammer lock looks suspiciously similar to its main features in 1959: overwhelmingly dependent on sugar exports and helplessly in debt to its imperialist “friend and protector.” The nation has little convertible currency with which to finance new economic growth or diversification; every plunge in the world’s sugar price inevitably means severe domestic economic difficulty. Cuba’s integration into COMECON, the Soviet-led trading bloc of East European countries, has hardly ushered in the cornucopia of “international socialist economic cooperation,” that Soviet and Cuban propaganda envisaged. Cuba’s role in the “international division of labor” is to provide sugar and an occasional Havana cigar for the Party bigs in Moscow and other East European capitals. In return, Cuba gets almost \$3 billion a year in

Soviet subsidies, mostly in the form of a sugar price far above the world market price.

Of course, ensuring a regular supply of sugar and cigars is not the extent of Moscow’s stake in Cuba. Castro has one other major export: human bodies, which are stuffed into uniforms and shipped off like so many bags of sugar to fight and die for Soviet neo-colonial intrigues in Angola, Ethiopia and other parts of Africa. In addition, Castro’s cover as a “third world revolutionary” and “leader of the non-aligned” has yielded immeasurable political benefits to the Soviets, whom Castro regularly hypes in international forums as “the natural ally of the third world,” while bristling at any suggestion that his own non-aligned credentials are a bit suspect.

But the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has seriously damaged Castro’s prestige, as the “world leader” meekly lined up in servile praise of the Soviet troops’ “internationalist aid and brotherly assistance to fraternal neighboring Afghanistan.” As has been noted by U.S. imperialist analysts, however, this didn’t happen without some apparent Soviet arm twisting and a period of official silence from Havana.

In the last year, the economic situation in Cuba has reached depths far worse than anything since 1959. This has prompted some unprecedented governmental shakeups and a series of unexpected statements by Cuban government leaders—including a so-called “secret speech” by Fidel Castro to the National Assembly last

December.

In his “secret speech,” which conveniently found its way into the hands of every hack U.S. analyst, Castro himself paints a grim picture of “socialism” in Cuba. He points to the destruction of the nation’s tobacco crop by blight (without mentioning the catastrophe was caused at least in part by the planting of a Bulgarian strain of tobacco which had no resistance to tropical pests) and a new “plant rot” that promises to destroy up to 25% of the sugar harvest as major causes of the country’s economic difficulties. But then he goes on to say that Cuba is plagued with street crime, worker absenteeism, high unemployment, “symptoms of corruption,” and a large sector of the population “accustomed to daily stealing.”

“Some have said we are experiencing difficulties,” Castro is reported to have said. “This gives the impression that we are crossing a current, a river.”

“It would be better to say that we are sailing in a sea of difficulties. We have been in this sea for some time and we will continue in this sea... The shore is far away.”

Castro also acknowledged the total dependence of Cuba on the COMECON bloc, and complained that Cuba had to slaughter cattle early because Bulgaria didn’t deliver on promised food stuffs, while Cuba had to postpone development plans because they were waiting on lumber and cement from the Soviet Union. Castro even slavishly suggested sending a force of 10,000 Cuban workers to the forests in Siberia to harvest the lumber!

Faced with severe food rationing, rising unemployment due to the closing of a number of tobacco processing plants and other enterprises, and the actual prospect of hunger on the island, Fidel Castro’s brother, Raoul, was appointed as chief spokesman on economic affairs and promptly began to take the same line as Fidel in public speeches which were widely reprinted throughout Cuba. Stating that Cuba “could no longer blame its economic problems on the U.S. blockade,” Raoul Castro said that Cuba would have long ago gone bankrupt without \$9 million a day in Russian aid, and moaned that “Cuba is being stalked by the spectre of economic disaster and bankruptcy, with its sequel of starving people and hundreds of thousands unemployed.” Aiming much of the fire at Cuba’s “lazy working class” Raoul Castro and the Cuban propaganda machine in chorus with him have been repeatedly predicting that Cubans could expect no material improvements for a long time, that in fact things would get worse.

This persistent theme was accompanied by a new wave of repression in Cuba, both against new signs of anti-Castro agitation (from what political quarters is unclear) by what the Castro brothers describe as “little groups of intellectuals sitting in judgement on the revolution.” There was a crackdown on the blackmarket, resulting in over 3,000 arrests for mostly petty offenses, and a new “campaign against death and pilfering” consisting largely of secret police dragging people off of public transportation for offending against one of Fidel’s pet peeves—not paying for their ride.

In late 1978, the Cuban government initiated a series of secret overtures with reactionary Cuban exile leaders in the United States, in an attempt to set up a “dialogue” between the government and the exiles. The initiative resulted in a “Committee of 75” exiles, including a number of veterans from the Bay of Pigs invasion, prominent Cuban-Americans—bankers, and other “educators,” journalists, priests and businessmen.” Castro ordered an end to the use of the term “gusano” (worm) in the Cuban press in reference to the U.S. exiles, who have always been under the political leadership of the pro-U.S., pro-Batista rich bourgeois and petty bourgeois who fled the island in 1959.

“The word gusano was appropriate in the heat of the struggle and the passion of the struggle,” Castro told a group of exiled journalists during the “Committee of 75” visit, but henceforth the new term would be “the Cuban community abroad.”

As a result of the negotiations, Castro quickly ordered the release of thousands of pro-Batista and other reactionary political prisoners from jail and allowed them to emigrate to the U.S. Further, nearly all restrictions on Cuban-American travel to Cuba were lifted.

The Castro regime had several objectives in making these moves. One was to establish a broad base of political influence in the “Cuban community abroad.” The initiatives resulted in a split within what had formerly been a monolithic bloc of anti-Castro Cuban exile organizations. Some Cuban American businessmen scrambled to get in on the gravy, knocking together “Havana holiday” tourist packages, and eyeing a possible eventual reestablishment of economic operations within Cuba itself. Castro also hoped (in vain as it turned out, especially when the “crisis over the Soviet combat brigade in Cuba” hit the headlines) that lessening opposition in the exile community would open the way to the end of the U.S. imperialist trade embargo and normalization of relations with the U.S.—moves which the Soviet Union itself was probably encouraging. Further, a flood of free spending Cuban exiles returning home to visit relatives and to stay at clipjoint Havana hotels would provide Cuba with some much needed hard foreign currency.

But the massive influx of Cuban exiles to the island, which quickly boomed to over 10,000 a month, was bound to have an enormous political impact on the Cuban people. The exiles who went over to Cuba were overwhelmingly politically reactionary elements who had achieved, through their business connections in the U.S., their resources taken with them from Cuba at the time of the revolution, and special favors by the U.S. ruling class for many services rendered over the years, a high degree of material prosperity. A *Miami Herald* news analysis of August 1979, noting a “new wave of Cuban boat people” which had already begun to appear on the Florida shores at that time (though this wave would look like a trickle compared to what was to follow) summed up the political impact of the returning Cuban exiles in the following points:

“(1) Returning Cuban exiles have dispelled propaganda that Cubans in the United States were unable to find jobs or were exploited by substandard wages.

“(2) The clothing and coveted consumer goods brought to the island by the visitors contrast sharply with the Cuban’s austerity, reawakening material desires.

“(3) Returning exiles have denied government inspired reports of widespread discrimination against Cubans in the United States.

“(4) They have assured the Cubans that the U.S. government would not send boat-borne refugees back to the island as many feared.

“(5) Perhaps most important, the new refugees say they compared their closed society with the U.S. system described by visiting exiles and found their wanting.”

This unrestricted influx of pro-U.S. imperialist gossip and propaganda, combined with the domestic economic nosedive and the government propaganda campaign, which bordered on an intimation that people should “get out while they can,” worked its inevitable ideological and political effect on hundreds of thousands of baffled and naive Cubans hypnotized by the glitter of expensive watches, the glare of loud Miami silk flowered print shirts clinging to gusano pot bellies, and the

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## Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth

Cuba, home of the first successful revolution against Yankee imperialism in Latin America, a country which as a result became a symbol for revolution for a great many people opposing imperialism around the world.

Cuba, which despite all this has become a pawn of Soviet social-imperialism, a breeding farm for cannon fodder for the expansionist ambitions of the revisionist superpower.

This pamphlet contains a critical analysis of the development of the Cuban revolution and the nature of its phony “socialism.” Drawing the lessons of this negative experience is necessary to make clear the real road to liberation and socialism.

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## Quebec

Continued from page 6

of the '80s.

As for the ruling Canadian capitalists, they made no bones about the fact that they wanted to hear nothing of separation, and even went so far as to start proceedings to see about granting a little more power to the provinces. Their spokesman in Quebec—QLP leader Claude Ryan—was already hot on the trail with a plan for a "new federation" to try to help convince Quebecois that change is on the way, and more can be gained by staying with Canada. The Canadian bourgeoisie would have a lot to lose if Quebec were to take to bargaining on the world's markets in its own behalf; not only is the province rich and developed, one of the two main industrialized areas in Canada, it is still the source of tremendous superprofits from the national oppression of Quebec workers. Further, with the loss of Quebec, the Canadian bourgeoisie fears becoming little more than a ringside strawberry patch for the U.S. imperialists to pick. But the U.S. imperialists agree with their Canadian partners—the risk of an "unstable" Canada and the possible repercussions of a fight against oppression right on its own borders is a threat that outweighs the promise of a few more bucks.

So while Trudeau and the "no" camp made a few paltry promises about cleaning up their act in Quebec, overall the Canadian bourgeoisie took a hard line on the referendum and spelled out in no uncertain terms that Quebec's future was with imperialist Canada. At one point, Trudeau said he would pull out the troops if necessary to keep Quebec from separating. Some companies in English Canada threatened to cut off the province's oil supplies. Other companies threatened to pull out altogether. Federal officials warned that social security pensions, welfare, medical insurance and ambulance service would be cut off in Quebec if the referendum were approved—and that taxes would jump by a third.

In addition to these scare tactics directed toward Quebecois, the federalist forces way overshot the legal campaign spending limit to seize the occasion of the referendum to mount a major battle for public opinion all across Canada. They whipped up quite

a disgusting display of anti-Quebec/French chauvinism, from *Toronto Sun* editorials screaming about French power taking over the country, to other reactionaries demanding to know "Who do these uppity francophones think they are anyway wanting special rights? They live in an English country and they should speak English like the rest of us!" Often thrown in were racial slurs directed at native people who, along with some pockets of Italians, are the only people with a lower standard of living in Canada than the francophone Quebecois.

Trudeau himself openly called to unite the motherland, and succeeded in unleashing an array of groups to spread the "People to People Petition for Canadian Unity," which was a slick appeal for "good will and mutual respect... recognizing that rights and dignities have sometimes been neglected...," a call for English Canadians to ignore national oppression.

It must be said that beyond eating up the opportunities to stir things up between different nationalities and then make a feverish pitch for uniting under the imperialist maple leaf as the only solution to "resolving our problems," the Canadian bourgeoisie was also glad to see the referendum debate shaping the terms of the struggle against national oppression. Getting people to vote "yes" or "no" on a meaningless bill was not exactly a colossal threat to their rule, compared to the actions of tens of thousands in the streets in the turbulent past years.

The struggle against national oppression in Canada is closely linked to the question of proletarian revolution. Ending the discrimination against French-speaking and other minorities in Canada, the suppression of language and culture, superexploitation; for all of this, on top of the oppression they face as part of the multinational working class of Canada and cannonfodder for the upcoming global showdown, the stakes are no less than overthrowing the imperialist bourgeoisie of Canada. Clearly, from its militant history of struggle and the burning hatred of oppression stemming from their relationship to the Canadian ruling class, the national struggle in Quebec will be a very important element for revolution, a significant front for the revolutionary working class of all nationalities as it emerges to put an end to imperialist rule altogether.

The defeat of the PQ's plan in this referendum cannot be chalked up to satisfaction with the status quo on the part of the people. The facts are not all in, particularly the numbers who participated in the "Spoil Your Ballot" alternative to the poisonous "yes" and "no" options, directed against both the chauvinist choruses for renewed federalism and national oppression, and the phony sovereignty of the PQ. Native Americans, who only got the right to vote in 1969, by and large abstained altogether. From all indications, the main thing the referendum tally shows is that most people did not see the PQ proposal as a viable alternative. Also, confusion around the threats planted by the federal government along with its "unity" campaign definitely fed the doubts of Quebecois who might have been tempted to take a plunge with the PQ, wanting to grasp at anything that looked like a change. Certainly mixed with a hatred of inequality and national oppression that is life under British Canadian imperialist rule, there is undoubtedly also a genuine desire to unite, as well as plenty of illusions about things improving by remaining in stronger hands.

Summing up their victory, Trudeau's forces have decided they cannot afford to gloat. They are rushing to amend the Canadian constitution to try to head off any more trouble. For they have won a hollow victory indeed. While the imperialists succeeded in crushing the round of bureaucratic bargaining to initiate sovereignty, they have by no means

crushed the masses nor their desire to be free of oppression. On the contrary, by being forced to deal with the issue, they have stirred up a hornet's nest. Post-referendum Quebec is sharply polarized. And it is in fact significant that despite the chauvinist blackmail of the government, 40% of the people—who included several unions, some progressive movement forces and youth as well as the PQ's social base—voted for the referendum, phony as it was.

Far from the Quebecois accepting things the way they are and endorsing continued national and every other kind of oppression, political debate is alive and smoking up in Quebec following the vote. For the first time in a long while, spontaneous, angry demonstrations broke out in the streets of Montreal the night the referendum was defeated. Youth left the stadium where Lévesque was holding his surrender rally, and met up with another demonstration of youth in an area where many usually hang out. They joined forces—over 3,000—and began trashing cars, throwing stones, pulling down flags, and clashing with riot police. Chanting, "We want a country," the demonstration moved out to the wealthy neighborhood of Westmount, the symbol of English-speaking capitalists in Quebec. The frustration and education of another illusion being dashed, the underlying desire for a lot more than a country with French-speaking rulers, these are elements that the bourgeoisie's referendum hoax doesn't account for. □

## An Education from Judge Schooling

Los Angeles. On May 19, two May Day organizers appeared in court in Huntington Park (near Los Angeles) supposedly to be arraigned on charges of "malicious mischief" in connection with an arrest for allegedly spray painting revolutionary slogans on a wall. One of them was wearing a May Day t-shirt. Judge Schooling was reading the defendants their "rights" when he suddenly stopped, ordering the bailiff to take the t-shirted revolutionary into custody and out of the courtroom in handcuffs. Schooling then announced that the defendant was being held in "contempt of court" for allegedly "smiling" while his honor was talking—and set a "hearing" for later that

afternoon.

The "hearing" went on as scheduled. Judge Schooling: "I've made my decision. \$1,500 bail for contempt of court. Take him away." As the revolutionary was being hauled off in handcuffs, a number of supporters, all wearing May Day t-shirts arrived in the courtroom. When one of them asked why he was being held prisoner, a bailiff jumped her and took her away also. This time, Judge Schooling decided that even the pretense of a hearing was too risky, so he didn't bother with one. He just sentenced her to 5 days in the women's jail—where she is being held in maximum security.

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# Refugees

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flicker of little red numbers on pocket calculators brought by the exiles to show off to their poor relatives. It is no accident that, while the migration has assumed mass proportions and clearly includes broader numbers than just hardcore political reactionaries, the "refugees" are 80% white, a big percentage have relatives in the United States and they are politically backward or at least extremely gullible people.

The Cuban government's response and tactics since the migration took on the character of a mass movement with the storming of the Peruvian embassy by 11,000 prospective immigrants last month has reflected its conflicting objectives. Clearly, the regime had to consolidate politically against the image of masses of ordinary people fleeing Cuba. Castro's early condemnations of the immigrants as "anti social parasites, bums, counterrevolutionaries, and other social scum" and the huge demonstrations called in support of the Castro regime were politically essential, both to preserve internal stability and to protect Cuba's international image. At the same time, Castro's sudden switch in tactics to opening the port of Mariel and declaring free access to anything that floated (and, apparently, some things that didn't float, at least all the way from Mariel to Miami) to "come and get 'em," which appeared "astonishing" at the time, is really not so astonishing. The fact of the matter is that Castro was glad to unload thousands of people to lessen the burden on his collapsing economy in which both spreading unemployment and severe rationing and hunger are both major factors. Castro's throwing in of a number of common criminals and mental defectives into the lot was no doubt viewed by him with a chuckle as "pulling a fast one" on the U.S.; but it also reveals his attitude towards the emigration as a whole: getting rid of a lot of dead wood. And regardless of the caliber of the "refugees," the fundamental cause for this approach lies in the moribund economy of a colonized island presided over by a petty col-

laborator in the enslavement of his people to imperialism.

The U.S. imperialist approach to the flood of Cubans arriving in Miami also went through several stages. The government's initial coldness and its attempts to disperse a limited number of carefully screened refugees throughout the Americas was quickly reversed when critics both within and outside the Carter administration berated him for not taking advantage of a great potential propaganda coup. This produced the declaration that America "would always receive refugees with open hearts and open arms." When the magnitude of the potential influx became clear, however, the U.S. began to change its media barrage—inciting a backlash against a "new wave of foreigners coming here to steal our jobs." Carter initiated a crackdown on new boat departures and sought to open negotiations with Castro for a far more limited and orderly U.S. screened, "boatlift" for legitimate political refugees and those with relatives in the United States.

The recent move towards direct negotiations between the U.S. and Cuba, has ushered in the latest stage of development. The Castro regime maintains that the present arrangements for the exodus are fine, and that they should continue. In a front page editorial in *Granma*, the official government newspaper, the regime insists that any negotiations must not be limited to the "isolated problem of immigration," but must take up "its global problems with the United States," especially the matter of an end to the U.S. trade embargo, an end to the U.S. base in Guantanamo and an end to U.S. reconnaissance missions over Cuba. The U.S. insists that talks be limited to the matter of immigration.

The editorial in *Granma* was more remarkable, however, in other respects. It condemned the U.S. for "wanting to choose" who to take and who not to take: "the government of the United States wants to choose, to take people with some qualifications, if that is possible, with clean backgrounds except for those with counterrevolutionary pasts, and leave the rest of the anti-socials here with us." The editorial defended the right of the "refugees" to go to the U.S. and not to be dispersed

elsewhere, stating that "these people want to go to the United States, none wants to go to Haiti, Santo Domingo, Brazil, Ecuador, Peru. Neither do they want to go to India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Nigeria." And it analyzed the cause of the "economic migration," as it is now being termed, as "the result of poverty that the brutal system of colonial exploitation and colonialism engenders in the peoples of the third world." Thus, the Cuban policy has shifted from placing the main emphasis on propaganda condemning the immigrants as "antisocial" (although this is still an aspect of their line, necessitated by the tasks of internal political consolidation) to demanding that the exodus continue as is, and further demanding that the U.S. take all those who wish to leave. It is difficult to imagine at this point how Fidel Castro could manage to squirm into a more humiliating and contemptible posture toward either imperialist superpower.

A number of U.S. imperialist analysts have speculated in recent weeks about a possible opportunity for the U.S. in Castro's economic and political difficulties and the weird turns of the Cuban policy since last December.

"Is Castro comfortable in a Soviet bed?" wonders the *Los Angeles Times* of March 24th. "What if Fidel Castro split with Soviets?" asks the *Miami Herald*.

And most recently, the lead editorial of the *New York Times* of May 19th, Fidel Castro is Floundering, points to a number of recent developments, including the fact that Castro failed to attend the funeral of Marshall Tito and that he called for an armed popular militia on May Day, a call that the *Times* interprets as "a possible counter to his Soviet trained army." "There may lurk an opportunity in Mr. Castro's adversity," concludes the *Times*. "He may yet discover the benefit of pulling back from his Soviet connection toward more normal relations with Washington. But even if he fails to hear American ideas for repairing his revolution, the Cuban people may."

This is all mainly wishful thinking at this point on the part of U.S. imperialism, as some of these analysts themselves concede. It must also be pointed out again that many of these

moves Castro is making are supported by the Soviet Union. But what this recent spurt of "just wondering, that's all" editorial speculation *does* reveal is that the U.S. has not given up its hope of removing the Soviet thorn in its Caribbean flank, and in fact may have concluded that it is increasingly urgent to do so—with or without "Mr. Castro"—as the coming war draws nearer. As for Castro himself, he undoubtedly has his own interests, and might like to cover his own bets with a partial rapprochement with the U.S. It is a safe bet, as the society and economy of Cuba crash about his ears and his "prestige" suffers one humiliating blow after another, that he is not entirely satisfied with his "fraternal cooperation" with the Soviet Union. But neither is he so dissatisfied that he is likely to risk everything—including, and of paramount importance to him, his own neck—in a real attempt to switch sides.

The entire "refugee" episode has been a chilling exposure of the nature of modern imperialist neocolonialism—and its identical impact on the colonized people, whether it is the U.S. or the Soviet imperialists who are in command. To look at Cuba today is to see the results of mortgaging one's nation off to one imperialist or another in search of "security" and "economic development." Castro, for all his bluster and flailing of arms, is just a soft, fleshy puppet. The great victory won by the Cuban people in 1959 when they overthrew U.S. imperialist rule of the island has been dragged through the mud and totally turned into its opposite. In 1976, in its analysis, "Cuba, the Evaporation of a Myth," the RCP pointed out that "Cuba today is as much a colony of the Soviet Union as it once was of the United States, its economy dominated by sugar, and its working people wage slaves laboring to pay off an endless mortgage to the USSR. The leaders of the anti-imperialist revolution of 1959 have now themselves become a new dependent capitalist class." What was obvious then is being practically flaunted in Havana today. It is a disgusting spectacle—and a sobering lesson—for the people of the whole world. ||

# ALAMO

Continued from page 11

the Mexican War of Independence against Spain emerging victoriously in 1821 and Mexico's subsequent abolition of slavery, the southern slaveholders (including some big landholders in Texas) were thrown into a frenzy. They stepped up their mercenary invasions, and while these were often defeated by Mexican soldiers, still the number of American settlers rose rapidly, with many small farmers moving in to settle the area.

By 1835, the number of U.S. settlers in Texas outnumbered the Mexicans by a 6 to 1 ratio. But the small farmers were not easily won to fighting for the slave owning interests of the large landholders. So Steven F. Austin, the biggest slaveowner in the area, issued a frantic call, supported by both the southern slaveowners and the northern capitalists, for a massive wave of Americans to invade Texas. Land and plunder was promised to "each man with his rifle" who would come. These were the famous "Texas freedom fighters"—mercenary adventurers in a war to tip the land away from Mexico in order to expand the chattel slavery of Black people.

While the invaders were able to quickly overrun the small Mexican garrison of east Texas, including the Alamo, the American mercenary force had trouble staying intact. Many of them ended up going home, while others pushed further west. Meanwhile, the Mexican general Santa Ana had led an army of 3000 men from central Mexico to smash this reactionary aggression. In February of 1836, his army reached the San Antonio garrison.

At this point there were only about 200 Americans left, holed up in the Alamo. Two thirds of them were mercenaries, including Jim Bowie, a Louisiana slave-smuggler and Davy

Crockett, a well-known charlatan and professional fortune hunter. This rabble became part of the rubble, as the Mexican army overran their reactionary fortress. However, contrary to modern mythology, they did not all go down fighting with their bare hands. Seven of them stayed alive long enough to surrender, including Davy Crockett, who was justly executed for his crimes.

The immediate impact of this Mexican victory and others in Texas, was not to fan the reactionary flames of the Texas "Independence" movement, but rather to nearly snuff it out. Many of the demoralized "Texas volunteers" deserted and packed up their belongings heading for the U.S. border in the face of Santa Ana's advance. It was not until Sam Houston's mercenaries won a surprise victory in a clash with a smaller part of Santa Ana's army and got lucky enough to catch the General himself at San Jacinto, that support and money again began to pour into Texas. It was through glorifying this battle, where the mercenaries murdered every soldier who tried to surrender, that the slogan "Remember the Alamo" was created, as a rallying cry for national chauvinism, racism, and all reaction.

The first action of the new Texas republic was to legalize slavery. But the full propaganda of the Alamo fantasy and its reactionary cry didn't get utilized until nine years later, when Texas was annexed by the U.S. With this action, the American war of aggression on Mexico began—the murder, plunder and terrorizing of the Mexican people to drive them out of the southwest. Actually, the patriotic appeal to "Remember the Alamo" wasn't sufficient to attract enough forces for this ignoble cause, and so once again, the American reactionaries had to issue a crude appeal to criminal elements "to revel in the halls of Montezuma." Mexican women were included in the bargain which guaranteed loot and plunder. An

American lieutenant described the soldiers in his army as "driving husbands out of houses, and raping their wives...they are...without discipline, making us a terror to the innocent!" This was precisely the kind of war the U.S. ruling class had to wage to seize the southwest, and force Mexico under the thumb of semi-colonial domination.

No wonder the Alamo is such a

sacred cow of U.S. imperialism. It is truly a monument to the best that this system has to offer—exploitation, national oppression, and more. And no wonder that glorious action of Comrade Garcia and the two other revolutionaries was such an inspiration. The shadowy tomb was turned into a monument to the determination of people all over the world to hasten the imperialist system into its grave. ||



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