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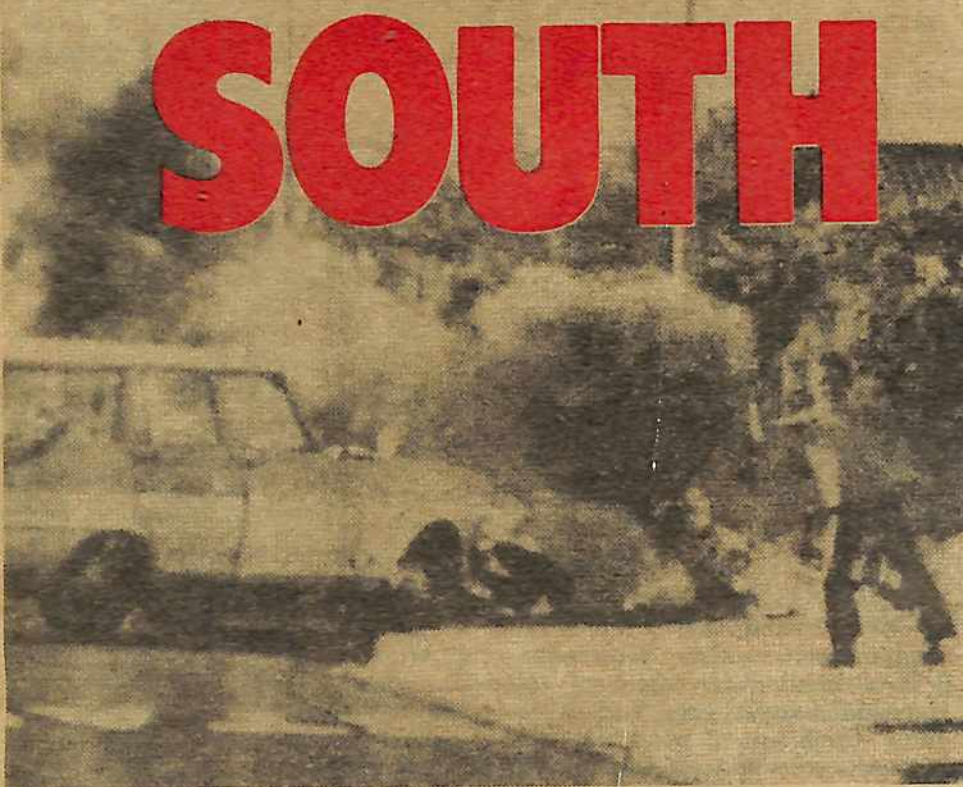
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4th Anniversary of Soweto Rebellion

NEW UPSURGE IN SOUTH AFRICA



June 16 marked the fourth anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising in South Africa when Black students and youth rose up against the hated apartheid regime, and more than 600 Blacks and people of mixed race were murdered by the racist South African government. This week in Capetown, Soweto, and black and mixed race townships around Johannesburg, the anger of the oppressed masses of South Africa—or Azania, as the black majority call their country—exploded in the most massive upsurge since the Soweto rebellion.

In Capetown, which was the focus of the demonstrations, thousands of youth filled the streets on Tuesday

afternoon, threw rocks at the police, and set fire to tree trunks and loose tires, closing off the highway which led to the city's main airport. Hoping to use the massacre of four years ago to intimidate the people, national police commissioner Geldenhuys publicly issued a "shoot to kill" order. Police have opened fire on crowds of demonstrators, wounding thousands and murdering over 100 people.

Like the Black Consciousness Movement among the youth and students which emerged as a major force in Soweto four years ago, the battle raging in South Africa today

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Fiery roadblock in the black township of Capetown, South Africa.

United Nations 2

Revolutionaries Face 14 Years as Trial Begins

This Monday, June 23rd, two revolutionaries, Stephen Yip and Glenn Gan go to trial on serious felony charges totalling a possible fourteen years in jail. Yip and Gan

are the United Nations 2—the two members of the Revolutionary May Day Brigade accused of taking the floor of the UN Security Council on April 30th and drenching the U.S. and Soviet UN envoys with red paint. This striking international incident sent ripples around the world inspiring millions who burn with hatred for the imperialists and exposing both the U.S. and Soviet imperialists for being the warmongers that they are.

"Down with U.S. and Soviet War Moves!" rose the shout. The startled security guards lunged at the two, and into the air shot a red flag. "Our flag is red not red, white and blue! On to Revolutionary May Day!"

This action on the eve of May Day drew a bright red dividing line between the interests of the imperialists and those of the masses. Its political symbolism struck a real blow at the imperialists' carefully constructed propaganda that "there's only two choices—our side and the Soviets." It put the red flag in clear opposition both to the red, white and blue and to their phony-communist, real imperialist Soviet rivals.

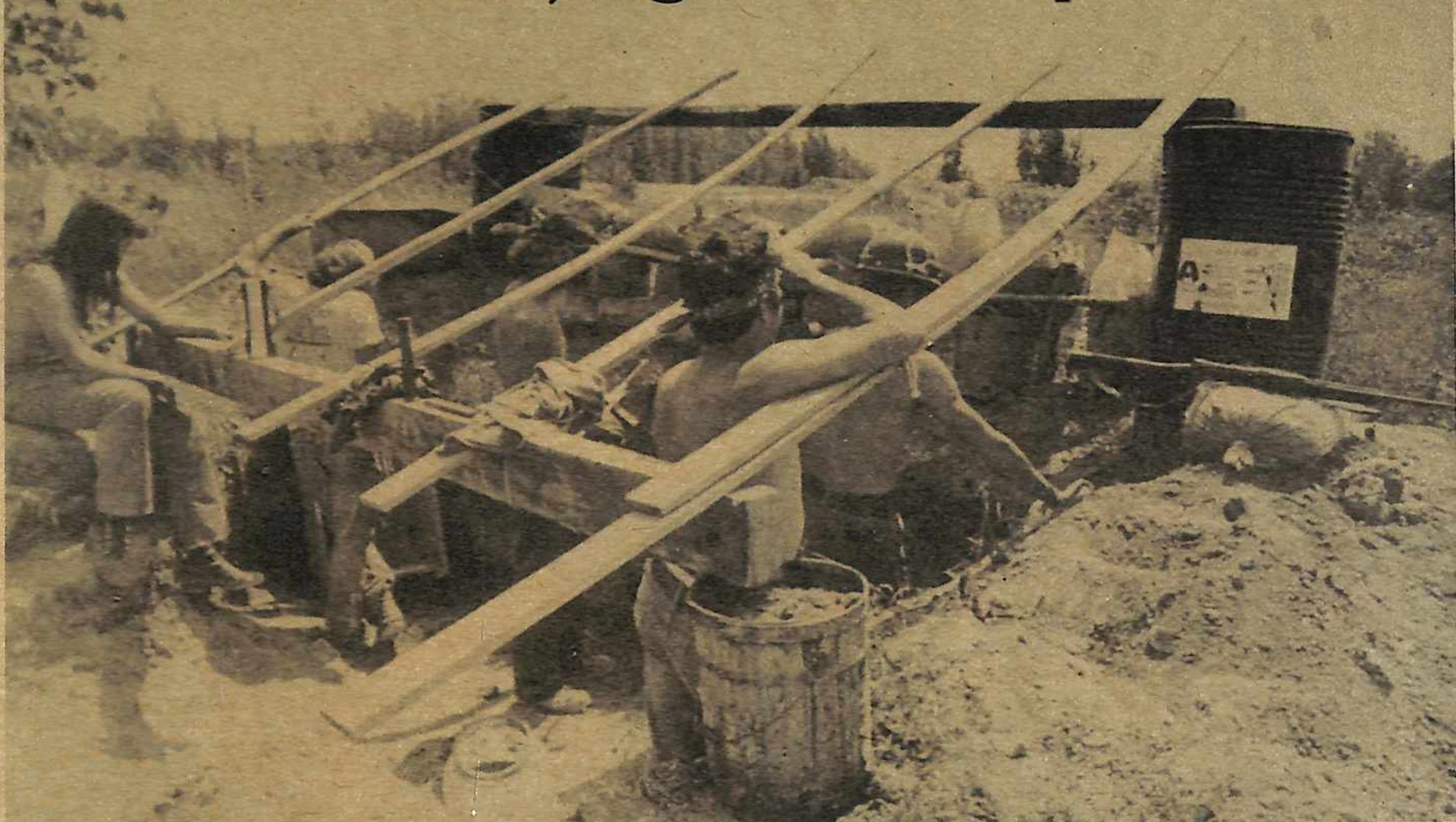
And the ruling class counterattack since then—an orchestrated offensive involving the FBI, the courts, the media and the U.S. UN delegation, all geared to locking up the UN 2—marks this case as one of the most important of the battles following in the wake of Revolutionary May Day. Beginning Monday the battle focuses on whether in fact the government will be able to exact revenge by jailing these brothers and by doing so send a political message to millions that they dare not ques-

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Glenn Gan (left) and Stephen Yip.



Armed Mohawks Face Off N.Y. State Police, Vigilantes



Armed Mohawk Indians man a bunker on the St. Regis reservation in upstate New York. They are determined

to defend their land against a virtual army of State Troopers, BIA and FBI agents.

St. Regis Reservation, N.Y.—On this reservation which straddles the U.S.-Canadian border alongside the banks of the St. Lawrence River, another battle has been going on in the struggle of Native Americans against the wholesale rip-off of their land and their oppression as peoples by U.S. imperialism. For almost a year, armed Mohawk Indians known as "traditionalists" have manned a barricade on Raquette Point Road, the only access by land to the heart of the reservation known to Mohawks as Akwesasne. Now they have been facing off against the military forces of N.Y. State troopers armed with shotguns and automatic weapons, reservation police, and vigilantes—who, along with a handful of tribal lackeys whose strings are pulled by the U.S. government, are threatening to attack the Indians' encampment. This reactionary army seeks to serve outstanding arrest warrants as well as enforce the attempts of the State of New York to crush the Mohawks and steal huge tracts of Indian territory.

In the early 1800s, the State of New York swindled the Mohawk/Oneida and Cayuga people out of millions of acres of land worth billions of dollars. Since the traditional Chiefs would not agree to the sale, the state set up a system of elected trustees as the "authorized representatives" of the Mohawk people to negotiate the robbery of this territory. With this rip-off exposed, over the last few years, the government has been moving to renegotiate the Indians' legal claims to these lands with a new generation of these "tribal leaders." The government has offered to give the Mohawks some useless swampland and a token payment of 6 million dollars to the St. Regis Tribal Council (money which would then be controlled by the government for use in Indian "relief" programs) in return for giving up any claims to an enormous area. And this is not the only land the state is licking its chops

over. When Indians broke into the Bureau of Indian Affairs office in Washington a few years back, they found documents proving that the government wants to build an industrial park and chop off some land to construct a seaport in the area of Raquette Point right on the reservation itself.

In 1948 a law was passed allegedly extending the authority of the State of New York over the Akwesasne reservation. Then in 1973, a special reservation police force was established to enforce N.Y. law over the Mohawk people—another weapon of the government in its scheme to keep the Mohawks "down on the reservation" while they steadily gobble up Indian lands. But the vast majority of the Mohawk people have never recognized the authority of the U.S. government or its faithful servants, the trustees, who have assisted the capitalists in running roughshod over the treaties of 1784 and 1794 that guaranteed the Mohawks the right to self-government and sovereignty over this area.

According to *Akwesasne Notes*, a respected Indian journal published on the territory of the Mohawk Nation, the present confrontation with authorities began over a year ago. In May, 1979, Loran Thompson, a Mohawk Chief, discovered a group of Young Adult Conservation Corps workers cutting down trees on property belonging to his family to clear the way for construction of a fence—a blatant move by the government to enclose the Akwesasne reservation and bolster claims of N.Y. State to any land outside its perimeters. When Thompson proceeded to confiscate the crew's chainsaws and demanded that they leave, Akwesasne police, accompanied by the N.Y. Bureau of Criminal Investigations, busted into Thompson's house, beating and arresting him on theft charges and clubbing a 73-year-old Indian woman who had to be hospitalized.

The Native Americans who live in

the area were outraged at this thinly disguised act of political repression. Several hundred members of the Haudenosaunee—the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy of which the Mohawks are a part—marched to the Akwesasne police station and demanded that the reservation cops resign and get out. When they refused, the people rushed them and disarmed them, holding the building and some of the officers hostage for nine hours until they were finally released voluntarily. The Mohawk Nation issued a press release stating that: "The arrest of Chief Thompson constitutes an armed invasion of the Mohawk territory in violation of treaties with the

United States..."

After several weeks of negotiations, the state stepped up its attacks. Indictments were issued for 23 people—mainly known activists in the struggle—on charges of assault, robbery and conspiracy stemming from the takeover of Akwesasne police headquarters. When Thompson and others refused to appear before N.Y. State authorities to face the indictments, declaring that N.Y. had no jurisdiction over Mohawk territory, the state began to prepare for an armed assault on the reservation. In August, police cars began to mass on Route 81 leading in to Akwesasne, and State

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WHAT THE DRAFT BILL REVEALS: THE METHOD AND THE MADNESS

When Jimmy Carter first issued the call for draft registration as part of his infamous State of the Union address early this year, the media initially responded with a hyped-up picture of patriotic youth wholeheartedly joining with the red, white and blue bugle call. This obvious fabrication was exploded by the opposition of thousands to the proposed new draft registration, especially on campuses around the country. On June 12, a bill reinstating draft registration passed the Senate and will, after a few formalities, soon become law. Given the opposition to date against registration, it is no surprise that the Senate vote received little attention in the press. For some reason, our rulers' plans to register 4 million 19 and 20-year-old men by mid-summer simply wasn't news.

Undoubtedly there will be a lot more publicity about this registration—and the fact that failure to comply could result in 5 years in jail and a \$10,000 fine. But for now, the government is uneasy and is trying to keep things as quiet as possible. In fact, the reason the government waited until summer to pass the draft registration law is that school is out in most places. As Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia warned his fellow politicians and the media as well, "We shouldn't let the impression go out that young people are not willing to make the sacrifice to protect the national security of this country."

This is certainly a real fear of the U.S. ruling class. Soon to be faced with a dire necessity for all-out mobilization of the population—including a greatly expanded military apparatus—for a world war with the equally imperialist Soviet Union, the U.S. needs registration right now as part of its very real preparations. The Joint Chiefs of Staff have already indicated that they plan to get a bill through Congress which will allow

them to set up physical and medical examinations for all the potential draftees. And the Senate Armed Services Committee, with something far less optional clearly in mind, called for the army to reduce its *volunteer* ranks by 25,000 unless more "high school graduates" (read: better prepared to master military technology and more fully indoctrinated) can be won to sign up. That this registration is just the first step to the reintroduction of the draft is obvious to everyone.

To introduce the draft all at once would increase the danger of more militant resistance. Thus, making *registration* the law now is also designed to more smoothly lay the groundwork for the future, to get the masses ready for the all-out push. Even so, various officials have expressed great alarm at the prospects of resistance to registration itself. Estimates of those who will refuse to comply range from 2% by the Selective Service to the 10% figure from the Department of Defense. Others think the number will be even higher.

It's certainly true that the masses of youth are not relishing the thought of becoming part of the U.S. imperialists' massive troop mobilization. As soon as word of the passage of the bill got out, there were demonstrations being organized in a matter of hours in a number of cities from Washington, D.C. to Los Angeles. A number of organizations are calling on youth to refuse to register and are planning demonstrations in various forms when the actual registration begins.

The prospect of such widespread and "divisive" resistance at a time when the ruling class needs to foster as much "national unity" as possible has led various well known peace lovers such as Ronald Reagan, Teddy Kennedy and others to oppose the passage of registration at this time, while they continue to stress other

methods to "keep America #1." But the "majority opinion" won out in U.S. ruling circles in spite of the undeniable problems registration will cause. And this shows just how desperately driven they are to get on with the war to redivide the world. In fact, it is another sign that the greater the contradictions they face in pulling things together for the showdown, the more they must rush headlong towards it.

The way the bourgeoisie dealt with the question of registering women is also very revealing. While amendments to the bill which would have included women were voted down by the Senate prior to the bill's passage, this was clearly not because they have given up on having women become part of the cannonfodder corps. The nature of World War 3 and the position of the U.S. in it won't allow for such gentlemanly etiquette. With the global expansion of the U.S. imperialist system since World War 2 and the U.S. on the front lines and in a position where it must further expand its empire, far more combat and support personnel are going to be required than ever before. In fact, all-out mobilization will be the order of the day. And con-

trary to some opinions, the greater technology of the military apparatus has not replaced the need for more bodies to defend the USA. That women have been left out of this particular move is a result of the fact that to include them at this time might shove the resistance to registration over the bounds of the bourgeoisie's ability to handle the situation.

But clearly, more public opinion needs to be created around the question of women's "equal rights" to kill and die for U.S. imperialism—which is why they have been left out of this particular move. We can expect to be inundated with more TV commercials like the one for L'Erin lipstick that shows models dressed in military chic firing their lipstick like an MX missile. We can also expect more reports on the 7 o'clock news and pictures on the front pages of the dailies, like the one in the June 17th edition of the *L.A. Times*. It shows the first woman soldier completing the "Green Hell" obstacle course at Fort Sherman in Panama. In fact, the bourgeoisie has any number of ways to promote this particular concept of "equality," not the least of

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Lenin on Youth and the Army

The following are excerpts from an article titled "Anti-Militarist Propaganda And Young Socialist Workers' Leagues" by V.I. Lenin. It was written in October of 1907.

It will be recalled that the International Socialist Congress in Stuttgart discussed the question of militarism and in connection with it the question of anti-militarist propaganda.

It is very hard, sometimes almost

impossible, to conduct propaganda among soldiers on active service. Life in the barracks, strict supervision and rare leave make contact with the outer world extremely difficult; military discipline and the absurd spit and polish cow the soldier. Army commanders do everything they can to knock the "nonsense" out of the "brutes", to purge them of every unconventional thought and every human emotion and to instill in them a sense of blind obedience and an unthinking wild hatred for "internal" and "external" enemies. It is much harder to make an approach to the lone, ignorant and cowed soldier who is isolated from his fellow-men and whose head has been stuffed with the wildest views on every possible subject, than to draft-age young men living with their families and friends and closely bound up with them by common interest. Everywhere anti-militarist propaganda among young workers has yielded excellent results. That is of tremendous importance. The worker who goes into the army a class-conscious Social-Democrat is a poor support for the powers that be.

Recruits receive special attention. They are given a ceremonial send-off. During the recruitment, processions are staged in the towns. In Austria, for instance, recruits walk through the town dressed in mourning and to the strains of funeral marches. In front of them rolls a decorated red carriage. All the walls are plastered with red posters which say in large letters: "You will not shoot at the people!" Evening parties with ardent anti-militarist speeches are held in honour of the recruits. In short, everything is done to awaken the recruit's consciousness, to ensure him against the evil influence of the ideas and emotions which will be instilled into him in the barracks by fair means and foul.

As times goes on, there are more and more Social-Democrats in the army and the troops become increasingly less reliable. When the bourgeoisie has to confront the organised working class, whom will the army back? The young socialist workers are working with all the enthusiasm and energy of the young to have the army side with the people. □



Puerto Rican Day, 1980. New York.

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Behind the Fighting in Northeast India

From the Newspaper Mass Line

Recently the humanitarian TV and press in this country has been filled with concern about fighting and massacres in Northeast India, with an orgy of horror stories about how the tribal people there and the Bengali refugees from neighboring Bangla Desh who are crowding into the area have killed each other for no reason. The effect of these supposedly "objective" press reports is that these must be all bloodthirsty savages, which, in the unspoken conclusion, is all the more reason why the U.S. ruling class should take on the "white man's burden" by ruling as much of the world as possible. The reactionary Indian government of Indira Gandhi has reacted with similar sudden concern for these people, airlifting in massive numbers of troops and paramilitary personnel June 11 to reinforce those who already stalk this region. The pro-Soviet and equally reactionary so-called Communist Party-Marxist, which runs the Tripura government, also joined in this sobbing chorus.

The following article, excerpted from the May 1 issue of the Indian newspaper Mass Line, analyzes the situation in the state of Assam, where the tribal-Bengali conflict had been sharpest until the last few weeks when it climaxed in Tripura, which is next to Assam. By applying the science of Marxism-Leninism to the situation, what it reveals, far from some savagery of the people, is the savage legacy of colonialism and the bitter reality of India's domination today under feudalism and imperialism. The section of the article we have excerpted mainly gives the background to the question. The rest of the article from this newspaper which is available through Revolution Bookstores, deals with the attitudes and proposals of the various political parties and

goes further into the question of how genuine communist revolutionaries can take the leadership of the struggle of the tribal peoples out of the hands of the reactionaries and make it a part of the proletarian revolutionary movement to liberate all of India.

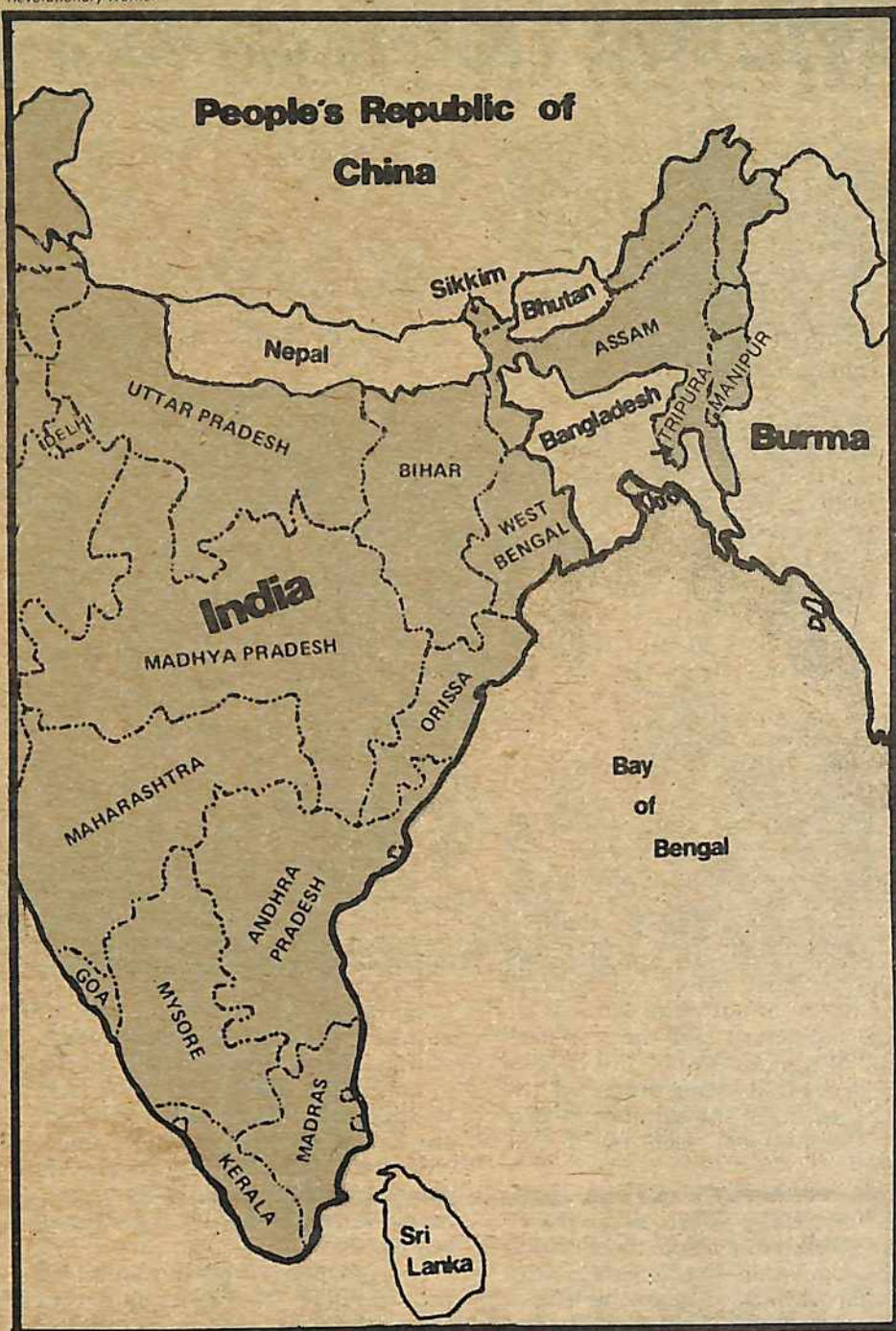
On the Developments in Northeast India

Today turbulent events in the Northeastern region have attracted the attention of all sections of people. Contemporary Indian history is so much influenced by the developments in this region that no political force can neglect its immense importance. A superficial and purely emotional approach to this question will only help the reactionary forces in this region. What is needed is an objective analysis and Marxist-Leninist approach.

Schools and colleges have not been functioning here for the last five months. Parliament elections were successfully boycotted. The state assembly is not functioning. President's rule has been imposed. There is a virtual administrative breakdown. The flow of crude oil to Barsuni refinery in Bihar has stopped. There is a steep rise in the prices of essential commodities, for example, for some time common salt was sold at 500 rupees per kilo [\$29 a pound. The high price and scarcity of salt in India is a legacy of colonialism, since the British colonialists forbid Indians to make their own salt, in order to maintain their monopoly.] The Central Government's show of force to suppress the agitation hasn't worked. The declaration of Disturbed Area, curfew and Army presence have been met with massive demonstrations. The at-

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From the pages of Pour Le Parti

15,000 Demonstrate in Paris Against Deportation

May 10, 1980, Paris, France—15,000 people went into the streets of Paris to oppose a series of anti-immigrant laws recently passed by the French parliament. The Bonnet-Stoleru laws open the door to unlimited and random deportations for reasons ranging from "disturbing the peace" to "failure to pay taxes," creating the permanent risk of deportation of immigrants and attempting to instill fear into the tens of thousands of class-conscious and generally rebellious from among these workers.

Over four million immigrant workers, among the lowest paid and most intensely exploited workers in the country, currently reside in France. Most of these workers are from former French colonies such as Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia, where imperialist domination has forced their immigration to the more "prosperous" countries of Western Europe.

In opposition to the chauvinist proclamations of the revisionists of the French Communist Party (PCF) and other reformist schemers, the French Marxist-Leninists have struggled to point out that the Bonnet-Stoleru laws, like their more recent counterparts attacking immigrant students (the Imbert decrees), are not only racist laws but represent the maneuverings of a bourgeoisie in crisis. The bourgeoisie must get rid of the revolutionary-minded immigrants who have spearheaded some of the most militant battles of the '70s in France, as well as divide and weaken the French working class as a whole. Recent campaigns against foreigners, led by various fascist groups in several French universities, show just what kind of public opinion the



French bourgeoisie has inspired in recent months. The PCF-revisionist activists in the universities also have made very clear the nature of their opposition to the anti-immigrant laws, moaning that these laws would prohibit "the diffusion of French culture abroad"!

We reprint below a translation of an analysis of the Paris demonstration which appeared in the monthly publication of the French Organisation Communiste Marxiste-Léniniste—Voie Proletarienne (Marxist-Leninist Communist Organization—Proletarian Road), Pour Le Parti.

The May 10 demonstration in Paris brought together about 15,000 people demanding the repeal of the Bonnet-Stoleru-Ornano-Imbert laws and opposing these laws aimed at deporting a million immigrant workers and dividing the working class to weaken

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Pour Le Parti

Interview with Mohawk Chief

“We’re Not Going to Give in to Their Guns!”

The following is an exclusive interview with Chief Loran Thompson, a central figure in the Mohawk struggle currently raging in upstate New York. (See story on page 2)

RW: What exactly is the development of the Mohawk struggle and the initial incident to the present?

Thompson: Yes, this whole problem started about a year ago on May 22, 1979. We had been fighting jurisdiction for quite a few years, but it came head to head then. The Indian police, which is sponsored by the county sheriff’s department here in this area against the wishes of the people, came in when I allegedly confiscated a chainsaw of a group of Youth Action Conservation Corps work crews working in the back here—cutting down trees for a fence line. They came into my house. After a scuffle with the Akwesasne police and State Police, the people wanted something done about this problem. So a week later the people decided to disarm the Akwesasne police. All the people marched up to the Akwesasne police building and they were given their third warning to resign and let this community go back to the way it was, you know, a peaceful community, without the harassment of the Akwesasne police force. After they turned the third warning down, our chiefs backed off and the warriors took over. They disarmed the Akwesasne police and then we took over the community house where the

police had their offices.

The following day they went out, the tribal council officials, the trustees, and issued warrants on the people that were involved with the takeover. Then we had negotiating meetings with Ray Harding, one of Governor Carey’s aides or assistants. All he said in the meetings was that they would provide a bus where the indictees could go down and be arraigned and that if we didn’t accept, then the warrants will be executed today, tomorrow or next year. He said that if we didn’t give up, the police would come in with the use of force if necessary. And that’s all he said in every negotiating meeting we have had with him. I don’t know how you can call them negotiating meetings when all he’s come out with is “give yourselves up and we’ll provide the buses.” And now after a few negotiating meetings we are listening to the same things... that was when the wheels started turning for this little charade they are playing up the road here.

Now the vigilantes were formed by the Akwesasne police force... A storekeeper, non-Indian married to an Indian woman and chief of the volunteer fire department, was heard telling the vigilantes that, “Now when we go in, you make sure that every man, woman and child is shot, killed, all of them even the babies. Kill them all, if you don’t we’ll have the same problem here 20 years from now.” And one of the people on the police force has been heard saying those same words.

So that’s the mentality we’re up against. We maintain that we’re in this camp and we’re going to defend ourselves. We’ve been here a year, over a year... What we’re doing here is for the benefit of all the people... what’s really hurting them [the authorities] is that the traditional people take the stand that the money the state of New York and the federal government gives to Indian people doesn’t mean nothing to us, that we can do without it, we don’t need it. This is what’s really frightening them, because that’s what they depend on. There’s a handful of people who depend on their \$150 or \$200 or even in some cases \$300 a week and that’s all they are fighting for. We’re fighting for a way of life here. We’re fighting for human rights, for our government and our land. The traditional people have never accepted one penny from the government that’s coming in any sort of a program for minorities, see, because we don’t consider ourselves part of the U.S. or New York State, so how can we be a minority of that. We’re our own people.

RW: How would you characterize the determination of the people in this struggle?

Thompson: The determination here is that we’re not going to give in to the guns of the puppet state of New York. We have a lot more to lose. A lot more is at stake than the American system. We have our own system that was given us by our Creator. And that’s

what we have to uphold. We have to save that for our children so that they too will respect our mother earth... It’s within the power of the people to do something about it. We have to take power away from the multi-billionaires that control big industrial parks and so on. They don’t give a damn about what’s happening to the water and what’s happening to the air because they have enough money to go someplace where the air is a little bit cleaner and the water a little bit fresher than we have. We have to unite our forces to fight and try to fix the world so that it’s decent to live in and free to live in and free from the threat of someone controlling it. Because if you go to work in the morning and you’re afraid of your job and you’re afraid to speak out against the system then it’s not a free country. You can’t voice your opinion because the guy that’s controlling your paycheck doesn’t feel you have the right to talk.

See, jurisdiction is someone else dominating you. The United States comes across saying, well this is democracy, see, the voice of the people, life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness. How many people in this country really, really deep down in their hearts know what this is all about. There are not too many. Only the rich enjoy all that stuff. The common everyday working man does not enjoy all of that stuff because he cannot go out there and think for himself or his job is in jeopardy and that’s what we are trying to get across. In this country the government is dictating what they should do and not do.

They never consulted the Indian people when they passed the 1924 Citizenship Act making all Indians citizens of the U.S. Never did they contact Indian people, never when the federal government handed down jurisdiction to the state to control our lives... So what’s so democratic about running over the rights of the people?

RW: How do you view the struggle here and the struggle against imperialism around the world?

Thompson: I think it is related to a lot of problems that are facing people throughout the world and that many of our interests are the same as other people throughout the world... We do have a lot of support from non-Indian people throughout the U.S. and the world who understand what we’re talking about here and are willing to come out and have something done about the problems that we have... all I can emphasize is that the power is within the people. That’s what the people have to realize. If you don’t want to come out and get involved, if you stay home and watch TV, and go through the system or go through life without a cause—then what’s the use of being? Because you’re being controlled. □

Grimes’ Crimes

Gary 10 Finally Released

Revolutionary Worker



Gary, Indiana—On June 15 the six revolutionaries of the Gary 10 still being held on over \$30,000 bail were bonded out after thirteen days in the Gary City Jail. The bourgeoisie’s black robed henchman in this case, Judge Douglas Grimes, tried every trick in the book to keep them in jail up until the last minute. Even though the full cash bail was raised by the family of one of the six, it was refused on the direct orders of Judge Grimes. He demanded collateral and a \$3,400 surety bond for the six, meaning that the money is non-refundable, going directly to line the pockets of the bail bondsman.

The Gary authorities freaked out at the sight of revolutionaries going among the masses of unemployed in the city and came down hard from the beginning,

when the judge slapped an outrageous \$85,000 bail on the heads of the Gary 10, arrested for selling the *Revolutionary Worker* in front of the city’s unemployment office and charged with misdemeanors. All nine face charges of resisting arrest and disorderly conduct, and one woman faces an additional battery charge. But with each day the ten stayed in jail, with each new attack from the courts, the political situation only got hotter. With help from people in the area, four of the 10 were released after several days despite the difficult bail conditions that had to be met. Hundreds of copies of the *RW* were sold in Gary last week and over 200 people signed a statement of protest against the arrests. Over \$250 for bail was raised from people in Gary who had just heard of the *RW*

for the first time. The Calumet Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union has supported the 10.

Gary, with its dying steel mills, decrepit housing and skyrocketing unemployment, is a real sign of the times and a stark example of the rotting and decaying cities all across the country. As a fitting tribute to this, Mayor Richard Hatcher was recently elected president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors with the hollow pitch that “Gary’s gonna get turned around.” “Turn the spotlight on Gary!” Hatcher challenged. Go right ahead, bourgeoisie, and shine it brightly, because you’ll see not only the running sores of deathbound capitalism, but the workers and others oppressed under this system who will put it in its grave. □



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Courtroom Farce Set to Vindicate Klan Murderers

The trial of six of the Ku Klux Klan members and Nazis on murder charges stemming from their blatant shooting and killing of anti-Klan demonstrators last November has opened in Greensboro, North Carolina amidst much publicity and fanfare. State prosecutors are making pretences that they intend to prove "beyond any doubt" that the Klan and Nazis are guilty—a fact widely known. But from the very beginning of this sham procedure, and in fact from the instant several months ago when a pack of night-riding vermin went to their trunks, pulled out weapons and cut down five members of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) in a hail of blood and bullets, the state and local authorities—and behind them the hand of the bourgeoisie—have made clear that the only thing "beyond any doubt" is their thinly veiled complicity in this crime and the following ringing warning to all who would dare touch the bonds of oppression and exploitation: get out of line and the same thing will happen to you!

Since the bloody massacre on November 3, Greensboro police and city officials, the State Bureau of Investigation, the FBI, and Guilford County prosecutors have made every effort to pave the way for absolving the Klan and Nazis completely, or at the most, slapping these craven creatures on the wrist with light sentences or lesser charges. And because many people hold the authorities directly or indirectly responsible for the massacre, an utter fantasy has been invented to explain the events of November 3. According to the authorities, the massacre was simply a clash between two "extremist groups" in which the state was simply "caught in the middle." But as facts have piled up over the months, as hole after hole has been punched not only in the lies of the Klan and Nazis, but also in the lies of the authorities themselves, no one but a fool (or a Nazi) could swallow this fairy tale.

Much came to light in the period following the massacre. The authorities admitted that they had shown a known Klan member a copy of CWP's parade permit which revealed

the exact location of the rally and march route. On the day of the march, SBI officials had followed an 8 to 10-car caravan filled with Klansmen and Nazis from nearby Winston-Salem into Greensboro, but then mysteriously "lost" the caravan as it approached the rally site. Greensboro police left the rally minutes before the shooting and parked a few blocks away. This they explained by saying that they were "told to leave" and wanted to "maintain a low profile." And the police later tried to explain the peculiar circumstances which led to the apprehension of only 14 Klan and Nazis while at least 20 more (who, remember, had been monitored by the FBI) escaped and could not be found later. More recently, the Grand Jury dropped an investigation of the KKK and Nazis because of a "lack of evidence." And now, there is a good chance that the most incriminating evidence—TV news video tape footage—may not be admissible in the murder trial because it was edited at the station after the shootings! A Greensboro lawyer told the *RW* that it was highly irregular that the tapes

weren't impounded immediately. And this is something the authorities have yet to explain.

Now as the trial opens, it's the Guilford County prosecutor's turn. The crucial process of jury selection is expected to last three weeks. The prosecutors have the first crack at the jury pool of 1,000 theoretically trying to seat 12 people who would vote for conviction based on the evidence presented. But to the astonishment of many seasoned lawyers and courtroom observers, they have dismissed several potentially strong jurors. A less than vigorous prosecution, to understate the matter. Further, out of the prospective jurors so far seated by the prosecution, there have been several that the defense is very happy with. One Klan lawyer said he was "positive" about two of them and indicated that the Klan and Nazis may agree with seating even more jurors chosen by the "opposition."

When the actual trial begins, the Klan and Nazis will argue that they simply drove to Greensboro to "heckle the demonstrators." Their "line of defense" will be that when

demonstrators began chanting and kicking their cars, their lives were in danger, leaving them no choice but to retaliate.

In early May, the Guilford County Grand Jury took action which essentially backs up this "line of defense." On May 2, the Grand Jury indicted five CWP members and 2 KKK'ers on felony charges of "engaging in riot." Another man who is not connected with the CWP but was at the anti-Klan demonstration was also indicted. His early charge is felony "inciting to riot." All this is as transparent as it is vile. The issue isn't murder, it's rioting! And more than this, rioting started by anti-Klan demonstrators. No date has been set for these trials.

The stage is set, the actors are in their places and, having been coached well by the director, all know their parts. A shroud of blood hangs over a Greensboro courtroom where, over the next few weeks, little legal argument will be heard.



illustration submitted to the *RW* by a San Francisco artist

Walter Rodney Assassinated in Guyana

On the evening of June 13th, Walter Rodney, internationally known historian, was assassinated when a bomb exploded in his car in Georgetown, Guyana. Rodney, a leader of the opposition Working People's Alliance, was the fifth victim of a recent terror campaign unleashed by the U.S.-backed prime minister, George Burnham. Rodney, who is best known for his book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*, was an expert on African history. He had served on the faculty of the University of the West Indies in Jamaica and on the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. His other scholarly works included a history of the upper Guinea coast and an investigation of the Rastafarian movement in Jamaica. Rodney had returned to his native Guyana in 1974 to accept a post at the University of Guyana, only to find the government had cancelled his job offer.

The Burnham government issued a press statement charging that Rodney was killed by a bomb which he was carrying in his lap as he drove through town! Yet the bloody hand of the Burnham government clearly lies behind this most recent outrage.

Guyana, the former British colony of Guiana, lies on the northeast coast of South America, and is politically and culturally close to the various movements in the West Indies. Britain refused to grant independence to Guyana so long as the leftist prime minister, Cheddi Jagan, held a majority in the home rule legislature. Jagan's pro-independence People's Progressive Party was built on both Black and Indian support. Through the late '50s and early '60s, the CIA pumped millions of dollars into Guyana through the AFL-CIO and set up a new political party headed by Burnham, a former official of the PPP. The U.S. intention was to bring down the Jagan government. In 1963 Burnham's new People's National Congress organized bloody race riots in Guyana which were used as an excuse to send in British troops. The British then rewrote the election laws to allow a PNC election victory and in 1964, Guyana was granted independence.

Since 1964, Guyana has been the recipient of frantic efforts by the U.S. to prop up the Burnham regime, U.S. ambassador, George Roberts, recently admitted that one third of

all the military and economic aid to Guyana in the last quarter of a century has been delivered in just the last two years. Guyana is receiving more U.S. "aid" per capita than any other country in the world. And the International Monetary Fund has rushed new loans to Guyana in spite of the fact that Guyana has refused to meet IMF requirements.

The entire Caribbean has increasingly been the scene of sharp superpower contention between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. And while many things are not yet clear, what is clear is that U.S. interests in the area are driving the U.S. imperialists into ever more desperate moves to counter the growing influence of their Soviet imperialist rivals.

Following fraudulent elections in 1978, Burnham staged his own little Reichstag fire, burning down the PNC National Secretariat and the Ministry of National Development, in July of 1979. Walter Rodney and two other leftist academics were arrested and charged with arson. Just before their trial was to open on June 2, twenty other political dissidents were rounded up and 7 were charged with treason.

In addition to a "Death Squad" organized within the Guyanese police, Burnham has also enlisted the services of another Jim Jones style cult in Guyana called the House of Israel. Armed by the Guyanese armed forces as a paramilitary group, the House of Israel cult is run by one David Hill from Cleveland who calls himself "Rabbi Washington." When spectators arrived for Rodney's arson trial, earlier this month, they found all the courtroom seats already taken by members of the House of Israel. The House of Israel has also provided thugs to break up opposition political rallies and break strikes.

With the arrival of a large number of international observers for Rodney's trial, the government suddenly postponed the trial until August 20. He was then assassinated on June 13 as he left a meeting of the executive committee of the Working People's Alliance. Two other WPA activists had already been assassinated, one in November and the other in February.

Excerpts from Central Committee Document

The United Front and the Revolutionary Alliance at Its Core

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.

A few comments on the question of the united front, and the relation between deepening our grasp of the correct line and at the same time "going broadly," uniting practically with many diverse forces in struggles. The essential point is that the more firmly we grasp the correct line, including on building the united front as our revolutionary strategy, the more broadly we should not only seek to but be able to unite with other forces in motion. This is because the deeper we grasp this line, and the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought on which it is based, the more we will be able to understand how each particular struggle arises from the fundamental contradiction of capitalism and represents a part of the overall struggle against the capitalist system, regardless of the degree to which the people spontaneously involved in these struggles are conscious of this.

In short, our correct line should not make us more sectarian—for then that line turns into its opposite—but better able to unite. This, however, doesn't mean tailism and adopting reformism, but correctly applying the mass line, uniting with and building struggles in such a way as will actually

contribute to the development of a revolutionary movement, of a united front against imperialism led by the working class and its Party, in which we will direct things toward the ultimate aim of overthrowing imperialism and building socialism toward the realization of communism (the question of how to correctly take up the fight for reforms in a revolutionary way should be discussed more deeply and in its different aspects—the comments on this in the article "Against Pragmatism," in *The Communist*, Vol. 2, No. 2, are important here—see page 49 in particular.) Still, while we must never give up our independent line and role and submerge ourselves beneath the present level of any struggle—or the present level of the struggle as a whole—neither must we stand aside from and fail to unite with struggles, so long as they involve masses in actually and objectively fighting against the enemy.

Another very important aspect of the united front strategy that should be touched on here is the question of the "solid core." Is Mao's statement (in 1968) that there is a tremendously powerful revolutionary potential latent in the more than 20 million Black people in the U.S. still valid and does it still have real significance? In my opinion, yes (and this generally applies to the other oppressed nationalities). This doesn't mean that there will be in the present period and with the further development of things overall a revolutionary movement among the masses of Black people and other oppressed nationalities similar to that of the late '60s and early '70s—what was said on this in the '76 CC Report is fundamentally correct. But neither (as stressed in that Report) does it mean that there will be no more struggles against national oppression or that we can stand aside from such struggles—which in fact are going on now and will continue and even intensify in the future (look at Humboldt Park and Moody Park, for example).

The situation of the masses of Black people and other oppressed nationalities has objectively worsened, not only absolutely, but relative to whites, since the '60s. But this is taking place in the context of an overall worsening of the situation of the masses, even with the unevenness and ine-

qualities within that. This must and does have some significant influence on the consciousness and the struggle of the masses of the oppressed nationalities.

Overall, and with contradictions within it, this means that they are more not less open to proletarian ideology and politics. But it also means that there is a great deal of confusion and unclarity about how to fight and whether it's possible to really change the oppressive conditions—many of the ultimately illusory ideas of the earlier period have been smashed, but this, of course, doesn't mean that spontaneously more correct revolutionary ideas have taken hold. Still, work around various things, including something so straight up and boldly revolutionary—and communist—as the Mao Tsetung Memorial Month, has shown that especially among those who were actively involved in the struggles of the oppressed nationalities of the '60s and early '70s—or were significantly influenced by them if not deeply involved—there is a good deal of (still largely latent) revolutionary sentiment. We must find the ways to tap this and unleash such people as an important force in pushing forward both the struggle of the oppressed nationalities and that of the working class overall and in linking them together in a revolutionary way. And we must devote systematic attention to training them as revolutionary leaders of the working class, as communists. We shouldn't think that thousands of such people are just waiting for the Party to make contact with them and give them direction, but neither should we overlook the particular potential there.

In general, the dialectical relationship between the workers' movement and the struggle of other strata and social forces must be studied and understood more clearly in its actual development. In the '76 CC Report it is pointed out that with the development of the working class movement into a more class-conscious and all-around political struggle, the struggles of other strata and forces will be given tremendous impetus. This is certainly true and overall is the main aspect of the relationship. But on the other hand, we must not ignore or underestimate the effect that the movements of non-proletarian strata and other social forces will continue to have on the development of the working-class movement. In *Red Papers 2*, in an article on revolutionary youth, the question of "roads to the proletariat" was addressed. In other words, emphasis was given not only to building struggles among oppressed nationalities, youth and students and other strata and groups as a powerful force against imperialism themselves and an important ally of the working class, but in their aspect of influencing the working class, and in the ways in which people within the working class who are involved in these social movements can play a certain kind of role as a "lever" to activate the rest of the class. Does this still have any validity and importance? I think it does and that we must take up more deeply exactly how this is so and what must be done on this basis in this period. □



SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by Bob Avakian

An analysis of the revolutionary strengths and ultimately fatal weaknesses of the Black Panther Party. Bob Avakian speaks about the conditions that led to the tremendous uprisings of the '60s, the class forces that were in the streets, and the reasons why things quieted down in the '70s but are about to boil over and burn it down in the '80s.

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Origins of U.S. Aggression in Korea

30 Years of Shabby Lies

June 25 will be the 30th anniversary of the beginning of the Korean War, a reactionary war of imperialist aggression by the U.S. Its goal was the establishment of a capitalist, neo-colonial government all over Korea, especially to act as a buffer between U.S.-occupied Japan and the revolutionary working-class governments of the newly victorious People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union, at that time a socialist country. It was for this purpose that nearly one million people were killed, that virtually every building in North Korea was destroyed, and that germ warfare was given its first field test by the armed forces.

For 30 years, the Korean War has been the stock in trade of bourgeois propagandists preaching the horrors of communism and the benefits of "democracy." And today, as part of creating public opinion for the "justness" of the cause on which the U.S. is now embarking—i.e., our rulers' need to wage and win world war against their now-imperialist Soviet rivals—the U.S. has the task of re-hashing the myths of its previous imperialist exploits.

It comes as no surprise, therefore, that recently declassified government documents have received little fanfare in the press or anywhere else. The documents themselves blow gaping holes in one of the U.S. government's most holy of dogmas: that the Korean War was begun by an unprovoked and surprise attack on the part of North Korea.

Secretary of State Dean Acheson sent a secret cable to the U.S. Ambassador in Seoul on April 13, 1949, proposing an attack on North Korea. To protect himself in case the document fell into the wrong hands, Acheson artfully worded the cable as an intelligence estimate from an anonymous source with "an excellent reputation for accurate reporting." Obviously, no individual would have had access to all the information in the cable, and the fact that secretaries of state don't personally send routine messages to ambassadors of small countries indicates the official nature of the "unofficial" message. The U.S. Ambassador was warned to "expect serious trouble in Korea within a 60-day period." Further, "the initiative will be taken by the south Koreans!" Well, now, that's quite a bit different from what Acheson was saying in public at the same time about the communist menace from the north. (And Acheson & Co. no doubt had a good laugh over the numbers of people who actually believed all this.)

Reviewing the State Department's intelligence estimates from February, Acheson goes on to point out that the situation is getting critical, "causing competent observers to expect some sort of a conflict as a certainty." (Emphasis ours.) Acheson also reports that the "dastardly" north Koreans have made preparations: "Defense measures have been stepped up, including plans to move the capital from Pyongyang nearer Manchuria; and that the RR from the 38th parallel north to Pyongyang has been ripped up." This certainly shows you that you can't trust the communist aggressors.

Acheson reports that the south Korean army has "gained a new esprit de corps," and that "army leader Lee Bum Suk, aided by intensified training in communications and tactics by the Americans, has tightened his organization to the point where south Koreans think they could not only defend but even attack." Acheson points out that U.S. troops are no longer stationed on the 38th parallel (thus can't be

held responsible for what happens there—get it?) and he asks for the comments of the U.S. mission on the proposal.

Unfortunately, we don't have the reply. But we do have another document from May 1949, reporting a discussion between three U.S. representatives and south Korean president Syngman Rhee. This was during a period when the press in the U.S. was faithfully printing the south Korean and Pentagon press handouts which charged north Korean attacks across the 38th parallel. The memorandum of the conversation reads in part: "General Roberts asserted that on May 6 a unit of the Korean army penetrated north across the parallel to a depth of 4 kilometers and had shot up several settlements." This, of course, made the U.S. ambassador, Mr. Muccio, very angry—but not out of any concern for the people in the villages that got shot up. "Mr. Muccio pointed out that there is a United Nations commission in Korea. Mr. Muccio went on to say it would be most unfortunate if the United Nations commission got the impression that the Korean military forces were embarking on an aggressive policy." You dummy! You're supposed to be the victim of aggression. Keep this up and Mr. Muccio will send you to bed without dinner.

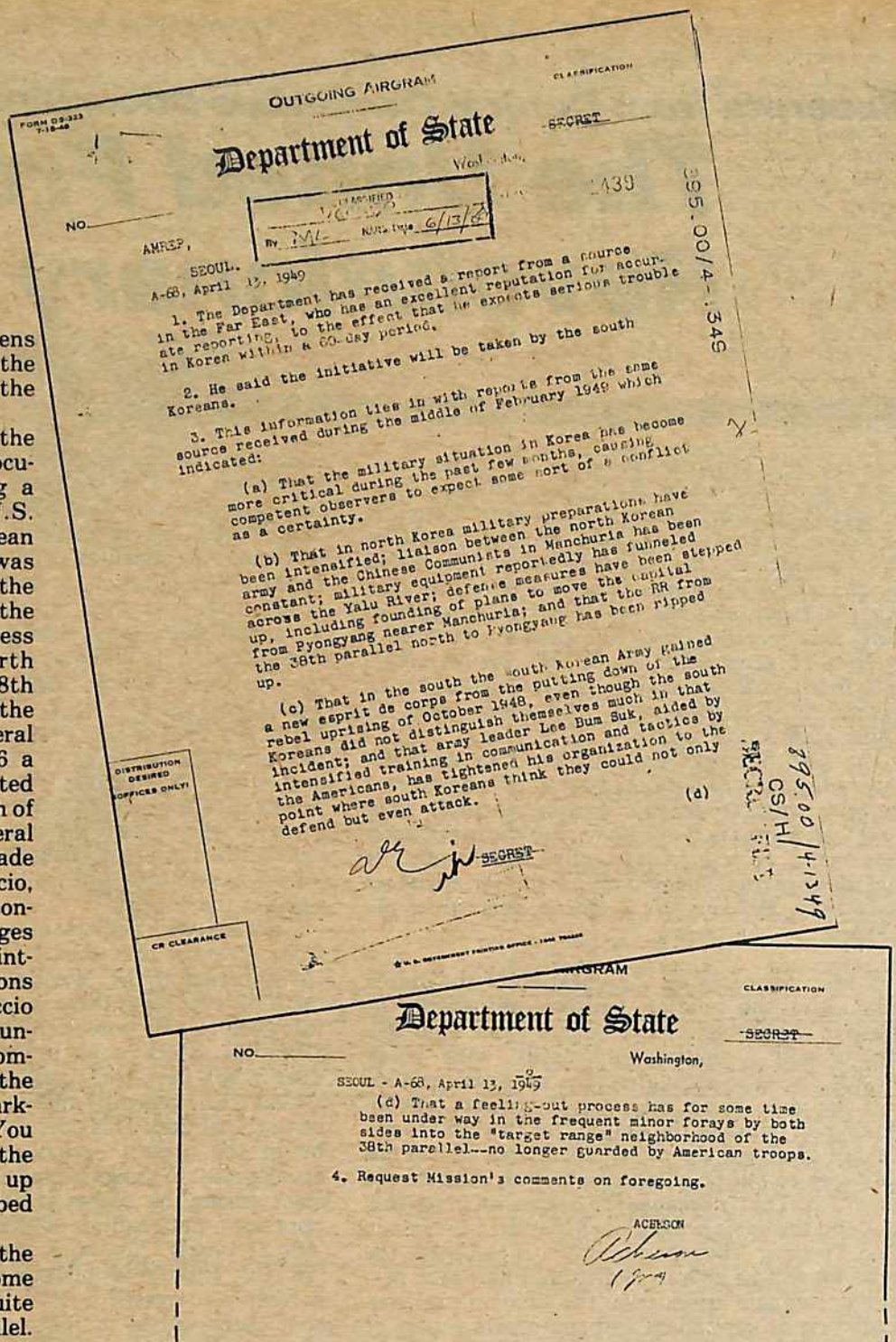
One interesting sidelight in the document is the revelation that some south Korean soldiers were quite anxious to cross the 38th parallel. "After some further brief discussion of the Chunchon incident, which involved the defection of approximately 300 Korean soldiers to the north, the president (Rhee—RW) again stressed the fact that the Korean government must stand firm against communist aggression." Obviously another example of the new esprit de corps instilled by the American advisors. This could be one reason why the outbreak of the fighting was put off for another year.

Origins of the War

At the end of World War 2, the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to accept the surrender of Japanese troops stationed in Korea. A young officer in the Pentagon, Colonel Dean Rusk (later a major architect of imperialist aggression in Vietnam), proposed the 38th parallel as the dividing line between Soviet and U.S. responsibilities. This line would give the U.S. the capital, Seoul, and the major port of Inchon.

While in the northern zone, the Red Army turned local administration over to the anti-Japanese guerrillas led by Kim Il Sung, in the south the U.S. used the Japanese-officered police to "maintain order." Eventually, the U.S. flew in Syngman Rhee (Ph.D., Princeton, 1910) who was last in Korea in 1912 and who had resided in Hawaii since then, to be the official voice and leader of the Korean people.

In 1947, the U.N., which was controlled by the U.S., passed a resolution calling for the withdrawal of occupation troops from Korea and for U.N.-organized elections for a single Korean government. Soviet troops withdrew from Korea in 1948 and the north Koreans informed the U.N. that the Korean people were perfectly capable of handling their own affairs without U.S. imperialist supervision. The U.N. then went on to hold elections in the south only, with U.S. occupation troops providing "security," and installed Syngman Rhee as president. By this time, whole sections of south Korea were in the hands of armed peasant guerrillas who were demanding an end to U.S. occupation and unification with the



Recently declassified U.S. documents.

north.

The U.S. occupation officially ended in June of 1949, but 500 U.S. "advisors" remained with the new south Korean army. With the victory of the Chinese revolution and the unexpected explosion of an atomic bomb by the Soviet Union, the U.S. made a strategic decision that possession of the Korean peninsula was essential to imperialist interests in the Pacific.

Another factor forcing the start of the war was that Syngman Rhee was in deep political trouble. Not only were the communist-led guerrillas growing in strength, but all sectors of society were rising up in resistance to the Rhee dictatorship. In March of 1950, 13 members of the national assembly petitioned the U.N. to end the U.S. occupation of south Korea. They were promptly thrown in jail by Rhee. In May, elections for a new national assembly were held. In spite of jailing 30 opposition candidates, and widespread vote-rigging, Syngman Rhee was crushed in the election. Of the 210 National Assembly members elected, no more than 50 supported Rhee.

On June 18, John Foster Dulles suddenly arrived in Korea and went directly to the 38th parallel on an inspection trip. Dulles had been recently appointed a special advisor to the Truman administration. On June 19, Dulles gave a pep talk to the newly elected dissident national assembly which wanted little of the U.S.—Rhee plan to conquer the north. Dulles assured them of American support. Then he said, "... the eyes of the free world are fixed upon you. You carry the hopes and aspirations of multitudes. Never for a moment do we concede that the Soviet communists will hold permanently their unwilling captives."

Meanwhile, also on June 18, Secretary of Defense Johnson and Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Omar Bradley arrived in Tokyo for "discussions" with the U.S. commander in the Pacific, Douglas MacArthur. At the same moment, British Field Marshal Sir

William Slim, chief of the imperial general staff, was arriving in Melbourne for a conference with Australian defense chiefs. The moment of decision was at hand.

John Gunther, biographer of General MacArthur, recalls in his book, *The MacArthur Riddle*, how he heard the news of the start of the Korean War. Gunther was riding in MacArthur's private railway car with several high-ranking officers. In Japan it was Sunday morning, June 25, 1950. One of the officers was suddenly called to a telephone. He came back and whispered, "A big story has just broken. The south Koreans have attacked north Korea."

In addition to the lie that the Korean War was sparked by "communist aggressors," with this war the rulers have perpetuated a general myth about the nature of warfare: it doesn't matter what the war is about, it's solely a question of who attacks first. But as Lenin noted, war is a continuation of politics by other means. The Korean War had been planned for some time by the U.S., and the Korean people, after waging war against the Japanese imperialists, were now faced with waging war—a just war—with another imperialist aggressor.

The war went on for three years. After the crushing defeat of Syngman Rhee's army, the U.S. army took over the war. Twice they pushed across the 38th parallel deep into north Korea and twice they were beaten back by the north Koreans and volunteers from the People's Republic of China. Defeated in its aim of unifying Korea under the rule of Syngman Rhee, the U.S. in 1953 finally agreed to a ceasefire approximately along the 38th parallel. U.S. troops still occupy south Korea today, backing up the military dictatorship there. Next week the RW will publish an article dealing with the development of this war of U.S. aggression and the anti-imperialist struggle against it.

Power Struggle in Islamic Republic Coming to a Head

A major power struggle inside the Iranian government has been shaping up for some time, and it is now coming to a head. Like cats and dogs, the forces of President Bani-Sadr on one side and Ayatollah Beheshti of the Islamic Republic Party (IRP) on the other, are locked in a decisive battle for control over the various arms of the government and armed forces.

Over the last several months, the IRP has been steadily taking over key positions up to the central ministries in Tehran—at the expense of Bani-Sadr's supporters. It also effectively controls the "revolutionary guards" militia units, many of whom openly display IRP emblems on their jackets. Due to its superior grassroots organization based on its network of mullahs around the country, the IRP now controls a majority in the new parliament, placing it in a position to choose its own Prime Minister and push Bani-Sadr out of the picture.

It is an open secret that the IRP is out to monopolize power. Beheshti and the other reactionary leaders of this party are hoisting the banner of fundamentalist Islam—and are demagogically launching tirades against "imperialism" in order to build up their mass base. The main thrust of their assault on Bani-Sadr and the national bourgeois forces he represents is that they are "Westernized" and soft on the U.S. Bani-Sadr has hit back, accusing the IRP of wanting to set up an "obscurantist, fascist dictatorship."

While these conflicts have been brewing ever since this unstable coalition took power in Iran more than a year ago, developments over the past weeks indicate that this unprecedented struggle within the ruling class and maneuvering for power is reaching the bursting point. Only a week ago Ayatollah Khomeini admitted as much. In the first speech since the revolution in which he openly admitted that his Islamic government was in danger, he said, "I am worried that the Islamic Republic could be defeated by those who are on our side. If dissention among us continues then we shall destroy one another." He is obviously worried that if these two warring factions move into open conflict, his vision of an Islamic Republic will be doomed and Islam will be discredited.

Several days later, there were major attacks, instigated by the IRP controlled "hesbollahi" (Party of God) upon a rally of 100,000 in Tehran called by the People's Mojahadeen. While there have been many attacks before on leftist or progressive forces, these attacks were unprecedented in their fury, leaving at least one dead and 300 wounded. They were also indirectly aimed at Bani-Sadr, since the Mojahadeen have been drawing closer to him recently. Sensing this, Ahmad Khomeini, Ayatollah Khomeini's son, issued a denunciation of the attackers and called for their arrest. This is the first time that someone in Khomeini's camp has directly attacked the Beheshti forces, and clearly reflects their fear that the IRP's power madness will ruin the ball game for everyone.

But the fireworks had just begun. A few short weeks ago neither Bani-Sadr nor Beheshti would say a word against each other publicly, and were pictured sitting next to each other at the opening of Iran's new parliament. This past week however, Bani-Sadr's newspaper, *Islamic Revolution*, reported that it had obtained tapes of a leading member of the IRP calling Bani-Sadr a "tool of America" who "will be ousted soon." Words weren't



After right-wing gangs organized by the Islamic Republic Party launched a savage attack on a recent

Mojahadeen rally in Tehran, revolutionary youth (above) fought back with a barrage of rocks.

the only thing that were heating up. It was reported in the past several days that Bani-Sadr's appointment to the head of the "revolutionary guards" had resigned, and that he had reshuffled some of his military leaders, clearly anticipating an outbreak of open warfare.

This swelling turmoil is at bottom a reflection of the fact that neither of these reactionary forces who are battling it out for control of the government have been able to do anything about the basic problems of the Iranian people. The bourgeois nature of each is clearly revealed as each pursues a policy of, "it's my turn to have a grab" at power in Iran. And no amount of appeals for "unity" can change the class nature of these forces, who are driven to compete and fight for the maximum share of the spoils as well as their own particular bourgeois and even feudal vision of what society should be like. All in all, a number of

reactionary forces are trying to take power, but none have a really clear shot at it.

And since none of them have been strong enough to consolidate their control, they haven't been able to unite around a common program for putting an end to the continuing struggle constantly boiling up among the masses from the remote areas of Kurdistan to the universities and factories in the big cities. In this politically volatile situation, everything is up for grabs, and all the elements are coming together for an attempted coup and open fighting.

Meanwhile last week, ABC News reported that Gen. Oveissie (a notorious general under the Shah, who personally gave the orders for the massacre of 10,000 unarmed demonstrators in Tehran on "Black Friday"—September 8, 1978) had met with ex-premier Shapour Bakhtiar in Paris and had agreed to unite their

forces and set up guerrilla camps near the Iranian border in Iraq. In recent days, there has also been a steady stream of rumors of pro-U.S. coups surfacing in the Iranian military.

When these developments are added to the sensationalized reports in the U.S. press of "chaos spreading in Iran" etc., all of this points to the obvious fact that the U.S. imperialists are not simply sitting on the sidelines as neutral observers. As the pot boils over in Iran, the prospects of U.S. military intervention there will increase rapidly. This could take a number of forms, including launching another raid to "free the hostages" or throwing U.S. support behind pro-imperialist forces in the Iranian military as they make a move to seize power. In this situation, our vigilance must be doubled and redoubled. □

"If you had 2 or 3 copies of What Is To Be Done?, they would put you in jail for life"

Stories of Underground Work in Shah's Iran

In Iran under the regime of the Shah, small circles of revolutionary-minded students developed, much like those described by Lenin in the early days of the revolutionary movement in Russia under the Tsar. Scattered and unconnected, these student circles attempted to carry out revolutionary work under very difficult conditions and link up with the workers and the underground revolutionary organizations. The RW recently talked to a revolutionary Iranian student who was in high school during this time and told us about some of the experiences he and his friends had in their search for revolutionary organization and revolutionary theory in the few years before the Shah was overthrown.

I will tell you about how we started. We were a few people that were going to a high school in the southern part of Tehran and what the Fedayeen were doing, what the Mojahadeen, the other guerrilla organizations were doing had a lot of influence on us. And we were always thinking about doing something but actually we did not know how. We knew that there was something going on in Iran like we knew that there were already organizations that were fighting. But we had no way of getting in contact with them. We also knew that there

were organizations outside the country.

We knew a little bit, but we did not have any literature, any pamphlets or books that were published outside the country; so we all decided to do as much as we could at that time. There were some progressive writers and we would try to at least get those books to people because we could get those books in bookstores in Tehran. Meanwhile we decided to get in contact with people who had more experience and one thing we tried to do was to find people that were in the Tudeh Party (pro-Soviet revisionists—RW). But the more we were looking for those people the more we were finding out that they were betrayers and many of them were working for SAVAK at that time. At the high school where we were going there was one teacher we knew was a former member of the Tudeh Party but later on we were warned by some other students that he was working for SAVAK. The leadership of the Tudeh Party had a very liberal line—the central committee of the Tudeh Party actually betrayed the revolution. After the coup d'etat in 1953 [when the CIA coup overturned the Mosaddegh national government and installed the Shah in power] they encouraged their members not to continue the struggle. There were revolutionaries all over

Iran who were ready, especially workers in the factories who were ready to take up guns and fight back but the Tudeh Party had summed up it would not be correct to resist. They encouraged their membership not even to keep guns or Marxist literature and destroyed it. They encouraged their members to go to the police to "make it easier" for other people. This has become very famous in Iran, that members of the Central Committee later on betrayed and became SAVAK agents. So we did not get much from looking for the Tudeh Party.

Another thing we tried was at that time in the northern part of Tehran, most of the students and intellectuals went to climb the mountains during the weekend because it's right beside the city and it's a very good place to go and sit and talk. It's very safe. It was also a good place to find literature. We had heard that people had found pamphlets and books so we were going there every weekend trying to find things. We were dividing into three groups of two people and trying to find things. A friend of mine knew a couple of people that were in prison for a while. For one thing we knew that it was not wise to be around them too much because SAVAK watches who is in touch with those political prisoners. But one thing we knew was we could

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Hayden Fisher Convicted

Spirit of Damian García Alive at Alamo Trial

As we go to press, the trial of the Alamo defendants—who raised the red flag atop the “sacred shrine to Texas Liberty” on March 20—has exploded like a bombshell in the midst of San Antonio. Everywhere the authorities turn, they cannot escape the haunting image and the revolutionary spirit of Comrade Damian García, a member of the RCP who was murdered by police agents after participating in the Alamo seizure—a righteous exposure of this miserable monument to the oppression of the Chicano and Mexican people. Our rulers’ actions in this trial so far have only confirmed the words of RCP Chairman Bob Avakian in a statement he made shortly after Damian’s murder: “This bold action sent shockwaves all across the country, indeed even to many other parts of the world, driving the ruling class of this country and their allies and bootlickers into a frenzy, and sending a chill of fear up their spineless backs, while shooting a bolt of joy through the hearts of thousands, even millions, among the masses who learned of it, filling them with pride and inspiration. It was in retaliation for the stand and actions of Comrade García and others at the Alamo and across the country, in unflinching defiance of the murdering dogs who rule over the masses, that this foul act of murder was perpetrated.”

As the first day of the trial dawned the red flag was raised in places as far away as Detroit—where it was unfurled from the top of Renaissance Center. In San Antonio itself, the sun rose to the sight of the brilliant red banner waving from a telephone pole in Apache Courts—the city’s biggest Chicano project. It had been hoisted by young residents who had formed a human pyramid to place it out of reach of the police. And by 8 o’clock in the morning the sound of marching feet began to pound in the ears of the cops assigned to protect the San Antonio courthouse. Chants in English and Spanish swelled to a crescendo: “Present, Present, Damian is present, With him are the people!” “You don’t have a permit,” the pigs yelled. Back in their faces came the strains of the *Internationale*, anthem of the international working class.

As the demonstrators began to move into the courthouse, the police panicked, running parallel to the entrance, clubs in hand. They were so uptight they attempted to bar one of the defendants from attending his own trial! One Chicano man was hauled away and the others were threatened with arrest. “You can’t go inside, you have to send a representative!” they whined. “Damian García is our representative!” the people responded. As the cops backed down, people marched right into the courtroom carrying red flags. For the authorities it was the beginning of a bad dream. At the defendants’ table sat a vacant chair reserved for the one defendant who would be present in spirit but not in person. Over the back of it was draped a copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* bearing a front page picture of Comrade Damian García.

The judge’s first act was to order the red flag out of the courtroom. It was promptly posted with a sentry just outside the courtroom door where it remained throughout the day’s proceedings. Meanwhile the frustrated pigs did their best to intimidate people, fondling the blackjacks hidden in their pants, dropping little hints like “Kill, kill!” and telling one man, “You’re mine.” They even passed out a little reactionary pamphlet they had printed for the occasion, entitled *Red Riot*. As pre-trial motions began, an American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) lawyer requested to enter the case. Down came the gavel—motion denied. Another motion was presented by the defense showing that the complaint against the defendants for “making an offen-



San Antonio, site of the Alamo, on the opening day of the trial.

sive gesture” failed to specify what act this was referring to. This was also denied by the Honorable Judge Sample, an Uncle Tom dredged up especially for this occasion. Apparently the only offensive gestures to be admitted as evidence this day were those of the pigs who snorted through the aisles, flipping the bird at revolutionaries.

While this charade of “justice” was shifting into first gear, outside on the streets what had started as a bad dream for San Antonio authorities was threatening to become a nightmare. Other demonstrators carrying red flags gathered for a rally called by the Damian García Brigade and the RCP right in front of their precious Alamo which had been dutifully guarded throughout the night by a squad of undercover cops. The authorities had expected this and brought out a motley assortment of reactionaries to try and stop it. A busload of Boy Scouts pulled up. They were dressed in 1776 bicentennial t-shirts and had been organized by the Trinity Christian Church. Vans pulled up in front of the Alamo depositing government agents dressed in white bermuda shorts, posing as “tourists” and handing out American flags. Joined by a number of reactionary matrons, they waved their flags in people’s faces in a transparent attempt to provoke a confrontation.

As the two flags clashed, a crowd began to gather. For the past week the red flag and the RCP had been hotly debated in every corner of San Antonio. Now the controversy raged in the streets as people raised big questions: “Why did Damian do this?”, “Is communism good or bad?”. One woman yelled, “I agree with what Damian did at the top of the Alamo, but I don’t like communists.” Another man said, “I fought for the American flag”, but five minutes later he was denouncing the Trinity Church people who brought a movie camera to make a reactionary film. Others began to demand that these “filmmakers” inter-

view a spokesman for the group holding the red flags. “Let them talk. You just want to let the government talk!”, shouted one Chicana as people began to come forward and buy the *Revolutionary Worker* under the noses of the government agents.

The mood was changing fast. Circles of people were being challenged to actually pick up the red flag. People came forward out of the crowd to join the rally, and some gave their names and addresses, offering housing to Brigade members. People were being won over to take on the reactionaries. Some Black men joined the marching, one of whom had earlier spoken to the Brigade on a talk show. He said, “You’ve made me conscious of what the Alamo is. Now I know that Jim Bowie and Davy Crockett were slave-catchers, I’m not going to take my kids down there and tell them those are their heroes.” When the reactionaries started singing “God Bless America,” another of these brothers said, “Give me a red flag!” He took the fattest one he could find and raised it high.

Back at the courthouse where jury selection was going on the prosecutor was screaming that Damian García’s murder “is not relevant to this case.” “Objection sustained!” barked Judge Sample, ordering the defense to conclude jury selection within 15 minutes. But when word suddenly arrived that the demonstration in front of the Alamo had been successful, he ordered a recess and retired to his chambers to reassess the situation and receive orders from higher up. When he returned, he announced that the defendants’ cases were being severed, and that the trial of Hayden Fisher would begin at once—this move was apparently a tactic to eliminate the factor of Damian García from this trial. His absence was becoming too conspicuous with the defendants being tried as a group. By trying the defendants as individuals, the prosecution hoped to be able to bar any references to Damian or his role in the takeover that would expose

the bloody hands of their pigs.

When court reconvened the next day, this became clearer: the judge’s first item of business was to order the removal of Damian’s picture from the courtroom saying it was “inappropriate to the trial.” The prosecution then moved rapidly to obtain a quick conviction of Hayden Fisher on the “offensive gesture” charge, calling the Business Manager of the Alamo to the stand. She testified the defendants had shouted obscenities on top of the Alamo. When asked what obscenities, she said, “They pointed to the American flag and told people ‘That’s not your goddamn flag’”. She also said they used—horrors!—four-lettered words! “Referring to what?” she was asked. “The flag, the country and the system.” But if the prosecution thought they had eliminated Damian García from this trial, they would soon find out differently. Defense lawyers called Gail Bayer (another of the defendants) to the stand as a witness and showed her a picture of Damian, asking her who he was and why they had his picture in the courtroom. When she explained what Damian stood for and that his murder was a political assassination, the prosecutor leaped up yelling, “Damian García has nothing to do with this case!” He was drowned out by the honorable Judge Sample who had gone crazy, banging his gavel like a madman, screaming, “This is not a political trial!” and “I object! I object!”. At this point the defense was ordered to clear all questions with the judge before being put directly to the witness!

At press time, the situation is growing sharper as more police have been brought in to guard the trial and step up harassment of supporters of the defendants. Supporters are followed everywhere they go by police agents. A CID (Criminal Intelligence Division—Red Squad) pig, one of those who interrogated the Alamo defendants after the takeover, tried to bust one man in the courthouse parking lot

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BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, USA!

If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs.

—“Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression”
Mao Tsetung

Mohawks

Continued from page 2

troopers armed with automatic weapons began to move in supported by a special N.Y. SWAT team brought in from the Olympic Village at nearby Lake Placid and sneaking in through the Chevy plant built with the trustees' approval on Mohawk land. But by this time the Mohawks were ready—they had barricaded the Raquette Point Road and set up bunkers from which to defend themselves. Two State police were captured when they breached the perimeter and after they were released, the police pulled back. In the months that followed, several Mohawks were arrested in police raids on people's houses. It was clear that authorities were declaring "open season" on Indians. One Mohawk man was gunned down by Quebec police just across the border when he protested the arrest of his brother. But until now, authorities have not attempted to actually serve warrants on those in the encampment.

Last week, however, it was clear that the government was preparing for a new offensive with the able assistance of its tribal frontmen who claim to exercise "authority" over the Mohawk people. On the morning of June 13, after two weeks of intense police harassment, the road into the Mohawk encampment was suddenly

blocked by a heavily armed vigilante force of 150-200 organized by the trustees. Phonelines were cut off to the Akwesasne Notes office, to Chief Thompson's home and eventually to the entire Raquette Point area. Food and medical supplies were cut off also. The vigilantes threatened to attack unless the Mohawks—described by Leonard Garrow, one of the three tribal trustees recognized by the state and federal government, as "politically motivated Indians"—abandoned their stronghold. But faced with armed Mohawks lying in wait along the road and dug in behind makeshift bunkers, these brave attackers decided to pull back as the government conveniently sent in 300 state troopers armed to the teeth to take their place on the front lines.

"We're trying to maintain peace and tranquility here," said one police captain—appropriately named John Lawless—as police snipers took up positions on top of the nearby GM plant and helicopters hovered overhead awaiting orders from the Governor's office to enter the camp. These "peaceful" cops are commanded by Maj. Robert Schneeman who told Mohawk Chiefs at a meeting the week before: "I'm bigger than you. I have more guns, men, and I can bring you to a bloody pulp." At one point some of these state pigs went to talk to some Mohawk women to try to turn them against the men! They were bitterly denounced by the women—many

of whom had previously been molested and raped, resulting in a number of Mohawk children being fathered by State police officers. Giving up on their scheme, the pigs retorted, "We think you women enjoyed that." Major Schneeman generously offered the fugitive Mohawks in the camp "safe passage" if they would appear before a judge to face charges. Not surprisingly there were no takers. Neither were there any takers on two successive deadlines announced by police for the Mohawks to give up and leave their encampment.

As usual, the capitalist press is working overtime to obscure the nature of this struggle, screaming that this is all a "dispute between rival Mohawk factions." And of course this armed invasion by the state is being portrayed as necessary to "protect the tax-paying and law-abiding citizens of the reservation" from the "backward" traditionalists.

Meanwhile the so-called "tribal leaders"—who manipulate \$5 million a year in federal crumbs thrown them by Washington—make no bones about the fact that they are straight out flunkies for the U.S. government. One leader of their assault force bragged that the planned attack was to "show support for state and local police" and "restore law and order." The cops at the Akwesasne police station were so delighted at this knee-bending that the entire Akwesasne Police Department resigned so they could join the

vigilantes and participate in the attack. Meanwhile the sellouts who organized this posse have taken to wearing blue armbands—so that when the shit hits the fan these hyped up pigs won't accidentally mistake them for the Mohawk people.

But if the state and its lackeys think they are just going to walk into Raquette Point, they've got another think coming. Mohawks and supporters—Indian and non-Indians alike—have been arriving by boat on the St. Lawrence River, bringing in badly needed supplies. Vigilantes who chased one boat were shot at and sent scurrying in retreat. The Onondaga Council of Chiefs—the traditional government of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy—has pledged to support the Mohawk people. When some trustees went to beg the council to support *them*, the Onondagas told them that if the Mohawks' encampment is attacked, they will close down Highway 81, knock out all gas and power lines in the area and move on Allied Chemical and the Niagra Mohawk Electric Co. The Caughnawaga Indians have also offered support, hinting they will take action against a railroad bridge that crosses a vital shipping lane on the St. Lawrence River. "If anyone comes," said Mohawk Chief Loran Thompson from behind the barricades, "we are going to defend ourselves!" □

DRAFT

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which are in the courts, which some bourgeois spokesmen have already referred to as likely to intervene in the matter. And a recent announcement by the ACLU (which opposes a peacetime draft) that it will file a lawsuit in federal court against the draft registration law on the basis of its being "discriminatory towards men," will objectively aid them in these efforts.

But with all our rulers' maneuvering, one thing stands out—they have more "political work" to do in ideologically preparing the masses for war. Undoubtedly, the scrambling to turn things around has only just begun. We can next expect to be flooded with a tidal wave of patriotic

fervor in the mass media, perhaps similar to, but on a grander scale, than that of the period at the start of World War I. At that time, faced with widespread opposition to the war, the ruling class organized a committee to "sell the war to America." Advertising executives, PR men, movie producers, journalists—in short, all who could contribute to the cause—were mobilized to wage the holy crusade to "make the world safe for democracy."

Of course, in the '80s the bourgeoisie has far less maneuvering room than they did back then. And while the widespread opposition to the draft has definitely thrown a wrench into their plans, no one should think that it will be enough to stop the draft's return, or change the fact that the imperialist system is headed for world war. The real contribution of the anti-draft movement is that it represents one broad form of

exposure and opposition to the imperialists' war preparations. And it is certainly true that no "boycott" of this war will be acceptable; when push comes to shove, the bourgeoisie will field an army even if at the point of a bayonet.

The difficulty the ruling class is having in bringing back the draft is significant. If the imperialists have so much trouble getting the youth to respond adequately to their call in today's relatively peaceful conditions, what kind of troubles will they have tomorrow, when they have already press-ganged into military service and given both weapons and training to these same youth? As the draft of the *New Programme* of the RCP says, "... the more social upheaval deepens and spreads, and especially the more that the crucial element of the class-conscious workers becomes a growing force and influence within

this, the Achilles heel of the bourgeois armed forces will be further exposed—for despite its awesome arsenal, it must still rely on its basic military units to occupy the territory and put down rebellion, but these units are drawn overwhelmingly from the youth of the proletariat and the oppressed masses generally and are forced, through all kinds of degrading methods of indoctrination and intimidation, to fight against their own interests and their own class brothers and sisters. As the old authority begins to be seriously challenged and to break down, many will come over to join the revolutionary struggle led by the class-conscious proletariat, especially if there is—as there will be—the firm leadership of the Party, armed itself and arming the masses with a correct line, strategy and policies, with a clear sense of the revolutionary way forward." □

IF YOU WANT MORE OUT OF LIFE THAN LIVING...

Join the Army. Don't miss the chance to get your guts blown out for the Bank of America, Standard Oil and the rest of our capitalist class. You are desperately needed to napalm babies, rape, murder and otherwise maintain our bloody empire. Thrill as your buddy dies in your arms and experience the unique satisfaction of blowing the face off the guy just like yourself on the other side. Be the first on your block to sign up for World War III. (If you don't we'll draft your ass anyway.) Be on the front lines as we battle the Russians. Carry out the will of God as millions of people are incinerated into atomic dust. No Russian capitalist is going to profit off the territory that we American capitalists stole fair and square.

Apply Now—We can't do it (there are only a few thousand of us and we are busy with our secretaries and the cute young men on our staffs). We'll hide in our bomb shelters so we can continue ripping the survivors off later.

JOIN THE PEOPLE WHO'VE JOINED THE ARMY



This is what the imperialists and their military recruiters really mean. Translated by *Turn the Guns Around*, national newspaper of the anti-imperialist Vietnam Veterans Against the War, Box 87400, Chicago, IL 60680. Phone (312) 421-4145.

Palestinian Struggle: A Bone in the Imperialists' Throat

Over the course of the last few months, the U.S. has rushed to patch the cracks in the cornerstone of its policy in the Middle East—a peace settlement between Egypt and Israel. The Camp David Accords were designed to stabilize the region, stamp it with the seal of the U.S. and solidify it into the U.S. war bloc. But as the U.S. moves ever more feverishly in its contention with the imperialist rulers of the USSR, it has had a little problem in the Middle East: the struggle of the four million Palestinian people, a great number of whom were driven from their homeland when the reactionary Zionist state of Israel was established in the late '40s. No imperialist "peace settlement" will settle the question of Palestine.

The key area and final phase of the agreements worked out between Egypt and Israel concerned the "Palestinian problem" and was to be resolved through so-called Palestinian "self-rule." All of this "self rule" program is a reactionary plan covered over with a few cosmetic changes which would place the Palestinian people in charge of municipal functions like street sweeping, while Israel would keep vital questions firmly in hand, including things like security and even the distribution of water.

From the beginning of the whole process, the Palestinian people totally rejected this imperialist scheme and at each step of the way have declared their determination to continue their struggle until all of Palestine is liberated. Demonstrations, strikes, and other actions have marked the entire process. Immediately after the signing of the Egypt-Israel peace treaty back in March of 1979, demonstrations broke out throughout the West Bank and Gaza strip. On March 26th, a "statement of municipalities, popular and professional organizations on the West Bank" was issued condemning the treaty. The same month arch-fascist Meir Kahane was supposed to lead a march of his supporters designed to intimidate and silence the growing resistance among the Palestinian people. Kahane couldn't march that day, he was blocked by more than 10,000 Palestinians who had gathered in Jerusalem determined to stop him. At Bir Zeit University, a long-time center of Palestinian resistance, the first public rally against the Camp David Accords was held also in March of '79 and resulted in the closing of the school by Zionist authorities. The school was closed two more times during the spring semester last year, once as part of the general shut-down of Palestinian schools when Carter visited Israel and again on May 2nd when Palestinian students

demonstrated and raised the Palestinian flag over campus buildings during the celebration of Israeli independence day.

The U.S. and its Zionist puppets have tried to stomp out all resistance using any means necessary, including military rule, imprisonment, deportations and open attacks by fascist gangs. Out of the almost one million Palestinians living in the West Bank and Gaza Strip there are 60,000 living in 16 refugee camps. These camps are actually no more than prisons presided over by Israeli military authorities. Often policed by the Israeli army or members of the Gush Emunim gang, these camps are little more than hundreds of concrete shacks surrounded on all sides by high prison-type walls. The Israeli authorities have gone to great lengths to ensure their total control over the residents of these camps. In one instance, in the el Amari camp, they went so far as to build concrete and iron walls across all the gates to the camp except one. Despite the Zionists' greatest efforts, these camps have become centers of Palestinian resistance.

Arab villages throughout the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are not much better off than the camps. Most villages lack electricity, telephones and health centers. None of them have paved roads or a sewage system (except Nazareth which has a partially functioning one). Here too, the Palestinian people are subject to constant attack by military and paramilitary gangs. In addition to all this, the Zionist government has stepped up its "judaization" of these areas, that is, the seizure of Arab owned lands in the name of all the Jewish people and establishing Zionist settlements on this land. These settlements not only serve to increase the presence of the Zionist occupation force in the area, but often times serve as an encampment for different fascist gangs, such as the Kiryat Arba settlement surrounding the city of Hebron, which serves as the headquarters for the Gush Emunim.

Each new Zionist settlement, each new attack, has been met by waves of demonstrations and strikes. In June of 1979, 2000 people demonstrated at the funeral of a Rhamala resident killed by a bomb explosion. Workers, peasants and students marched through the streets singing and chanting Palestinian songs and slogans. The demonstration was only broken up when the Israeli army opened fire on it and then only after a long fight. A few days later 1500 people demonstrated in Nablus against the establishment of the Elon Moreh settlement nearby. In December 1979 another demonstra-

tion took place against this settlement in Nablus. Thousands rose up in rebellion, going against the Israeli army with only sticks and stones. The Zionist authorities threatened to expel the mayor of Nablus and the people stepped up their struggle. After a few days the Israeli rulers were forced to back off. They temporarily ruled against the settlement and dropped the deportation order. Within days, the word of the "Nablus victory" spread throughout the entire country.

Especially in the last few months of this year, demonstrations, strikes and other political actions have been almost daily occurrences throughout the country. The Israeli officials have responded with increased repression, including banning Palestinian newspapers, and deportations and attempted assassinations of various leaders and municipal officials (most of whom were elected on the basis of their support for the Palestine Liberation Organization). But this has only spurred the Palestinian people to carry their struggle further. Although the Israeli officials banned May Day activities, over 15,000 people participated in May Day demonstrations in 2 cities alone. As the military governor of the West Bank stated, "It now seems as though the entire population is ready to defy the Israeli army." Today when a demonstration is called, it is no longer mainly students out in the streets but thousands of workers and peasants who join them. And small shopkeepers no longer just close their stores during the strikes and go home, instead they go out and join the demonstrators in the streets. Strikes have been initiated in Ronleh, Israel's largest prison, among Palestinian political prisoners and have quickly spread to two or three other prisons in the country. And even more, for the first time political demonstrations and actions are taking place regularly inside of occupied Palestine proper. And this intensified struggle among the Palestinians has also spurred on the development of cracks in Israeli society. One example is the case of 27 Israeli high school students, who have refused to serve in the Israeli army stating, "by reason of our opposition to the occupation and oppression of the Palestinian people, we refuse to serve in the occupied territories."

That the question of Palestine cannot be ignored by the U.S. can be seen by the influence of the Palestinian struggle throughout the Middle East. Today there are more than one million Palestinians living in Jordan, 400,000 in Lebanon, 175,000 in Kuwait, 175,000 in Syria and many thousands more spread throughout Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, the Gulf states

and Libya. Most of these Palestinians are workers and peasants and the political consciousness and activity among them and the effect of this among the Arab masses is a definite threat to the stability of these regimes. Each of these regimes is desperately hoping that "some kind of solution to the Palestinian problem" can be found and soon. Even Sadat (who was widely denounced for negotiating with Israel) has begun to sweat in anticipation of the reaction of the Egyptian people to his blatant treachery. The Israeli flag was raised in Egypt for the first time in history after the signing of the peace treaty. In response, one million Palestinian flags were raised throughout Egypt.

For the U.S., the struggle of the Palestinian people is indeed a bone in the throat—one which they are frantically trying to cough up. Laughable and ridiculously hypocritical has been the recent editorial bent in major U.S. daily newspapers revealing glimpses of Zionist aggression against the Palestinian people—aggression the U.S. has approved of, in fact sponsored, for three decades as it has propped up Israel as an imperialist outpost in the Middle East. Criticism of Zionist Begin's policy of settlements on the West Bank has been seen. There were even reports seemingly sympathetic toward the Palestinian mayors, who were the victims of Zionist bomb attacks two weeks ago. Behind all this is the fact that as the U.S. gears up for war and feverishly tries to solidify its bloc, a resolution to the "Palestinian problem" is crucial. It has become even more crucial in the wake of the Iranian revolution. It is the driving necessity to prepare for all out war with the Soviets that has led the U.S. to attempt some apparent policy shifts recently in the Middle East and to a "more reasonable" approach to the question of Palestine. This can be seen in the recent proposals of their European allies concerning proposals that the final analysis stink of U.S. imperialism and the remnants of Camp David. And all of this is occurring at the same time the Soviet Union, sensing the predicament of the U.S., is trying to nudge its way into a stronger position in the area, by throwing its "full support" behind the Palestinian struggle, hoping to use it to advance Soviet interests.

The U.S. may well come up with another "better" scheme. But despite how "reasonable and beneficial to the Palestinians" it may be disguised, it can only be another imperialist scheme, a scheme based on advancing the interests of U.S. imperialism at the expense of the Palestinians. However, as a Palestinian revolutionary stated to the *RW* while discussing the failure of the Camp David Accords, "the plans and schemes of imperialism and Zionism have failed again, like they always do. They've got to fail because every one of them depends on burying the Palestinian people and the Palestinian revolution. This is impossible. It couldn't be done in 1948, 1967, 1973 or 1976 and it can't be done today. It is impossible!"

S. Africa

Continued from page 1

has developed among students protesting the hideous inequality and racism in the educational system. In this latest upsurge, however, the fight has been centered in Capetown among students of mixed race, where for the last two months, students have been boycotting school. This boycott, which has involved 100,000 students around the country, began the biggest wave of protest since the government banned the South African Students Organization and other black organizations in 1977.

The uprising among the mixed race students has sent shock waves through the racist white regime of South Africa, which has attempted to divide the people of mixed race from the blacks by dishing out a few more crumbs to try and establish a

stratum of "house slaves." This has amounted to such "favors" as spending about \$200 for the education of each mixed race student, whereas \$40 is spent on each black student... while they spend more than \$700 on each white student!

This is only one of the features of the South African apartheid regime, a vicious dictatorship in which Black Africans, mixed race and other minorities have virtually no rights, live in specially designated areas (traveling outside only with government I.D. cards), and work for next to nothing—while the 15% white minority are a privileged elite, supported and armed to the teeth by the U.S. and their allies.

In recent months moves by reformist leaders among the people of mixed race for an end to racial barriers between the whites and mixed race people have been rejected, especially by the white politicians in the west Cape, where mixed race peo-

ple are a majority; and Prime Minister Botha of the ruling National Party recently declared that people of mixed race or blacks will never sit in a parliament with whites. These statements by Botha have further exposed the nature of the government, further revealed the futility of reformist schemes for a "peaceful solution," and further fueled the anger of the mixed race students who increasingly identify with black Africans and the Black Consciousness Movement.

Fearing a big uprising on the anniversary of the Soweto rebellion, the government banned all meetings of more than ten people in the days before the anniversary and specifically outlawed meetings which had been planned throughout the country in honor of Soweto. In response, the masses took to the streets. Black activists had planned a nationwide work stoppage to mark the Soweto uprising. To counter this, the govern-

ment stationed heavy police concentrations at the railway station and bus terminal to intimidate the workers. Particularly in Capetown and Bloemfontein, the workers defied the armed presence of the state. In Capetown more than 75% of the workers boycotted work, and the figures were even higher in some major industries. The *New York Times* reported that at textile factories of 50,000 workers, 90% of the workers did not go to work on that day, and that thousands of dock workers also boycotted.

Attempts by the government to stop the demonstrations by viciously shooting down people in the street only spread the demonstrations. By Wednesday, June 18 in the afternoon, street fighting had intensified, particularly in the Elsie's River area of Capetown where the militant youth continued the rebellion, setting fire to factories, supermarkets, and schools. □

Michigan Police Attack Anti-Nuke Paper

On May 15, police in Flint, Michigan entered the offices of La Peer County Press brandishing a search warrant from a town judge and seized the company's files on the *Flint Voice*, a monthly alternative newspaper that is printed by the La Peer County Press. A few days later, police threatened to invade the editorial offices of the *Voice* as well and warned a co-editor of the paper that he could be forced to "name his sources on the witness stand."

This attack was an escalation in a battle between the *Voice* and the local authorities which has been going on since November. In the November issue, the *Voice* printed a City Ombudsman's report a few hours before the report was due to be released publicly. This report confirmed charges made in September that Mayor James Rutherford was forcing CETA workers to campaign for him on city time and donate \$25 of their pitiful wages to his campaign. (In a town which has the highest unemployment in the country—14%—and where 60% of the Black youth are unemployed, this petty tyrant just couldn't resist squeezing the last drop out of the masses.)

Squealing like a stuck pig, the Mayor threatened to fire the Ombudsman and sue the *Voice*, and the Chairwoman of the Mayor's reelection committee, City Administrator Nan Lunn, had the Flint police use the statewide computer to trace the license plate numbers of those thought to be delivering the *Voice*. When police invaded the offices of the printers in May, they claimed to be looking for information that might prove that the Ombudsman himself had leaked the report, which would constitute a violation of the city charter.

The *Flint Voice*, which has a readership of 15,000 and 2,000 paid subscribers, has carried exposure of political corruption in Flint, including a series on "illegal acts" committed by the Mayor when he was chief of police, articles against the rampant discrimination against the Black people in Flint (who are 34% of the population) which ranged from the hiring practices of Howard Johnson's to the vicious police brutality in the city. The paper also provides a kind of forum for the anti-nuclear movement and has come under fire from local reactionaries for covering information about birth control. Shortly before the files were confiscated, the *Voice* published a denunciation of the helicopter raid on Iran and opposed any further military intervention in Iran.

What is clear in this attack is that the authorities in Flint cannot tolerate any serious opposition from any quarter and are attempting to squash this progressive paper. But the significance of this attack goes beyond the reactionary moves of the local authorities. In upholding the police raid on the printer, the Flint courts cited the infamous Stanford decision of 1978. This is the first time since the Stanford decision was handed down that it has been used to seize newspaper files. This decision by the Supreme Court sparked an outcry of protest against infringement of freedom of the press when it reversed a 1971 lower court ruling that found a police raid on the offices of the Stanford University *Daily* in California illegal. The police had gone into the *Daily* offices looking for photographs to identify demonstrators who had been involved in a bloody battle with the pigs the day before, and went through drawers reading confidential material and

generally ransacking the place.

The Stanford decision stated that police could get a warrant to search anyone or anyplace where information related to a crime might be found, whether or not the person or place was connected to that crime. This decision further expanded the scope of the bourgeoisie's "freedom of the press." Not only did this freedom include freedom to print whatever lies and garbage it wanted and needed to maintain its rule and keep the masses of people enslaved, but the additional freedom to openly tion of material considered dangerous to the continued existence of their system. This "broad interpretation" of the "freedom of the press" has historically been used by the bourgeoisie at times when it most needed it. It would seem that with the great storms and upheavals that lie ahead in the near future, the ruling class sees clearly that it will have to use every freedom it has to the max.

Response to the seizure of the files of the *Flint Voice* was swift. Even the bourgeois press was forced to condemn the action, including the *New York Times* and the *Detroit Free Press*. The American Civil Liberties Union in New York and the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press in Washington, D.C. both took up the case promising legal assistance in the matter. The *Voice* has put out a call to all the press and media to oppose this flagrant police seizure, saying in their press release, "We refuse to be intimidated by this attempt to wrench the sources of our information from us, and we are focused, instead, on what the real significance of that is. We hope that all members of the print and broadcast media see this seizure of newspaper files in the same light...."

Stories

Continued from page 9

get a lot of their experiences and we might be able to get some books and pamphlets. But we were not able to get much doing that either.

The high school that we were going to had night classes for people that work during the daytime. We had this idea that workers are very friendly and that socialism is what workers are fighting for. After classes were finished during the daytime we stayed and waited for workers to come. Then we would talk to them and we found that many of them were really revolutionary-minded although they were not educated in any sense. They had not read the literature that we had—like revolutionary books from writers like Gorky. But they were ready to be educated and we knew that. We also met a couple of workers from outside, working in a factory. We became friends with them. We found out that they were already pro-communism but many of them did not even know how to read and how to write.

They pushed on us—that we should be doing something. I remember I met one of them a week before May Day and he started asking me questions about May Day and all I knew about May Day was that it was celebrated by the workers. I didn't know anything about the history of May Day or anything like that. So when I answered his questions he got mad and said, "You are an intellectual and it is your duty to find out and tell me. I have no way to find out because I don't know how to write or read. I'm getting tired of just admiring other revolutionaries and other cultures. We should be doing something..." I knew that worker but my friends did not. It was not wise to introduce everybody to everybody. So I was getting ideas from him and he was pushing me and I was pushing other people, students in our high school and other friends that we had. And finally we decided that we had to do something.

I was born in a part of the country that was near the border of
Continued on page 17

Honor Comrade Damian Garcia Revolutionary Martyr



DAMIAN GARCIA

Beautiful 4 color poster depicts Comrade Garcia raising the Red Flag over the Alamo, March 20, 1980. Inscription by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA reads:
"Death comes to every man or woman—this is something that no one can avoid or change, but the content of people's lives, and

their deaths, the cause to which they are dedicated and given, this is something which people cannot only affect but something which makes a profound difference, not just or even mainly for themselves, but for the masses of people and ultimately for mankind as a whole."

Four-color print, 18 in. x 24 in.
Five Dollars. Proceeds to the National May Day Committee.

Order from: National May Day '80 Committee
Box 12039, Detroit, MI 48212

Alamo

Continued from page 11

for not having "proper ID" until he was forced to back down by lawyers and supporters. In court, several Chicanos who had come to San Antonio's West End to support the defendants were ejected from the courtroom. These Chicanos had become outraged at the judge's action of allowing three people to remain on the jury panel after these jurors had stated they would bring in a guilty verdict "no matter what evidence was presented." Outside in the hallway the brothers jammed up the press, demanding to know why they weren't inside the courtroom reporting on this blatant railroad.

Meanwhile the judge has dropped any pretense of "impartiality," openly declaring that the defendants are guilty as the kangaroo proceedings continue.

So far Hayden Fisher has been convicted on the "offensive gesture" charge and sentenced to the maximum fine. But it was also apparent that the authorities are squirming to find a way out of the hot seat they have found themselves in. The judge rejoined the cases of the remaining defendants back together for a single trial. Evidently, the San Antonio authorities—desperate as they are to see to it that those who ripped the cover off their sacred Alamo myth do not go unpunished—have decided that they can't afford to let this trial and its devastating exposure of them drag out too long. They want these revolutionaries and the RCP out of town fast....

On Your Mark, Get Set, STOP!

When it was announced a few weeks ago that the United States would host an alternative Olympics at home none other than the University of California at Berkeley many chuckled at the thought of America's challenge to the Moscow Olympics being viewed by a handful of loyal patriots while thousands took to the streets in righteous anti-American demonstrations. Unfortunately, the bourgeoisie, apparently temporarily blinded by its eagerness for a successful anti-Soviet show in such a radical place as Berkeley, has finally come to its senses and nixed the Berkeley site.

On Tuesday, June 17, the UC Athletic Congress announced to the Olympic cancellation. Since the announcement that the Olympics would be held in Berkeley, the campus was hit by a large anti-draft march and there has been a riot at People's Park against the Berkeley

cops in which the cops and their cars were pelted with concrete chunks and bottles by crowds of people who set up barricades in the street and chanted "Remember Miami." One can only imagine the visions that this conjured up in the minds of the ruling class of the kind of glorious reception of the alternative Olympics from UC Berkeley. At an emergency meeting of the Berkeley City Council speaker after speaker opposed the games either out of opposition to the games themselves or out of fear that they would turn into a complete farce for the bourgeoisie.

And so the search for a spot for the games continues. While many in Berkeley may be somewhat disappointed, they will still join the growing chant for the United States' alternative Olympics if they are ever actually held or not: "Lose, Team, Lose."

UN 2

Continued from page 2

tion or oppose the superpowers' moves to war, or whether the mass support will force the ruling class to back off for the time being rather than expose their brutal ass still further.

Railroad Stoked Up

As the spattered and humiliated images of U.S. envoy William vanden Heuval and his opposite number Oleg Troyanovsky rippled across the air waves and newsstands of the world, the counterattack against the UN 2 began. Outrageous bails of \$100,000 apiece were set. Conspiracy charges were piled onto the brothers, the FBI launched an investigation and certain media outlets began running features on "terrorism" with the action at the UN supposedly a prime example.

What we have here is a case of bourgeois frenzy—an attack compounded of equal parts—viciousness and panic, which has intensified in the few short weeks since the incident. Were they not so vicious, the charges would be ridiculous. Each of the two face felony charges for the same supposed crime including two charges of conspiracy each. Plainly, the red paint in the UN was not a case of felonious assault on individuals, but a political exposure against two imperialist ruling classes. The only assault here is the one being carried out against Stephen Yip and Glenn Gan to railroad them on heavy charges. The only reason for this is that political exposure, and in fact, the very ridiculousness of the charges underscores the seriousness of the case.

Why are they lashing out with such venom? To answer this we have no less an expert than the presiding judge himself, Robert Ward, who explained his class's position in court, saying that "we've got enough problems in Iran, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union... this case has to be handled in the context of what is going on in the world."

These "problems" that so bothered Judge Ward were spoken to from the standpoint of the proletariat by Bob Avakian, in "A Talk with Bob Avakian on the Current World Scene" published in the *Revolutionary Worker* (RW#40, 2/8/80).

"Obviously our analysis of the objective situation and particularly the development toward war is being remarkably and acceleratingly borne out in the events going on around Afghanistan on top of the whole way in which the U.S. government is us-

ing the Iran situation to carry out war preparations.

"Now you take Carter's speech of early January when he laid out the plan to cut off some wheat and major technology sales, in addition to the Olympic boycott, etc. The tone of that speech was not by any means entirely fabricated or simply for public consumption but, to a certain degree at least, it showed real concern on the part of the ruling class. They are worried about the situation—from a completely different standpoint than the masses are, of course. The U.S. bourgeoisie's response around Afghanistan represented a certain qualitative leap.

"And there is this kind of feeling among the U.S. bourgeoisie, they do feel this frustration. Partly it's feigned for war preparations and partly it's a real feeling of being like a helpless giant, that they can't just do what they want to do. And precisely this increases the necessity for them to go to war. Because that's the way they get it together to overcome those problems that they have."

But to do that, the bourgeoisie must win the masses to the view that on the one hand blurs over or cuts out the real class interests at the heart of such an inter-imperialist war and on the other spreads the feeling that nothing can really be done but line up behind your own superpower anyway. The real problem worrying Judge Ward and the class he pounds the gavel for is the prospect of a revolutionary political force able to cut through this fog to mobilize the masses around their real interests in such a war—which is not to fight for the imperialists but to fight to overthrow them.

Raising the Banner of the Proletariat

But this potential can only materialize through the conscious work of revolutionaries. As the talk quoted earlier says:

"This banner of the proletariat on war and every other question has got to be raised up, goddamn it. There is an answer to this viewpoint that nothing can be done. May Day is a concentrated focus of it right now. The only way there's going to be that answer is if we step out onto the stage of history. Only in this way will we be prepared to seize the opportunity, not throw it away, if it ripens—to make revolution and prevent war, or to make revolution during war."

And this in fact is the crime of the UN 2 in the eyes of the bourgeoisie—that they raised the banner of the proletariat right in the lair of the imperialists in a way that jolted and inspired millions in the U.S. and around the world, and that their ac-

tion called attention to and underscored the political stand of May Day itself, when thousands in this country stomped the star-spangled rag into the dust and raised the red flag in unity with millions the world over.

The action at the UN targeted both imperialist blocs. While Soviet Ambassador Troyanovsky waddled off, his banker's pinstripes dripping with paint, the righteous claim of the oppressed and especially the working class to the red flag was asserted by Stephen Yip and Glenn Gan.

What the UN action brought out in an extremely vivid way is that the masses are not confined to choosing between the supposed lesser evil, but can strike out for their own revolutionary interests and *this* has struck a nerve. Since the action itself, time and again when people have found out that they were talking to either one of the UN 2 or to someone helping to build the defense, they responded with real enthusiasm for the action and the stand taken. The UN 2 have spoken to a number of groups and gotten a very good response, especially from some forces in the anti-nuke and anti-draft movements. And among the masses broadly, many have signed the statement of support and within that some are planning to pack the courtroom on the first day of the trial. All this indicates that the action of the 2 is both widely known and widely supported by the masses, and that in turn shines a light on why the 2 were not only jacked up at the very beginning, but why these attacks have intensified in the weeks that followed the action.

Significance of the Attacks

The first time that Judge Ward refused defense motions for a trial postponement, he said, "I'm not going to give you time to conduct a public opinion poll among the community." But for its part, the bourgeoisie has conducted something more than a polling in the realm of public opinion.

For one thing, there is the chorus from the media on "terrorism," begun by the New York *Daily News* in their May 2nd lead editorial, and continued by WPIX Channel 11 which accompanied a clip on the UN action with an item on an FBI investigation of Omega Seven (a right-wing Cuban terrorist squad), the Croatia highjackers and the RCP.

Then, last week, there was a new escalation—a police raid on the home of *Revolutionary Worker* writer Jim Ransom in a transparent and planned attempt to whip up some so-called links between Ransom and the FALN. Since Ransom has covered the UN for the *RW* at different times over the last year, and has a UN press pass, the scheme here was one of amassing (i.e. inventing) some "evidence" to buttress up their conspiracy charges in the UN case and to lay the basis to attack the *RW* further.

Finally there are some extraordinary legal measures being taken by the government. For one thing, there is the fact that envoy vanden Heuval himself is being rolled out to testify in this case. Vanden Heuvel is a long-time servant of the ruling class, apparently having done most of his time in the legions loyal to the Kennedy family interests. Special Counsel to former New York Governor Averill Harriman in the 1950s, Assistant to Bobby Kennedy in the early '60s and an author of a book about his boss, a

member of New York Senator Jacob Javitt's law firm—vanden Heuval is an experienced and fairly important mouthpiece of the ruling class, and his diplomatic skills and wiles will be worked both on the jury and the public broadly to win this case. The fact that he is being used to do this signifies the importance attached to winning this case by the ruling class and their efforts to create public opinion around it.

Another significant aspect of this case is the behavior of Judge Ward. Ward's habit of blurting out the real political stakes here and his intentions in light of them is striking enough. At one point he threatened the defendants outright that he could put them away for several years, and at another he reminded all present that the whole world was watching to see how "promptly" and decisively this case was dealt with.

But all this was topped by Ward's behavior on Thursday, June 12th, while turning down a defense motion for continuance. Apparently having studied the Al Pacino film "And Justice For All," Ward carried on Oscar winning histrionics complete with screaming, insults to the defense attorneys, sarcastic questions as to whether defendants planned to plead not guilty by reason of insanity, and at one point going so far as to lay his head down on his desk in mock exasperation. All this of course is a set-up—an effort to intimidate the defense while claiming as much freedom as possible for the bourgeoisie within the courtroom, setting the tone for a real kangaroo court. This became clear through both his denial of the continuance motion and his severe curtailment of the defendants' ability to question the jury, both of which were up for discussion that day.

Plainly all this is being done for a reason—to recover from the political blow suffered in the UN chambers on the 30th of April, and even more so in the streets of America on the first of May. By taking up the gauntlet hurled down in this outrageous attack, the class-conscious workers and their allies stand to redouble the initial gains made off the action itself.

The very outrageousness of the attack itself speaks to both the real intentions of the bourgeoisie to head towards war and their vulnerability to political exposure of not only their plans but of the masses' real opportunities in the face of those plans. Signatures being garnered on the support statement, the people now planning to pack the court, the response to the two when they have spoken to groups or on the radio—all this indicates both the stakes and the potential involved here.

With this trial the bourgeoisie in a real sense is trying to politically wipe the red paint from William vanden Heuval and his class and to do that by jailing for a good long time the two revolutionaries who stood up to expose them. It is therefore critical to go all out and win this battle and free the UN 2, and in doing so help make sure that the imperialists find it quite hard indeed, in fact impossible, to rinse the red out of the political consciousness of the people in this stormy decade now dawning. Join the fight to keep these two revolutionaries out of the clutches of the bourgeoisie!

Free the UN 2!
Down with the Superpowers War Moves!

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and

need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

Behind the Fighting in Northeast India

Continued from page 4

tempt to prohibit strikes has also flopped. More and more sections have declared their intention of joining the movement. Occasional attacks and abuse of the "aliens" take place even now. The atmosphere is tense. Rumours go round. All the political parties are divided on the approach to these developments. As far as most of the so-called national parties are concerned, their Assam units speak differently from the views of their "national" leaders.

The strife between the Assamese and Bengali speaking people is not a new thing. However, today it has reached a highly surcharged stage. The agitation launched by the All Assam Students Union (AASU) for deletion of the names of "foreign nationals" from the voters' register lit the fire. They demanded that all those who entered Assam after December 31, 1951 should be detected, their names deleted from the register and deported from the state. They raised the apprehension that the large scale influx of refugees to the tune of 35 lakhs [350,000] threatens the very survival of Assamese culture and identity. Once the agitation started other serious socio-economic problems also came up. Assam produces maximum crude oil in India. Still a large portion is taken to Barauni for refining. Under various pretexts more refineries are not being built in Assam. Assam gets royalty for crude oil at Rs. 42/ton while Gujarat gets Rs. 100. Assam's rich natural resources are looted away, but the local people remain the poorest, compared to other states. A large number of educated young men are unemployed. Even with so much of natural resources no

industrialisation has taken place. At Sibsagar, lakhs of cubic metres of natural gas is burnt away daily. With very little expense this gas can be utilised as domestic fuel. But nothing is done in this respect.

Every year Brahmaputra brings havoc in the shape of repeated floods. No river training works worth its name has been taken up. All the plywood companies are registered at Calcutta. So all tax benefits go to West Bengal. Even for the tea produced here W. Bengal earns a surtax. Communications facilities are negligible. No large scale development works have been taken up. Along with this neglect, the state is asked to shoulder the responsibility of millions of refugees continuously entering the state. Even a casual glance over these issues makes it very clear that genuine grounds for people's anger against anti-people administration in the state, as well as at centre exist.

Background History

There are historic reasons for all these problems getting aggravated to such an explosive stage. Assam was colonised by the British after completing the colonisation of Bengal. The Britishers utilised the services of the comprador intellectuals and commercial bourgeoisie from Bengal to impose their rule in Assam just like they did in Orissa and Bihar. In Assam the colonialists depended on the local feudalists and the Bengali businessmen and bureaucrats for imposing their rule. When they started tea gardens [plantations], they imported labourers from Orissa, Bihar, Nepal and down South. They were benefitted in two ways by this. On the one hand they got very cheap bonded labour abundantly without local roots or support, and on the other hand they avoided antagonising the local feudalists by not giving an alternate employment to the local poor and landless peasants who were left to the

continued exploitation by the feudal lords. There were no contradictions between Assamese and Bengali upperclass families then and they united in exploiting and suppressing the common people—both the landless and poor peasants of Assam as well as the tea garden workers.

But the transfer of power in 1947 [from British colonial rule to "independent" neo-colonialism] and partition of the subcontinent changed the situation [between India and Pakistan, which includes East Bengal, now called Bangla Desh]. A very large number of Bengali refugees from the then East Bengal, entered Assam. Most of the employment facilities were utilised for finding berths for the new entrants. There was a virtual stranglehold of this section in the whole administrative set up. After the colonisation in 1826, Bengali was used as state language, neglecting Assamese. Only after prolonged struggle Assamese was accepted in 1974 as state language. When the Bengali upper class patronised the refugees as their social base, the Assamese upper class started relying on and encouraging the new emerging local middle class. The Marwari businessmen who had entrenched themselves in the area also tried to create a cleavage between Assamese people and Bengali speaking people.

The Role of Assam State Administration

The three decades of Congress [Indira Gandhi's party] administration in the state represented the interests of the landlords, the tea garden owners and businessmen. Turning a blind eye towards land reforms, it perpetrated the landlords' domination in the countryside. There were pulls and counter pulls. Every leader wanted to maintain his own vote banks using religious, communal and chauvinistic sentiments. Some leaders encouraged influx of refugees of a certain religion as their social basis and to work in their vast fields at cheap rates.

The state revenue was squandered for the benefit of the ruling classes. The big imperialist timber business concerns and their local agents were permitted to destroy the rich forests at their will. As a result soil erosion became a major threat and Brahmaputra and all its tributaries were clogged with silt. The foreign as well as native tea garden owners continued their massive profit making.

Another major development was the alienation of the peoples of different nationalities staying in areas then included in Assam state. The British colonialists during their rule had done everything possible to embitter the relations between the hills

people and the plains people. After the transfer of power, the Indian ruling classes pursued the same policy. Along with this the negligence and suppressive policies of Central and Assam administration gave a fillip to nationalist movements conceding statehood to Nagas, Mizos and to Meghalaya, Arunachal, Manipur and Tripura did not pacify them, as the basic reasons for their struggle continued to exist. The continuing armed national liberation movements in these areas had its impact on the politics of Assam state also.

The Congress leadership made the people fight each other in the name of language and religion. Before every election year communal and linguistic riots were fomented. The present movement in Assam is witnessing yet another, attempt on the part of the reactionary classes and their political representatives to utilize the objective conditions for their class interests.

Task of Revolutionary Forces

Today it is a fact that vested interests are trying to exploit the national sentiments of the Assamese speaking people against the people of other nationalities especially the Bengali-speaking people. There can be three erroneous approaches to this problem: one, negation of the national question; two, surrender to the leadership of the present movement and unite with it; three, adopt an impotent stand and shed sympathetic tears in the name of atrocities. The revolutionary forces can only take an approach to this problem based on a class outlook. Whether in the Northeast or any other part of the sub-continent they have to uphold the right of various nationalities for self determination including the right to secede. To begin with only by taking such a clear cut stand can we win over the confidence of the people of different nationalities.

Then comes the question, who are the real enemies of the national struggles of the people? The imperialists and the social imperialists, the Indian ruling classes and all the election parties, whether of the reactionary or the revisionist variety, are the enemies of the national struggles. They stomp on the national aspirations of the people. By emphasising this fact and making effective propaganda, people will come to understand that their real enemies are those forces and not the exploited people of other nationalities who are also denied national rights.

As Comrade Charu Mazumdar pointed out, only by giving class content to the national question and intensifying the class struggle can the revolutionary forces unite with the national struggle and help in its ultimate transformation into class struggle. As any other region in India, the Northeast also is subject to severe exploitation and oppression. Perhaps, here the scale of exploitation and suppression is higher. Under the pretext of various non-issues, the people's attention is diverted from genuine issues and they are made to fight each other. Only by consciously working for the intensification of class struggle and taking it to its higher form can the people's revolutionary spirit be roused.

With the declaration of Assam as a disturbed area and banning of strikes, the central government has shown its mailed fist. Soon, reactionaries who talked militantly till yesterday will start to compromise. But the struggle will continue and will become more militant as the days pass. Events such as the massive violation of curfew orders, etc. underline this. People's anger against the anti-people state machinery will be mounting. Along with this the national struggles of the people of various nationalities in Northeast are also intensifying. As Mao Tsetung taught the revolutionary forces should "Seize the day, seize the hour."

Sidharthan

We received this letter from a revolutionary prisoner in the East.

Greetings, Sisters and Brothers!

I wish to begin by saying that I am an inmate at one of these Pennsylvania State "concentration camps."

A fellow comrade of mine suggested that I write you and ask for a book that's in great demand among the conscious inmates here.

Of course the book I'm referring to is "The Science of Revolution."

I understand that it's completed and published, or it's in the final process of being completed and published.

In any case, me and my comrades would love to have this most precious revolutionary literature.

Thank you, in our highest revolutionary spirit!!

NEW PAMPHLET AVAILABLE

This pamphlet has been written to arm millions now awakening to political life with this science of revolution. It is a reprint of a series of articles which appeared recently in the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, a series which summed up and served as an introduction to an important new book to be published soon, *The Science of Revolution* (RCP Publications). This book will very sharply and thoroughly explain the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. This pamphlet serves as a very basic introduction to the profound lessons summed up in the book. As Lenin said, "Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement." The difference is that between fighting blindly or fighting consciously with your head up. The difference is that between random sparks of struggle or using a blowtorch to destroy the chains that bind us.

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The Science of Revolution



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Stories

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Afghanistan. So we knew that in Afghanistan there was a revisionist party that was free to do whatever they want because they were capitulators. They had Marxist literature in Farsi, so we decided we might take a trip to Afghanistan, that might be the best idea to get Marxist literature. So we sat down and we discussed it and we finally decided to go. And we started getting ready. We got maps and there was a worker that had come to Iran from Afghanistan—there were lots of workers that had come to Iran from Afghanistan—like Mexican workers that come to this country. He was a construction worker. We got in contact with him and he said that we had to pay a little money to him and he decided to help us. It was up to him to help us to cross the border. We knew that there was an underground revolutionary organization in Afghanistan that was different from the revisionist party. At that time we did not know very much about what revisionism is. One thing that we knew—we were listening to the radio from Moscow, Russia and all we were getting was this junk about how progressive the Shah was and how they were developing the country and how Russia is helping Iran to develop its industry, and bullshit like that. We did not know anything about Marxism but we had a stand on Russia. The Tudeh Party and all the capitulators—we did not know what they believed in, if they believed in Khrushchevism or what not. But we knew that they were betrayers because at the same time that we had that terrible life in Iran the Tudeh Party was talking about some progressive roles that the Shah was playing and things like that. That was how we had a stand on that revisionist party in Afghanistan, too. We also knew that there was another revolutionary organization that was working underground. We knew they believed in the line of Mao Tsetung. We had this idea that we might even be able to get in contact with them if we go to Afghanistan. There was a lot for us if we could go to Afghanistan.

Moscow radio was always saying those bad things about Mao Tsetung, how Mao was helping the United States and bullshit like that and we knew that that was not true. We were using the enemy to find out who the friend was. The enemies were attacking Mao. That was how we started trying to find out something about Mao. We knew that Mao supported the war of liberation in Vietnam and China supported it. One thing that had a great affect on Iran and on the intellectuals was the revolution in Vietnam.

We were ready to go to Afghanistan. We wrote all the information that we had about our friends that only we knew and that other people did not know and we gave it to our best friends and we said that if after a couple of months we did not come back and you are sure that something bad has happened to us then you better open this envelope and try to get in contact with these people. We had been working with them. The funny thing is we were working with other people and we were trying to educate them. But we did not know anything ourselves. We knew a lot of technical things that when you work underground you have to know. We were specialists on those things—like how to watch for the police to get suspicious or how to control or clear yourself when you want to go to visit a friend, a contact. We knew the principles of working underground and that was very important—like how you should keep the little information you have about your friends and how you should deal with people who do not know these rules and might cause problems, how whenever you go outside and you are coming back to your place you should clear yourself. The best way to do that was not to just walk on the street. We have lanes in Iran, small streets, and you walk in those streets and it's better because it's small and you can see if anybody is

following you and by changing your direction you can see if anybody is following you. We knew a lot about that. In that sense we were becoming specialists. But as far as ideology, as Marxism, was concerned we did not know anything.

We were ready to go to Afghanistan, but at that time we read in the paper that some revolutionaries who were trying to cross the border in Iran were arrested. We decided that it would not be a good idea to do this. At that time some political prisoners had escaped and we thought that maybe the police would be controlling the borders more seriously. Again, it was difficult, because for months we were looking for books and we were not getting anything. We were very nervous. It was terrible because we felt like we were not doing much. The ruling class is afraid of books like a bomb. We summed up that that was correct and books were like bombs and that was why they passed a law that if you have one book—like an issue of *What Is To Be Done?*—they would put you in jail for five or six years. But if you have two or three issues of *What Is To Be Done?* that meant that you wanted to give it to other people and that meant that you were organizing people and for that they would put you in jail for your whole life. Seeing this and knowing how seriously the ruling class is taking it, it helped us to find out how important it is. We summed up that it is true that when you read these books you become like live walking bombs. When you go to factories and when you go to schools and you talk to people about the ideas of those books and why it is important to organize—why it is necessary in order to seize power by arms. We knew these ideas but we did not have enough theoretical background to explain it better or prove it to people that we knew. Finally, we got the thing that we wanted.

I was in my house and my friend called me, from the public phone, and he said that tonight was the night to get drunk and I was wondering what had happened. He said he should see me. I went to see him at a contact. I remember that when we were going to those contacts we were very excited. We were not supposed to just start talking to each other. We were supposed to pass each other and just control each other and see if anybody is following us. There was always a lot of danger involved because we knew that many revolutionaries had been arrested at the time that they were making a contact. But that day we actually forgot about that. I and my friend did not even wait for that. He came straight for me and said—"guess what!" I figured out that it must really be something about a book but I did not know that it was *What Is To Be Done?*. That's what made it special. We were looking seriously for that book. We were looking for revolutionary novels that play a very important role in educating people. But that book especially was something else. Although it wasn't the end of the month when he was paid from work, still he invited me to go and drink and we got drunk that night.

The day after that we got in touch with some people and we decided to divide the book into three halves and we decided to copy the book down. We started doing that and it didn't take us more than two weeks to get a few copies. We had decided to do it at night time because it was safer. My parents were thinking that I was studying. It was funny because we were going out and talking together, talking about our experience during the night before, and how wonderful it was when you were writing it down, and criticizing each other because we were writing in not very good handwriting. And then we were going back during the night and copying it down. I remember my handwriting got a lot better.

When we got those copies then we actually started forming study groups. It wasn't all that easy. We started reading the book and there were a lot of words that we did not know. They used the word "sectarianism" and for a while we did not know what that word meant. We had a

friend who was going to high school with me. He was the guy who was in charge of finding out the meaning of these words. He started studying English seriously. He was studying every hour just to improve his English. We knew one source we could use was English dictionaries and they had these books. They did not have any philosophy dictionaries because they were illegal.

At that time the factory where my friend was working—there was a strike. Strikes were very important at that time in Iran. We tried to write on papers and pass it out inside the factory with the sandwich papers. My friend was inside the factory but we were not supposed to know him. Later on he was talking to us and telling us how important it was that those papers got to workers. The area of the factory was surrounded by police and the workers were not allowed to go out. It had happened in other parts of the country that when workers went on strike, they started firing on the workers. One time they killed more than 15 workers in one city. They were threatening workers with that and one army officer was saying that "I'm the same guy that killed all those workers." But one thing that was great, my friend later on explained to us, after these pamphlets got there and they started reading them, they got into a discussion where the workers were saying that we should break through the police and go to universities and ask students to help us and support us. Finally the bourgeoisie actually stepped back and it seemed like just before the workers broke out, they had got the news and they stepped back and they said that they would pay the money that they were supposed to pay the workers by a certain date. The interesting thing was, after my friend came back and talked to us, he said that when he went to the bathroom there was a note on the bathroom. Some worker, who did not know how to write, had written, "Fellow workers, if they do not pay our money by that certain date we will go on strike." But in Farsi, that word "strike", he had written it in a very funny way, in a way that showed he did not really know how to write that word. It was like maybe writing "strike", s-t-r-i-c-e, something like that, but it was great because we knew that even workers who did not know how to write knew that they should use agitation and propaganda.

One May Day, we had found one pamphlet and I remember that I had the pamphlet in my hand and I was going to give it to our comrades. Obviously we were going to copy it down and maybe give it to other people and that was great because we knew there were other underground groups but there was no way of meeting them or seeing them. Sometimes you would be guessing that a comrade might be from a group or something like that but all you could do at the time was shake hands. We would be shaking hands very strongly and we had this great feeling about that comrade and we knew that it wasn't right to go into things because we were just meeting them but we always were being inspired by other revolutionaries.

Anyway, that May Day I had the pamphlet and I was so happy. I was walking across the street, on the sidewalk and I had that habit of clearing myself and seeing if there was anybody following me. I knew the different ways police follow you, like we had different names for it like triangle following, where one police walks ahead of you, one across the street and one behind so if you turn on any corner they can still follow you. I stopped just to tie my shoe and that was to see if anybody was following me and I saw this car that stopped just at the time I stopped. Again I started walking on the sidewalk. You always say that you shouldn't get nervous but my heart started beating faster because I knew that I had that pamphlet and I found out the car was following me. That was the time they were stopping thousands of youth in the streets and they were just searching them and releasing them later. That was the time they were rushing into houses every night with no reference just to

see if they have anything. What I did was, I started thinking about what should I do. I made a story about why I was going that way because I was going to visit a comrade and I made up a story. We usually met in front of movie theatres so we could say that we were going to see the movie. Also I saw there was a stand where they sell sandwiches, so I immediately got into one of those small stands. The car stopped, so I bought a half of a sandwich and I started eating the sandwich. And although it was very painful for me, to lose that pamphlet I stuck it in with the sandwich paper and I ate the sandwich. I don't know how I ate it, but I wadded up the pamphlet with the sandwich paper and I dropped it and then I walked out. Then I decided to take a taxi and that car stood there for a while and then I got into a taxi and that day I didn't go to see my contact because it was dangerous and I left. I found out they were not following me anymore.

We had a lot of experiences like this. We were in class one day and we had heard that someone had stolen the copy machine from the high school. We were so happy about this that it inspired us even more to do something. SAVAK had come to the high school. And we knew that the same day after the copy machine was stolen, a pamphlet was published and they put it in different classes. A friend of ours went to use the bathroom, and when he came back his face had turned red. He came to class and sat down and he told us that police are searching different classrooms. But we still didn't know why he was so shocked. Then he talked to a friend of ours and he said that he has something that should not be found. It was a diary of a well-known revolutionary. So what we did was, we started dividing and tearing up the pages and everybody started eating them. There was no time. We had to break some of our principles, even trusting some of the people we did not know and we gave them papers. Everybody, even some people we did not really like—those people always sitting at the back of the class, always joking and not really serious about anything—they were eating seriously and they were trying to eat it up. I remember the teacher did not know what was going on but he found out that nobody was listening. Everybody was eating. Now for the cover of these books we never used the real cover. Always when we got a book, we tore off the cover and put the cover of a school book on it. I remember for *What Is To Be Done?* it was supposed to be a chemistry book and we had a nice cover of a chemistry book for it. Well, the book for that diary had a very strong cover and that was the hardest part but we finally ate it up. When the police got there, like animals, they pulled us out of the class and they searched the class and then they started searching everybody. But after they left we were so happy. Everybody was smiling, even those people who were not really concerned about anything. Everybody in class was feeling more related to each other, more comradely, more friendly. We knew that we should not be talking about it. Nobody was talking about it but with our smiles and with our eyes, looking at each other, and also I should admit with a little bit of fear that there was somebody who might go to the principal of the school or to SAVAK and tell them. But we had those smiles and we were just looking at each other...



The Amateurishness of Economists and an Organization of Revolutionaries

Excerpt
What Is

Why must there be a revolutionary party? What are the organizational principles of such a party that correspond to a revolutionary political line? Who should be a member of this Party, and what must members be trained to do? These are some of the crucial questions touched on by the Russian revolutionary leader V.I. Lenin in the following excerpts from a chapter in one of his greatest works, *What Is To Be Done?* In this chapter (Chapter IV, "The Amateurishness of the Economists and The Organization of Revolutionaries"), Lenin shows how a non-revolutionary political line leads to a non-revolutionary organizational line. Although this book was written by Lenin at a time before a revolutionary party had actually been founded in Russia, the political principles he laid down here are very relevant today to the further building of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

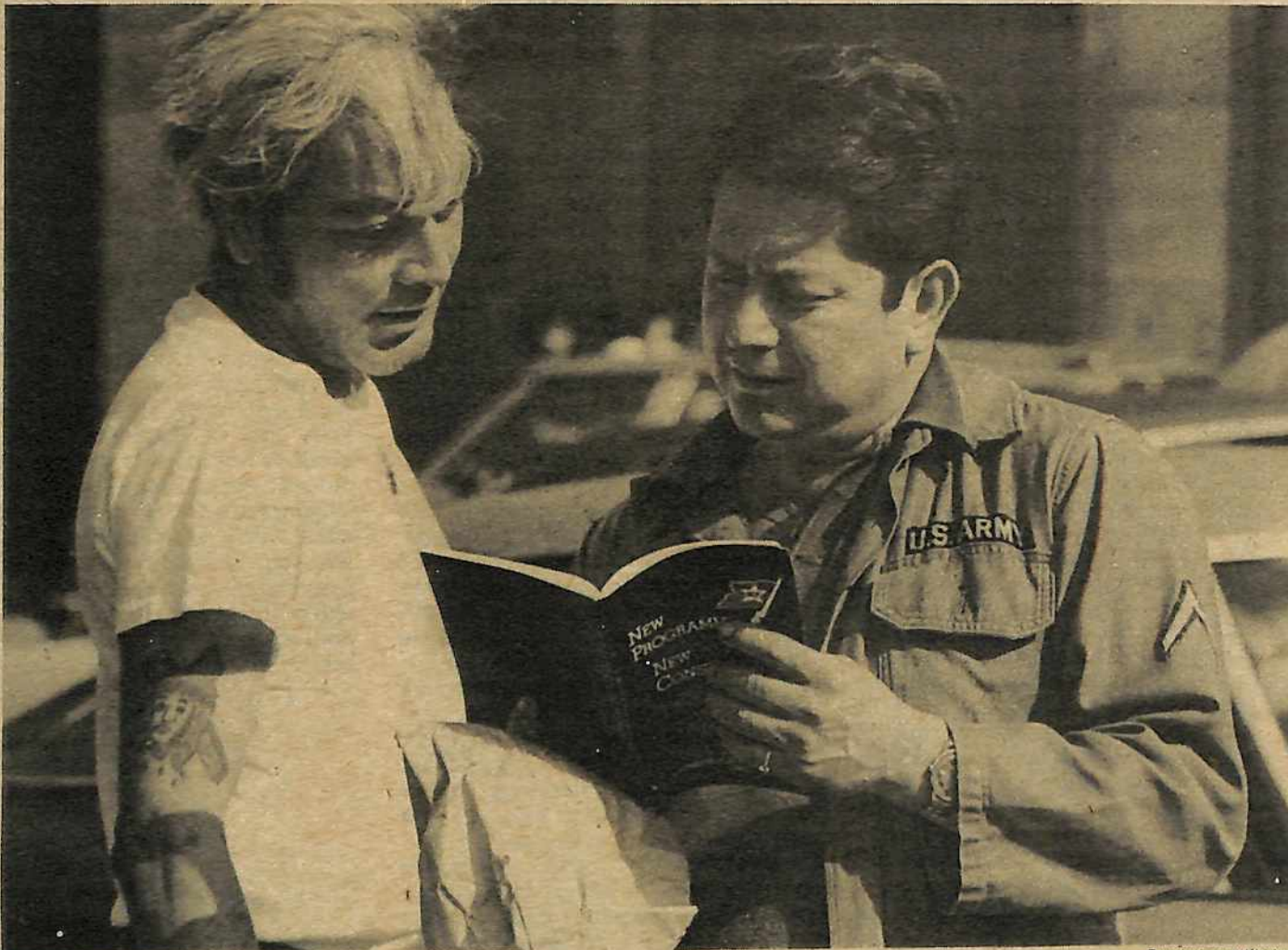
The excerpts from this chapter will be printed in this paper in two parts. The first part follows.

IV. The Amateurishness of the Economists and an Organization of Revolutionaries

The *Rabocheye Dyelo's* [an economist, pseudo-revolutionary newspaper—*RW*] assertions—which we have analyzed above—that the economic struggle is the most widely applicable means of political agitation and that our task now is to lend the economic struggle itself a political character, etc., express a narrow view not only of our political, but also of our organizational tasks. The "economic struggle against the employers and the government" does not in the least require—and therefore such a struggle can never give rise to—an all-Russian centraliz-

ed organization that will combine, in one general onslaught, all and every manifestation of political opposition, protest and indignation, an organization that will consist of professional revolutionaries and be led by the real political leaders of the whole people. This is but natural. The character of any organization is naturally and inevitably determined by the content of its activity. Consequently, the *Rabocheye Dyelo*, by the assertions analyzed above, sanctifies and legitimizes not only the narrowness of political activity, but also the narrowness of organizational work. In this case, too, as always, it is an organ whose consciousness yields to spontaneity. And yet the worship of spontaneously developing forms of organization, failure to realize how narrow and primitive is our organizational work, what amateurs we still are in this most important sphere, failure to realize this, I say, is a veritable disorder from

which our movement suffers. It is not a disorder that comes with decline, it is, of course, a disorder that comes with growth. But it is precisely at the present time, when the wave of spontaneous indignation, as it were, sweeps over us, leaders and organizers of the movement, that a most irreconcilable struggle must be waged against all defence of backwardness, against any legitimization of narrowness in this matter, and it is particularly necessary to rouse in all who take part in practical work, in all who are preparing to take up their work, discontent with the *amateurishness* that prevails among us and an unshakable determination to get rid of it. . . . Lack of practical training, lack of ability to carry on organizational work is certainly common to us all, including those who have from the very outset unswervingly stood for revolutionary Marxism. And, of



Revolutionary Worker

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

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the

erpts from To Be Done?



V.I. Lenin

course, were it only lack of practical training, no one could blame the practical workers. But the term "amateurishness" embraces something else: it denotes a narrow scope of revolutionary work generally, failure to understand that a good organization of revolutionaries cannot be built up on the basis of such narrow activity, and lastly—and most important—it denotes attempts to justify this narrowness and to elevate it to a special "theory," i.e., bowing in worship to spontaneity on this question too. Once such attempts were observed, it became certain that amateurishness is connected with Economism and that we shall never eliminate this narrowness of our organizational activity until we eliminate Economism generally (i.e., the narrow conception of Marxist theory, of the role of Social-Democracy [Communism—RW] and of its political tasks). . . . Both these trends, the opportunists and the "revolutionists," [terrorists—RW] bow to the prevailing amateurishness; neither believes that it can be eliminated, neither understands our primary and most imperative practical task, namely to establish an organization of revolutionaries capable of maintaining the energy, stability and continuity of the political struggle.

We have just quoted the words of B—v: "The growth of the working-class movement is outstripping the growth and development of the revolutionary organizations." This "valuable remark of a close observer" (the *Rabocheye Dyelo's* comment on B—v's article) has a two fold value for us. It shows that we were right in our opinion that the principal cause of the present crisis in Russian Social-Democracy is that the leaders ("ideologists," revolutionaries, Social Democrats) lag behind the spontaneous upsurge of the masses. It shows that all the arguments advanced by the authors of the Economic letter (in the *Iskra*, No. 12), by B. Krichevsky and by Martynov, about the danger of belittling the significance of the spontaneous element, about the drab everyday struggle, about tactics-as-a-process, etc., are nothing more than a glorification and defence of amateurishness. These people who cannot pronounce the word "theoretician" without a contemptuous grimace, who describe their genuflections to common lack of training and backwardness as a "sense for the realities of life," reveal in practice a failure to understand our most imperative practical tasks. To laggards they shout: Keep in step! Don't run ahead! To people suffering from a lack of energy and initiative in organizational work, from lack of "plans" for wide and bold activity, they shout about "tactics-as-

a-process"! The principal sin we commit is that we *degrade* our political and organizational tasks to the level of the immediate, "palpable," "concrete" interests of the everyday economic struggle; and yet they keep singing to us the old song: lend the economic struggle itself a political character. We say again: this kind of thing displays as much "sense for the realities of life" as was displayed by the hero in the popular fable who shouted to a passing funeral procession: many happy returns of the day! . . .

There are circles and circles, gentlemen! Circles of "amateurs" are, of course not capable of coping with political tasks so long as they have not become aware of their amateurishness and do not abandon it. If, besides this, these amateurs are enamoured of their primitive methods, and insist on writing the word "practical" in italics, and imagine that being practical demands that one's tasks be reduced to the level of understanding of the most backward strata of the masses, then they are hopeless, of course, and certainly cannot cope with any political tasks in general. But a circle of heroes like Alexeyev and Myshkin, Khalturin and Zhelyabov is capable of coping with political tasks in the genuine and most practical sense of the term, and it is capable of coping with them precisely because and to the extent that their passionate preaching meets with response among the spontaneously awakening masses, and their seething energy is answered and supported by the energy of the revolutionary class. Plekhanov was a thousand times right when he not only pointed to this revolutionary class, not only

proved that its spontaneous awakening was inevitable, and unavoidable, but also when he set even "workers' circles" a great and lofty political task. But you refer to the mass movement that has sprung up since that time in order to *degrade* this task, in order to *narrow down* the energy and scope of activity of the "workers' circles." If you are not amateurs enamoured of your primitive methods, what are you then? You boast that you are practical, but you fail to see what every Russian practical worker knows, namely, the miracles that the energy, not only of circles, but even of individual persons is able to perform in the revolutionary cause. Or do you think that our movement cannot produce heroes like those of the 'seventies? But why? Because we lack training? But we are training ourselves, will go on training and acquire the training! Unfortunately it is true that mould has formed on the surface of the stagnant waters of the "economic struggle against the employers and the government"; people have appeared among us who kneel in prayer to spontaneity, gazing with awe (as Plekhanov expresses it) upon the "posteriors" of the Russian proletariat. But we will get rid of this mould. The time has come when Russian revolutionaries, guided by a genuinely revolutionary theory, relying upon the genuinely revolutionary and spontaneously awakening class, can at last—at last!—rise to full stature in all their giant strength. All that is required is that the masses of our practical workers, and the still larger masses of those who long for practical work even while still at school, shall meet with scorn and ridicule any suggestion that may be made to degrade

our political tasks and to restrict the scope of our organizational work. And we shall achieve that, rest assured, gentlemen! . . .

I have asserted and assert now, that the *limits* of what is "possible" for you to do are restricted by the narrowness of your outlook. It is ridiculous even to talk about a "militant organization" to fight for "immediate political demands," or conduct "the economic struggle against the employers and the government." . . .

... a strike may remain (and in the majority of cases does remain) a "secret" to the masses of the Russian workers, because the government takes care to cut all communication between strikers, takes care to prevent all news of strikes from spreading. Here indeed is where a special "fight against the political police" is required, a fight that can never be conducted by such large masses as take part in strikes. This struggle must be organized, according to "all the rules of the art," by people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity. The fact that the masses are spontaneously being drawn into the movement does not make the organization of this struggle *less necessary*. On the contrary, it makes it *more necessary*; for we Socialists would be failing in our direct duty to the masses if we did not prevent the police from making a secret of (and if we did not ourselves sometimes secretly prepare) every strike and every demonstration. And we shall *succeed* in doing this, precisely because the spontaneously awakening masses will *advance also from their own ranks* increasing numbers of "professional revolu-

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The Amateurishness of the Economists and an Organization of Revolutionaries

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tionaries" (that is, if we do not take it into our heads to advise the workers to keep on marking time).

Organization of Workers and Organization of Revolutionaries

It is only natural to expect that a Social-Democrat, who conceives the political struggle as being identical with the "economic struggle against the employers and the government," should conceive of an "organization of revolutionaries" as being more or less identical with an "organization of workers." And this, in fact, is what actually happens; so that when we talk about organization, we literally talk in different tongues.

Economists are forever lapsing from Social-Democracy into trade unionism. The political struggle of Social-Democracy is far more extensive and complex than the economic struggle of the workers against the employers and the government. Similarly (and indeed for that reason), the organization of a revolutionary Social-Democratic party must inevitably be of a *different* kind than the organizations of the workers designed for this struggle. A workers' organization must in the first place be a trade organization; secondly, it must be as broad as possible; and thirdly, it must be as little clandestine as possible (here, and further on, of course, I have only autocratic Russia in mind). On the other hand, the organizations of revolutionaries must consist first, foremost and mainly of people who make revolutionary activity their profession (that is why I speak of organizations of *revolutionaries*, meaning revolutionary Social-

Democrats). In view of this common feature of the members of such an organization, *all distinctions as between workers and intellectuals*, and certainly distinctions of trade and profession, must be *utterly obliterated*. Such an organization must of necessity be not too extensive and as secret as possible.

Social-Democracy="executive groups" in relation to the economic struggle of the workers! It would be difficult to find a more striking illustration of how the Economists' ideas deviate from Social-Democracy to trade unionism, and how alien to them is any idea that a Social-Democrat must concern himself first and foremost with an organization of revolutionaries who are capable of guiding the *whole* proletarian struggle for emancipation.

But since you raise the question of *organizations* being wiped out and stick to that question, then I assert that it is far more difficult to wipe out a dozen wise men than a hundred fools. And this position I shall defend no matter how much you instigate the crowd against me for my "anti-democratic" views, etc. As I have already said time and again that by "wise men," in connection with organization, I mean *professional revolutionaries*, irrespective of whether they are trained from among students or workingmen. I assert: 1) that no revolutionary movement can endure without a stable organization of leaders that maintains continuity; 2) that the wider the masses spontaneously drawn into the struggle, forming the basis of the movement and participating in it, the more urgent the need of such an organization, and the more solid this organization must be (for it is much

easier for demagogues to sidetrack the more backward sections of the masses); 3) that such an organization must consist chiefly of people professionally engaged in revolutionary activity; 4) that in an autocratic state, the more we *confine* the membership of such an organization to people who are professionally engaged in revolutionary activity and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to wipe out such an organization, and 5) the *greater* will be the number of people of the working class and of the other classes of society who will be able to join the movement and perform active work in it.

... to concentrate all secret functions in the hands of as small a number of professional revolutionaries as possible does not mean that the latter will "do the thinking for all" and that the crowd will not take an active part in the *movement*. On the contrary, the crowd will advance from its ranks increasing numbers of professional revolutionaries; for it will know that it is not enough for a few students and for a few workingmen waging the economic struggle, to gather together and form a "committee," but that it takes years to train oneself to be a professional revolutionary; the crowd will "think" not of amateurish methods alone but of such training. The centralization of the secret functions of the *organization* by no means implies the centralization of all the functions of the *movement*. The active participation of the widest mass in the illegal press will not diminish because a "dozen" professional revolutionaries centralize the secret functions connected with this work; on the contrary, it will *increase* tenfold. In this way, and in this way alone, we will ensure that reading of illegal literature, writing for it, and to some extent even distributing it, will *almost cease to be secret work*, for the police will soon come to realize the folly and futility of setting the whole judicial and administrative machine into motion to intercept every copy of publication that is being broadcast in thousands. This applies not only to the press, but to every function of the movement, even to demonstrations.

... We must have such circles,

trade unions and organizations everywhere in *as large a number as possible* and with the widest variety of functions; but it would be absurd and dangerous to *confuse* them with the organization of *revolutionaries*, to obliterate the border line between them, to dim still more the masses' already incredibly hazy appreciation of the fact that in order to "serve" the mass movement we must have people who will devote themselves exclusively to Social-Democratic activities, and that such people must *train* themselves patiently and steadfastly to be professional revolutionaries.

Yes, this appreciation has become incredibly dim. Our chief sin with regard to organization is that *by our amateurishness we have lowered the prestige of revolutionaries in Russia*. A person who is flabby and shaky in questions of theory, who has a narrow outlook, who pleads the spontaneity of the masses as an excuse for his own sluggishness, who resembles a trade union secretary more than a people's tribune, who is unable to conceive of a broad and bold plan that would command the respect even of opponents, and who is inexperienced and clumsy in his own professional art—the art of combating the political police—why, such a man is not a revolutionary but a wretched amateur!

Let no active worker take offence at these frank remarks, for as far as insufficient training is concerned, I apply them first and foremost to myself. I used to work in a circle that set itself very wide, all-embracing tasks; and all of us, members of that circle, suffered painfully, acutely from the realization that we were proving ourselves to be amateurs at a moment in history when we might have been able to say paraphrasing a well-known epigram: "Give us an organization of revolutionaries, and we shall overturn Russia!" And the more I recall the burning sense of shame I then experienced, the more bitter are my feelings towards those pseudo Social-Democrats whose teachings "bring disgrace on the calling of a revolutionary," who fail to understand that our task is not to champion the degrading of the revolutionary to the level of an amateur but to *raise* the amateurs to the level of revolutionaries.

(to be continued)

Paris

Continued from page 4

its struggle.

The presence of numerous students (especially from the provinces) could be discerned for the first time, given that the bourgeoisie is forced, due to the depth of the crisis, to extend its offensive to immigrant students (the Imbert decrees). In so doing, the bourgeoisie has at the same time widened the scope of those who are rising up against its policy. This is an excellent thing, a favorable factor for the continuation and deepening of the struggle.

It is also an excellent thing to note that more and more organizations and demonstrators have taken up as their own the idea that the Bonnet-Stoleru laws are not only racist laws, but are especially anti-working class, aimed at weakening the whole working class of Europe, of whatever nationality. This can only encourage us in persevering in the struggle we have consistently waged to bring out this fact which is so vital to lending the genuine political (not "humanist") content to the class battle.

All of these facts are positive ones. But we must also note the distance we have to cover in order to raise this protest movement to an understanding of the need to reject *all* discrimination between French and immigrants and every particular law, the need to put forward demands for complete equality of all rights, including political rights, and the need for a steadfast struggle toward this end against the reformist leaders and the parties and

unions of the "left," as well as against the narrow nationalism of many immigrant organizations.

The demonstration was conspicuous by the total absence of the revisionists. *L'Humanité* [the daily newspaper of the PCF—RW] did not even condescend to mention it. As for the CFDT [one of the major trade unions in France, under thoroughly reformist leadership—RW], it hardly mobilized any of its sections and did no preparatory work in the factories. This shows once again that the reformist leaders are not the least bit interested in a consistent struggle against the Bonnet-Stoleru laws. They are opposed to such a struggle, just as they were opposed to the Coordination Committee in the housing projects [committees which have played a leading role in struggle around housing conditions, particularly immigrant housing, in France—RW]. This shows that the struggle is not strengthened and made more massive and effective by seeking at any price to flatter these leaders, by coming to terms with them through refusing to struggle openly against their proposals for particular status regarding immigrants. No, unity can only be built against them, by raising the understanding of the masses to the struggle to eliminate all the barriers and divisions within the working class, to build its unity as the only class which must seize power (and not by treating immigrants as poor fools to whom should be granted a bit more charity and justice).

It is important for the road that still stretches ahead in this realm to note that the masses of demonstrators were still for the most part relatively indifferent to these questions which

are decisive for the success of the struggle. And the organizers of the demonstration were able, without being criticized, to maneuver their security forces so as to isolate the Marxist-Leninist political organizations (as well as LCR [Revolutionary Communist League, a French Trotskyist group—RW]) at the end of the march. Indeed, certain demonstrators cannot endure the fact that we criticized their lack of firmness towards the reformists and that we demanded the equality of all rights, that we called for political unity of the immigrants and the French and for the establishment of a multinational communist party, and for thoroughgoing internationalism. Of course, their (thoroughly time-worn) argument against "divisive politics" serves as a fig leaf covering their opposition to the policy of consistent struggle which we propose, and serves to put forward their *own* politics (the denial of equality of all rights), all in the name of "no politics, no political organization." As for us, we in no way opposed the demonstration. On the contrary, *we supported it* and called on the workers in the factories to participate in it. Nor did we defend the "leftist" position of certain groups which refused to support the demonstration (such as the Union of French Communists), under the pretext that fighting for equal democratic rights would only serve to mislead the workers about the possibility that these rights could somehow change their situation. Supporting this demonstration and working for its success, we also choose to develop as broadly as possible what we consider to be the correct orientation towards the struggle, the revolutionary road. This is why we proposed

to various French and foreign Marxist-Leninist organizations with positions close to ours on this question, that we organize a single contingent in the demonstration and distribute a common leaflet. Comrades from Turkey, as well as representatives of Greek, Chilean and U.S. organizations also demonstrated with us, on a common political basis. This was a significant and concrete act of internationalism and of the desire for unity. And all the more so, given that together, we were the only organized Marxist-Leninist presence in the demonstration.

Amidst the helter-skelter among the organizations basing themselves on Marxism-Leninism, this represents a success. A small success, of course. For we were but a hundred or so, and mobilizing the workers from the factories was not easy. This confirms the scope of our tasks and responsibilities in fusing Marxism-Leninism with the workers' movement, in bringing the advanced workers forward to understanding the necessity of rebuilding a party, of struggling against reformism and the cult of the spontaneous movement. These are difficult tasks which go against the tide, and we are still isolated. But the growing tide of rebellion of the masses of the world, as well as the persistent work of Marxist-Leninists of all nationalities, whose ties to one another are developing through the struggle against opportunism and revisionism, the common struggle for revolution throughout the world, these are favorable factors which will lead to the growth of our forces. Our common fighting presence on May 10 was a small step in this direction. We shall continue.