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Kwangju Retaken, But U.S. Imperialists Still Sweating



The rebellion in Kwangju, in which hundreds of thousands of students and workers seized and held South Korea's fourth largest city for nine days in a mass armed uprising, has continued to make its tremendous impact felt not only in South Korea but throughout the world. Despite the armed suppression of the revolt by an overwhelming military force which completely surrounded the city and built up strength for more than a week before launching a massive pre-dawn attack, the many sparks which flew from Kwangju have still far from died down. The neighboring port city of Mokpo, which joined the revolt along with over a dozen other smaller cities and towns, is still the site of uncontrollable demonstrations of tens of thousands. Government troops, at last report, have sealed off the city. The K-CIA is conducting a door-to-door search throughout the country to try to track down rebel leaders. Troops are scouring the mountains around Kwangju in search of rebels who have fled the city to regroup. The U.S. has dispatched two airborne command post craft and a naval task force in the area of the Korean peninsula. And according to the *Washington Post*, an "informed U.S. official" described the situation as "dangerous almost beyond words... the most dangerous situation to confront a U.S. ally in Asia since the fall of Saigon in 1975."

News about what is going on in South Korea has virtually been blacked out in this country, but it is clear that the fighting in Kwangju was far heavier than has been reported in the U.S. press. The Japanese press reports list the number killed at a minimum of 500 with some sources reporting as many as 5,000 deaths. The Kwangju rebels refused to heed a number of government appeals to surrender in return for "maximum leniency" and continued to make preparations to resist the government onslaught against overwhelming odds. In an incident which took place on Friday, May 23rd, but was not

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Above: Scenes from the recent insurrection in South Korea.

Cubans Try Jailbreak in this "Land of Freedom"

The 81,000 Cuban refugees who have streamed into Key West over the last several months are getting their first civics courses in the land of the huddled masses. The masses of Cubans who for one reason or another jumped onto the "freedom flotilla" and made it here without sinking in the Florida straits are, by and large, still huddled behind barbed wire in military bases scattered throughout the South and the Midwest,

or trapped in relocation camps with such names as "Camp Libertad." Life in the "land of the free" is beginning to look mighty similar to life under Soviet colonialism.

After several weeks of the American way of life, fights, riots, and breakouts are becoming commonplace in the refugee camps. Hundreds of refugees escaped from Fort Chassy, Arkansas, and were hunted down and returned to the

fort by National Guardsmen and the Sebastian County Sheriff's department. At Eglin Air Force Base in Florida, home of "Camp Libertad" where 10,000 Cubans are waiting out the agonizingly slow process of relocation and settlement, hundreds of refugees threw stones and fought with military police; four MP's and a Marine cook were injured, and 17 refugees were arrested. Hundreds stormed the gates in an attempt to escape, pelting military guards with stones, boards, cinder-blocks, broken mirrors and pieces of

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Seabrook Nuke Attacked

On Memorial Day weekend, beginning Saturday, May 24, 2,000 demonstrators closed in on the Seabrook nuclear plant in Seabrook, New Hampshire. Throughout the weekend violent clashes between police and demonstrators erupted as attempts to occupy and then permanently blockade the plant were made. Logs, lumber and assorted materials were repeatedly piled in front of the gates and often this debris turned into airborne projectiles launched straight at State Troopers and National Guardsmen. Over 60 feet of fence was flattened. At least 10 protesters were treated at the local hospital while many more received treatment from medical teams in the action. One cop made the casualty list as a grappling hook rapped him upside the head when it was hurled over the fence. Arrests numbered over 40, including one well known organizer who was singled out of a crowd and falsely charged. The fighting grew fierce at times and from the helicopter of Governor Hugh Gallen—one of a half dozen choppers that hovered at treetop level—the area around the plant site no doubt resembled a battlefield.

At one point demonstrators surrounded a pig car and freed a prisoner by ripping open the door. And on numerous occasions police were unable to dislodge protesters from their positions around the plant fence until they pushed the nozzles of the tear gas generators directly in their faces. "There may be fewer demonstrators than in the past but they are much better organized," Governor Gallen remarked soberly.

The action had been called by the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook (CDAS). The battle to stop Seabrook has been raging for the last 11 years. Four times residents of the area around the plant have voted to halt construction. The Clamshell Alliance, since its formation in 1976, has held over 10 demonstrations against the pro-

ject—the largest one up to this point being the one in May 1977, where 1,414 arrests were made in a single day. And since the plans were set in-motion 12 years ago by the Public Service Co., the \$3.1 billion atomic power plant has only 24% of its first unit constructed and the second has not gotten off the blueprints.

The CDAS, formed in the summer of 1979, represented a step toward more militant tactics than groups like the Clamshell Alliance and other more mainstream anti-nuke groups pushed. Many of the pacifist principles dominant in the anti-nuke movement were carried over into the CDAS, however, despite its belief in direct action to occupy and shut down nuclear facilities. Many in the coalition have summed up a few things from the Coalition's first attempt to occupy Seabrook in October 1979—where, although demonstrators both preached and practiced non-violence, the police ruthlessly attacked, savagely beating and arresting people. And struggle continues to rage over the question of non-violence and pacifist ideology in the face of increasingly vicious police attacks on CDAS actions. Their call to the May 24 action points to some beginning reassessment of attempts to convince the capitalists to switch off their nukes by passively submitting to arrests and cracked skulls. It states, "We must stop nuclear power ourselves and begin to take back control of the energy situation and our lives... we reject artificial limits to the anti-nuclear strategy as are enforced by opportunist media stars in the movement in a bid for political acceptability."

In the weeks before Memorial Day weekend, the bourgeoisie and its media tried to intimidate the demonstrators with the threat of even more savage repression this time around at Seabrook. 900 National Guardsmen were called in to the site. State troopers from five states threw their weight behind the defenses. Scores of local cops and attack dogs also

gathered at Seabrook. The press played up the power of these armed thugs of the state to the hilt, with one reporter beginning his interviews by asking people if they were willing to die to stop nuclear power.

The next day, Saturday, the battle was joined. Demonstrators, equipped with plywood shields, helmets and gas-masks, who had trained for this in the months since last October, moved in on the 140 acre power plant. Grappling hooks and long-handled wire cutters made mincemeat out of the fence surrounding Seabrook. The police at the main gate were kept especially busy as, despite all their efforts, debris was constantly dumped to barricade the entrance. At one point a red flag flew from the top of the mound, placed there by a demonstrator that had marched on revolutionary May Day. New tactics, learned since October, were applied. As 400 protesters would rush the gate, diverting attention to that spot, numerous guerrilla bands would assault sections of the fence. 25 demonstrators hid behind a supermarket and worked over the chain link defenses before being dispersed. 50 demonstrators demolished a 60 foot section of fence.

The police responded viciously, clubbing and macing protesters, especially in the woods, out of sight of public view. Pepper gas wafted through the area but the battle raged throughout the day, and resumed on Sunday. Surprised by the militancy of the demonstrators, Governor Gallen expressed "betrayal" as he claimed the protesters had abandoned their plans to keep the actions non-violent. He praised the rabid behavior of the pigs by standing reality on its head. "The police had been subjected to a great deal of abuse... they showed a great deal of restraint and professionalism." In the Chicago newspapers

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they ran a picture captioned, "Easy now," showing a State trooper supposedly restraining an overzealous Guardsman vamping on a demonstrator. From this angle it looked as if the Trooper actually was waiting to get in some last licks. In the middle of the battle, struggle erupted among the demonstrators as some hard-line pacifist protesters tried to reason with the pigs and yelled at others not to fight back. But their pleas were not heeded.

Media coverage jabbed from another angle as they rushed to paint the actions at Seabrook as a dismal failure. Lying about the numbers by half, they tried to spread demoralization over the fact that 10,000 were not on hand and that meant that the whole thing had fizzled. And they continued in their attempts to divide the local residents, particularly the working class, from the people battling at the site. One great-grandmother spoke for many as she blew the lie out of the water. "We didn't want the plant. We fought it legally with the Seabrook Anti-pollution League, we fought it with Clamshell and we will continue to fight it. I think the protesters are wonderful."

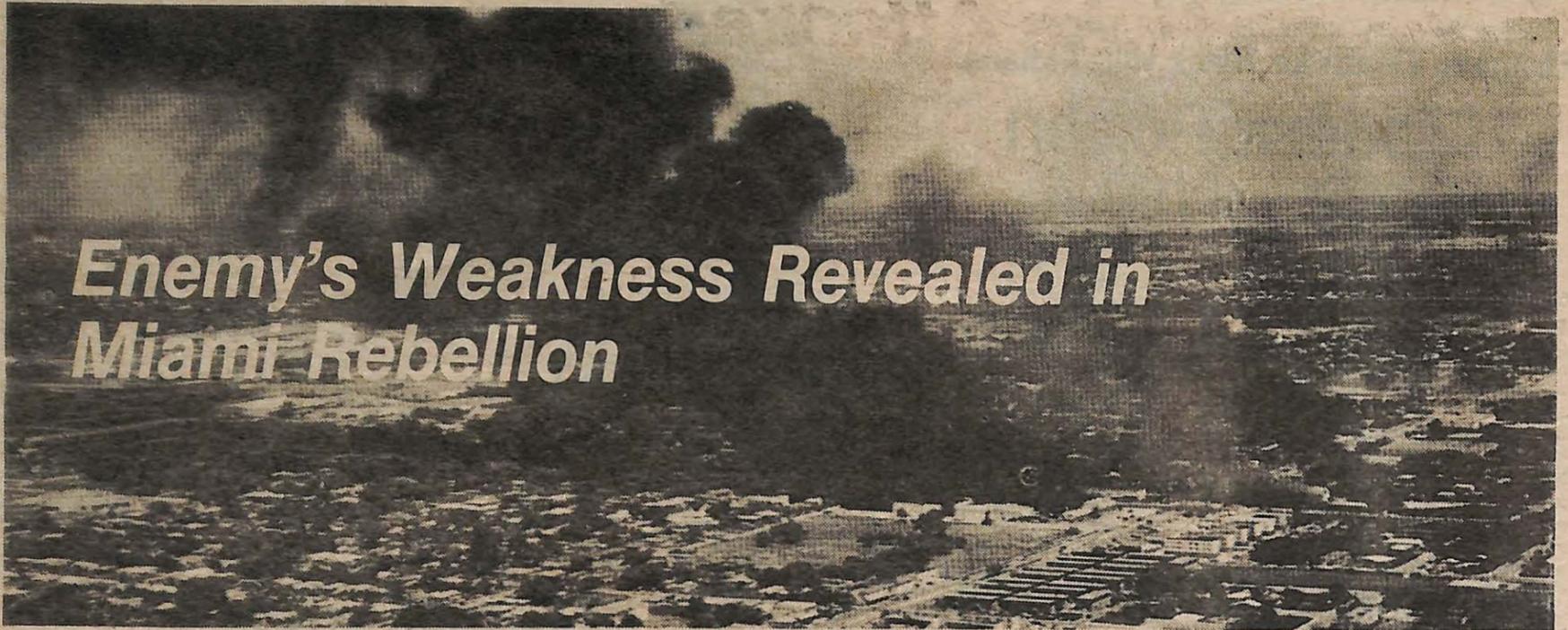
But far from fizzling, the action at Seabrook showed new forward motion in the anti-nuke struggle. Not only was the action itself more determined and militant than those preceding it, but clearly many had come to do battle not just to achieve the narrow goal of stopping nuclear power plants, but to strike a blow against the whole system responsible for the shit coming down throughout society. As one woman said, "I didn't just come here to stop nuclear power. I'm here because I hate the whole capitalist system." Significantly, 150 wore red armbands, passed out by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, in support of the Miami Rebellion that rocked the country only days before the action started at Seabrook. The question of World War 3 and what to do about the U.S. imperialists' growing war preparations was a big topic of debate and struggle at the campsites during the three days. Many in the crowd were youth who were not about to be fitted into a U.S. army uniform or a body bag either.

And the debates raged all weekend long over the nature of the forces of the state as people took on the pacifists, who had refused to wear helmets because they said it made them look too much like cops and argued that there should be no fighting back against the police. One group there issued a leaflet saying that while they agreed with non-violent tactics there was going to have to be armed struggle come the revolution. One demonstrator put it this way. "You know, I didn't want to hear about revolution yesterday. But since then I got smashed on the knees with a billyclub and pushed around. So did my friends. And I'm ready to talk about revolution now."

While there were those at Seabrook that marched behind an American flag, singing "God Bless America," right into a cloud of pepper gas, others clearly understood what that flag stood for and a few groups marched behind the red flag instead. And as the RCYB went from campfire to campfire, the *New Draft Programme and Constitution* was read by flashlight and struggle over the possibility of revolution in the '80s continued late into the night.

The Seabrook action more thoroughly exposed the lengths the capitalists will go to and indeed *must* go to in order to preserve their nukes as they sink deeper into decline. From the development of new hit and run tactics to the refusal to back down as plywood shields met head-on with truncheon wielding pigs; to raising broader questions like world war in the course of the battle and broadly debating and questioning pacifist ideas and ideologies that have long been considered sacred cows in the anti-nuke movement, the Seabrook action shows that many in the anti-nuke movement are being impelled to broaden their outlook and actions. □

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



Enemy's Weakness Revealed in Miami Rebellion

For three days, stunned and shaken authorities moved desperately to put down the righteous uprising of Black people in Miami, unleashing their henchmen in various uniforms. They were ultimately successful as they are with every spontaneous outburst by the masses of people. But they have not been successful at stamping out the electrifying effect of this rebellion, and class-conscious workers and all fighters against this system have rejoiced at the sight of the Miami rebellion and are unflinching in their support of it. Moreover, the rebellion has certainly revealed something not only about the present period in this country which is one of preparation for revolution, but more importantly, indicates something about the future and the possibilities of the revolutionary storm itself.

In the days following Miami, a liberal wet blanket has descended upon us, mildewed and with a ponderous weight unknown since the '60s. "WHY THEY DID IT" reports were thick on the editorial pages before the smoke even cleared. There hadn't been as many facts and figures testifying to the obvious hideous position of Black people in this country—since the government substituted the statisticians of the infamous Kerner Commission for the National Guard troops after the Watts uprising in 1965.

But along with this came the seemingly natural conclusion of every bourgeois liberal: Miami was a tragedy! The destruction, and particularly the death, was senseless. And while by and large the "left" in the U.S. at least made the point that no, Miami was not a race riot, that most of the murder was done at the hands of the state, even still, a faint echo was heard as the underlying message cranked out in tons of weekly newsprint was the same as that of a typical liberal.

A remarkably appropriate article written by V.I. Lenin in 1901 contains a crushing response to this view. "Another Massacre" recounts a rebellion, a spontaneous outburst by workers in Russia which was set upon by the government and crushed. But, notes Lenin, "Even with the most peaceful course of events, the present system always and inevitably exacts countless sacrifices from the working class. Thousands and tens of thousands of men and women, who toil all their lives to create wealth for others, perish from starvation and constant malnutrition, die prematurely from diseases caused by horrible working conditions, by wretched housing and overwork. He is a hundred times a hero who prefers to die fighting in open struggle against the defenders and protectors of this infamous system rather than die the lingering death of a crushed, broken down and submissive nag." How many Black people have been murdered in Miami alone by mad dog killer

cops—not to speak of the 1001 other crimes perpetuated by the oppressor? And how many Black people got a taste of freedom in three short days in Miami?

Miami has shown how vacant this attention called to the conditions of Black people really is. A chapter of *America in Decline* (a soon to be released book written under the leadership of the Revolutionary Communist Party) notes, "this is not the '60s... the ruling class cannot make the same kind of concessions and things have gotten worse for the people." There is no massive influx of Small Business Administration money into Miami as there was into Los Angeles after the Watts uprising. There will be no creation of an entire social layer of poverty professionals as there was throughout the '60s. The buffers are ending up on the rocks because the reserves of the U.S. imperialist empire, while certainly not depleted, are just as certainly drying up. Miami exploded in the face of ever piercing calls for "national unity"—calls issued not without reason by our rulers. For the only thing they have to offer to the people is more crisis and war—world war—with imperialists like themselves in the Soviet Union.

After the Tampa jury delivered a "not guilty" verdict in the trial of the murderers of Arthur McDuffie, the press quoted one woman's response: "That's it!" Thousands gathered at the Metro Justice Building in Miami—consciously targeting the whole "justice" system—then proceeded to tear it apart. There were movement activists from the '60s on the streets who hadn't been around in years. And, at first the Mayor of Miami and later the FBI were later to freak out about, there were also a good number of Vietnam veterans, who had evidently summed up a few things about their experience in Vietnam.

Angry residents of Liberty City attended a meeting of a Federal Task Force "investigating" the Miami rebellion last week. Denouncing the government in general, many spoke out bitterly against the conditions faced by Black masses. The *Miami News* tersely summed up the government's reaction: "The eight officials on the Federal Interagency Task Force listened. They said little—and promised even less." Sharp infighting has been the order of the day in Southern Florida between Federal, State and local government levels over any funding to "heal the wounds and rebuild" as called for by the *Washington Post*. President Carter even refused to declare Miami a disaster area, even though the damage done in Miami amounted to twice that of Watts.

Any promise of the rulers to deliver is a lie—and the masses of people, while not yet fully conscious of the reason, certainly sense this. Look at the recep-

tion given Andrew Young and Jesse Jackson, who flew into Miami to cool things out shortly after the outbreak. As was reported in the *RW*, and even forced into the bourgeois press, the reception of these fellows was not too friendly. "I don't know that Black leaders can do anything to stop a disturbance when it reaches this point," said Andy, understating the situation. He was literally run out of a meeting and one man had to be restrained from tearing Andy apart.

In the wake of the rebellion, a series of meetings were held both inside Liberty City and throughout the area. A wide array of reformists and outright reactionaries were rushing to stifle any lingering sparks of rebellion among the people. One such meeting in the Brownsville neighborhood of Liberty City was attended by representatives of Jesse Jackson's PUSH, some Black U.S. Marshalls, a few undercover cops. But regular people showed up as well—social workers, employed and unemployed workers and community youth. The leaders of the meeting tried to reduce discussion to a list of "demands and grievances" (like more Black cops) to be presented to President Carter. As they droned on about "parliamentary procedure", people spoke out, demanding to be heard. At one point, a speaker supporting the RCP denounced the program these

Liberty City, Miami.

"leaders" were advancing, spoke to the significance of the Miami rebellion and the need for armed proletarian revolution. The effect was explosive, people came alive with applause and cheers. The meeting was quickly polarized into two camps—those who wanted to stand with the system and those who wanted to stand with the people. People bought the *RW* and grabbed leaflets, some taking them to distribute themselves.

The point isn't that the influence of the Jesse Jacksons has completely run aground, or that the need for revolution in this country is consciously grasped by a majority of people in this country at this time. The point is that the mood of people is decidedly different than it was in the '60s, and this is rooted in the objective situation of U.S. imperialism. And more, a rebellion like Miami raises people's sights and breaks them out of the daily struggle just to survive, and gives a glimpse of the possibility of going all the way. Evidence of this even managed to slip out as one Black man was seen on national TV declaring: "I used to believe in the American system. No more! Never again!"

Significantly, the enemy's weakness, its vulnerability, was revealed. There are laws against riots—but the people rebelled anyway. For a few days, the

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Uranium Death for Black Hills Indians

Modern Poison Blanket Policy

Genocide is stalking the Lakota Sioux on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. Exploitation of uranium deposits by the energy monopolies has contaminated the water, soil, livestock and the people with deadly radioactive waste. The hideous results of a preliminary study undertaken by a group called Women of All Red Nations, who enlisted the help of doctors and scientists, confirms what people on the reservation have noticed for a long time: there has been an alarming increase in miscarriages, deformed children and cancer deaths.

In a one-month period alone, from November 15-December 15, 1979, 38% of reported pregnancies resulted in miscarriages with excessive bleeding. Of the children who were born, 60-70% suffer breathing complications as a result of undeveloped lungs and/or jaundice. Children have also been born with birth defects such as cleft palate and club foot. A representative survey of 12 families showed that in 10 of these an elder has died of cancer since 1962. On ranches within and around the Pine Ridge Reservation, the rate of still-born and deformed cattle has skyrocketed.

"We don't need to look at paper anymore," said Lorelei Means, a member of WARN. "We have real physical documentation; unborn children (miscarriages), deformed babies, youth suffering and dying from leukemia and ever-increasing cancer victims. Already 25% of our women have been sterilized. We are still under attack. This is genocide.

The government has known about the contamination of the water supply for four years through a study contracted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. But the murder and disease caused by the poisonous wastes has been deliberately allowed to continue. The Pine Ridge Reservation is located in the Black Hills area of South Dakota—an area which has been the site of extensive uranium mining and milling from the late 1940s through the early 1970s. The mining companies dealt with the disposal of the lethal byproducts resulting from mining operations like any good capitalist should: the earth and rivers in the area were simply turned into a dumping ground for radioactive material. Uranium mill tailings—the leftover "earth" of a mining operation—retains 85% of the uranium's radioactivity. The tailings move easily, like sand with the winds across the plains. The mining community of Edgemont, 80 miles from Pine Ridge, has over 30 dump sites of extreme radiation contamination from uranium mill tailings. Samples taken from the two main water sources, the White River and the Lakota Aquifer (underground stream) showed Pine Ridge water contained lethal doses of radiation—three or four times higher than the level considered dangerous by the government.

All the major water sources flowing into the reservation are deadly receptacles for radioactive and chemical poisons. Children swimming in the subsi-

diaries of the Cheyenne River have frequently been admitted to the hospital with body sores that won't heal. In 1962 an accident at the uranium mill in Edgemont spilled over 200 tons of radioactive mill tailings into the creek, where it washed downstream until it sank at a point joining the Cheyenne River. No cleanup was ever undertaken.

It's obvious that there is a link between the radioactive dumping and the high rate of disease and death. But this is exactly what the government has been trying to conceal. Far from restricting the mining of uranium—key to the development of nuclear weapons and nuclear power—the government is avidly encouraging it as part of the "energy self sufficiency war." Today every county in the Black Hills is under intensive exploration for uranium by more than two dozen corporations, including Kerr-McGee (responsible for the murder of anti-nuclear activist Karen Silkwood), Gulf Oil, United Nuclear-

Homestake and Conoco, which together control 67% of uranium reserves nationally.

The capitalists, whose policy was to wage a war of genocide to wipe out Native Americans and, failing that, to push them onto smaller and smaller reservations, robbing them of their land, is not about to let some new atrocities committed against the Native American peoples stand in the way of meeting their nuclear needs. The Native Americans were forced into remote areas like the Black Hills over 100 years ago both because of the fierce resistance they put up to protect their land, and because the government judged it to be worthless. But since the development of atomic energy in the 1940s, the Native Americans are right in the midst of the rush to expand nuclear power.

Along with radiation poisoning, the area has been otherwise contaminated. Both water sources mentioned earlier are also heavily polluted with chemicals. The Lakota Aquifer is contaminated at its source with pesticides, very possibly from chemicals the government sprays indiscriminately over the grasslands. These chemicals, which remain legally uncontrolled in South Dakota, are the same used in Agent Orange, the deadly poison sprayed over Vietnam to defoliate the jungles.

The White River is polluted with abnormally high amounts of nitrates, which scientists attribute to gun powder blasts. This stems from the U.S. government's ruthless move to turn the backyard of the Pine Ridge Reservation into a bombing and target range during World War 2. After the war, this area was transferred to the U.S. Park Service by tribal chairman without the knowledge of the Lakota people—a typical rip-off of Indian land, amounting to one-eighth of the reservation. The Air Force retained an area near which residents have sighted large canisters flown in by helicopter—possibly high-level nuclear waste—which may be leaking radioactivity into the Lakota Aquifer. On surrounding ranches in this area the rate of still-born or deformed calves is soaring.

Radiation contamination has been found in well water on four other Indian reservations, mostly in Arizona and New Mexico, also the focus of exploitation of uranium deposits. To pursue their nuclear needs, our rulers are willing to turn these places into "national sacrifice areas," stripped of their resources and largely uninhabitable within 35 years because of energy exploitation. And they are willing to complete a task they started generations ago—cold-blooded extermination of Native American people. □

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.

Today the words of Mao Tsetung ring out with full force:

**"Seize the Day,
Seize the Hour."**

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Black & "Colored" Students Rebel in South Africa

The month-long strike of "colored" students (as the apartheid regime calls non-whites of mixed race) in South Africa (Azania) came several steps closer to sparking a major national uprising in the last days of May.

With each passing week, the struggle was heated up in intensity as the government has lashed out brutally to crush the students striking in protest of grossly unequal education for non-whites in the racist apartheid state, and in protest of the entire system altogether. Heavy handed measures have been carried out by the government to any mention of radical or revolutionary activity, even in the bourgeois press. Penalties are being introduced to jail publishers for up to eight years for even mentioning that people have been detained for interrogation about revolutionary activities. At the same time, the government tried to confuse and divide the students striking in the black districts of Port Elizabeth by sending in a group of "black mediators" to talk them into returning to class. According to the bourgeois press, the team of "mediators" was attacked by the striking youth and one man was stoned to death.

Increasingly the struggle is coming to armed confrontation as the government unleashes its "security forces" to crush resistance. Wednesday, May 28, youth in Cape Town responded to the police murder of two "colored" teenagers by carrying on a night-long battle with the pigs of the apartheid regime. When police again shot and wounded another young rebel the next day in the "colored" township of Ravensmead, it was clear to all that the anger of the masses was burning white-hot and there existed the serious possibility of a major uprising. Cowardly puppets of the regime, like black Anglican churchmen, wailed about the possibility of a "blood-bath"—and the government moved in its usual manner to put meat behind the threat. 250 special "riot troops" were flown into the city of Cape Town, pointedly including police "veterans" who participated in the brutal murder of hundreds of African rebels in the 1976 Soweto uprising. The news blackout enforced by the capitalist press prevents us from getting much of an accurate picture of the activity, political demands, and level of organization of the masses, but one thing is clear: the struggle in South Africa is rapidly reaching the boiling point

Mexican Revolutionary on May 1st and the RW

We're Not Alone, We've Got the International Proletariat

In the months before May Day, a number of Mexican workers who had been active in the revolutionary movement in Mexico and now live and work in the San Francisco Bay Area, joined in the battle for May First 1980. They formed a brigade in San Francisco's Mission District. Recently the Revolutionary Worker spoke with one of these comrades about May First 1980 and the revolutionary movement:

RW: When the Party first put out a call for 50 activists to step forward and begin the mobilization for May Day, you guys were some of the first to do so, and that was a very inspiring thing for many people. Why did you do it?

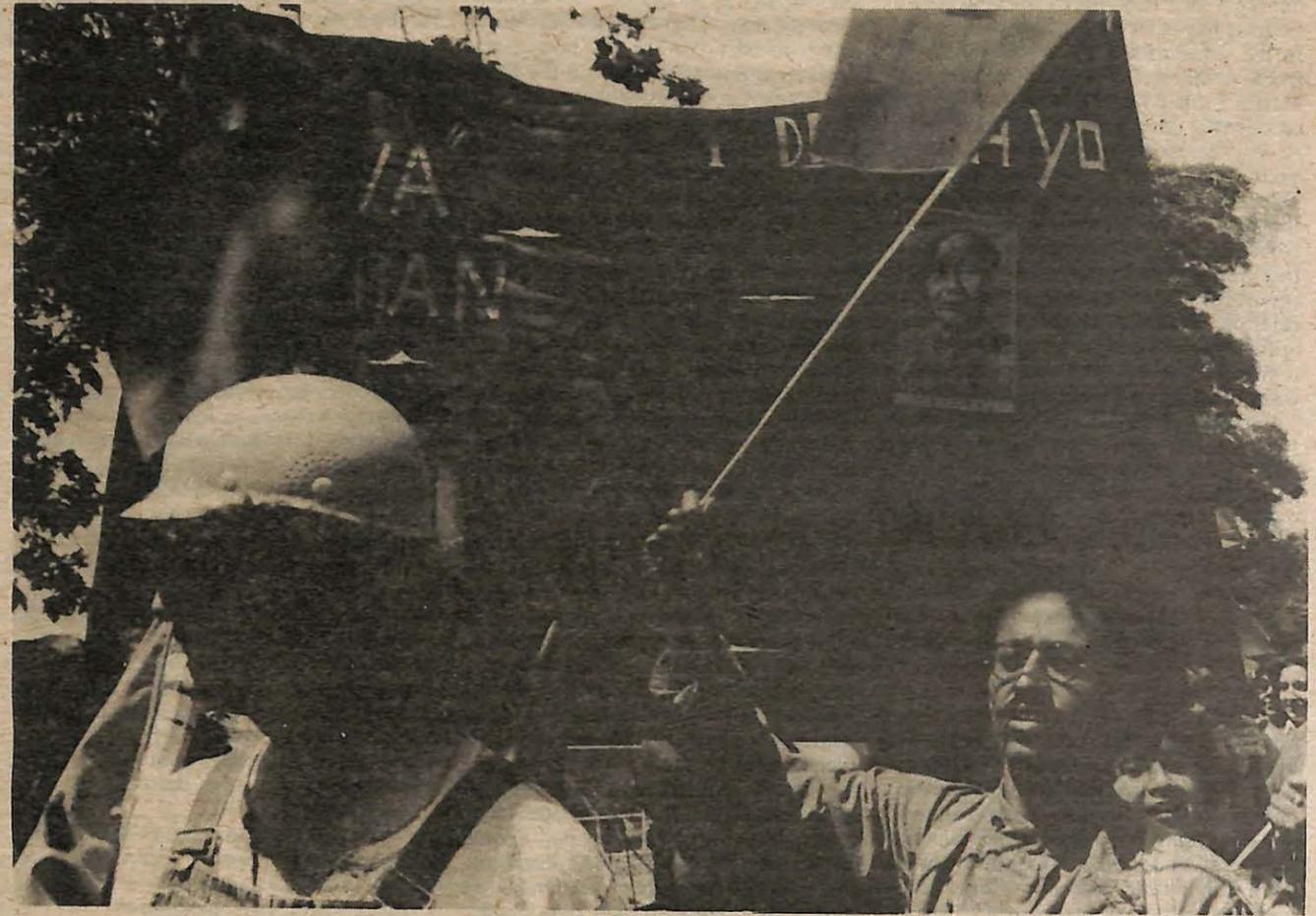
Brigader: In the first place I was glad when I ran into you, because I never thought there was a revolutionary movement here. So when I saw you I was very glad, because I had been wanting to get active and so did the rest of my friends. Well you know, we have had our experiences with this system, the way it is here and in Mexico. Well that's one of the reasons why we are here because we have been active in the struggle against the Mexican government. So when we ran into you all, we were very inspired, very much inspired and that's why we participated here, that's why we were helping. Two of my comrades even lost their jobs to take part in May Day and others of us left our jobs before May Day to be out in the streets.

RW: How did it go with the newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker* before May Day and how do your comrades see it?

Brigader: Well look, it's a weapon that is almost more dangerous than any of these machine-guns and all that, because this paper is reaching many people and many people are reading it and learning the truth. Neither the police nor anyone else in the government has any control of how many people are reading it or how many people are being awakened by it. So before May Day the newspaper had much influence on people, many papers were sold and with the comrades we even had competitions to see who would sell more, and we did sell lots of papers. Now lots of papers are still being sold and that shows that many people are being awakened and that it won't be so easy anymore to go to world war without knowing why.

Once I was working in a cauliflower field, and in my crew there were more than 16 people; so on that day I got my courage up and I took many papers. But first I went to talk to the lead man on our crew and I told him about the movement and what it was about and that I was going to sell these papers to my comrades, to my friends whom I worked with, and sell the buttons because Button Day (March 27—*RW*) was very important. And before going I thought that he would throw me out because I thought that he stood more with the imperialists and the landlords than with the proletariat. But no, it was exactly the opposite. He himself bought 4 buttons and he said they were for his children and he bought a newspaper. So I distributed newspapers to all my friends; some wanted five, others just one, some two, some three and like that. But I got out all the papers, it must have been about thirty or forty.

Then, on Button Day, everybody was wearing buttons and everybody was asking me questions. I could hardly get any work done, because while we were working they were asking me so many questions. So I told them about the movement, and how important that very day was—it was precisely the day when Bob Avakian's hearing was taking place—and about what the buttons said: "Take history into our hands, May Day 1980." I told them simply



Banner of the Brigade from the Mission District in the May Day March.

that it was time for us to take hold of our own lives, and not to let these imperialists do with them what they please. Everybody on my crew was wearing a button. They were very interested on that day, and they asked me lots of questions about Bob Avakian. They like Bob Avakian because he stands with the international proletariat and is fighting for the cause. So they asked me a lot about Bob Avakian and the rest. I explained to them that it was not only in that field, those of us wearing the buttons, that it was in many parts, in many cities, people were wearing this button. So they felt kind of important; I saw them very excited about wearing the buttons. And it wasn't only on that day; they wore the buttons two or three days after that.

Well, there are so many experiences that inspired me that I can hardly remember all of them. One experience that I remember clearly was this time when we raised the red flag in memory of Damian Garcia, in San Francisco. Well, I was there agitating, telling the people to take a stand once and for all and to check out what the movement was about. Then the police came, and I said to myself, "This is the end of the world," because I thought it would be a massacre like in Tlateloco, Mexico (when the Mexican government murdered hundreds of students demonstrating against U.S. imperialism during the 1968 Olympics—*RW*). But that's not what happened, because a lot of people were there watching and listening to what it was about, even some guys that were there were saying, "Don't step down, don't step down." And their cries were inspiring me even more, seeing that the people do take a stand and that they are in agreement with the movement.

But at first when I was here, before the May Day Brigades were formed, sometimes I felt disillusioned because a lot of people were not in agreement and some even got mad. A lot of people say, "Go to Cuba, go to Russia if you don't like this system." On the other hand, other people wanted to know more, they wanted more papers to take to their friends, and that inspired me. So I wouldn't let people with the incorrect line get me down, because those people that would cut me off were not

politically conscious, and because there are people like Bob Avakian says, that hate those that hate this system. I myself have lost 2 or 3 friends whom I thought were my friends, but, in reality, now that they know what I'm into, now they oppose me. Well, they don't exactly oppose me, but every time I see them, they try to find arguments to bother me, trying to tell me they have a better future because they have a car and like that. So they try to demoralize me, but I know that's just a bunch of shit. I've also had it easier. I had good jobs and also good cars, and just like I got them, I got rid of them. I also don't feel one should get demoralized just on the first obstacle. Because then who is going to carry forward the struggle, how would we win?

RW: Where were you when you heard about Damian's murder?

Brigader: Well, I was in Salinas making red flags. There was a family there helping us, a family we had just met that day. That's what I was doing when I found out what happened, that they had murdered Damian Garcia. I became full of anger and I wanted to pick up the guns right then and there and kill a bunch of pigs. Because it's not just him that they have killed, for instance, in Mexico, they killed my comrades Cesar and Geronimo, simply because they were taking part in student demonstrations, opening people's eyes so that they'd unite with the proletariat. And I remembered about the anger I felt then, when I thought about Damian Garcia. I'm going to take his place, if he's dead I'm going to take his place. I'm going to make sure that a lot of my comrades see how serious the movement really is. Because, you know, it's not just his murder, I've seen many comrades like that. Even in my own flesh I've suffered at the hands of those pigs.

RW: A few weeks ago a picture appeared in the *RW* of some farmworkers in Huron with the May Day Brigade, tell us about that.

Brigader: Well that time we were going to the fields in Huron, some from the May Day Brigade and 2 or 3 from our brigade. When we reached the field, there were more than 300 people there—Mexican workers. I knew many of them from previous jobs that I

had here and there, so they were very glad to see me and I was glad to see them. But let's get to the point. In less than 10 minutes I sold 60 newspapers and lots of flags too in addition to what the rest of the comrades were selling. Then a comrade was explaining to the workers what this movement was about and they were asking her questions. Well all the people, all the farmworkers were interested in the movement; they were asking her many things and she was answering them. Then the police came, that is the guards that take care of the field, and they said: "That's enough, get out of here, you've been here an hour." We had barely been there for 10 minutes. So I took the bullhorn and told the comrades, "You know what? It's just that these lackey pigs don't want you to know the truth. That's why they are trying to run us off." Then all of them yelled, almost at the same time, "No, no, don't pay them any attention. You stay here with us, continue explaining this to us." Then the cops saw that everybody was on our side so they left, not really running, but they took off from where we were. When we were leaving, because we had to go to other fields, the workers followed us to our cars, almost all of them saying, "Don't leave, don't leave." We promised them we would return later, and they would yell things to us like "Long live the revolution."

RW: What was the effect on those persons that didn't take part in May Day but now wished they would have?

Brigader: Two comrades of mine that are in prison knew about May Day and they said that on that day they started a scuffle with the police, they threw the food plates at the guards and all that. Now the time they're going to have to be there is going to be much longer, but they felt glad for what they did.

There's another comrade of mine with whom I would always talk about this and that thing, but he never wanted to come. Now he's taking part more actively. He's come several times to sell the paper with us and to march with us, things like that. He's more interested. He even wrote a poem for Damian Garcia. That really surprised me because he was a person that was never active in anything.

Continued on page 18

Shooting of Black Lackey Sets Elaborate Plan in Motion

Vernon Jordan, long time bootlicker for the U.S. ruling class and president of the Urban League, was shot on Thursday, May 29. We don't know exactly what's behind this whole scene, but the public response of the bourgeoisie to it has been extremely interesting. In the wake of the mass rebellions of Black people following the murder of Martin Luther King in 1968 that freaked out this country's rulers, they have clearly deemed it necessary to take every step possible to try to avoid a repeat. They no doubt got one of their think tanks to work right away on a whole scenario in advance for preventing possible uprisings in the wake of shootings of "Black leaders." A carefully planned, organized and executed response was set into motion right away in this case even as Jordan was on his way to the hospital.

Immediately, Gilbert Pompa of the Justice Department, no doubt reeling from his cool-out mission in Miami, was shuttled to Ft. Wayne, Indiana to "reassure Black people" that there was indeed going to be no cover-up of the shooting. In order for the FBI to take

charge they needed evidence that there was a conspiracy, involving two or more persons, to violate Jordan's civil rights. Sure enough, FBI Director Webster had such preliminary evidence and dispatched 20 agents to the scene to solve the case. There were quick moves to try to defuse what the bourgeoisie considered potential anger in the Black community, coupled with a firm "We'll get to the bottom of this" style chorus of "be cool and show restraint," from a whole gauntlet of so-called "Black leaders."

But this was not all. Innuendo about the shooting being a result of an illicit love affair Jordan was having floated across the pages of the press as the question was asked, "assassination attempt or domestic quarrel?" Half-veiled reporting went something like this: "Jordan was returning from an unspecified meeting" when he was shot or "Jordan told friends that he was going upstairs to bed" followed by "police, however, said he went to the home of Martha Coleman." Of course, "Black leaders" rushed to deny that this was the case, but they and the bour-

geoisie know, given Jordan's career as a big-time lackey for the ruling class, that many people would believe this angle (and it would not be surprising in the slightest if it were true). Clearly, this innuendo was directly aimed at cooling out an angry response by Black people to the shooting that the bourgeoisie feared so much.

Woven simultaneously with all these whispers, of course, are also the shouts about how "Jordan is one of the most respected civil rights leaders in the nation" and how he is the latest victim in "a conspiracy to destroy Black leaders since the murder of King in '68." But the plot blends and thickens as photos of Coleman and Jordan's wife Shirley, who is permanently confined to a wheelchair with multiple sclerosis, hit the papers. Martha Coleman is a white divorcee who is speaking through her lawyer. According to CBS news, the police need to know who her boyfriend is, where he was the night of the shooting and where he can be found. And then the confirmation that Jordan did indeed spend two hours at Coleman's house drinking coffee. And while

things are going full steam on this front, bourgeois Black leaders continue to sing Jordan's praises, along with Jimmy Carter, while Kennedy, Jesse Jackson and the Mayor of Gary, Indiana rush to Jordan's bedside.

Many will ask, "Why all the fuss to cool out the supposed 'anger' of Black people at the shooting of such a well known and exposed handkerchief-head like Vernon Jordan? Who gives a damn about that fool?" The answer can only be that the bourgeoisie actually believes this lackey is actually respected and revered by a substantial number of the masses of people. This is indeed humorous. All we can say to this is, to paraphrase a statement by Bob Avakian that he made in speaking about how the bourgeoisie thinks that George Meany and his ilk represent the working class in this country: fine, bourgeoisie, you just go ahead and keep on thinking that Vernon Jordan and his ilk represent Black people in this country and that Black people identify with the likes of him, until you wake up one night and your doors are rattling and your house is burning down! □

MIAMI

Continued from page 3

normal course of activity depended on by the bourgeoisie to maintain its dictatorship—the bourgeois order—broke down. Instead of the authorities coming out and stalking the masses, the masses came out and stalked the authorities. And, for a time, the authorities were powerless to do anything about it. For a time, Black people in Miami, more or less spontaneously, severed the achilles heel of the bourgeoisie.

Newsweek admitted this: "Local lawmen, slow to react to the riot, tried simply to contain it, not stop it. They closed off a 250 block riot area and im-

posed a dusk to dawn curfew... Florida Governor Bob Graham eventually sent in 3,600 National Guard to restore order." One cop gave an idea of the contradiction the authorities faced, when he described efforts to contain the rebellion as an "exercise in futility." He said the police had a "definite feeling of helplessness. It was impossible to arrest anybody. We would pull into an area surrounded by 30 or 40 people and then watch everybody scatter in all directions." He also said that "police cars could barely get around the (other) burnt up cars, the scattered glass and the thick smoke filling the streets." Evidently, the people had these pigs on the run!

Of course, many were arrested—although apparently not

enough for this cop's liking—and what happened? 1300 were arrested mainly on burglary, grand theft and petty theft. Most were released on their own recognizance. A Circuit Court Judge, Fredrich Barad moaned, "If they're not brought here (to his court to be arraigned—RW) then there's just no place to put them!"

Fire crews began refusing to enter the area for fear of sniper fire and places like Norton Tire Company—which occupies a solid city block—were burnt to the ground. There were even reports that the large targets—like Norton—were specifically guarded by armed people to make sure no fire crews got close. (Incidentally, we have learned that a common target for burning were buildings where Miami police have traditionally taken Black people for what is known as "street justice," in other words, a severe beating.)

Clearly, then, the weakness of the enemy was revealed in Miami. It was difficult for the authorities to contain a rebellion even though they had concentrated a strong force, armed to the teeth. And actually, they relied much more on the natural ebbing of the rebellion to "restore order" than they did on the police or National Guard.

We have received some reports from around the country, and while there are undoubtedly others, these give some indication of the support for the rebellion.

Here in the U.S., thousands drew inspiration from the rebellion which aroused the consciousness of wide sections of the people. While the rebellion was still going on, 150 prisoners at the Dade County Correctional Institution—including equal numbers of Blacks and whites—refused to work and smashed out prison windows in support of the uprising after authorities refused to let them watch the news. In Tampa's ghetto, groups of Black youth roamed the streets throwing stones at police. Support rallies were held in many places, including a demonstration of 2000 at Florida A&M in Tallahassee, called by the Black Student Union. Hundreds, perhaps thousands around the country, wore red armbands distributed by the RCP and Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade to show solidarity with the rebellion. 150

of these were worn by anti-nuke activists demonstrating at Seabrook. 46 residents of Isla Vista, Ca., where predominantly white students at UC Santa Barbara torched the Bank of America building in 1970 signed a message of support "From the People of Isla Vista to the People of Liberty City." At Lake Merritt in Oakland's Black community, park rangers got an unpleasant surprise when they had to call in 40 squad cars just to bust one Black man. A crowd of 200 Blacks showered them with rocks and bottles every time the chant went up, "Miami! Miami!" And in Iran, thousands marched through Tehran and 14 other cities in demonstrations organized by authorities, denouncing the U.S., upholding the Miami rebellion and calling on Blacks here to "rise up" against the government.

The Miami rebellion was a spontaneous outburst against national oppression—similar to rebellion this country witnessed in the '60s, but nothing like what this country will witness in the future. The rebellion casts light on the nature of the period we are in today—a period of preparation for revolution—and poses important questions to the masses and for the work of revolutionaries. Both the basis and the need for building revolutionary activity and the revolutionary party stands out in the experience of Miami. Without the role of a revolutionary party guided by the science of revolution, "the spontaneous, if sometimes powerful, outbreaks of struggle against the many attacks and misery producing effects of the capitalist system will eventually ebb, leaving the system that spawned them intact, if battered. Such struggles provide a strong basis for the work of the Party, but the Party's crucial role lies in raising the consciousness of the masses involved to go over to something different—the struggle to seize power from the capitalist class." RCP Draft Programme

In the near future, the RW will feature an article—"Support Every Major Outbreak of Protest and Rebellion"—which will deal in depth with the relationship of the RCP and particularly its newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, to struggles such as the Miami rebellion. □



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"How can we say that whites should be over Blacks, that Americans should be over other countries... we cannot, we do not, we will not. The revolution of the proletariat is to go forward and eliminate every form of exploitation, every form of oppression, every form of inequality, and we will not stop until that great goal has been accomplished in the whole world."

—Bob Avakian

Flunkeys Fighting It Out

Crevice in U.S. Mideast Cornerstone

The May 26th deadline for the so-called resolution of the Palestinian autonomy question came and went with no resolution, but with plenty of new headaches for the U.S. as well as government crises in both Egypt and Israel. This final stage of the "Camp David Accords" was to have sealed the fate of Palestinian self-determination—sacrificing the Palestinian people to the needs of the U.S. imperialists in their global contention with their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union. But the struggle of the Palestinian people—and the widespread support for it by Arab masses throughout the Middle East proved once again to be a sharp bone stuck in the imperialists' gullet, blocking the final rapprochement of Egypt and Israel, the cornerstone of U.S. diplomacy in the Middle East.

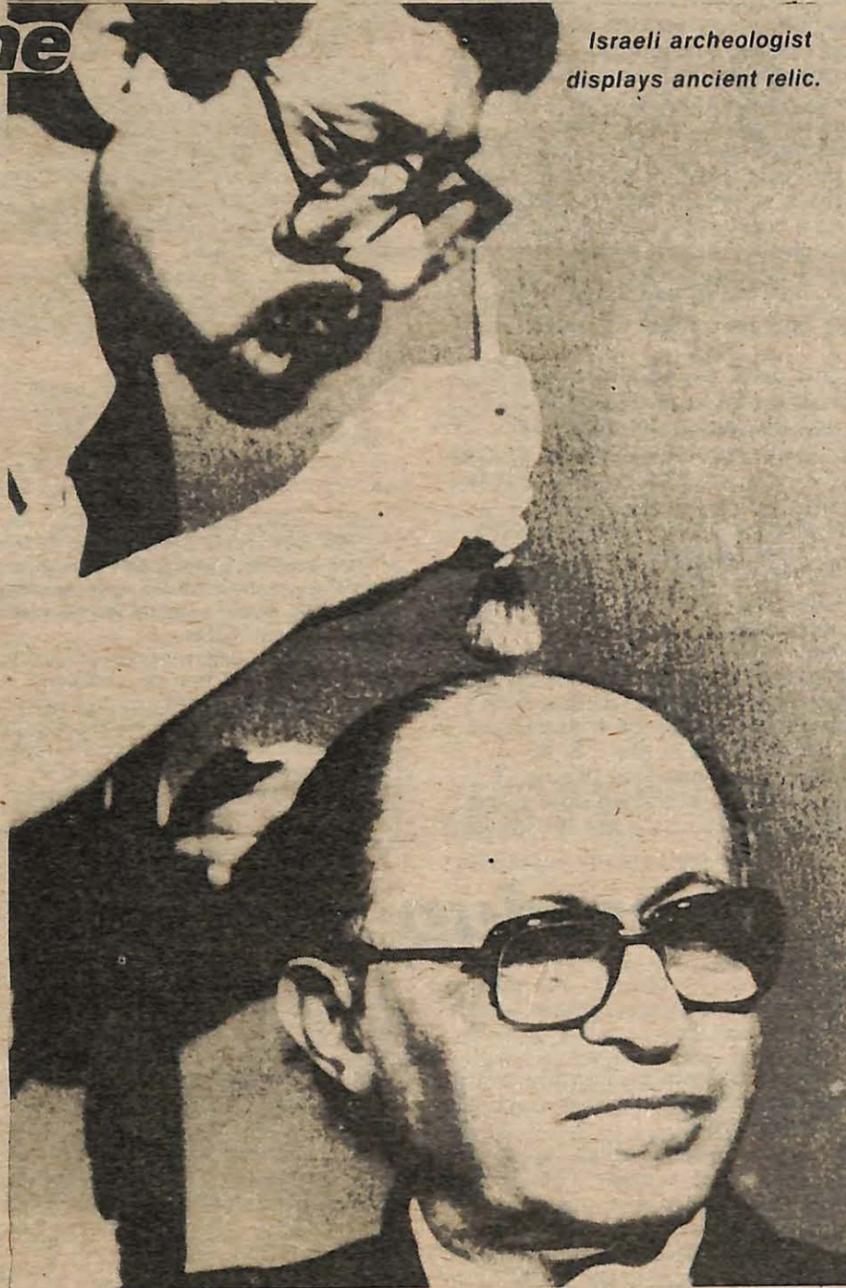
In Israel, Defense Minister Ezer Weizman resigned, loudly assailing Prime Minister Begin for stubbornness on the Palestinian question and "throwing away" the chance for peace and security. In resigning, Weizman followed a similar resignation of the one-eyed, war-hawk Moshe Dayan last year, also in protest of Begin's program of new Zionist settlements in the West Bank and the stone-walling of the whole Palestinian issue. But far from being lovers of peace and justice, Weizman and Dayan are both bloody gangsters, "heroes" of various wars of aggression by Israel in vicious attacks on Palestinians throughout the region. Weizman and Dayan clearly represent one side of a conflict which has developed among Israel's rulers as a result of the rapidly changing international situation and the fact that Israel no longer occupies as central a place in the requirements of the U.S. as it has in the past.

Even before the Iranian revolution, the U.S. had begun to move away from sole reliance on Israel as the protector of U.S. interests in this part of the Middle East. As contention with the Soviets has sharpened, new needs for the U.S. vis-a-vis the various Arab states has cast Israel in a somewhat different light. Different reactionary Arab leaders have put the question to the U.S.: Which is more important in the long run—3 million Israelis or 600 million Arabs with the bulk of the world's proven oil reserves? Of course, the U.S. has no intention of writing off Israel—but with the Soviets knocking on middle eastern doors as well, a balancing act between Israel and Egypt was in order.

The U.S. had wooed Sadat with promises to deliver sufficient pressure on Israel to give up the occupation of the Sinai peninsula. Obviously, if both Egypt and Israel were to be in the U.S. war bloc, they could hardly be at war with each other, hence both were dragged to Camp David and forced to accept a U.S. plan to get Israel out of Egypt and to force Egypt to recognize the reactionary settler state of Israel, something no other Arab state has ever done. The only fly in the ointment was the hundreds of thousands of Palestinians driven from Palestine to create Israel and the thousands more living under Israeli occupation in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank.

In place of real national sovereignty, the Camp David envisioned "autonomy," that is, continued Israeli occupation and control with Palestinian administration over local matters like public services. The details were to be worked out by Egypt and Israel by May 26th, without allowing the Palestinians a voice in the matter.

The revolution in Iran, and on top of this the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, brought things to a head. Weizman and Dayan quickly recognized the fact that Israel was slipping down a rung or two on the U.S. flunkey ladder and that Egypt, with a population of over 13 times that of Israel and therefore a potential military reserve for the U.S., had climbed up a rung or two. This was putting Israel into a precarious position



Israeli archeologist displays ancient relic.

and it meant that the U.S. sponsored treaty between Israel and Egypt had to be finalized as soon as possible.

But if Weizman and particularly Dayan can be described as "far-sighted," then Begin can certainly be described as near-sighted in these matters. He is lusting for a "greater Israel," built on theft, pillage, national oppression and reactionary theocratic rule and is not keeping the "broader" interests of U.S. imperialism in mind. His attitude toward the West Bank is throwing a monkey wrench into the treaty with Egypt. The rapidly developing world situation and the renewed struggle by the West Bank Palestinians brought these two reactionary groups in Israel into sharp struggle resulting in resignations and public name-calling.

In Egypt, Sadat has worn his tongue raw licking the boots of the U.S., but still cannot escape the effects of the developing world crisis. In just the last few months, Egypt has established normal diplomatic relations with Israel, has trained right wing Afghan guerrillas for the U.S., has taken in the Shah of Iran, has allowed Egyptian airfields to be used for U.S. AWACS radar aircraft and has provided the jumping off base for the US C-130s which burned up in Iran in the "Great Embassy Raid."

In early May Sadat fired his Prime

Minister and assumed the post himself. The last time Sadat took this step was in 1973 on the eve of the October war with Israel, only this time the war is between the superpowers themselves.

In an interview with Kathryn Graham, owner of the *Washington Post* and *Newsweek* magazine, Sadat could hardly be kept in his chair as his zeal for the coming world war bubbled over. "The Soviet Union is gaining now," Sadat said, "you shouldn't allow this," as though the U.S. gun moll Kathryn Graham needed lessons in defending the empire. Infused with the "Send Me" spirit, Sadat went on: "After Iran now has vanished, Egypt is the only country that can raise an army with every new armament... we have fought the first missile and electronic war with Israel. This is Egypt... I can raise a million soldier army. Yes, I have the potentiality."

Sadat went on to propose that the U.S. pre-position F-15 fighters in Egypt (to be maintained and operated by the Egyptian air force) along with the equipment for two U.S. combat divisions. Sadat even asked for large warships. "Let us sit down together and have a common strategy together. I want to reach Somalia and I want to reach Oman."

The U.S. reply to this last request will

New Bases In U.S. Global Battle Plan

The extent to which the coming conflicts between the U.S. imperialists and their rival gangsters in the Soviet Union will truly be a global war has been underlined in recent weeks by the frenzied efforts of the U.S. to establish new military bases and alliances in East Africa and in the smaller states of the Arabian peninsula.

Immediately after Carter's "State of the Union" speech in January outlining the "Carter Doctrine"—military defense of U.S. oil supplies from the Per-

sian Gulf—the administration invited President Moi of Kenya to the U.S. The result of this visit was a doubling of U.S. economic aid of Kenya in East Africa to \$40 million in exchange for the U.S. placing of military hardware and use of port facilities at Mombasa.

Next began a series of negotiations with the government of Somalia in the Horn of Africa for the use of the Soviet-built air field and port facilities at Berbera. Here the price was renewed military supplies for Somalia, which is

UN 2

Both the UN 2 are now out on bail.

On May 24th, Glenn Gan was finally released from the Metropolitan Correctional Center in New York on \$5,000 bail and a \$100,000 personal bond after being held for 25 days. Below is a statement of support of the UN 2 from a prisoner in the Metropolitan Correctional Center—an Iranian who flew to the U.S. in 1979 to take part in the demonstrations at the White House where the Shah was visiting Carter. He is now looking forward to returning to Iran to join his comrades in the struggle.

Some time ago two young fellows gave a big gift from workers and oppressed people to the Ambassador and exposed their real character. Their features under the red paint are most hated because their speeches and promises to the people never happen. At this time the fight against the capitalist system of the United States is a fight without arms. Today we fight with pen and ink, tomorrow with arms.

undoubtedly be "Down boy! Sit!" as the U.S. imperialists have their own plans for military bases in both Somalia and Oman as well as Kenya.

Yet Sadat's dreamed of empire is built just as much on quicksand as that of the Shah. Two years ago Sadat demagogically proclaimed 1980 to be "the year of prosperity." But today, the great majority of the Egyptians earn less than the new minimum wage of \$30 per month. The sheltering of the Shah produced new student protest demonstrations. And the treaty with Israel produced the cutoff of financial aid from Saudi-Arabia. In a move to appease religious zealots, Sadat pushed through a constitutional amendment specifying that Egypt's laws would be based on Islamic teachings.

In a desperate attempt to stem the growing tide of discontent, Sadat's government has promised a series of measures including price reduction of basic foodstuffs, an increased minimum wage and an expanded social security. Yet these measures are just the opposite of the austerity moves demanded by the International Monetary Fund as a condition for renewed loans to Egypt. Egypt's major source of hard currency is the wages sent home by the 1 million Egyptian workers working abroad, mostly in Middle Eastern oil fields.

Like any imperialist war bloc, the U.S. plans for Egypt and Israel are based on the continued subjugation of the masses and the domestic developments in these countries can only be understood in relation to the developing world situation—especially the movement toward war. □

still supporting guerrillas fighting Soviet-led Ethiopian forces in the Ogadan Desert.

The third step will be the establishment of military bases in Oman on the Arabian peninsula. Oman and Pakistan bracket the entrance to the Persian Gulf. The significance of all these moves is that they are not directed at local control or regional conflicts, but are, rather, a global strategic deployment of U.S. forces, and are designed to act as bases for the rapid deployment of ground forces, and to sustain greatly increased naval forces in the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf. □

Letter from Selfridge 5 Defendant

The following letter was sent to the RW in response to an article which appeared in the May 16th issue entitled "Charges Dropped in Selfridge 5 Case". The RW agrees with the criticisms raised in the letter.

I am a member of VVAW and one of the Selfridge 5 acquitted May 18 for our "invasion of the Selfridge Air National Guard Base." (Four of us are members of VVAW and one a member of the RCYB). I'd like to criticize the summation of that trial which appeared in the *Revolutionary Worker*. I think the main problem with the article is that it doesn't really explain why the government let us off the charges. In fact, it gives the wrong impression that because they had a "raggedy case" the government couldn't get a conviction even though they dearly wanted one. But what about all the people sent to jail every day on the basis of raggedy, trumped-up charges. Surely we can't say that the bourgeoisie is bound by their laws and doesn't convict people and send them up unless they are "legally guilty of some crime."

What we have to understand about this case, especially in light of the VVAW 7 trial, is that the bourgeoisie was forced to back off politically. I mean, here they are trying like hell since the embassy takeover to whip up blind patriotism and generate a war hysteria among the American people so that they would have a freer hand politically to launch a military invasion of Iran. And yet despite all this jingoistic frothing at the mouth, the sentiments of many of the American people are moving away from support for their planned invasion, with even people like Mrs. Timm openly expressing friendship with and sympathy for the Iranian people and their anti-imperialist revolution.

Given all this, the last thing they wanted was a political trial which would be used to further expose their maneuvers in Iran and build support for the Iranian revolution—especially by Vietnam Veterans. Our opening statement in court put the bourgeoisie on notice (if they didn't know already) that this was exactly how we saw using the trial as they pursued it. We said then that given our experiences in the U.S. imperialist war machine, and the experiences of millions just like us, it would have been criminal to remain silent and not stand up boldly and say to our class brothers and sisters: "The real criminals are the imperia-

lists—both the U.S. and Soviets—pushing us towards world war in their drive to redivide the world."

With the plans that they have in store for Iran, such a trial clearly would not have been in their interests. It was because of this that they backed off. It wasn't that they simply had a weak "legal" case. But much more than that this trial has really helped to show our rulers' strategic, political weakness vis-a-vis the "Iranian crisis." As much as they were outraged by the takeover and would have liked to have locked us up if they could have gotten an easy conviction, they felt it necessary at this time to back off rather than risk any kind of display of support for the Iranian revolution.

Looking at this trial mainly as a legal case only fosters the illusions that already exist about bourgeois democracy. Looking at it to determine the political contradictions involved deepens our understanding of the nature of the beast.

Signed

J.W.

Vietnam Veterans
Against the War

We received this letter from Berkeley, California.

Capitalists beware. The conspiracy is spreading. Even into your hallowed training grounds. Where your most trusted servants are being trained. Even into the public policy schools where you attempt to narrow minds and create future Secretaries of State.

The RW is often seen in the Graduate School of Public Policy at Berkeley. Twelve of the 34 first year students have read it at one time or another. It is usually found on the literature table in the lounge.

When Public Policy students came to school on May 1 they saw, "Today is International May Day. Can't you think of a better place to be," written on the blackboard. Three boycotted class. One went to the march in Oakland.

Leading up to this was a struggle in the school to cancel classes that day.

A Former Public Policy Student turned Revolutionary

Reactionary Roundup in Wrightsville

Wrightsville, Georgia—"Little Miami," a Black youth boasted, in the wake of a shootout between Black people and police, Monday May 19, in this small south Georgia town. This followed only weeks after Black people in Wrightsville built barricades and took up arms to defend themselves from police and vigilante attacks (see RW No. 50). Last Monday, one cop was slightly wounded and two others had their cars fired upon. The police lashed back, rampaging through the Black community. Forty-two were arrested, including children as young as 13. People were dragged off their porches and out of their beds. Nine men have been charged with the shooting, and are being held on \$25,000 bond. These men, most known as militant fighters against oppression, are being framed in a bla-

tant political attack—an attempt by the authorities to cool the fires of rebellion in Wrightsville.

Early Monday evening, police used the pretext of a minor fight between two Black women downtown that afternoon to charge into one of the women's homes and arrest her. An SCLC minister who went to the jail to inquire about this arrest was himself arrested. Shortly afterwards, a fire, almost certainly set by vigilantes, broke out behind a bar that is a local gathering spot for Blacks. A Wrightsville teenager described what happened for the *Revolutionary Worker*: "My boyfriend was down there when the fire started. He saw a sheriff's deputy drive by. But when he saw the fire he sped up and grinned. A lady up the street called the fire department, and they said, 'Let it

burn.' This made people mad, and the shooting started." A Black woman was also wounded by gunfire as police began swooping up anyone they could grab. An Atlanta lawyer, who went to the jail to act as attorney for those arrested, was also thrown behind bars.

The roundup by the pigs included four people active in SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) who were charged with "inciting to riot." Many arrested were released without charges, but felony charges for the shooting of the cop are being threatened for those still in jail. "People here are madder than hell," one of those arrested and released told the RW, "These attacks won't stop us."

SCLC leaders have been urging Blacks "not to get overemotional," to "use discipline," to get involved in a voter registration drive and boycott downtown stores. Meanwhile, 15 to 20 white vigilante types beat an Atlanta SCLC minister in front of Wrightsville

County Courthouse, and a Black man was seriously wounded by a gun blast from a passing car. Wrightsville Blacks report large crowds of armed vigilantes 'lounging in front of the courthouse at night.'

Federal and state officials swarmed into Wrightsville calling for a "community meeting to iron out racial differences." But as the sister of one of those arrested told the RW, "You call people from the outside to help, Governor Busby and all, but they don't do nothing. They're all on the same side...."

Despite the attacks by the police and the attempts of the SCLC fire brigade to cool out the anger of the masses, the air in Wrightsville crackles with rebellion. "I'm for revolution," one of those arrested and released told the RW, "like what I read in your paper about May Day—how they said you wouldn't march, but you marched anyway." And in the face of intimidation by the authorities, friends and relatives of those men charged in the shootout stepped forward to sign a statement in support of the Miami rebellion as well as the statement of outrage at the murder of Damian Garcia. □



Some of Wrightsville's 'good old boys' hang out.

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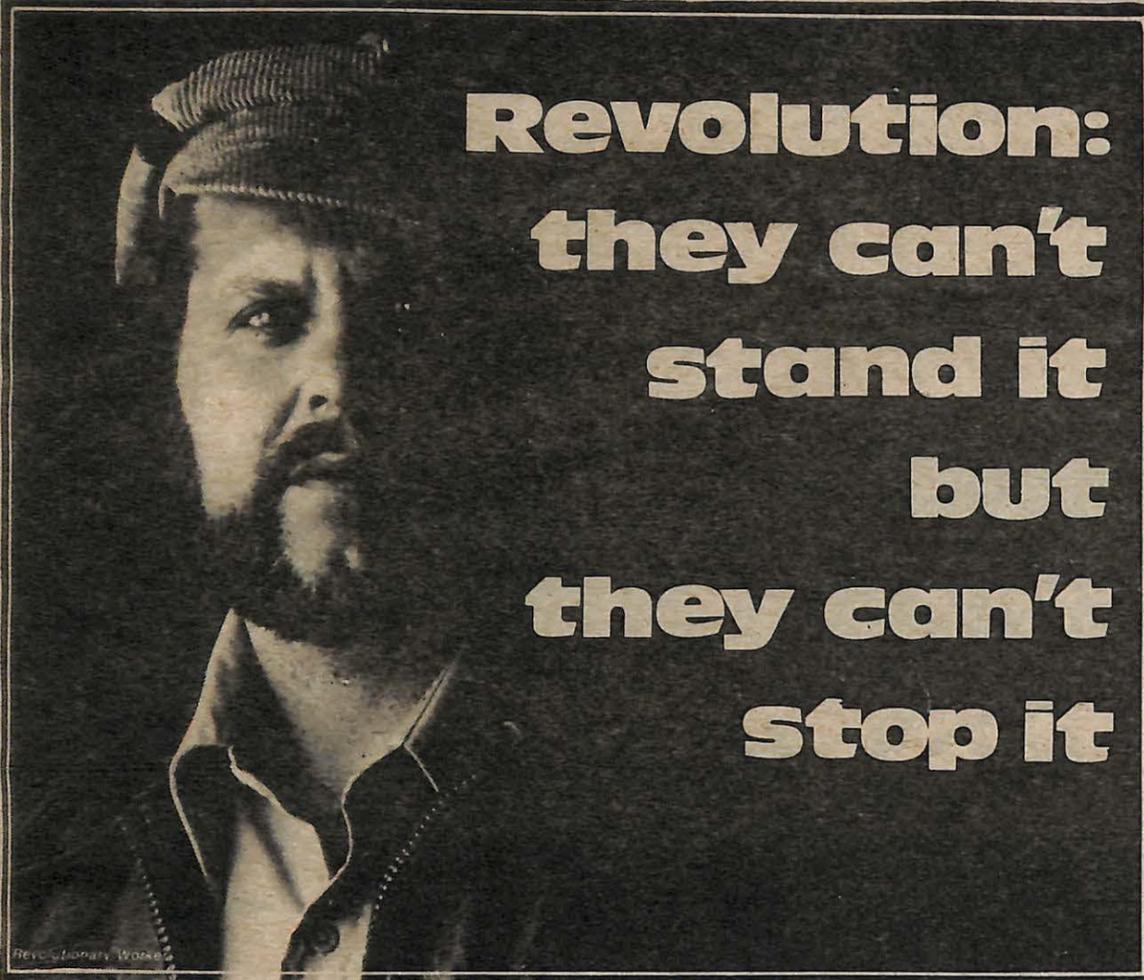


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Bob Avakian in D.C. in November, Part 2



**Revolution:
they can't
stand it
but
they can't
stop it**

Last week the Revolutionary Worker began serializing the speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA at the Free Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants rally held in Washington, D.C., on November 18, 1979. Trumped-up charges totaling up to a possible 241 years of jail time are still pending in federal appeals court against the Chairman and the 16 other Mao Defendants who were arrested and put on trial as a result of the historic demonstration at the White House on January 29, 1979 as the revisionist traitor Teng Hsiao-ping wined and dined with his U.S. imperialist masters. After he came crawling to this country to both formally enlist China in the U.S. war bloc and declare that revisionism had triumphed in what was once revolutionary China.

This demonstration of 500 people was called by the Revolutionary Communist Party and came at a crucial time when the U.S. ruling class was arrogantly and smugly parading Teng Hsiao-ping around as living proof that the Chinese revolution, in particular, and revolution in general was dead and a useless pursuit. Upholding the revolutionary line of Mao Tsetung, chanting "Mao Tsetung Did Not Fail—Revolution Will Prevail," the demonstration went right up in the teeth of the U.S. bourgeoisie, Teng Hsiao-ping, and all their plans. It was an extremely significant and powerful event of worldwide and historic importance. At a crucial juncture it not only exposed Teng Hsiao-ping as a revisionist-traitor and his enlistment of China in the U.S. war bloc, but even more importantly declared that revolution was very much alive and determined to overcome and roll over the setback in China and everything else in its path.

Only a few days before the rally the case against the Mao Tsetung Defendants was dismissed in a lower court and immediately appealed to a higher one. This was a real victory—the government had been forced to back off, but it continued to plot and maneuver as charges are still pending as the ruling class decides its next move. More attacks, including a Secret Service "investigation" of Bob Avakian have mounted in the meantime. Parts of this speech have already been printed in the Revolutionary Worker and in the pamphlet "Iran: It's not our Embassy." The text has been slightly edited for publication.

I went out and talked to these media people—I think we should use them for negative example because that's what most of them are good for. Go out and talk to these media people and they say, "Listen, what do you care about China for, why are you so concerned and worked up about China—why don't you worry about the U.S.?" And then they get on down and try to make it even more narrow than that: "Why don't you worry about the state you live in, the area you live in, the town you live in, the block you live on, and maybe the snow in front of your sidewalk?" This is the outlook of our enemy again—that you should only be concerned in the narrowest possible way with your own immediate, selfish and self-centered interests. What could the people who lined the streets of Washington, D.C. that night January 29, 1979—the thousands and thousands of people who live under the hellish conditions of this system—what could they care about Teng Hsiao-ping, about Mao Tsetung? What do they care about the demonstration out there of 500

disciplined, militant revolutionaries going right up in the face of all that?

Well you see, the ruling class never thought to ask them because it doesn't care and it doesn't even figure that into its calculations. But we were out among them both selling our paper, talking to them, discussing with them what the demonstration was about, and also listening to them as they brought forward and deepened our understanding of the conditions right here in Washington, D.C. and the suffering of the people right here in this country and how they saw—yes, how they saw—the connection between that and what had gone on in China, what Mao Tsetung represented, and what the miserable sniveling dog Teng Hsiao-ping stood for. Much as the ruling class fears it for sure, much as they may want to deny it, as much as they despise it—and whether they want to believe it or not hundreds and hundreds of people lined the streets. Hundreds of the people they say are too dumb, ignorant, foolish and unconcerned to know anything about it, were talking to us and voicing their opinions about what had happened in China and what the importance was for us here and for people around the world.

And I'm going to tell you right now, hundreds and hundreds of people knew what Teng Hsiao-ping represented. In a basic way they knew that a revolutionary beacon was being snuffed out, if only temporarily, in China. They knew that the great advance of the Chinese people and the inspiration they and people all over the world had drawn from that, and from the leadership of Mao Tsetung, was being reversed and trampled into the dust by the likes of Teng Hsiao-ping. And beyond them, thousands of people—almost everyone out in the streets that day—knew who Mao Tsetung was, and what he stood for. And there was basically a third group of people among them. Those who hadn't followed China. Maybe they had heard of Mao. Certainly, they had not heard of Teng Hsiao-ping. But there's one thing they did know, one thing they responded to, and one thing we the oppressed and working class always respond to. They saw a disciplined, militant, powerful march of 500 people going down the street in unison chanting and delivering a clear political message, and they saw twice that number of pigs surrounding the march. And all of them to a man and woman said, "Goddamn, something motherfucking heavy must be going on here. I'd better check it out!"

People in D.C. have seen demonstrations come and go. They see them all the time, and many times they sympathize, support, and sometimes unite with these various demonstrations. But they also knew that what was going on that day was different. Something stood out about this particular demonstration. It had a clear political direction and purpose and it was talking about the one thing that the ruling class of this country can never allow to be talked about and never can allow to be spread among the broadest masses of the people, and that's revolution. They heard those chants just as the ruling class did, "Mao Tsetung Did Not Fail—Revolution Will Prevail!" They read in the leaflets and in the newspaper our analysis of what happened in China and what its importance was for the working class and oppressed people all throughout the world, including in this country.

Our Enemy Knew What Mao Tsetung Represented

You see, the ruling class itself, again dimly, in its

own twisted and perverted upside down, inside out way, understood the importance of what Mao Tsetung represented to the people in this country and around the world. They understood it—if not scientifically, they had a very clear sense of it. They knew that Mao Tsetung was an implacable, unbending, uncompromising enemy of everything they stand for. And they knew that the masses of oppressed people, millions and millions and millions all throughout the world, recognized him and looked to him. At least they have to calculate on their adding machines and compute with their computers and they knew the fact, however much it may outrage them, that the Little Red Book of Mao Tsetung's quotations was being more widely read in the late 1960s than their old goddamned Christian bible.

They knew what Mao Tsetung represented. In fact if you watch David Frost interviewing Henry Kissinger, it's very clear that especially the most politically aware, the most politically calculating representatives of the ruling class, knew very well who Mao Tsetung was, what he represented to people all over the world, and what the different forces in the Chinese Communist Party leadership stood for, and how they were opposed to each other. Kissinger was very interesting. We can learn something from our enemy and we always should. If we're going to defeat them, we're going to have to learn from them too in order to be able to fight them more effectively. Kissinger got on TV and David Frost was asking him to comment on different people in the world. He got around to Brezhnev and I don't remember exactly what he said, but it was clear that he regarded him basically the same as Rockefeller. And Frost asked him about Chou En-lai in China, who as we know was an arch-enemy of Mao Tsetung, especially in the decisive battles toward the end of Mao's life; and Kissinger knew it too. "Chou En-lai," Frost said, "what did you think about him—what was your impression of him?" Kissinger said, "The most intelligent man that I've ever met." But he didn't say a goddamn thing about him being a revolutionary. Then he said, "Mao Tsetung—what did you think about him?" Kissinger said, "The most visionary man that I ever met and thoroughly intoxicated with revolution!"

See, they knew very well what Mao Tsetung represented, and they knew that people all over this country during the 1960s did too. I remember speaking at a Black Panther rally to free Huey Newton when he deserved to be freed back in the 1960s. I remember in front of the Federal Building a rally of 10,000 people, half Black and the rest of them white, Puerto Rican, Latin American, Chicano, Native American and Asian—all different races and nationalities, men and women out in front of the Federal Building with the FBI offices right across the Plaza. And one of the Panther members got up and held up the Red Book of Mao Tsetung's Quotations in front of the crowd and said, "Is this the answer? Is this the guide that we need to lead us to our liberation? Everybody that thinks so raise their Red Book." And at least 5,000 Red Books went up in the air.

They knew very goddamn well what Mao Tsetung means to the masses of people around the world. Oppressors must have a sense of this, especially when they've reached the very verge and very threshold of their extinction, and are fighting desperately to prevent that. They have to and do have the basic understanding, not a scientific understanding, but a dim but still fundamental understanding of who their basic enemies are and who they have to move against and who they have to try to divide from the masses of people to prevent the masses of people from rallying behind their banner. And the masses of people in the streets of Washington, D.C., the overwhelming majority of them, knew what Mao Tsetung represented, and that is exactly why some of them joined the march. Others, in fact the majority of them, raised clenched fists and many of them joined in the chants of that march, because they understood that what was being done that day was in their interest, and that they had a vital stake in what was happening in China as well as what was happening right around the corner at the White House.

Why They Brought Teng Hsiao-ping Here

Let's step back a second and look at this and sum it up. What did the ruling class in this country have in mind when they brought Teng Hsiao-ping over here? Now I've said this at several speeches on this tour. They probably had a fair amount of curiosity. If they had time to waste—which they don't because they are running scared—they probably would have liked to have done an inquiry, maybe a questionnaire or survey with Teng Hsiao-ping along these lines: "Listen, we've always been curious, we've always wanted to know, how have you managed to develop this art of bootlicking to such a fine touch? What kind of boot polish do you prefer the most? Do you like that black shit or do you like that brown polish or some of that shit you put on suede? And did you wear belly pads when you came crawling over here? How did you manage to keep yourself from being all scuffed up when you got over here?"

They might have liked to indulge themselves in all that kind of idle chatter, but they had more serious purposes. One thing that they had clearly in mind to do, one thing they were determined to do, and one of

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FALN Member Sentenced To Life Outrageous Verdict in Torres Trial

On Thursday, May 22, FALN member Haydee Beltran Torres was found guilty on charges stemming from the 1977 bombing of a Mobil Oil office in New York City in which one person was killed. After a complete kangaroo court trial during which she was not even present in the courtroom, Haydee Torres was sentenced to life imprisonment. The ruling class steamrolled this outrageous conviction through in the space of four days, while she and her attorney were kept in a separate room and listened to the proceedings through a public address system.

From the beginning of the trial, Haydee Torres took a firm and defiant stand, refusing to even recognize the authority of the court to try her. On the first day of the trial when jury selection was set to begin, she stood up and began to denounce the judge and the proceedings before the railroad could even get under way. As 150 supporters packed the courtroom, including Lolita Lebrón, one of the four Puerto Rican nationalists, Haydee exposed the crimes and vicious nature of U.S. imperialism and its domination of Puerto Rico, and declared her intentions and those of the masses of Puerto Rican people to liberate their country from the clutches of the U.S. For fifteen minutes she exposed what U.S. subjugation has meant for the Puerto Rican people, including the bombings of the island of Vieques by the U.S. Navy, and the beatings and killings of those who have fought to kick the U.S. off the island—those like Angel Cristobal Rodriguez, who was murdered in his cell in a Florida jail recently. The judge ordered Haydee dragged out of the courtroom and had it cleared of all supporters, whose chants of "Independence for Puerto Rico! The Struggle Will Come to Peo-

ple's War!" filled the courtroom.

On May 19, the 10 other FALN members arrested in Evanston, Illinois with Haydee Torres went on trial in Chicago on charges of firearms possessions and auto theft, with two facing additional armed robbery charges. All press, supporters and legal counsel were denied entrance to the hearings, which had been separated into four different courtrooms. After a tremendous outcry from 120 supporters at the courthouse, press and family members only were allowed into the last hearing, that of Dickie

Jimenez. He refused to acknowledge the presence of the judge and stated, "I am a prisoner of war... Puerto Rico is a colony. We have a right to independence..." Raising his fist, he shouted, "Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre y Socialista!" and was then hauled from the courtroom by the pigs. All ten cases were continued until June 16, as a picket line of supporters was held outside.

As the criminal verdict against Haydee Torres shows, the ruling class is out for the maximum blood in these cases.

"Puerto Ricans are happy to be part of America—and we'll bury anyone who says different" is their attitude. "Our courts are just, and if you don't think so we won't let you in them." What this shows most of all is how much the U.S. imperialists fear and want to silence the call "Viva Puerto Rico Libre—Free Puerto Rico Right Now!" It is as if these ideas were germs that they had to keep completely isolated, because they fear that this infection will spread very quickly and threaten their very existence. □



Chicago, May 19th: Demonstration in support of FALN members facing trial.

HIRED KILLER MAGAZINE TARGETS ALAMO TAKEOVER

To the U.S. imperialists and those who worship their system, recent developments in the revolutionary movement in this country have been cause for great concern. In particular, the March 20 Alamo takeover by Damian Garcia and two other comrades—and the response of the masses worldwide to this heroic action—is a case in point. Once again, they needed to resurrect their infamous rallying cry, "Remember the Alamo," and call to action all those who could be mobilized to serve their interests. Now, jumping headlong into the breach, *Soldier of Fortune*—a slick glossy magazine written by and for CIA agents, mercenaries, cops, army officers and anyone else who can be convinced of the need and recruited for direct action against the ruling class's enemies—has trumpeted the call with an article entitled "Remember the Alamo" in their July 1980 issue. *Direct action* is clearly what this article is all about.

The author of this miniature *Mein Kampf*, Mike Williams, is no second-string lackey for imperialism. An officer in the U.S. Army for most of his life, including tours in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam (where he was a leader of the Special Forces—CIA counterinsurgency experts), he has also been a leader of mercenaries in the Congo and Rhodesia. Most recently, from 1976 to 1978, he was a major in the Rhodesian army—a deputy commander of Grey's scouts (the former elite mounted tracking infantry of the white supremacist Rhodesian state). Williams was the highest ranking American working for the Rhodesian government. Today he is a military affairs editor of *Soldier of Fortune*. According to his biography in the magazine, "For him, the taking of the Alamo represents not only the desecration of a national monument, but a personal insult," since one of his ancestors was Colonel Samuel May Williams, a founder of the "Texas Republic." (For more on the Texas Republic and who its founders really were, see *RW* No. 56.) The

original Williams was one of the petty criminals recruited by Steven F. Austin to come to Texas in search of fame and fortune, and the expansion of slavery. He later became one of the wealthiest and most respected (by the ruling class) citizens of the state. Certainly, his descendant is equally dedicated to the service of reaction.

The whole tone of Williams' article is one of disgust at the lack of decisive action being displayed while U.S. fortunes decline. The article starts off comparing the Alamo takeover to two other recent setbacks for the U.S., the embassy takeover in Iran and the capture of the U.S. ambassador in Colombia. It sarcastically complains that these events were "orchestrated by the Carter administration, for our amusement..." the point being that "weakness" typified by Carter's inability to stop the struggle of the masses is letting once-mighty American imperialism go down the drain. Then the article proceeds to conjure up a "dialog" that supposedly took place during the Alamo takeover.

Of course, like all good reactionaries, Williams does include certain standard characterizations. Most typical is the racist national chauvinism dripping from every line—from the Chicano revolutionary (called "Jose" in the article) using Pidgin English to the declaration in bold-faced type, "Goddamn greasers on the Alamo!" stuck in the middle of the article. Other standard characterizations include: a "bleeding heart" national news reporter who, as is typical in right-wing fantasies, sympathizes with the revolutionaries; a reporter for a supposedly revolutionary newspaper portrayed as a homosexual; and a government bureaucrat who rushes up clumsily to tell the revolutionaries how much "the President is with you in your fight for human rights and the oppressed minorities." Of course, the revolutionaries are portrayed berating the all-white crowd and finally surrendering meekly when the police arrive.

But what distinguishes this article

from scores of other right-wing diatribes is the way it portrays the "average Americans"—the right-thinking people usually appealed to in the literature of the KKK, Nazis, Birchers, etc. Here they are represented by a visiting tourist couple from rural Ohio and a group of three Texans driving a battered pick-up truck. Wiping their noses with their hands, spitting tobacco juice, fighting with each other, but most importantly, mainly just standing there and gawking while the revolutionaries take over imperialism's sacred shrine, they typify what *Soldier of Fortune* is out to overcome. This is the point: people definitely do not have their shit together, and they are allowing, by their inaction and gross negligence in failing to pick up the red, white and blue, the fall of the empire. Only the San Antonio police, who moved decisively and dragged the revolutionaries off the Alamo, have the will to do what's necessary.

In other words, the title, "Remember the Alamo," is more than just a cute reactionary phrase to sum up a recent event—it is a call to action, a call to all those who recognize the severity of imperialism's decline to summon up the courage necessary to eliminate the problem—and here, the problem is revolutionaries right here in the USA. Very significantly, the article never once mentions the fact that some of the same hitmen for the bourgeoisie that the magazine is dedicated to mobilize have already committed the cowardly murder of Comrade Garcia, as well as wounding Hayden Fisher, another Alamo revolutionary, in the same knife attack. (The magazine contains a monthly column on the best methods of knife-wielding, including advice on its use in assassination attempts.) The target here is much broader than one or two individuals, and *Soldier of Fortune* doesn't want anyone to get the idea that the job is finished.

In fact, the tone of this article on the Alamo is in direct contrast to a short article in the front of the magazine which

repeats the media-fabricated story of "umbrella-swinging matrons" breaking up a May Day brigade march in West Virginia. (In reality, the march was attacked by police and an organized core of reactionaries.) But the point is the same—decisive, direct action must be taken to stop the revolutionaries before things get out of hand.

Rag Fills Imperialism's Need

Soldier of Fortune was started five years ago by a former Green Beret intelligence officer named Robert K. Brown. Brown served in the military in Vietnam and also organized reactionary Cuban exiles in the '60s. While he denies any official ties to the CIA, there is obviously a very close connection. His close friend and former assistant editor, George Bacon, who was killed while fighting as a mercenary in Angola, was later discovered to have been a CIA agent, a fact admitted to by his employers. According to a spokesman for the Committee of Concerned Citizens on Mercenaries in Colorado, a group which has been exposing the magazine's mercenary recruiting efforts, a number of the contributing editors to *Soldier of Fortune* are former CIA agents and Army Special Forces officers who specialize in counterinsurgency operations in Southeast Asia.

Brown claims to have started the magazine with \$10,000 of his own money, but one look at the expensive quality paper and the number of full-color pictures in the rag makes it clear that there is some big money backing this enterprise. This should come as no surprise. At a time when U.S. imperialism's fortunes are definitely declining, *Soldier of Fortune* has stepped in to fill a big need for the bourgeoisie. With both the struggle of the masses worldwide and increasing contention from the Soviet imperialists battering their once dominating position in the world, the U.S. imperialists desperately need to mobilize all the unofficial—as well as official—help they can get. In particular those that were trained so well and failed so miserably to put down revolution in Vietnam, but still "love the smell of napalm in the morning," can and must

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State Backs Down in May Day 10 Case

Youngstown, Ohio. Scene of the first of over 800 arrests of the May Day Brigade. 10 revolutionaries held hostage in February for \$45,000 for the crime of leafletting an unemployment office about Revolutionary May Day. Youngstown, where they tried to arrest May Day before it happened. Where the mayor requested the national guard to be on alert May 1st. On May 27th the state backed down from their plans to railroad the 10 to jail and instead offered \$150 fines for each of the 10 on 2 minor charges of trespassing and a disorderly conduct. It was a big victory for the May Day 10 and Revolutionary May Day.

What has happened since February to force the state to back down from its plans?

The authorities in Youngstown were desperate to reach some kind of deal with the May Day 10 in order to avoid a courtroom fight. They were well aware that the case would be taken out broadly, not only in Youngstown itself but across the country. They were afraid of and didn't want to set themselves up for even further exposure of what their system is all about. Of course, making a deal in this case won't stop this from happening, but they do hope that they are better off this way.

People all over the country already had their eyes on this case as demonstrated by the number of people who contributed money to bail the May Day 10 out of jail after they were arrested. In Youngstown itself, the bourgeoisie had seen the storm of struggle and controversy that was stirred up from one end of the town to the other

after the arrest of the ten. Instead of the grey pall that usually hangs over this ghost-town, which was once Steeltown, USA not too long ago, people's lives were brightly drawn into political life. In the face of intimidation, police harassment, threats of firings, a number of advanced workers and others stepped forward to become activists for Revolutionary May Day. With what has gone on in this town, with the steel companies closing down, and unemployment skyrocketing as the people's anger burns, the Youngstown authorities are well aware of the powderkeg of discontent among the masses of people. Workers inside the mills threatened with their jobs for having a copy of the *Revolutionary Worker*. Revolutionaries' cars have been systematically destroyed. Police agents have gone door-to-door making clear threats to those coming forward.

In the face of larger battles ahead, like the Alamo trial or the UN-2 trial, the May Day 10 agreed to this deal of a \$150 fine. The capitalists' fondest hope is that now that the case of the May Day 10 is over, everyone will just forget May Day and go back to "normal"—slow death. They have something else coming, the political landscape of the city will never be the same. The seeds of May Day were planted in very fertile soil and already there are young but firm sprouts. Even though the May Day Brigade is gone, the *Revolutionary Worker* and the Red Flag are going to keep on popping up in the most unexpected of places not only in Youngstown, but across this whole country. □

Pacific Islanders Fight U.S.

"We Have a Word for It—Imperialism"

"Right now we are ruled by the offices of Washington, D.C. Our land is controlled by multi-millionaires in the United States, London and Paris. We are searching for our freedom, our liberty, and our rights to the land. That freedom was taken from us more than 400 years ago. Since then we have never had peace. We have had war, discrimination and colonialism." The speaker, his voice charged with emotion, spoke for Pacific Island delegates attending a Nuclear Free Pacific Conference in Honolulu May 10-17.

The burning truth of his words can be seen in the example of Micronesia, one of the areas represented at the conference and an important element in the Pacific strategy of the U.S. imperialists in their preparations for WW3. Micronesia, some 2000 islands scattered across an area larger than the continental U.S., has been under the domination of foreign powers for over 400 years: Spain, Germany, Japan, and now the U.S. It has been "administered" by the U.S. under the United Nations Trust Agreement since WW2 when the U.S. took the islands from Japan.

The true nature of this "administration" can be seen even in the limited exposure of the nuclear bomb tests at the Bikini Atoll in Micronesia which public outrage forced into the bourgeois

media. The Bikini islanders were evicted for 23 bomb tests in 1946, with the promise that they could soon return. More than 20 years later the Atomic Energy Commission announced that there was "virtually no radiation left" and returned them to the island. In 1978, word leaked out that "incredible" increases in radioactive cesium were found in the inhabitants. After a long delay they were again evacuated.

A delegate from Rongelap, an atoll near Bikini, described how the people were used as human guinea pigs. "During the atomic testing my island was one of the islands which received fallout... After the fallout we were removed. After years we returned with the consent of U.S. doctors. However, they told us you can eat coconut crabs only twice a week... I asked the American doctors, can we kill pigs so that we may eat them. The doctor answered: the pigs do eat coconut crabs but the poison is concentrated in the bones of the pigs so you may eat the flesh. I thought the doctor was telling a lie. The Americans have been lying to us."

In fact, medical studies showing that 90% of Rongelap children have developed thyroid tumors were suppressed and the government "sug-

gested" changes in the study to avoid "adverse public reaction." The Atomic Energy Commission expressed its intentions clearly in a report written just before they sent the islanders back to Rongelap: "the habitat, of these people on the island will offer most valuable ecological radiation data on human beings."

Micronesia is not only a testing ground for weapons of mass destruction. In the words of U.S. Lt. Col. Giroux: "A complete withdrawal from Vietnam, gradual reduction of forces in Thailand and Taiwan, precarious position in the Philippines and our questionable long-term presence in South Korea and Okinawa have limited our fall-back options in the Pacific. The only feasible fall-back position is unquestionably located in Micronesia where island bases, unlike those in Asia, would be under permanent U.S. control."

But the one force the imperialists are forgetting in their plans for a "permanent U.S. control" of the region is the people themselves. A delegate from Guam, a U.S. territory and military base bordering on Micronesia, observed, "they took over my country and then they made me fight in Vietnam. I'll never forget how they made me fight in Vietnam."

Recent years have seen the beginning

of an upsurge of resistance. Kawajalein is one example. There have been repeated occupations of "forbidden" islands in the Kawajalein missile range by some of the 7,000 islanders. These people were evicted from the many small islands around Kawajalein and forcibly crowded together on a single island of only 70 acres under miserable conditions. A demand for independence has grown louder throughout the entire region.

The U.S. has announced plans for Micronesian independence by 1981. But the kind of "independence" the U.S. has in mind was demonstrated recently in Palau. Under pressure from the popular movement, a constitution was drafted by the Palau legislature that banned the testing, storage, or transport of nuclear weapons. The constitution was ratified by 92% of the people. The U.S. government decided the people were getting a little too "independent" and declared the constitution "null and void." They then got 9 of their pet turkeys in the Palau legislature to draft a more "acceptable" constitution.

The Nuclear Free Pacific Conference took place amidst these increasing difficulties faced by the U.S. in the area, but a few conference organizers were hard at work helping to contain the struggle in the Pacific within the bounds acceptable to the imperialists. They attempted to restrict the opposition to nukes to the narrowest possible basis.

Repeated requests by Pacific Island delegates for discussion of imperialism and independence were brushed aside. They even went so far as to devote most of the conference to presentations and discussions by delegates from the imperialists' Pacific powers—the U.S., Australia, and New Zealand—while cutting off most of the Pacific Island delegates after the 3 minutes they were given to speak.

In the face of this, the Pacific Island delegates formed a caucus within the conference. Although they came from many different islands—some like Micronesia controlled by the U.S., some by the French or British, some nominally independent—they share both a common anger at the way the conference was being conducted and a demand that the questions of foreign domination and independence must be addressed.

As one delegate summed it up: "We don't only want to deal with the symptoms but with the disease." Another commented: "We have a word for it—imperialism."

Although the caucus was not able to turn the conference around, they were able to force some broader discussion and establish firmer links between themselves—and this will aid the development of the struggle against the U.S. in the Pacific Islands. □

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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Bob Avakian in D.C.

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their main purposes in bringing Teng Hsiao-ping over here was to hold him up and not only wave him in the face of the masses of people here and around the world, but *smack* us in the face with him and all that he represents—the reversal and betrayal of the greatest revolutionary advance that history has yet seen, in China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung. They held him up and slapped us in the face with this Teng Hsiao-ping. They said, "Listen, and listen good, all of you who are under our boot, over whom we crack our whip every day, and on whose neck we bring down our ax. All of you who have ever hoped, dreamed, thought, aspired or had a vision of a brighter future of rising up and doing away with all this, give it up! Forget about it! It's hopeless! Its useless, you'll only be crushed and defeated in the end anyway. Here is your revolutionary China! Here is the beacon and inspiration which you looked to and drew lessons from for decades under the leadership of Mao Tsetung. Look where it is now and give up! People like us and our flunkies, we're too powerful, we've got too much going for us, you can never win out! In the end even if you advance for a while even to great heights from your point of view, sooner or later and not too much later we'll bring you crashing down, and bring puppets like this and exploiters like this in the place of revolutionaries to once more cast you into the hell and suffering of this system."

This is a very clear message that they wanted to deliver and were determined to deliver. And would our Party have any right to call itself a revolutionary organization, let alone the vanguard party of the working class, the enslaved class and the oppressed people in this society? Would we in any way be fulfilling our duty as revolutionaries, not just to our class and the oppressed people in this country but to our whole international proletariat and the oppressed people throughout the world? Would we have any right to say that we uphold the banner of revolution and we are carrying forward the standard of our class together with our class and oppressed people throughout the world? Would we have any basis for calling ourselves revolutionaries, if we didn't go right up in the face of that and say: "You may think that you have buried revolution once and for all. You may think that the revolution is over and done with, but the message being delivered here today is that not only around the world, not only in the outlying regions where you attempt to carry out and maintain your plunder, but right here within the heartland of your own empire, right here where your very exploitation is grounded and has its home base, right here within the belly of your beastlike system, the masses of people and conscious revolutionaries are rising up to say that you will *never* bury revolution. Revolution is alive right here in the streets of Washington, D.C. and will, in the future, be a growing, developing ever more powerful force to spread among the masses of people in this country in unity with people all over the world, and revolution will rise up and bury you before long."

Boom! Up Came Iran

We're going to come back to that a little bit more because if we're going to get into this deeply, we've got to understand all these things. But I want to say something about this goddam bullshit they're raising up around Iran....

One thing that we can never forget is that at the very same time the rulers of this country were attempting to tell people here and all over the world, that revolution was dead and buried because of what happened in China—boom, up came Iran. At that very time, all of Iran was seething in a revolutionary upsurge of 30 and 35 million people, striking a tremendous blow against these bloodsuckers and all their lying propaganda, and *we will never forget that!* The masses of people, the revolutionaries, the working class and the oppressed people in this society owe a great debt and a great thanks to the Iranian people which we will repay, I am sure, in a way that they want us to. That means by joining with them to make revolution here and support it all over the world.

Now in connection with our effort to beat back the current attack on our Party, some people out of good intentions, as well as some out of bad, have raised, "Well, this Iran thing is kind of hot, you know. There may be some people who support you but if you raise this Iran thing there's a lot of controversy, a lot of people don't understand it, a lot of people are being dragged along with a lot of this backward bullshit and maybe it would be better if you kind of cooled out your stand on Iran right now. Maybe it would be better if you didn't bring this up and stand firmly with the Iranian people now." There's some people, from a well-intentioned position, who are falling into the pragmatic error of looking narrowly, looking only in the most narrow and separate ways at different struggles of people, not seeing the common thread that runs through them and not seeing the common enemy we have to go up against. They're falling into the trap of the enemy's thinking and not understanding that the masses of people in this country can be won over to the

correct understanding of the heroic role of the Iranian people's struggle and can be won to stand firmly in unity with them.

I'm going to say one thing to the ruling class of this country and to anyone who, out of bad intentions and in order to serve them, is trying to tell our Party, through intimidation or any other method, that we should not stand with the masses of Iranian people. I'm going to say one thing to anyone like that, trying to tell me that in response to the need to carry forward this battle to stop this railroad and to beat back these attacks on our Party, trying to tell me or trying to tell us that we should not stand shoulder-to-shoulder with the Iranian people in this country as well as in Iran: If anybody thinks that, they can *kiss my ass*.

I'm going to tell you something. If our Party didn't take the stand that it took in complete solidarity with the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people; if we became narrow and selfishly concerned only about our own Party and the immediate battles we're involved in or narrowly concerned with the situation of the people in this country; if we began to view the struggle we're involved in narrowly only from the standpoint of the immediate effect of things on the people in this country; if we didn't raise up the banner of our class, the international working class's stand and its whole world view of proletarian internationalism, of standing with and supporting, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the working class and oppressed people in every part of the world, especially, most especially where they rise up and deliver powerful blows against the very enemies that are crushing and degrading us here as well as people all around the world; if our Party took that kind of stand and if we did not stand completely and wholeheartedly with the people of the whole world and if we did not go out and struggle and bring forward the masses of people to take the stand, our Party wouldn't be worth a goddamn and I wouldn't be worth defending....

I remember in those days, 15 years ago, when we were first taking up the question of Vietnam and taking it out to the students and taking it out off campus and into the communities to the masses of people in this country, I remember when that was an unpopular position. I remember, when you got up to speak, the same thing that's happening now was happening then. Here come all these silly little frat rats and all these jocks and all the rest of them running up there with the American flag trying to act all big and bad and everything else. And often times, and whatever else happened, one thing you could count on was that if there was a group of Iranian students on that campus, if nobody on the entire campus stood with you and stood up in the face of those reactionaries and stood squarely with the Vietnamese people in the struggle against imperialism all around the world, the *Iranian students did and we will never forget that*.

There is nothing they can do to make us forget that or make us forget our duty to the whole international

working class, to our class brothers and sisters and the oppressed people throughout the world. If they think that we are going to stand by and watch them whip up this reactionary chauvinist hysteria, all these neanderthal clowns coming out from under their rocks in various parts of the country—CIA agents, FBI agents posing as normal people; if they think that we are going to stand by while they try to initiate these pogroms against the Iranian people, try to institute this persecution of the Iranian students here, try to force them all to come under even more vicious repression at the hands of the state and the imperialist ruling class that put the Shah into power in the first damn place; if they think for a minute that we are going to stand by and let this happen they got another think coming: They can kiss my ass once again because it's never going to happen.

I was listening to one of these call-in shows. This is the way they try to set it up and this is the role these media prostitutes and hired prize-fighters play. These talk show hosts seem to be in a contest to see who can be the most reactionary and the most ridiculous, with a few exceptions. One of them got on right here in D.C., and he said, "Now listen, I'm not advocating any violence against anybody, but maybe we should learn from what Israel does." And the simple fact is that the imperialists created goddamn Israel at the cost of the Palestinian people's suffering in their millions in the first place and keep Israel alive right today. Who are they talking about, and since when did the puppet ever teach the master?

But this radio guy is talking about we should learn from Israel. "I'm just raising the question now," he said. "I'm not advocating violence or anything, but I'm just raising the question that maybe when hostages are taken we should adopt the policy that Israel does and we will not negotiate with people who have taken hostages or engage in terrorist acts." Terrorist acts! Here you have 35 million people in Iran committing "terrorist acts." The most beautiful terrorist act that I've ever goddamn seen! And so he said, "Listen, I'm not advocating violence but what do you think? Call in and tell me what you think. When this situation arises should we maybe move to a different policy of not even negotiating but just saying that if one hair on one head of an American is harmed we will retaliate with ruthless violence? We will meet violence with violence and not negotiate with bandits and terrorists and hostage takers? I'm not advocating violence, but why don't you call and let me know what you think."

In the face of all this a woman called up and said, "Wait a minute, we have to back up and see what you're not dealing with," and she had a lot of misunderstandings and confusion about it but she got a few basic facts right and that was too much for this dog. She said, "Now just a minute, the problem that you are not dealing with and not discussing is that the United States government put in the Shah of Iran and

Continued on page 14

MAJOR NEW BOOK COMING SOON!

AMERICA IN DECLINE

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

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

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

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Pro Soviet Wind Blows In Peking AC/DC In Capitulation

The tempo is picking up in the arena of international wheeling and dealing. And the Chinese revisionists, who established their rule just 3-1/2 years ago with a coup against Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line, are frantically trying to keep up with the beat. In particular, the Chinese—not socialist, but capitalist—are more and more openly flirting with the Soviet social-imperialists denounced by Mao and all. For now they are doing it both for bargaining power—to shake loose even more American aid—and at the same time to actually prepare conditions for vaulting over the fence and nestling in among the other Soviet allies.

Geng Biao, Chinese vice premier in charge of military affairs, arrived in Washington this week, full of grins and hugs, to cement the agreements to ship "non-lethal" military goods like computers and radar to China. At the same time, to put an edge on the bargaining, Teng Hsiao-ping appropriately uses Liu Shao-chi's posthumous rehabilitation ceremony to continue a long drawn out game of footsie with the Soviets. Along with his other "merits," Liu is honored by Teng for his contributions to "the expansion of the international communist movement" (three guesses what that means, since Liu was well known for his support for the Soviets). And in the background simmers a not too concealed debate in China over whether, after all, the Soviet Union is "socialist" or not and whether that makes them a fraternal country or not—all of which takes place in a framework totally devoid of any political principle other than naked capitalist self-interest and the disgusting neo-colonial belly crawling of these revisionists, bending over to now one, now another of the imperialist big powers.

Turning the Screws

Since the invasion of Afghanistan, the Soviet social-imperialists have stepped up their pressure on China—beefing up half their divisions along China's northern border to full fighting strength and moving new hardware into place. The vise of global confrontation is tightening and you can see the beads of sweat popping off the brows of China's rulers.

An article in the pro-China revisionist U.S. weekly *The Call* (May 19) by "free-lance" mouthpiece David Kline sharply condenses the present Chinese views. It's a big event for *The Call* which up until now has voiced nothing but pro-U.S. "everything against the Soviets" views week after week. First the article lists a long string of frustrations the Chinese feel with U.S. policy, summed up by the headline "U.S. Actions Undermine Anti-Soviet

Unity." Apparently they feel the U.S. is not resolute enough in fighting the Soviets—bullying allies on the one hand, and not single-mindedly confronting the Soviets in Asia, on the other. Kline's message: The Chinese don't need "symbolic" aid, they need the real thing, and fast. Using Pakistan as a transparent analogy, Kline writes: "China was disappointed with President Carter's \$400 million aid offer to Pakistan, a border country that China does not wish to see succumb to Soviet pressure." Finding words for the Chinese leaders, Kline quotes Pakistani leader Zia ul-Haq:

"What do I buy with this but the hostility of the Soviet Union?", Zia asked."

Obviously the Chinese are demanding major increases in aid before they will consider continuing to "buy Soviet hostility" worthwhile. At that point, Kline drops his bombshell in the open:

"Should the U.S. persist in trying to enforce its will on the third world, however—and should Beijing feel Washington is reversing its previous commitments to China—the result could be disastrous. Against its will, Beijing might be forced into a rapprochement with Moscow in order to buy precious time to modernize its defenses and prepare for war."

In other words, either you (U.S. imperialists) "modernize" our defenses, or we will be forced to come to terms with the Soviets. Kline himself is obviously horrified at this thought—not out of any Marxist principle, of course, but because it would create terrible problems for him and the CPML in continuing their efforts to buy a safe and "influential" spot kneeling at the feet of the U.S. imperialists in the coming war. Kline writes "The world should hope that China never feels it necessary to make that kind of choice." Read: "I should hope."

There is more than a bluff here coming from China. Major forces within the Chinese leadership are more and more being associated with a line calling for a major realignment of Chinese ties. The unofficial, but pro-China, Hong Kong magazine *Wide Angle* (April 16) carried a report of a speech of the chief delegate to the Sino-Soviet talks, Wang Yu-ping. This revisionist (who is also deputy foreign minister) waxes eloquent

about the Soviet Union before a gathering of Chinese foreign diplomats. Really, you see, there is not a fascist dictatorship there, the conditions of people are improving, politically people are relaxed and the rulers don't really suppress dissidents or oppress minority nationalities all that much. Some outlook—not to mention a publicized statement—for a "tough" negotiator with a "ferocious enemy"! Actually this is quite in keeping with the current Chinese practice of the most utter and public slavishness to imperialists, both present and potential overlords. Apparently they feel an extra "burden" from China's revolutionary past—and that they have to "prove" themselves through contortions that would even embarrass such practiced master lackeys as the Philippines' Marcos, or old Chiang Kai-shek himself.

On the particular question of whether the Soviet Union is socialist or capitalist, Wang is "modestly," and transparently, reserving his personal opinions, saying only that more investigation is needed and there is no need for hasty conclusions. Others have not been nearly so reserved. In fact over the last six months, the debate on the Soviet social system and the implications that has for China's foreign alignments has repeatedly broken out into the open. Under the guise of airing diverse opinions, trial balloons are teasingly run out to test Chinese readiness for new turnabouts, and to "subtly" signal international observers about debates going on—and to jack up the U.S. And then, just as teasingly, the controversies are hushed up again.

Last fall, a major stir was sparked when the national cultural magazine "Hundred Schools of Art and Literature" published the conclusion of a majority of the participants at the "Second National Conference on Contemporary Russian Literature" that the Soviet Union is, in fact, socialist despite the fact that it is externally hegemonic. Under Brezhnev, the article reported, the political situation is stable and the economy is developing at a good pace. Then after the article had whipped up national interest and debate, the government officially criticized the editors for jumping the gun and called for a self-criticism. But from all indications, the criticism was not specifically

aimed at the very notion that the Soviet Union might not be "socialist." In fact, at the same time, Zhao Ziyang (who has since been appointed Deputy Prime Minister) is reported by the *New York Times* (April 25) to have said that the two basic criteria of a socialist economy are state ownership of the means of production and paying people according to their work—criteria which the Soviet Union has used for years as its "socialist" cover. Completely gone from this line is any Marxist analysis of the truly decisive criterion: *who* controls the state, which *class*, and *in whose interest* society is being transformed. All that is left is the line which the Chinese must uphold together with the Soviet rulers (and all other state capitalists) that simple state ownership of industry and land is enough to guarantee working-class rule. "Paying people according to their work" is a phrase which has been used to mean anything. And this has been a slogan of revisionists in both the Soviet Union and China for resurrecting wage slavery, institutionalizing piecework and greatly expanding differences in income between mental and manual laborers. This is capitalism straight up.

It is exactly because the Soviet economy is organized along lines that are similar to the capitalism being restored in China that the debate over the Soviet social system becomes so sticky for the Chinese revisionists. It is not surprising that they are forced to postpone final verdicts. To continue to call the Soviet Union "capitalist" when they themselves are following the same basic internal policies strains their own domestic "socialist" cover. At the same time, the attempts to redefine the Soviet Union as "socialist" immediately bring the entire international analysis of the Chinese government into question—how can the Soviets be such ferocious "hegemonists" when their social system is "socialist"? Perhaps it is only a "bad policy" which could "change" later on.

And obviously, powerful forces in the Chinese leadership are encouraging asking exactly that question because the answer bolsters their growing intention to realign and join the Soviet imperialist war bloc. A deceitful and intensifying debate among utter scoundrels, protective of their demagogic "socialist" masquerade, fighting among themselves over which superpower to bow to.

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BATTLE OF THE FLAGS

Did May Day have an effect? "Not so," protests the ruling class. As Shakespeare said, "Methinks they doth protest too much." Following are two "unrelated" stories:

Item No. 1—One week before May First was Red Flag/Internationale Day. Through the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker*, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the National May Day Committee called for red flags to fly and for simultaneous singing across the country (1:55 P.M. Eastern time) of the Internationale, the anthem of the international working class. And on that day, class-conscious workers everywhere in this country joined their voices together in a powerful statement and what was a launching pad for May 1st itself.

Item No. 2—(Unrelated, of course.) From the *Dayton Journal Herald*, May 20, 1980: Paint company president Lou Koerber of Baltimore has a vision centered on Friday, June 14th. "Our concept is to have a simultaneous pledge of allegiance by 220 million Americans led by President Carter at 2 p.m. on Flag Day," says Koerber, placing his hand on his heart as he speaks. "We don't see how he possibly can't do it either from the White House or from Fort McHenry," says Koerber, coordinator for National Flag Day for Baltimore, but so far the White House hasn't commented on the idea. "We're asking for covers on *Time* and *Newsweek*," Koerber, 52, continued. He also wants newspapers "in every town, hamlet and village to put a flag on their front page." □

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Bob Avakian in D.C.

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kept him in power for all these years, and now the Iranian people want to get a hold of him." He said, "Well, I'm not talking about that and again I'm not advocating violence. I'm just discussing the question that when hostages are taken, whether or not we should adopt the policy of not negotiating but meeting violence with more violence."

In other words, he just ruled her right out of order. He said the point she was raising was out of order. In fact it was the only reality that was touched on in the whole call-in show up to that point. But it was irrelevant; he didn't want to talk about it, he wanted to begin *after all that* happened. And he didn't want to talk about it from the standpoint of the Iranian people, he wanted to talk about it from the standpoint of the American ruling class....

The One Question You Cannot Ask

In this country they teach you that there is one question you must not ask whenever they do anything and whenever they tell you to do anything. You've heard this all your life. The one question you must not ask at all costs is: "Why?" Don't ask why the Iranian people were literally up in arms about the Shah of Iran being right here! Don't look deeper than what they tell you. Don't try to understand what the Shah's coming here has to do with what the U.S. is trying to pull off in Iran and its preparations for World War 3 and what it's got in store for us and people all around the world. You must not ask the question "why?" That is a dangerous question and one that is illegitimate for a slave to ask.

When they tell you to hate, you're supposed to hate and you're supposed to hate who they tell you to hate. When they tell you to fear, you're supposed to fear and you're supposed to fear who they tell you to fear. When they tell you to worship, you're supposed to worship what they tell you to worship in the way they tell you to worship. When they tell you who's your enemy, you're supposed to get ready to fight that enemy in the way they tell you to fight that enemy. When they tell you who your friends are, you're supposed to get together with them in the way they tell you to do it. You can never ask "why," because once we begin to ask why and go from there to actually seeking out answers to all these questions, it's going to lead us to the one thing that can provide an answer—the revolutionary liberating science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. It's going to lead us to the inevitable conclusion that only revolution can make sense out of all this, and more than that only revolution can *change* it in a way to move things forward in the real interests of the great majority of society and the masses of people.

That is precisely why they've come after our Party in the first place. That is precisely why, even though we forced them to retreat now in this particular battle (the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants—*RW*), they have to step up and intensify and broaden their attacks upon our Party. They have to because of what our Party says to the masses of people, to the working class and oppressed people in this country, about every question, about every event, about every incident in society, every idea and every institution. Our Party calls on people and says the first thing you should do is to raise your head up and ask "why." Ask "why" whenever they tell you to do anything, and for that matter, ask why whenever we say you should do anything. Because we're not afraid of people questioning us. We're not afraid of people digging in to what we have to say. We're not afraid of people criticizing us and struggling with us, because we stand on the basis of the revolutionary science that represents the interests of the masses of people. And if our grasp of that science is not complete, if our grasp of that science is wrong, in this or that particular aspect, or if the way in which we're applying it doesn't correspond fully to the interests of the masses of people, then we're not afraid—in fact, we insist—that people come forward and call us out and question us and struggle with us and criticize us. That's the only way that we're ever going to be able to bring that revolutionary science to the masses of people, and for them to take it up and wield it as a weapon to win their own emancipation.

But an exploiter, an oppressor, can never stand for you to question, criticize, struggle, debate or argue with anything that he says. They can never stand for this. But our Party calls on people to ask "why" and not to stop there, but to seek out the answer, to go to this revolutionary science that we're talking about, to use it, to take it up, to struggle to learn about and apply it to every event, every institution, every idea, every struggle in society, in order to be able to grasp our real interests and fight more consciously, more united and more powerfully.

Our Party's Call

They know what they're preparing the masses of people for. They know that the economic crisis is going to get deeper and people are going to suffer more. Their attacks on people are going to intensify. They're

going to stick their knives in people and rip out even more flesh. It's the only way they have, even in the short run, for the next period, to try to find a way out of this that preserves their top-dog position. They are preparing to unleash world war in their rivalry and their competition with their equally imperialist, equally reactionary rivals in the Soviet Union. This is what they have in store. This is what their system is going to be bringing down on the backs of the masses of people in the years ahead, in the decade ahead.

And in this situation, do you think they can tolerate, do you think they can allow, do you think they can refrain in any way to use every means they have to attack a revolutionary party that is uncompromising, that calls things out for what they are, and more than that calls on the masses of people to step forward, grasp their real interests, and consciously fight to rise up and overthrow all this? Do you think that they can allow this when they're preparing people to go off to war, to fight and die to preserve this system with them on top, when they have to put the people through that kind of hell? Do you think they can allow a revolutionary party which says it straight up, while the bourgeoisie is whining and moaning and calling out to the American people and saying, "We're getting weaker, we're in decline, we're in danger of no longer being Number 1, we're being challenged and threatened all around the world by our Soviet rivals and by the obstreperous people all over the world—by these slaves who don't know their place from Iran to Nicaragua to Africa to Asia and every other part of the world." Do you think that they won't do everything that they can come up with to try to crush our Party that says straight up: "Yeah, you're getting weaker. Yeah, your system is decayed. Yeah, you're in decline. Yeah, you're having difficulty maintaining your Number 1 position. Yeah, you're going to have to go off and fight a world war if you can do it before we overthrow you. Yes indeed, you are in deeper crisis, you're in decline and decay, you are getting more and more desperate. Yes, all that is true. But what we're going to do, and what we're going to call on and lead the masses of people to do, is join with people all over the world to help you get even weaker. And more than that, when you get weak enough, and when we get strong enough, when you're in a deep enough crisis, and when we're educated, and united, and prepared, and organized enough, that's when we're going to come at you and do away with you once and for all!"

Do you think they can allow a party to exist and function among the masses of people that takes that firm stand? Look around you. Look at the Washington Monument and who took it over. They had to lie about it. The *Washington Star* ran a little article about the vets taking over the monument and standing in solidarity with the Iranian people. And what did the *Washington Star* say? It said, "According to police reports, none of those arrested was actually a veteran." Well, this is a goddamn lie. And why did they have to say that? Why did they have to cover that up? They didn't call us up and ask if there were any veterans. They weren't interested in the truth. They wanted to lie to the people in this country, because they know that the veterans have a wide influence among broad masses of people; that people understand that if anybody knows about what this imperialist system is about and what it does to people in other countries, the veterans know, because they were the ones who were forced to go off and do this dirty work, sometimes at the cost of their own lives, and always at the cost of the lives of the people in those other countries.

And they understand very well how dangerous it is when the very people they've used up and even shot to pieces in many cases, maimed and injured carrying out their dirty work all over the world—when these same people come back standing proud and tall, or proud and tall even in their wheelchairs, determined to take a firm stand with the struggle of the oppressed people all over the world. They understand very well how explosive this is among the masses of American people. They understand very well the danger this presents to them. And look around, I'll tell you right now, I don't know everybody here, I don't even know most people here, but I feel safe in saying that a large number of people here are veterans of the Vietnam War, and the great majority of them are determined that the next time they shoot guns, it's going to be shooting them at the real people who need to be shot at in order to do what needs to be done and have a revolution to get beyond all this madness, which brings down suffering and war on the masses of people.

The American People On the Front Lines of World War 3

The bourgeoisie is arguing and debating, maneuvering and finagling now, trying to figure out the best way to bring back the draft. But they know they're going to war, and not just what they call a "local war," like a war of aggression against the Vietnamese people's liberation struggle in Indochina; they're preparing to go all the way down to the big deal, World War 3, and they have to do that. And if you listen carefully to your enemy and you apply the scientific method we're talking about, you can see this even in the very things they try to do to maneuver in order to fool us. Because when they temporarily decided not to reintroduce the draft up in Congress here a few months ago, those who took the lead in opposing the reinstatement of the draft

were straight up about it. They said: "The people won't tolerate it. We haven't created enough public opinion. We haven't brainwashed them enough. They still have too many lessons of Vietnam fresh in their minds. We can't do it now, it'll expose our hand too early and too far."

But make no mistake about it, they are bringing back the draft. They are going to drag these youth out here, men and women, into the army, because they're going to have to throw everybody into the war machine when they go down for the whole big deal, because they understand something else that we should understand. They understand that all this "Halls of Montezuma" bullshit, and "It's a Grand Old Flag" horseshit is not going to be what's happening in the next world war. They understand that they are not going to be able to do what they did in the two previous world wars. They are not going to be able to sit back on the sidelines for most of the war, and then step in when the opposing forces have weakened themselves, and plunder and grab and loot and rape the greatest part of the whole world. They understand very well from what they've already had to do in the Dominican Republic, in Lebanon in the 1950s, in Vietnam and in 100 other places they never even told you about, that when the *next* world war comes they ain't going to be able to sit it out on the sidelines and let the other forces weaken themselves. Because they've got an empire that they not only need to protect, but to expand. From the very beginning they're going to need American forces and American troops right at the front lines of the battle—right in the fiery furnace and focal point of the whole world struggle between them and their allies on one side, and the Russian imperialists and their allies on the other.

And it ain't going to be what they were able to do before—step in at the end and grab a relatively quick and easy cheap victory. Do you know that in World War 2, only about 1 or 2% of all the casualties of the Allied forces were American casualties? That's the truth of all your goddamn John Wayne movies and the rest of the bullshit. That's what really went down. The Soviet Union was in the forefront, the Chinese people, revolutionary people in other parts of the world, and the masses of people in many countries are the ones who shed their blood in that war, while the rulers of this country hung back and stepped in at the end when they were in a favorable position to step in and grab up all the areas that the weakened powers, even their own allies, were no longer able militarily and economically to hold onto and dominate.

And that's why, coming out of World War 2, they were able to erect the dollar in place of gold as the standard of currency by which all their allies and everybody under their domination had to make their international exchanges. They were able to make everybody else accept the dollar as being as good as gold. Think back on it—at that time, one ounce of gold was worth only \$35. \$35 would buy you an ounce of gold. Today the dollar is worth less than 10% of that. Today it takes \$400 or more to buy an ounce of gold, and that is a very stark and shining representation of the weakened and declining position of the ruling class in this country and the fact that it has to go to war. That it can do nothing other than go to war to try to preserve and resurrect a position where it can dominate most of the world and once again establish its military and economic domination.

They're not going to be able, for that very reason, to sit back. They can't let the British, or the French, or the West Germans, or the Japanese fight on the front lines for years against the Russians and their allies, and then come in at the end to clean up and expand their empire. They're going to have to send American troops and American forces right into the front lines of this war from the very beginning. And the only thing that will stop them from doing this is revolution here in unity with people throughout the world.

Turning the Guns Around

We have to not only see the horror and the devastation of such a world war, but we have to also see the fact that as that war goes on, as all their lies and promises about the great American empire and its ability to knock down everything in its way, as all the myths and the images they've built up of these invincible American forces are shattered on the battlefield, and there is no clear and easy victory for them; that not only will there be horror and devastation—all this system can ever bring down anyway—but there will be a growing opportunity for the enslaved people here in unity with our class all over the world to rise up and finally strike them down and be rid of them once and for all.

You see, it's like that old example Malcolm X gave, talking about the old slave days. He said, when the master's house caught on fire, there were some of the slaves—the house slaves—who had a little bit of a privileged position. They were the George Meany's of their time. Or maybe some of these people who consider themselves "the great American craftsman." Because of the fact that when the master had a few leftovers from his table, he dribbled a few crumbs down to them, and he gave them a little piece of blanket to sleep on his floor in his kitchen; because of the fact that they got to live, eat and work in the house, as Malcolm X said, when the master's house caught on fire, they were the first ones to run up with a bucket of water, saying, "Master, master, *our* house is

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MR. BRUCE—~~LIVE~~ FROM TEHRAN

Mr. Bruce, you've been such a loyal servant, so staunch and brave since you became a hostage.

No doubt people all over the world are familiar with the bizarre pieces of "culture" which have been spawned in mass quantities by a rotting American imperialism. But for the benefit of our readers in other countries who have not seen the show, now popular on U.S.

television, which inspired "Mr. Bruce," we offer a brief explanation. It simply seemed all too appropriate to use the form of this sadistic little series against the imperialists and their much touted "hostages," when it has Continued on page 17



So, to "rescue" you and the rest of our hostages, we sent a "mission of mercy".



We had planned to come to the embassy...



Then we would spray gas all over the embassy to get rid of the students who are holding you...

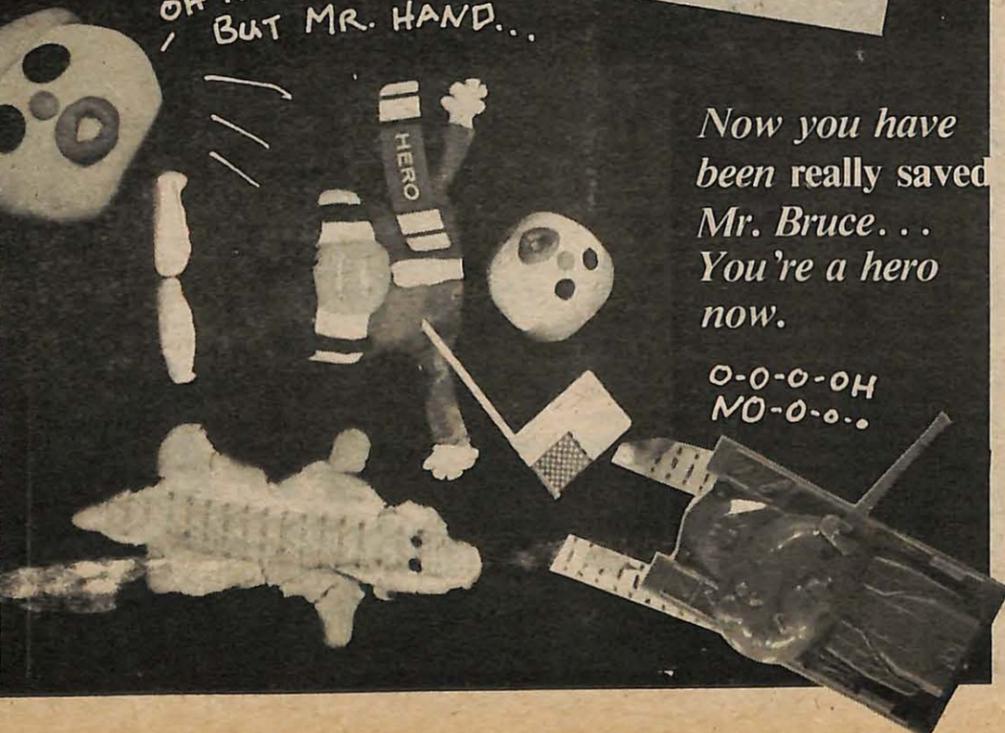
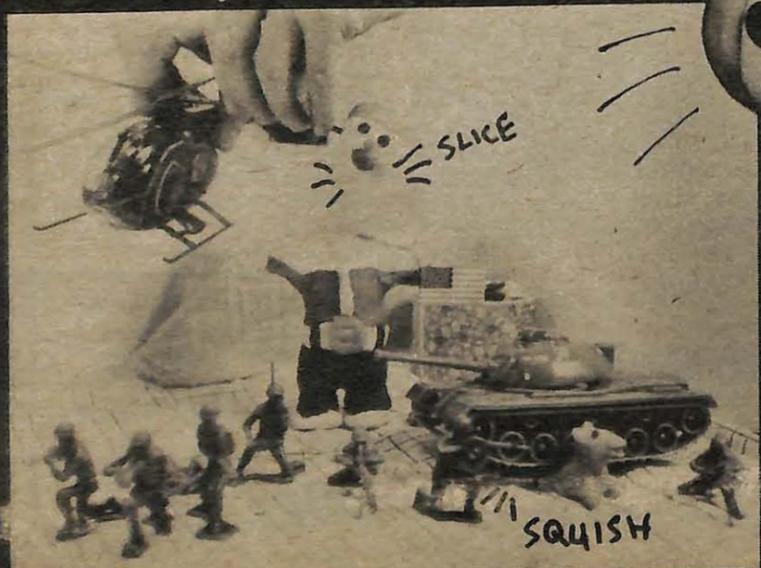
But (unfortunately), our rescue mission ran into a little trouble...



So now we're going to try again.

Here comes the helicopter Mr. Bruce. Don't lose your head Mr. Bruce.

OH NO-O-O-O / BUT MR. HAND...



VVAW 7—Too Hot to Handle

Tuesday, May 27. The VVAW 7* lined the front of Washington, D.C.'s Superior Courtroom Number 11—six veterans dressed in fatigues and VVAW T-shirts, and one member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade wearing a red T-shirt emblazoned with the words "Screw the Capitalist Pigs" across the front. "God save America and this court," cried out the bailiff as he looked upon the defendants. The trial of the VVAW 7 for seizing the Washington Monument back in November in support of the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people was about to begin. That is, it was scheduled to begin until the U.S. government hurriedly put together a \$10 deal. The U.S. Attorney basically pleaded with the 7 to accept the deal—charges reduced to one count of "disorderly congregation," and the posting and forfeiting \$10 bail. Within minutes, the VVAW 7 walked out of the courtroom victorious, and the government breathed a sigh of relief.

After six months of maneuvering, the government had been forced to back off. The case of the VVAW 7 had been a straight-up political trial from the very beginning. Every move by the government took place in very close con-

nection with the development of U.S. imperialism's crisis in Iran, and more, in the context of their rapid preparations for world war. Over the course of the last six months, the trial has been postponed twice. The charges had been reduced twice from the original one felony and one misdemeanor—both federal charges, with a possible 10-year jail term and a \$10,000 fine—to three misdemeanors (local charges) supposedly to help insure the government of at least one conviction, and finally to the one misdemeanor and a \$10 ticket.

Each of the two trial postponements occurred at very politically sensitive times for the U.S.—times when they in no way wanted to be faced with the trial of Vietnam vets who take a revolutionary stand in support of the "enemy," the Iranian people. March 5, the first scheduled trial date came at a time when the UN Commission and its "fact-finding tour" to Iran had been exposed as a tool in U.S. plotting and had been booted out by the Iranian people. On April 14, the second scheduled trial date, was right in the middle of the U.S. rulers' renewed attempts at whipping up a reactionary storm of patriotism and war fever in preparation for their

abortive military action in Iran a couple of weeks later.

The next scheduled trial date was May 27, the day after Memorial Day—and this year there was a general crescendo in the U.S. rulers' traditional war drum beating. The press ran big features on military preparedness. Interviews were run out with graduating seniors from the various military academies saying things like, "we don't like war, but we'll sure as hell fight to defend this country." And also this year, there was an especially heavy emphasis placed on Vietnam era vets centering around the general theme of "healing the wounds." Articles featured reactionary Vietnam vets like Jim Webb, the author of the pro-Vietnam War book *Fields of Fire*. Here were vets (just about all of them ex-officers) who had come back from Vietnam "disenchanted" with the war, some claiming to have once been members of VVAW, but who over the last few years have seen the light and are more than ready to go at it again. Special memorial programs were held specifically for Vietnam vets and public attention was called to two bozos in West Virginia who founded Vietnam Veterans to Save

America, an organization dedicated to organizing Vietnam vets into a combat ready reserve unit for future use.

Somewhere in the midst of all this war fever, the authorities did a double-take. The very next day, the day when their press would be overloaded with glowing stories about Memorial Day activities (especially thick in Washington, D.C.), they had scheduled the trial of the VVAW 7. And these weren't just any Vietnam vets, in fact two of the seven had been kicked out of the army for actions taken during the Vietnam War—one for going to Vietnam and turning his gun in, refusing to fight against the Vietnamese people—and the other a former member of the 82nd Airborne, one of U.S. imperialism's elite military units, for refusing to go to Vietnam at all. But more than that, they're politically conscious, revolutionary vets. Clearly, the political price that the U.S. ruling class would have had to pay by putting these vets on trial, in the wake of their appeal for national unity and war fever, was too high for them to pay. □

* The VVAW (Vietnam Veterans Against the War) 7 were also known as the Movement 7.

AC/DC

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At this point, the debate is being kept simmering in the background, while the leading forces work out their international tactics, following the characteristic patterns of utter pragmatism and complete lack of any consistency or principle. Current Chinese leader Teng Hsiao-ping has led the pack in this little game of peek-a-boo. In a speech on January 16, Teng openly announced that "The Soviet Union has been building socialism for 63 years since the 1917 October Revolution"—and thereby unleashed powerful forces to re-examine previous verdicts on Russia. Months later the debate was reeled in after a university official gave a speech to Chinese youth leaders calling the United States a greedy imperialist country that had colonies abroad and was so beset by internal troubles that a mother must pay to eat in her son's home. This "discovery" of U.S. imperialism was clearly nothing but a signal that the current slavish love campaign for U.S. imperialism might soon end. The debate had again gone far enough, for now, and so Teng spoke up with a personal "clarification" that contradicted his previous remarks. Peking Review No. 20 (May 19) reports Teng saying: "Facts over the past years show that the Soviet Union is not a socialist country, but a social-imperialist country." Then he adds teasingly, "At present it is the Soviet Union which really threatens world peace. The Soviet Union is the source of war. We should keep a close watch on what will happen in the 1980s." In other words, the accent is on the "at present." A feeble reassurance for the U.S.—in reality, a barely veiled ultimatum.

Reversing the 1960s Polemics

In the famous *Polemic on the*

Hired Killer Magazine

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he utilized for further counterrevolutionary activity.

It's no wonder that the advertisements, articles, etc. in *Soldier of Fortune* are shot through with the apocalyptic vision of a ruling class that sees itself outnumbered and outmanned, battered on all sides, and definitely in danger of losing it all unless some professional "survivors" can come to the rescue. Until recently, the out-front recruiting activities have centered in on mercenary adventures overseas, particularly in Africa, but lately including Central America as well. Articles and advertisements that deal with assassinations, combat, etc. within the U.S. have been clearly secondary, mostly limited to police defense against "criminals,"

General Line, nine political essays written under Mao's direct leadership, the Chinese party exhaustively exposed the revisionism of the Soviet Union under Khrushchev, showed how the rise of revisionism to power must inevitably lead to capitalism, and systematically defended Marxism-Leninism and its revolutionary essence. For years these precious polemics were nothing less than the very definition of what revolutionary communism meant; they were a life raft for serious revolutionaries disoriented by betrayal and years of crusty reformism. And now, the treatment of these polemics is another indication of how far the Chinese revisionists are moving both in blotting out Marxism and also in making moves toward the Soviets. In practice the polemics were repudiated step by step over the past three years: revolution is no longer supported by the Chinese revisionists; the verdict on Yugoslav social-capitalism was reversed for a pragmatic revisionist alliance; Berlinguer's recent visit to China went straight up against the fiery polemic against the betrayals of the Italian Communist Party and its leader Togliatti. Very significantly, the Chinese have moved from just disregarding these polemics to publicly repudiating them in general—as was recently done, for example, by Li Yi Mang, Deputy Minister of the Foreign Ministry, in a speech cited in *Wide Angle* that blankly referred to the polemics as erroneous.

Liu Shao-chi

The ultimate indication of the degree to which the legacy of Mao Tsetung is being eradicated is, of course, the resurrection of Liu Shao-chi, arch-revisionist, infamous as "China's Khrushchev," the man who led the revisionist opposition to Mao and the man famous as a major pro-Soviet imperialist figure

often with racial overtones and stories about border patrolmen attacking "illegals."

The recent issue represents the first time that *Soldier of Fortune* has issued the call to go after revolutionaries in the U.S.—a clear sign that the ruling class is seeing things becoming pretty apocalyptic at home as well. And it's not surprising that they would zero in on the flying of the red flag over the Alamo as the incarnation of that vision. For to those like *Soldier of Fortune* and the class it serves, who worship the jackboot of imperialist oppression, that action symbolized their fears of the future and their desperation in trying to stomp it out. □

in the Chinese party of the 1960s. Since the *RW* reported on his restoration in issue No. 44, the flood gates have opened to flatter his memory. May 17 was set aside as a national day of memorial homage to this toad, an open announcement that nothing Mao stood for is sacred, even the antagonism with the Soviet Union. Driving the point home, Teng Hsiao-ping pointedly gave the major memorial speech to Liu without a single mention of "revisionism" or even a *token* denunciation of the social-imperialists.

In short, even while the Chinese revisionists are shamelessly continuing their alliance with the U.S. and unleashing pitiful lobbyists like David Kline to demand even more lucrative relations, the decks are being cleared for rapprochement with the Soviets. As we have already written, in the short run it is an attempt to drive a harder bargain with the American imperialists and pry more goodies out of them—and in the long run it brings the restoration of Sino-Soviet alliance even closer.

Almost a year ago, the *RW* printed an article entitled "When Will China Play the 'China Card'?", which pointed out that the very strength of the Soviet threat to China might very well make them the power that ultimately wins the allegiance of a new capitalist China. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought teaches that a poor and backward country like China simply cannot maintain independence from the major imperialist powers without breaking capitalist relations of production, and carrying out a revolutionary line of self-reliance and the mobilization of the masses. The laws of imperialism brought into play by the capitalist restoration in China mean that despite the fancy dreams the Chinese capitalists have about rapid "modernization," about "using" the imperialists to build up independent strength and playing off the superpowers, the subordination of China to one superpower or the other is a foregone conclusion. As we wrote last August, "The same thinking guiding their current capitalist 'modernization' will guide them right toward the arms of the Soviets. The pressures that will mount on China as world war draws closer make an about-face in Sino-Soviet relations not just an abstract possibility but a strong likelihood. Their logic: If the Soviets threaten to stomp on your sand castles, why not strike a bargain?"

Munich Analogy

Recent developments have confirmed all our earlier predictions with a vengeance. We pointed out then that

the "Munich analogy" that they were using so freely then to denounce the "Hitler-like" Soviet danger and to call on the Western imperialists to stop what they called "appeasement policies" was a double-edged analogy. The (then) unwritten conclusion to the "Munich analogy" was the possibility of a Chinese flip over to the Soviet side, using the cover of comparison to the then-socialist Soviet Union's temporary pact with Germany to foil the British-U.S. attempts to send Hitler east, unmolested, to attack the Soviet Union. The then unwritten conclusion has now been written explicitly by Dave Kline in the *Call* article, as a flimsy cover to try to sell this grotesque act of capitulation as "socialism" to some *Call* readers.

The bourgeois diplomatic rumor mill is feverishly cranking out advance warnings of major events. Soviet diplomats are reportedly giggling about a "bombshell" the world can expect within months. These could be the first direct indications of a major open thaw between the revisionists in Moscow and Peking.

Whether the Chinese ultimately justify their final crawl to Moscow as a "tactical" necessity forced on them by a supposedly "flabby" West, or whether they simply announce that they have discovered the Russians to be long-lost cousins estranged by Mao Tsetung, is completely irrelevant. Reality doesn't change every time the Chinese opportunists dream up some new historical analogy to justify their prostitution. China is neither a "modernizing" superpower-in-the-making buying time through deft maneuvers, nor is it a "socialist" country hunting long lost comrades. It is a major chunk of the world being bitterly contested by two colliding imperialist superpowers. The shifting alignment of one quarter of humanity into the Soviet camp would be a tremendous change in the international balance of forces. All of Asia would be overshadowed by the Soviet war bloc, and the pressure on Japan to leap over, too, would quickly mount. Without a doubt, the U.S. imperialists would be forced to take rapid and decisive action to hold their empire together and wrench the balance into their favor. The events surrounding this contention promise to be among the decisive events that trigger the approaching third world war. □

A cumulative index of the *Revolutionary Worker*, Vol. 1, Nos. 1-52 will be published in our next issue.

REVOLUTIONARY WORKER
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LIVE FROM TEHRAN

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become very clear that the U.S. government will gladly kill them in order to "rescue" them. It should come as no surprise that the U.S. ruling class would murder its own diplomats and CIA agents—including "Mr. Bruce" Laingen, the No. 1 U.S. diplomat being held in Iran—to put an end to the "hostage crisis" just as cynically as they provoked it to begin with by bringing the Shah to the U.S. last November. And in fact, they are right now making active preparations to launch another military attack on Iran under this threadbare guise.

Ever since the embassy takeover last November, the U.S. ruling class and their spokesmen have droned on and on about their "deep concern" for the health and safety of the poor hostages. But President Carter & Co. in following months increasingly changed their tune to "defending our national honor" as they worked to prepare the public for the military attack against Iran they were getting ready to launch. This was noted by even some of the more patriotic relatives of the hostages themselves, one of whom commented after the April raid went up in smoke, "I think

President Carter is trying to get them killed."

This is certainly true. The imperialist rulers of the U.S. could care less about the lives of the captured U.S. embassy personnel in Iran. They are simply expendable pawns. The stakes are much higher for these big-time gangsters as they survey their threatened global empire: How are we going to crush the life out of the Iranian revolution? How do we gear up for World War 3 with our Russian rivals, how are we going to demonstrate that the "U.S. is still No. 1" as long as these damn Iranians keep rubbing it in our face?! Indeed, they desperately need to put an end to the "hostage crisis"—and to the hostages themselves, as even "Mr. Bruce" finally discovers.

There are increasing signs that active preparations for another raid are already well under way. As the aircraft carrier *Nimitz* arrived in Norfolk, Va. last week, President Carter delivered a speech from the area of the deck that launched the helicopters used in April's raid. The commander-in-chief warmed up by praising the *Nimitz's* "mission of peace" and congratulating the crew for doing their patriotic duty from their post halfway around the world as part of the "Indian Ocean battle group." (It was also noted that the *Nimitz* has been continuously at sea for more than nine months, the longest deployment of any ship of the U.S. Navy since World War 2.) With his voice rising, Carter then told the crew that he had personally met with the surviving members of last

month's abortive raid and "all of them expressed a desire to attempt a second rescue mission."

Carter's speech on the decks of the *Nimitz* came only days after the heretofore obscure World Court ruled that Iran must hand over the captured U.S. embassy personnel to the U.S. plus pay the U.S. (!) reparations for "illegally detaining" them. While government spokesmen now solemnly warn Iran that it is "bound by this decision," it turns out upon further investigation that through the little known "Connally Resolution," the U.S. has claimed the right to decide *for itself* whether the World Court or any other such institution has jurisdiction in cases involving the U.S. More hypocrisy and imperialist doubletalk!

The U.S. would certainly prefer, as it has all along, to get its captured diplomats and CIA agents back with the help of the reactionary and compromising forces who dominate the government and military in Iran today. In order to give them a face-saving way out, the U.S. imperialists could agree to "see the light"—and recognize some of the "excesses" of the Shah's regime and promise never again to "interfere in Iran's internal affairs." The U.S. is undoubtedly carefully watching what happens in Iran's new parliament (Majlis) as it convenes this week. Already indirect negotiations—conducted by "neutral" UN representatives and a recent delegation of European right-wing socialists—are starting to come up with such a "compromise solution."

Looking over the shoulders of the Majlis, however, are the politically aroused and organized Iranian masses. There continues to be strong sentiment among the people for holding the CIA agents and other U.S. embassy personnel for as long as it takes to force the U.S. imperialists to send the Shah back

to Iran, along with the billions of dollars he plundered from their country during 27 years of U.S.-backed rule.

From all indications, the students are continuing to hold the great majority of the hostages inside the captured U.S. embassy compound in Tehran, maintaining it as a central rallying point for the Iranian masses against continuing U.S. aggression against Iran. This will also make it more difficult for the imperialists to mount either a CIA-style "dirty tricks" operation to kill some of the hostages (and then blame it on the Iranian people) or an all-out military attack to eliminate the "hostage problem" altogether. At the opening of the Majlis, the students sent a message stating that if the Shah and his wealth were not returned to Iran, the U.S. embassy personnel would have to be tried and punished. This statement ended by warning, "Any decision other than this will have to be justified before the Iranian people."

Today, with all-out armed struggle raging in the province of Kurdistan in western Iran and with smaller battles against the central government erupting in other parts of the country as well, the U.S. imperialists are clearly not placing all their bets on the shaky new Iranian ruling classes. Thus, these stepped-up preparations for a second military attack on Iran. While the national news features the latest U.S. plan for "peacefully resolving the crisis," a U.S. naval armada still cruises off the coast of Iran, heavily loaded U.S. C-130's land every day at air bases in Egypt and coast into hangars to be secretly unloaded....

In the spirit of revolutionary defeatism, we dedicate this segment of the "Mr. Bruce Show" to U.S. imperialism, especially its hired lackeys wherever they may be. We trust they are quite demoralized. □

Bad Times for Jesse

These have been bad times for Jesse Jackson—excuse us, the *Reverend* Jesse Jackson. Before his encore in Miami, where he fell flat on his face, he had just made a stellar appearance in Washington, D.C., where he also fell flat on his face. On May 17, in his nationwide, "powerful, pacesetting, opening up of the '80s," Jackson and a string of other handkerchief heads from across the country descended on the capital for an all-day "youth pilgrimage for jobs, food stamps, peace and justice."

Believe us, it was pitiful. The march was led by Jackson locking arms with a number of Black congressmen and mayors. The American flags and "keep America No. 1" placards sprinkled throughout the crowd painted a vivid picture of Jackson's latest scam: "Operation Big Vote." As the reverend put it, "In this jungle, we have more than switches. We have strategic weapons. We have our votes." Why the particular metaphor "strategic weapons" stood out so starkly here became clear later when Jesse called on people to use that vote "to get our share of America's economic pie," and further (just to insure that there would be some pie to get) to support policies and politicians that would "make America competitive in the world market again." As American flags snapped in the breeze on the stage, you could almost hear Uncle Jesse adding on a phrase or two about fighting the Russians, if (or more accurately—when) necessary.

Jackson failed in his quest to rally tens of thousands of the "urban poor, the unemployed, and Black youth" behind his crusade. In fact, while Jackson had predicted that 25,000 would flood the streets of D.C., barely 5000 marched, and most of those were people already hooked up with Jackson or something similar through Operation

PUSH or other church, school or community programs.

Although Jackson's usual social base did the marching that day, still there were a couple of times when Jackson & Co. got a sharp taste of the developing sentiment among the many thousands who didn't march. At one point, when Jackson led the demonstration in literally kneeling in front of the White House to pray that God grant "our leader" some enlightenment, a Black youth, outraged at this sight, rushed over from across the street. "Get up!", he shouted. "Get up off your knees! We've been down there too long. Stand up, throw your fist up in the air. This ain't the '60s no more. We need a new agenda, an '80s agenda." Jackson's goons quickly dragged him away, and Jackson responded by throwing his head back, casting his eyes to the sky, and leading the demonstrators in singing "We Shall Overcome." Then a few blocks later, three unemployed construction workers broke off from the march's "labor contingent" and stood to the side, shouting "That's it! We aren't even going to ride the same bus home with you—it's too embarrassing. Fuck this begging for jobs stuff—that ain't nothing. You aren't *nothing* here. You want to do something? Then burn the Constitution, destroy the government."

While this weekend marked a low point in Jackson's career, it by no means marked the end of the road for Jesse and his cohorts. In fact as the situation intensifies, his face will be an even more frequent sight. But one thing's for sure—you can bet that there's some heavy summing up going on after last weekend, and Jackson, for one, is probably desperately rushing around, sizing up a whole new style of knee pads. □



Cuban refugees try to escape from camp as U.S. troops enforce the real "freedom and democracy" in the good old USA.

Cubans

Continued from page 1

metal. Refugees climbed over the newly installed barbed wire fences, and ran across the Fort Walton golf course and down to the highway. Other refugees busted into a food warehouse and looted it. Air force police and the Florida Highway Patrol swarmed through the area, capturing refugees and returning them to their home—Camp Libertad.

Many refugees probably began to wonder about what lay ahead when the first thing they saw getting off the boat was smoke billowing over Miami as National Guardsmen rushed in to suppress the largest Black rebellion since the Detroit uprising of 1967. "Why are they rioting—they're not stuck in concentration camps—are they?" By now, the thought has probably crossed a lot of minds that if they ever do escape from the barbed wire compounds and the watchful eyes of the military police and national guardsmen, life outside

the barbed wire might not be much better.

The refugees are also encountering another charming red, white and blue bonus attraction: national chauvinist hatred and prejudice. The Congressman of one district where refugees are being shipped protested the presence of refugees in "his community," stating that "a lot of folks are concerned" that the "hot-blooded Cuban males" would roam the streets raping the women. The governor of Wisconsin protested against his state becoming a "dumping ground" for refugees. The propaganda value of the refugees is all used up, now, so you can forget about that "open hearts and open arms" crap that Jimmy Carter was spouting not so long ago.

Right now, security is being tightened at camps across the country. Refugees are being released at the rate of about 100 a day—the whole process could take months, if not years, to be completed. Where's the sweet land of liberty? This is it—Camp Libertad is an ideal showcase for the American way of life, and the new arrivals are learning fast. □



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Bob Avakian in D.C.

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on fire!" But the great majority of the slaves, the people who worked and suffered in the fields, when they saw that the master's house caught on fire, they didn't run up with a bucket, saying "Master, master, our house is on fire"—they ran up with some straw or whatever else they could find to throw it on the fire and help it burn down all the faster!

And just to extend that a little, because you see, it's going to go beyond that. Because what's going to be happening now is not only that there's going to be a fire developing in their own house, but at the same time they're going to come running to us in their own desperation. Look what it's going to force them to do. They're going to come running to us with guns, the one thing they never want us to have. Of course, they're going to come running with uniforms and orders too, but they're going to come running to us with guns. Can you imagine if on the old plantations the master not only came running out of his house saying a fire was starting there, but saying, "There's a riding party from the plantation down the road, and they're coming here to attack and take over our plantations—here's some guns and a uniform, you got to go out and protect *our* plantation!" He would have been a goddamn fool. Any slave who understands what his condition is and what the only way is that it's going to change in a fundamental sense—that is, to rid himself and people everywhere of slavery so that no one can ever again be slapped back into a slave chain; any slave who has been awakened to that, any slave who has begun to raise his or her head and see that, is going to say: "Fuck it! Give me the gun! I'll even take the uniform. Let me see your fucking orders. But what are you talking about, *our* plantation? Some riding party coming down to attack *our* plantation? What the hell do I care about that? You go off and fight them, and when you get weak enough I'll be right behind to

get rid of you, and then deal with them if they want to try to come in here and do what you've been doing."

And that's the stand that our Party has taken. You go ahead and draft, not only the young men but the young women. Excellent. You take these women, out of your own necessity, break the chain that holds them in the kitchen as a slave in their own household, drag them out into the larger world, give them a gun, put a uniform on them, give them military training, get them physically fit, teach them technological and logistical skills. Don't only do that with the men, do that with all the women that you can get to! Take every one of them and train them as well as you know how. But you see, we understand one thing—that while they're going to be doing a lot of work for us, giving people technical skills, logistical understanding, getting them better physically fit, in shape to fight a war—that they are never going to be able to rely in the final analysis on these troops.

Now the veterans out here know what I'm talking about—and anybody who doesn't, check it out, talk to people who have been in the service. You want to know why the imperialists can't win a war? Not only is their cause unjust. Not only do they have to plunder and aggress against the people in countries all over the world. Not only do they have to get people to fight for a cause that has no purpose except to accumulate more wealth and to make possible more plunder on the part of a handful of bloodthirsty thieves and gangsters, but as a reflection and as a direct result of that, the very way in which they have to train their own troops shows you why they cannot in the final analysis defeat a revolutionary war of the masses of people, no matter what defeats and setbacks we might suffer along the way. The veterans here know what I'm talking about. How did they train you to be a fighter in their army? Their whole objective is to get you to be a blind, ignorant, unthinking, unquestioning fighting machine. That's the only thing that they *can* do. They don't dare have political discussion of a real kind and let people freely speak their minds and seek out the answers as to *who* we should be fighting and *for what*. And so the way they train their troops is to try to degrade them.

They try to humiliate them. They try to knock any sense of rebelliousness out of them, any sense of questioning any kind of authority. They shout at you, "You puke, you maggot, you pussy, you mama's boy, get up. I thought you were tough. Look at this sissy over here."

Now I'm going to tell you right now. You go ahead and train your army that way, because that's the only way you can train them. And I'm going to tell you right now, that just right there we can see why you're never going to be able to defeat the politically aroused masses of people on the battlefield. Because those very people that you're counting on, relying upon to do your fighting, come from among our ranks. They come from us. You dragged them off from us at the point of a gun, and you've humiliated and degraded them and tried to keep them ignorant, but we're going to be out among them. We're going to be within your own army, working to disintegrate and to politically educate the ranks of your own armed forces, men and women. The cells and branches of the Revolutionary Communist Party are going to be built from one end of this country and from one end of this world to the other, right within the imperialist army of this country!

And I'm not being reckless saying this, because there's not a goddamn thing you can do about it, and I'll tell you why. You're not going to know what our tactics are. You're not going to know what our methods are. You're not going to know at any given time which of these people you're abusing, giving orders to, is the one who's going to take the lead in slitting your throat when the time comes! You're not going to know which among them is the one distributing the *Revolutionary Worker*, and other literature and propaganda of our Party, secretly among all your troops, or which are the ones who, when you're drunk and in your stupor, are leading troops secretly at night by candlelight to hold political discussions about who are our real friends and who are our real enemies, and who should we really be shooting and who should we really be uniting with to carry out warfare, for what purpose and toward what end.

(To be continued next week.)

Not Alone

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I'm reminded of a comrade that about two months ago came for the first time. He didn't know anything, so I told him about the movement and that I would like him to take part in it. He said, "Sure, I'll go with you, I'll go with you tomorrow to San Francisco." So we went, and for him it was the first time. Then we broke up into different groups. Some went to factories and others to other places to sell the paper. Later I found out that where he went they had run into some reactionaries and he was right in there fighting. I thought that he would be scared off since it was the very first time and the first time they jump on him. But on the contrary, he liked the struggle and he's more interested.

See, I think that the only way that we can direct our anger is by understanding the line of the Party. But right now I think that the best way to direct our anger is through getting to know this newspaper, learning and knowing where we are headed and who we are fighting against and in what way. For example, the anger and the hatred, that's already there. But what we have to do is to learn the line, to learn what kind of system we are going to be building. We have to be the example to the people.

RW: How have things changed since you first came to this country?

Brigader: Look, I've been in many cities here in the United States, working in the fields and in many other things, and as much as I've tried to find a better life, as much as I've tried to make things easier, I always run into more exploitation, I always find that the more I work the more I get exploited. So in many places I tried to unite the comrades, before I met up with the Party. I tried to unite them, and soon there was about 15 or 20 of us together, and we would go to the boss and pressure him to pay us more and things like that. And in the end he would fire us all and things would remain the same. Many of them would go back to the same thing or sometimes they would only fire me. So I was a little demoralized because I thought I couldn't do anything, because I always fought, but always I felt alone.

But now that I see that there are millions of people in the world that think like I do and now that I see that

there is a Party here, a revolutionary Party, that bases itself on the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and on top of that we have Bob Avakian and millions of people that hate this system and that we are uniting. Now I feel that my desire to struggle against this imperialism has been redoubled.

One thing that I want to say is that it's not just me, there are thousands of people like me. But they don't know how to change it. I think they must even feel alone, but they should know that we have a revolutionary movement here in our own time, and that right now we have great opportunities to overthrow this miserable system once and for all. And more, we are not alone, we have the whole international proletariat. Now it's a question that we have to reach them, we have to teach them that there is a Party, that we do have this Party that's going to make the revolution and that it is capable of carrying it out.

RW: How do you see this call to join the Party and to take up the *Draft Programme*?

Brigader: I accept that call. But I want these other comrades to accept it also. And for other comrades to accept it, I have to study so that I can answer their heavy questions. I would be very happy to join this Party and to be able to put all my force for the good of the revolution, because I'm sick and tired of this filthy system. For the past 6 months or more I've been wanting to send some money to my mother and I've been working but I'll never be able to do it because I've only been getting exploited, so I've been working to only be able to send her a little bit. I should have been better using that money for the revolution, for the good of my people, because I can see that a lot of people are beginning to respond, and some that are not responding it's because they don't know—it's because they don't know the line. Well I'm going to study that line more; I'm going to study that line of the Party more so that I can do my work with more effectiveness.

Because, I don't know, maybe tomorrow or the day after, something is going to explode, and I'm going to be sad, for instance, if a lot of people aren't ready at that time, and that's going to be my fault.

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Palestine Day in New Jersey

Heads turned when Palestine Day was celebrated on Sunday, May 25 in the small town of North Bergen, New Jersey. Over 600 Palestinians, many dressed in the clothing of their homeland, took the struggle for self-determination to the people of the U.S. A woman in the march told a local newspaper, "Our people are being driven by the Israelis from their home

every day. I wish the American people would understand that the mass media here does not present our side. We're not anti-Jewish, we're anti-Zionist."

The march and rally were held under a heavy blanket of police, including a hovering helicopter. Initially the demonstrators were refused a permit, with the threat of violence stated as the reason. A sparse group of 100 pro-Israeli forces, including the Jewish War

Veterans, showed up but were unable to detract from the significance of this event.

The focal point of struggle of the Palestinian people has been in the city of Hebron, an Arab community of 50,000 seized by Israel in the war of 1967. Jewish settlers with Israeli troop protection have been moving into the city, trying to defuse the Palestinian struggle. Present at the rally and march

were three mayors, including the mayor of Hebron, who were recently deported from Israel. Speakers reported the deportations of over 1,600 Palestinians into mud huts in the desert, a move the Israeli government was forced by the people to rescind, the collective punishment (arrest of whole families) of a thousand people, and a 16-day curfew in Hebron, a curfew imposed exclusively on the Palestinian people, with medical supplies cut off.

The celebration of Palestine Day marks a development of the Palestinian movement here in the U.S. □



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If you want to understand what's going on in Iran, to rip through the lies from the White House press room. . . If you want to know what's behind the KKK, that if you rip off the sheets you'll find a dog on the U.S. imperialists' leash. . . If you want to know what's going on in the world then you've got to read the *Revolutionary Worker*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A. And more than that.

"The *Revolutionary Worker* is our main weapon. This is a conspiracy. This is a conspiracy spreading and deepening, spreading out like the cells of a beehive among broader and broader ranks of the working class and oppressed people. And it's got to spread consciously and actively much more broadly and much more deeply. Whether you're in Chicago, Cleveland, Atlanta, Florida, New York or wherever, every week, you and thousands of other people like you already are getting armed and educated with the line of our Party. At the same time that you are taking this paper, reading and spreading it among others, thousands and tens of thousands of people are also doing so throughout the

country. Spreading this conspiracy, broadening and deepening it, laying the basis for revolution.

"You know some people say, 'Listen, I don't dig it when this is the main weapon we got. I want to deal with the real deal. I want to get on with the real weapons. When you get to the point of a gun then come and let me know. I can't deal with a weapon that's made out of paper.' Well I can understand and sympathize with that sentiment, but if you really feel that way and if you're serious about it, if you really want to see things develop to the point where we can not only take up guns and go down like martyrs, but where we can actually lead masses of people to rise up and win, then you've got to wield *this* weapon now. Otherwise we're not going to get to the point where we're going to be able to seize the opportunity even if it does arise to rise up and lead masses to make revolution."

Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.



Thousands demonstrated in Tehran (above) and 14 other Black people's struggle in the U.S.



ities in Iran in support of the Miami rebellion and the

KOREA

Continued from page 1

reported in the United States until Wednesday, May 28th (and then was buried deep in the inside pages of most papers) a party of rebels left the city to raid a nearby armory which was guarded by ROK paratroopers. In the firefight which followed, over 50 paratroopers were killed, and the rebels escaped intact.

The official list of demands advanced by the rebels "as a condition for ending the rebellion" reveal a number of things about the political character of the uprising. On the one hand, the movement has not yet made the leap to a conscious anti-imperialist movement. None of the seven demands target U.S. imperialism in any way and the sixth demand calls for the establishment of a "government of national salvation" led by "democratic politicians"—referring to the pro-U.S. opposition wing of the South Korean bourgeoisie which is calling for "greater democracy" without challenging imperialist domination of the country. On the other hand, the demands as a whole clearly demonstrate that the widespread press reports that the students were seeking a "negotiated end" to the rebellion were a complete distortion. The first demand on the list, for example, was that "General Chong must be stripped of his posts and tried for the murder of the Kwangju demonstrators." Then followed demands for the resignation of the government, the release of all those arrested since the beginning of the mass disturbances, the lifting of martial law, and full government compensation to the citizens of Kwangju. The last demand stipulated that "the government must provide a memorial cemetery for those who died in the uprising and allow the citizens to hold a mass funeral in their honor."

These demands were obviously not a "basis for negotiations" with the Chong regime in any way, but a declaration of open and implacable enmity. And even while some quarters continued to call for the U.S. ambassador to "mediate" between the rebels and the regime, the U.S. imperialists were aiding Chong in crushing the uprising and "restoring order." The Kwangju rebellion itself, while it did not pass over into a consciously anti-imperialist struggle, objectively dealt a heavy blow to the U.S. imperialists, and the basis for the bourgeois opposition to continue to exert ideological and political leadership of the movement is being undercut.

U.S. Stands Behind the Chong Regime—For Now

While General Chong prosecutes an all out offensive in an attempt to crush the rebellion everywhere in South Korea, while openly restoring a permanent military dictatorship completely dropping the pretense of "transition to civilian rule," the U.S. imperialists are still staggering. The United States has very little confidence that the Chong regime will be able to maintain order for even a brief period. The Kwangju rebellion was obviously not "just one of those things," the usual occasional disorders that any fascist puppet of the United States must deal with. And there were other signs of disintegration as well; for example, many South Korean police and some troops "melted away" when the disorders got serious. Chong is reportedly not trusted by even many of his fellow goons in the South Korean military. The crackdown has furthered the process of absolute isolation of the regime from broader and broader strata of the society. Newspaper editors, for example, have refused to write editorials supporting the regime and staged strikes. The economy, already in crisis prior to the latest upheavals, has suffered greatly during them and will grow much worse as foreign investors and financial backers scramble to get out of the way of what many see as the impending holocaust.

United States policy thus far has been

to support the regime in crushing the rebellions and "restoring order" while mumbling a little off to the side about its concern that the process of "democratization" be quickly renewed. Now that General Chong has openly declared his intention of setting up a military council, thus in essence rejecting U.S. advice, it is a matter of debate within the Carter administration as to what to do next. The *Washington Post* summarized the U.S. imperialists' dilemma as follows:

"Washington's concern goes well beyond philosophical opposition to a repressive military takeover of a major ally nation where American combat forces are stationed. The most serious concern among policy makers arises from doubt that Chong and his comrades will be able to impose military rule on the rest of South Korean society, in present circumstances, without explosive consequences risking widespread instability."

In other words, the United States is faced with essentially two options, based on two different impressions of what might happen. If it is concluded that Chong actually has a good chance of riding out the storm and restoring some semblance of stability, the United States will probably back him up strongly—while making some mild criticism of his "unfortunate" methods, carefully designed not to appear as an endorsement of the pro-U.S. bourgeois opposition which Chong has now locked up and charged with treason. The U.S. wants to avoid any indication that its support for the regime is weakening, for fear that this could help to bring about the very thing the U.S. desperately wants to avoid—the overthrow of the Chong regime by the Korean people and the subsequent destabilization of the country, both.

But if the U.S. concludes that Chong is actually leading the regime down a shortcut to certain and swift disaster, and that only decisive action to get rid of him can save the situation, then some form of direct U.S. intervention is very possible. The thing that could trigger such a direct U.S. move—either a new, U.S.-backed coup from within the regime or even direct intervention by U.S. military forces—would be a new flare-up of rebellion that would make unmistakably clear that the very survival of the regime was threatened.

Korea: A Key Strategic Area for Both Superpowers

The vast strategic stake held by the United States in South Korea cannot be understood simply by looking at the large United States investments in that country. The Korean peninsula in northeast Asia is a point at which the strategic interests of the Soviet Union, the United States, China and Japan collide. North Korea shares borders with both China and the Soviet Union. Korea lies the same distance from Japan as Cuba does from the United States. The United States is bound by treaty to "defend South Korea against attack"; the Soviet Union has a similar treaty with North Korea. In addition, the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty, under which the United States maintains military bases in Japan, stipulates that U.S. forces there will be used not only to defend Japan but to "maintain peace and security in the Far East." The joint communique signed by U.S. President Nixon and Japanese Prime Minister Sato in 1969, which served as a strategic outline of U.S.-Japanese imperialist cooperation, contains a specific clause noting that "the security of the Republic of Korea is essential to the security of Japan."

Korea was a Japanese colony prior to World War II, having been brutally invaded and subjugated by the Japanese in 1921. Korea played a key role in Japan's "greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere." Following the defeat of the Japanese in World War II, Korea was ripe for revolution. Huge, communist-led riots swept the country in 1945. But they were suppressed in a vicious bloodbath by U.S. troops in the South.

The United States was unable to extend its suppression to the north due to the presence of Soviet troops which had entered Korea in the fight against Japan

towards the close of the war. By the late '40s, the United States had established a puppet Republic of Korea in the South. In the North, Kim Il Sung, the leader of the Korean guerrilla war against the Japanese, established the Democratic People's Republic of Korea as an independent state; Soviet troops withdrew from the north. From 1950 to 1953, in the Korean War, the U.S. imperialists sought to crush the revolutionary government in the north. China sent thousands of volunteers to aid North Korea in the fighting, and the upshot was a "standoff" which actually represented a major defeat for the U.S.

In the 27 years since the end of the Korean War, despite frequent border clashes, the military situation on the peninsula has remained stable. But the stake of the United States and Japan (and, to a lesser but still considerable extent, the Western European imperialists), in South Korea has grown greatly. In 1965, as part of its policy of insuring an economically strong Japan as a reliable ally and partner in Asia, the United States "cut Japan in" on the South Korean market, in fact ceding it the major share of direct investment. (Park Chung Hee, the dictator who came to power in South Korea in 1961, was a Lieutenant in the Japanese army during World War II.) Today, Japan's economic and political interests in South Korea are tremendous. Clearly holding on to South Korea is key for the U.S. in keeping Japan in its bloc and losing Japan would be devastating for the U.S.

The Reunification of Korea and Superpower Contention

The spectre continually discussed by U.S. strategists and pointed to by its South Korean henchmen as its rationale for every new fascist atrocity is the "threat of an invasion from the North." In fact, the North has made absolutely no military moves of any kind in the recent crisis. But this does not mean that a new Korean war will not break out. North Korea maintains a large and powerful army; without question, should a new war involving North Korea occur, the United States would have to immediately reinforce its 40,000-man garrison with units based in Japan and elsewhere. North Korea is not restrained from a move to militarily topple the Seoul regime out of considerations for "non-interference in the internal affairs of another state." Rightly, North Korea does not recognize the legitimacy of the U.S. puppet government in the South, and has repeatedly expressed its determination to unify the country, while making clear that it desires to do so peacefully if possible.

But other factors have so far ruled out a military solution to the problem of re-unification. Obviously, military moves by North Korea would immediately embroil North Korea in a war with the U.S. North Korea has for years attempted to hew a centrist path between the Soviet Union and China. Both the Soviet Union and China in recent years have strongly opposed, not only a military attack, but anything which disrupted the stability of the Korean peninsula. With the coming to power of revisionism in China and the cementing of an alliance between China and the United States, Kim Il Sung is quite well aware that in a new war, the internationalist aid the Chinese gave the Korean people in 1950 won't be there again. The Soviets, for their part, have considered Kim historically too close to China, making a reunified Korea under Kim's rule a dim prospect for them—but have at least until recently had other strategic reasons for preferring the status quo—including, of course, its desire to avoid being drawn into a direct fight with the United States.

Furthermore, military moves at this time by the North would have very little popular support in the South. While many South Koreans desire the peaceful reunification of the country, an invasion by North Korea would be perceived not as "liberation" but as an act of aggression aimed at substituting one dictatorship for another. There are several reasons for the fact that North Korea is not, by and large, the place that South Koreans look to for their

liberation. For one thing, North Korea, while economically offering a striking contrast in many ways to the south, is not a socialist country, but a revisionist state ruled by Kim Il Sung—hardly the ideal model for a people struggling, as they see it, to free themselves from the bondage of their one-man military dictatorship. And the ideological influence of the liberal bourgeoisie, as well as a steady diet of anti-North Korean and anti-communist propaganda served up daily by the regime, also has had its impact.

Since the Korean Workers Party headed by Kim Il Sung came to power, living conditions have been improved and are superior to those in the South. And the struggle to safeguard national independence, on the surface, seems to have been successful insofar as North Korea has not yet been fully integrated into the Soviet imperialist bloc—largely due to Kim's policy (based always on nationalism rather than Marxist-Leninist principles) of playing China (even when it was a socialist country) and the Soviet Union off against one another. During the early days of the Sino-Soviet split, Kim even tended to lean toward China, and since then has frequently blasted "modern revisionism"—but this has always indicated merely a nationalist desire to avoid being crushed under the Soviet thumb. In recent years, North Korea has begun to play a very active role in the "non-aligned movement," warning against "domination by either superpower." But Kim Il Sung is by no means a Marxist-Leninist, and he has evolved closer and closer in recent years to a brand of Titoite revisionism, both in his domestic economic policies and in international affairs. The Yugoslavs, in fact, have been strong supporters of North Korea's role in the "non-aligned movement," and they extracted in return statements from North Korea's Foreign Ministry favorable to European revisionist "eurocommunism."

In fact, beneath the facade of fervent nationalism, North Korea has been slowly slipping into economic dependence—not only on the Soviet bloc, but on the Western and Japanese imperialists. In 1977, North Korea defaulted on \$1.2 billion in debts to West European banks and an additional \$300 million to Japan, and defaulted also on its large debt to the Soviet Union. While the defaults appear to some extent to have been conscious policy on the part of the North rather than sheer necessity, humiliating new agreements with the various imperialists had to be concluded in order to restore North Korea's credit. Since then, the debt has continued to mount, and today approaches \$4 billion.

Kim Il Sung's nationalism, while it has often led him to take a strong anti-imperialist stand, has always gone hand in hand with opportunism—and the historical conditions which allowed Kim to play his cat-and-mouse game between China and the Soviet Union are fast disappearing. But what is certain is that the U.S. imperialists will be forced to fight before they "lose" South Korea, and in the present international situation, it is extremely unlikely that the conflict could remain confined to a Vietnam-style protracted war.

South Korea, for so long the "paradise" of cheap labor for the U.S. and Japanese imperialists, is turning into an imperialists' nightmare. The storms which reached their height in the Kwangju rebellion now threaten to develop into a struggle which could topple the monsters who run the country as a slave labor camp, and also knock the whole strategy of the U.S. imperialist-led war bloc right off its hinges. The situation at present is extremely unstable and complex, and clearly is subject to many twists and turns. But it is not a good one for the U.S. imperialists. "The situation is almost too dangerous for words," sobbed the nameless "informed official" in the State Department. It has been the power and strength of the masses in revolt that has been bringing this "dangerous situation" to a head. The South Korean people are providing yet another living reminder of just how excellent the situation is for the masses of working-class and oppressed people of the world.