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50¢

After Decades of Israeli Aggression

U.S. "Discovers" Zionist Terror

In another round of vicious terror directed at the Palestinian people last week, the mayors of two cities in the West Bank area of occupied Palestine had their legs blown off by bombs which exploded when they attempted to start their cars. Another mayor barely escaped a similar fate as a bomb exploded prematurely in his garage and seven more Palestinians were injured as a hand grenade was thrown into a crowd in the city of Hebron, all on June 2nd.

The response of the masses was immediate as students set up street barricades and stoned Israeli occupation troops. Two college students were wounded when Israeli soldiers fired on the crowds in downtown Ramallah. The entire West Bank area was immediately shut down in a general strike which Israeli forces tried to break by cutting the locks off of closed shops. And in his hospital room, Bassam Shaka, mayor of Nablus, whose two legs were blown off, lay defiantly beneath a banner

an interview with Israeli General Abraham Orly who blamed the P.L.O. (Palestine Liberation Organization) for the bombing! But Prime Minister Menachem Begin, playing "Mr. Moderate," told the Israeli general staff, "We are a state of laws. As long as we don't have *prima facie* evidence against anyone, we should not accuse them."

But the finger of guilt pointed straight to the top in Israel as the mayors who were attacked have been the targets of a prolonged vendetta by the Israeli government, of which the bombings are only the latest instance. Since 1967, 24 Palestinian elected officials have been expelled from their homes without formal charges or trials by the Israeli forces, including the mayors of Jerusalem, Ramallah, al-Bireh, Hebron and two mayors of Halhoul. Last August, Bassam Shaka was barred from traveling to the U.S. to speak on behalf of the Palestinian struggle. The order barring his travel was signed by the then defense

Bomb Attacks on Palestinians

which read, "If a patriot's legs are amputated, the people's legs stick deeper in the soil of Palestine."

The Israeli government, of course, pretended shock and outrage, smirking aloud, "Now, who could have done a

thing like that?" Captain Ishai Kohen, press officer for the occupation forces, hypocritically declared, "I can't tell you whether it was Jews or Arabs. We don't know that." While the state-owned radio, Voice of Israel, broadcast

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Behind the Murder of the Archbishop of El Salvador

The Holy Hit Man

This last week, Pope John Paul II, U.S. imperialism's vicar on earth, traipsed through France preaching the virtues of class harmony and the dangers of totalitarianism—that is, the dangers posed to the U.S. bloc by its imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union. As the jet-set holy man continues on the warpath, the *RW* has received information revealing an international trail of intrigue left by John Paul which leads back to the bloody assassination of Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador, who was shot to death last March.

For a number of years, the so-called Catholic Left has been scurrying to build reformist social-democratic alternatives to revolutionary struggle throughout Latin America. Yet the reality of life under imperialism has driven many of the rank and file clergy, particularly among the Jesuit fathers, into more forthright anti-imperialist politics and driven their leadership into conflict with the U.S. over the tactics of preventing revolutionary civil war.

Oscar Romero of El Salvador was chosen Archbishop precisely because he was a stone reactionary, having been

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Index to the Revolutionary Worker
—Pullout Center Section—

Iranian Revolutionary on Miami

The following are excerpts of a letter we received from an Iranian comrade in Miami.

May 30

Dear Comrades:

Comrades, as May 1st came, we Iranian students as a small group took part in the street in Atlanta along with RCP comrades. What a pleasure it was to us in solidarity with RCP and working people chanting "Proletariat of all the world, unite."

Comrades, as you know, there was a riot in Miami. It was just like when revolution was beginning in Iran. I saw angry oppressed black (even some white) people pouring to the streets of Miami, fighting with this damn capitalist system, beating up cops, national guards, . . . I saw that guardsmen did not dare to go to the struggling area, instead they cut off the electricity in that area. Finally I saw the "justice"! building destroyed and fired up by the masses. Schools, universities . . . were closed. This was a good advantage for us to fight along with black people who have been exploited for so many years. One black person told me, "It's not the McDuffie case any more, we are fighting against this system because we feel how they are exploiting us. . . ."

In struggle, B.

Prisoners on May Day

We received this letter from a prisoner in Walla Walla, Washington.

To the capitalist beast:

You may have the guns, but until and unless you shoot me dead I will be right on your ass trying to get a grip around your neck that will be fatal to your terrified ass.

I was surprised by the workers' willingness internationally to confront the police physically in order to stay on the streets May Day, and this willingness was a message to the ruling class that their days are numbered. May Day 1980 scared the shit out of the capitalists because internationally the workers fell out in great numbers into the streets, and were willing to get down to stay there. Hopefully soon, May Day can be an everyday thing until we rid the earth of capitalism.

I know of no May Day actions in prison. I personally started up discussion about May Day on May Day to see if prisoners understood why workers were in the streets worldwide. They knew and supported the workers of the world which many prisoners are themselves. Everyone noticed May Day 1980 was more militant than any May Day to our knowledge, and that in nearly every country in the world, at least some workers were in the streets. All this, signs of revolutionary change. . . .

Love and Rage

We received a letter from a prisoner currently in the Oregon State Penitentiary hospital. Excerpts follow.

Hey People

Well I finally got my cast off my arm, so I thought I'd get this letter down.

On May First I organized a small discussion with other inmates including two student nurses. A total of seven people, five inmates, and two nurses. The two nurses were more or less neutral and very indecisive. I closed the discussion with the two student nurses by saying, "There will be a time in your life when you must make a decision of which way you're gonna go. But surely you know you can't walk down the middle of the road." That thought seemed to stick with them.

I had four red flags flying out of the maximum security windows. None of the staff could understand why so many cars going by were honking their horns. For the situation I'm in I think May Day got over real well. . . .

Power To The People
R.J. "Peacock" Young

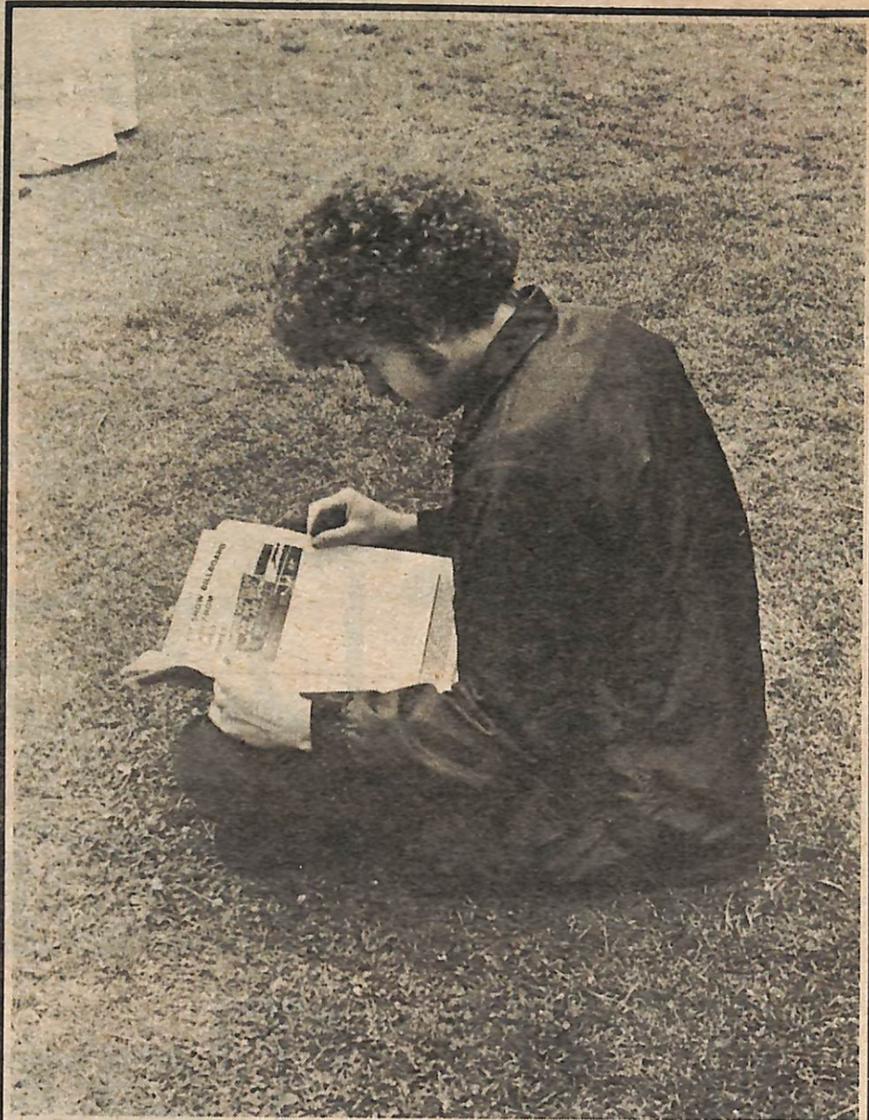
News Item . . .

We ran across the following news short in the June 3 edition of the *Christian Science Monitor*:

"The Nuclear Regulatory Commission recommended Monday that radioactive gases be vented from the crippled reactor at Three Mile Island, damaged in an accident more than a year ago.

The commission said that releasing the krypton gas over a two-month period would have little effect on the health of residents living around the Pennsylvania plant. But if no action were taken, the authority said, there could be a further equipment breakdown inside the reactor, leading to another dangerous buildup of radioactivity." □

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Movement Opportunists on May 1st

Upholding Spontaneity and Denouncing Revolution

May First has had its impact everywhere. Within the "left" in this country many have had their heads turned to seriously weigh the significance of this action by class-conscious workers, while others—the opportunists of various stripes, from the old revisionist "Communist" Party USA to the CPML (*The Call*) and the Trotskyites—have turned the pages of their papers into breeding broods for continued attacks on what occurred that day.

How could they do otherwise? May First had become a major social question, especially among the more class-conscious workers. It became clear, even from the attacks on TV and the press, that International Workers Day had been put on the map in this country as the revolutionary day of the working class at the head of all those oppressed. And since it is the special role of these opportunists to throw dust in the eyes of the advanced class-conscious force, they, like the bourgeoisie, had to respond, and their response has been revealing.

Unable to deny the overall social effect of the May First actions, they turned their attention first to the quantity at the marches and actually outdid the

"official" media and police counts for lies and distortions. These included everything from wild claims that the RCP had projected there would be "50,000 marchers" and then their fantasy headcount of "in total around 600 people, with most marches drawing only 35-50 people" (*Unity*, May 9, newspaper of the "League of Revolutionary Struggle," a cousin of *The Call*) to equally ludicrous charges that the RCP was planning a "general strike of workers and students" (this appeared both in *The Call*, and in the paper of the Hawaii Union of Socialists). It was very clear that, in 1980, the Party's call was not for a general strike, for which the conditions are not now ripe, but for marches and actions by an advanced, but still relatively small, section of the workers, whose influence could be (and was) great. All in all, these opportunists' distortions were a rather obvious, shallow and self-exposing attempt to defy reality and make May Day appear insignificant, to say that it didn't count.

These transparent attempts to bury revolutionary May Day are just that, transparent. But if we dig a little deeper into these attacks, we will find the political line and outlook that guides them. And it is this line that is most

significant about such assaults, just as the revolutionary line of the RCP, transformed into a material force on May First, was the determining and most important thing about those actions.

For this reason, while we have examined and will examine the opportunist antics of others, it is perhaps most informative to look at and analyze the polemic of the "League of Revolutionary Struggle (M-L)" against May Day in the May 9 issue of its paper *Unity*. This group is in the same general pro-China revisionist camp as the CPML, but in this case it spells out more clearly and explicitly than most the political basis of the attacks by all these reformist opportunists.

You can tell right off that *Unity* is a bit more sober and conscious about its opportunism than some. The title of their article, "Is the RCP Crazy? Or is There a Method to Their Madness?", is itself obviously directed against any "quick dismissal" of the significance of the Revolutionary Communist Party on the part of *Unity's* fellow opportunists. This won't work, they say. In fact they go even further and reveal the extent to which they are consciously serving the cause of the U.S. bourgeoisie going into

this period of crisis and, especially, war when they warn, "Nevertheless, the RCP will not simply disappear. Certainly some of their members will become discouraged at their isolation. But the worsening economic situation and the real growing danger of war create conditions that can be taken advantage of by the RCP."

Of course, most opportunist lingo requires some translation, but this is fairly clear. The predictions of desertion are really old-hat for these opportunists, who for years have been predicting (wishing for) the imminent collapse of the RCP, which has instead only grown in strength and influence. Much more interesting than this is their rather open warning—not just to fellow opportunists, but actually to the U.S. bourgeoisie itself—Watch out, the RCP could mean trouble ahead! The point here is not to "take comfort" in this recognition of the Party's influence and potential influence. The point is to grasp what these opportunists are most concerned about—that in the context of mounting war preparations and crisis, there will be a force—the RCP—gaining influence among the masses by continually educating them that the war

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Opportunist May Day Follies

There were a few comical moments in the opportunist attacks on revolutionary May Day. For example, just prior to May Day, *The Call*, organ of the CPML wrote "the topper to all this madness should be May 1, when the RCP will try to divert attention from the May Day programs going on around the country by staging their own 'general strike.'" Besides the "general strike" distortion mentioned in the accompanying article, what strikes you about this statement is that by *The Call's* own criteria, revolutionary May Day was a tremendous success. It certainly did succeed in "diverting attention" from their unheard-from May Day programs. Even in *The Call* the reporting on these non-events was relegated to a small box on the bottom of page 12 of their May 19 issue. Of course, we are not particularly inclined to rest on these laurels of success granted by *The Call's* criteria, and continue to sum up from the point of view of the goal of proletarian revolution both the clear overall victory on May 1st, as well as within that its shortcomings, so as to be able to continue the advance.

Of course, to be fair, there actually was more in *The Call* on their May Day activities than only this. On May 5 there was the two-page "May Day Greetings" feature, where CPML members and supporters bought space for May Day messages. The counter-revolutionary pus that spilled out of this pore resembled a rather lame version of the "personal classifieds" in various "entertainment" magazines. A sampling of this "revolutionary" material (and, no, we're not making these up): "Greetings to my favorite waitress at the Athenian Room, (signed) a friend." "Ralph, Here's to spending next May Day and the days to follow on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay. Love, Stephanie." "May Day greetings to my favorite nurse. (signed) LSJ"

Then there was the behavior of the parties in this country who are seeking the revisionist Albania franchise. Both the CPUSA (M-L) (formerly MLOC) and the "Marxist-Leninist Party" (formerly COUSML) blasted May Day. The MLP, for example, denounced the RCP's May Day plans as "having nothing to do with revolution." But after May Day the Albania news service ran a news item entitled, "International Proletariat Celebrated May Day on the Barricades of Class Struggle" whose

U.S. section went "although the U.S. Administration banned the organization of demonstrations on the occasion of May Day under the pretext of preserving the order, the working class took to the streets in the majority of cities to express their demands. Demonstrations and rallies were often transformed into clashes with the police forces who arrested many workers." This could only be a reference to the RCP-led May 1st activity. Could this be a message from the Albanians to their camp followers in the U.S. that they had better try to do something!?

Finally there was the old, revisionist "Communist Party, USA" who was obviously most embarrassed and disturbed by the revolutionary qualities of May Day, and afraid this might disturb their attempts to build a cozy relation with the ruling class. In Detroit, the CP was so disturbed that they felt obliged to issue a press release

entitled "The Communist Party of Michigan condemns the provocative and recent action by the Revolutionary Communist Party." In their mad rush to disclaim any association with May 1st these so-called "communists" display so much boot-licking bourgeois respectability as to defy comment. So we will just reprint sizeable excerpts from this release and let the reader judge the "revolutionary" qualities of these revisionists. They mouth some ruling class slanders and add such twists as:

"...the burning of the American flag, the defacing of public property... and superrevolutionary talk have nothing to do with bettering the lives of working people or with socialism. Or with the traditions of May Day. Their real purpose is to discredit the name of the Communist Party USA and its candidates for president and vicepresident, Gus Hall and Angela Davis... Since its

founding in 1919, the Communist Party USA has counted among its member such outstanding Americans (!!!) as W.E.B. Dubois, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, William L. Patterson, William Z. Foster and here in Michigan Wynn-dym Mortimer, Nelson Davis, Bill McKee and Bob Trotter; in August of last year we held our 22nd National Convention and a mass rally of 8,000 at Cobo Hall without incident (!!!)... The Communist Party of Michigan joins with all decent minded people (!!!) in condemning the actions of the Revolutionary Communist Party."

In sum, it's clear that another of the achievements on May 1st 1980 was drawing a clear line of demarcation and forcing opportunists like these out from under the rocks into the light where they can be exposed as the potentially useful, though now pitiful and puny, wing of the bourgeoisie that they are.

NEW PAMPHLET AVAILABLE

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

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The Science of Revolution



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Alamo Trial to Begin June 17

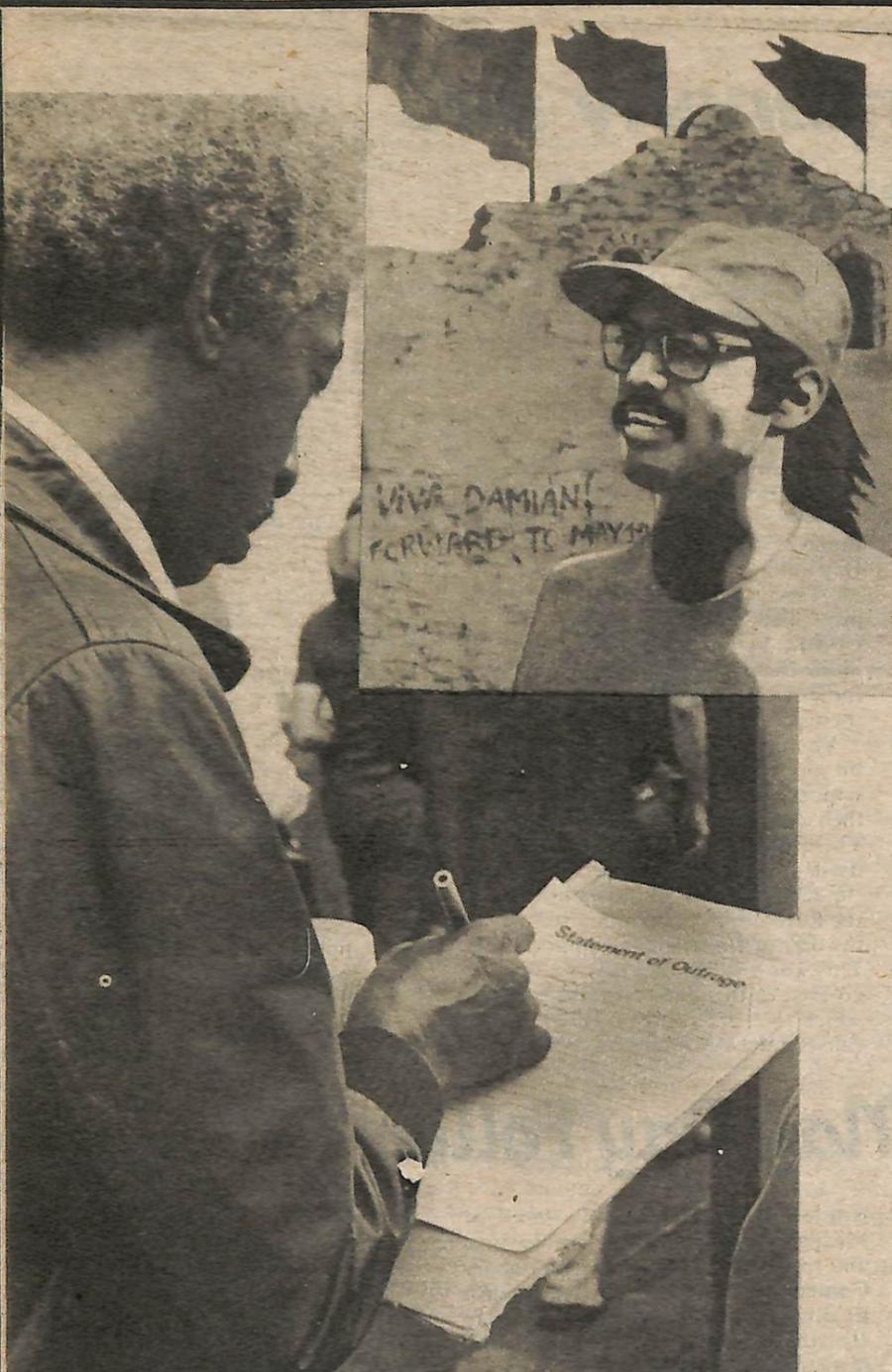
Nothing like it ever happened before and it drove the ruling class in this country into a frenzy. Their "sacred shrine" had been defiled, the red flag of the international working class had been raised over the Alamo. On March 20, 1980, three members of the May Day Brigade, Damian Garcia, Hayden Fisher and Gail Bayer sealed the Alamo walls, exposed it as a monument to the oppression of Mexican and Chicano people. They tossed aside the Texas State flag and ran up the crimson banner. Damian Garcia, was a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party and a fighter for the international proletariat. Damian and the others had ripped the sacred shroud off of the Alamo and called it out for what it was: historically an outpost for the plunder of Mexican land and today a symbol of the vicious national oppression perpetrated against Chicano and Mexican people. He was singled out and executed by police agents in a COINTELPRO-style murder on April 22, in an East Los Angeles housing project.

This act made clear that the stakes for the bourgeoisie around the Alamo seizure are very high and that the red flag has smashed right into the solar plexus. Damian and the others, representing the multinational working class mustering its own ranks for independent historical action on May 1 and in the future behind the RCP, had

dared go up against a powerful symbol for U.S. imperialism both in its own particular history and in its ideological importance. In a recent issue of *Soldier of Fortune* magazine (a slick magazine written for mercenaries, CIA and the like) the Alamo takeover is compared to the embassy takeover in Iran and the capture of the U.S. ambassador in Colombia. "Remember the Alamo" is not just a nice phrase. It's a call to live and die in the interests of U.S. imperialism. And now, *Soldier of Fortune* cries it out currently as a call to action for some decisive action against revolutionaries right here in the U.S. (see *RW* No. 57, May 30, 1980) Just recently Gail Bayer was arrested in downtown Houston while selling the *RW*. She was clubbed on the street and again in jail. One pig grabbed her by the hair and pushed her face against the bars saying, "I'll make you wish you never heard of revolution. I'll make you wish you never heard of the Alamo."

Keep on wishing, bourgeoisie. Your threats and attempts at intimidation cannot erase the profound joy of millions around the world and here at home when right in the belly of U.S. imperialism the red flag of the international working class was raised over this hallowed house of the ruling class. Nor can you extinguish the hatred we feel for your murder of Damian Garcia. In fact workers nationwide hit the streets on May 1, firmly picking up the red flag that Damian had passed to them. In the L.A. County Jail, where prisoners of all nationalities clipped the Alamo article from the *LA Times* and posted it in many of the cells, a new greeting was coined among Chicanos after Damian was assassinated. "Damian Garcia carnal" (brother) they would say whenever they passed in the halls. And hundreds more are signing the "Statement of Outrage at the Murder of Damian Garcia" (see list), creating public opinion to rip the lid off the upcoming Alamo trials, scheduled to begin June 17. Already the Damian Garcia Brigade is in San Antonio and Hayden Fisher is touring the west and southwest.

Telegrams demanding that the charges be dropped should be sent to: Judge Benjamin Samples, Municipal Court, 302 Laredo Street, San Antonio, Texas 78205.



Inset: Painting of Damian Garcia by revolutionary artist.

Hundreds have signed the Statement of Outrage. Pictured at left, recent scene at a plant gate.

Ramsey Clark Counsels Capitulation Trojan Horse Visits Iran

When the smoke of the battle had cleared, gone from view were the troops of ancient Greece, who had unsuccessfully laid siege to the city of Troy. But standing on the beach was the "peace offering" of the Trojan horse.

Now, after the smoke has cleared from the cinders of the U.S. "rescue" mission, here stands Ramsey Clark in Iran—condemning the raid as "an illegal violation of Iran's territory" and apparently offering the olive branch of peace to the Iranians. While the entire American delegation may not require such scrutiny, Clark is one gift horse that should be looked squarely in the mouth.

With a couple of weeks after the U.S. Embassy was seized last November, Clark flew off to Iran to try to meet with Khomeini, in the company of a State Department "Iran expert." This is the same Ramsey Clark who, as Attorney General from 1967 to 1969, endorsed the massive expansion of the Vietnam War under Lyndon Johnson and went after anti-war activists with a vengeance. He even prosecuted one of the members of this current delegation for traveling to North Vietnam. Now he claims he is only interested in peace and has no "official" connection with the U.S. government. Sure!

The Trojan horse was not what it appeared to be; it was merely part of a feint before a more deadly attack. At last week's conference in Tehran on the U.S. role in Iran sponsored by Iran's Premier Bani-Sadr, Clark posed as a staunch opponent of "imperialism."

He announced to the conference that Nixon, Kissinger and former CIA director Richard Helms were "the real imperialists"—pointedly excluding the current administration, who apparently wouldn't think of trying to dominate and plunder the wealth of a country such as Iran.

"The release of the hostages is imperative for the fulfillment of the Iranian revolution...and so important to peace on earth," Clark offered up at the conference. In other words: Look, the U.S. government has been really "patient" and "restrained" up till now, and you're just going to bring a lot of trouble down on yourselves by continuing to hold onto the hostages and demand the return of the Shah. This was the *real* message that Ramsey Clark was delivering on behalf of his masters in Washington, D.C.

What a perfect gift to send to Iran and with a new set of credentials—like entering Iran "illegally" and risking 10 years in jail for bucking Carter's ban on travel to Iran. Clark even offers to take the place of one of the U.S. hostages! So when he returns to the U.S. empty-handed, the imperialists and their media machine can say the Iranian people wouldn't even listen to this great "liberal," Ramsey Clark. So we have no choice but to launch another "humanitarian rescue mission"—a military attack on a far greater scale aimed at putting an end to the "hostage crisis" (and to the hostages themselves).

Beyond this, and as an important part of the U.S.'s overall strategy to

PARTIAL LIST OF SIGNATURES ON THE "STATEMENT OF OUTRAGE AT THE MURDER OF DAMIAN GARCIA"

(* Organization listed for identification purposes only)

- 70 residents, Pico-aliso area projects, site of Damian's murder.
- 80 workers, L.A.'s Vernon meat district where Damian worked.
- 18 prisoners, Walla Walla Segregation Unit
- 72 workers, NYC garment district.
- 132 people from recent Seabrook occupation attempt.
- 52 workers, Lincoln Hospital, South Bronx.
- 12 residents, Love Canal.
- 25 residents, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn.
- 163 residents, Watts, L.A.
- Richard Aoki, Merrit College, Oakland.
- Rev. Manfred Bahmann, Ph.D., Pastor, Stanford University
- Father R. Beh, Chaplain, Walla Walla Prison
- Carl Boggs, UCLA
- Harvey Cox, Professor of Theology, Harvard School of Divinity.
- Elizabeth Darrow, granddaughter of Clarence Darrow.
- Roy Freeman, dj, KRE/KBOX, San Francisco.
- Farina Granberry, New England Black Weekly.
- Iberius Hacker, Nat'l Anti-Klan Network, Cincinnati.
- James Holland, Professor of Psychology, University of Pittsburgh (co-author "Principles of Psychology"—B.F. Skinner)
- Manuel Loera, member MEChA, University of Oregon.
- Chockwe Lumumba, Republic of New Africa, Detroit.
- Conrad Lynn, Attorney.
- Padre Jesse Munoz, El Paso.
- Jaime Peroza, Director MEChA, University of Oregon.
- Khalive Shavers, Pres. Black United Front, Battle Creek, Michigan.
- Ophelia Vasquez, Director San Jose State Women's Center.
- Michael Vinzun, Coalition Against Police Abuse, L.A.

draw Iran back under its domination, Ramsey Clark was allowed to travel to Iran by the U.S. government in order to shore up President Bani-Sadr's shaky position. From his new platform in Tehran, Clark can say what Bani-Sadr wants to say but cannot openly say for fear of being totally exposed in the eyes of the Iranian masses. Behind the honeyed claims that "the taking of the hostages was understandable but not right" and that it "takes attention off the Shah, everyone looks at the hostages and not at the Shah eating caviar in Egypt," Ramsey Clark's mission to Tehran is but a variant of the "good cop, bad cop" routine, aimed at

softening up the Iranian people, and the American people as well, for the next round of desperation attacks by the imperialists on the Iranian revolution.

So here's Ramsey Clark, still talking about how "I weep at Vietnam" (no doubt over the fact that the U.S. got its ass whipped) and claiming to be a long time "supporter" of the Iranian revolution. Here he is posing as America's olive branch. But it just doesn't wash. The students at the embassy denounced Clark as a lackey of the American government this past fall when he tried a slick move like this. That verdict still stands—leave this Trojan horse outside the gate.

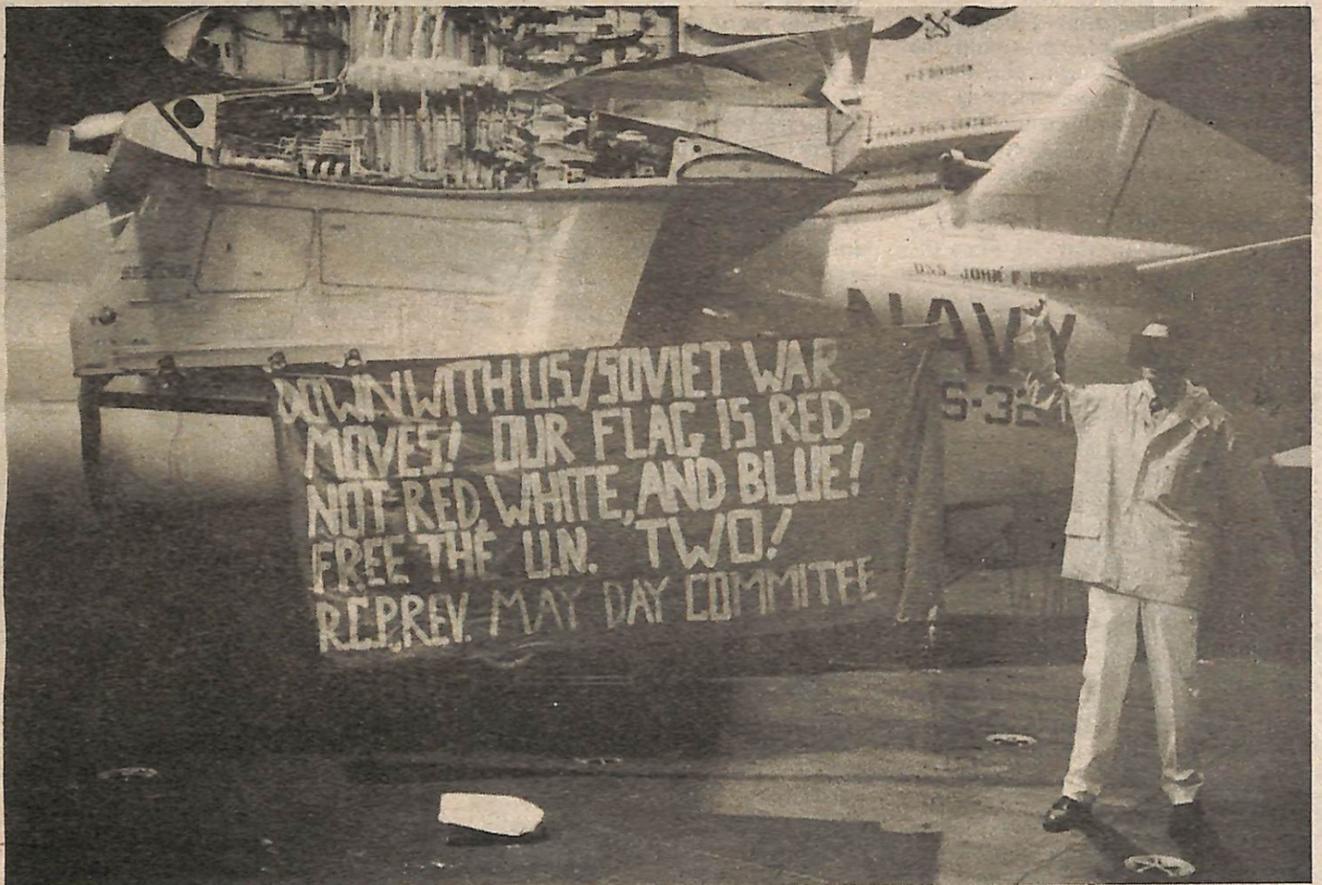
Red Flag on Fighter Bomber!?!

Remember the "tall ships"—those boats they dragged out four years ago during the bicentennial? Well, those boats came back, although not to celebrate the birthday of the U.S.A., but something even older—the city of Boston. If such an occasion produces the anticipated yawns (or groans) from *RW* readers, look closer, because there was some significance in the May 30 event. It resembled more of a war party than a birthday party.

The U.S. navy escorted the "tall ships" into the Boston Harbor and the picture above tells the story. These are fifth and sixth graders touring aboard one of the Navy vessels and being taught how to handle M-16s and grenade throwers. Commander John Olson beamed, "If they're not impressed by what they see here, I don't know what will (impress them)."

Among the Navy ships was the J.F. Kennedy attack carrier and the John Hancock destroyer. The head of the Atlantic fleet, John Bigley, noted, "It is important for the people to see their navy, to know what their navy is capable of..." On a tour for doctors, the lowly tour guide on the J.F. Kennedy turned out to be Admiral Bigley himself. The Admiral and his sidekick captain extolled the virtues of a ship that can withstand a nuclear near miss. The Admiral noted that "world tensions are heating up" and pointed out that, "War may not be nice, but it's the only thing we have to protect our interests and sometimes make a point."

A different point, however, was made in the final hours of the "tall ship" visit. On the deck of the J.F. Kennedy, a man draped a red banner over one of the ship's fighter bombers which proclaimed: "Down with U.S.-Soviet war moves. Our Flag is Red, Not red, white and blue. Free the U.N.2"



The Holy Hit Man

Continued from page 1

the Bishop of Santiago Maria, a coffee-growing region dominated by the great plantation owners. Yet after his appointment as Archbishop he did break the longstanding tradition of Salvadoran bishops of looking the other way when the government organized paramilitary groups, assassinating local priests active in anti-government mass movements. Because of his protests and demagogic appeals for the abstract rights of "the poor," Romero became a focal point of contention within the Roman Catholic Church in Latin America.

As could be expected, Romero welcomed with open arms the U.S.-organized coup in El Salvador last October. Engineered by James R. Cheek and Byron Bakey of the U.S. State Department, the coup left officials of the old regime in solid control of both the junta and the armed forces, yet allowed the cosmetic participation of Social Democrats and Christian Democrats in the junta itself. The immediate effect was to step up the terrorism against the masses. Kidnappings and assassinations by the paramilitary ORDEN (secret instrument of the pro-U.S. junta forces) increased. In December, Carter earmarked \$300,000 for special 12-man U.S. military ad-

visory units, experts in counterinsurgency who were trained in Panama. A phony land reform program reminiscent of Iran's white revolution was implemented by teams of goons flown in by the AFL-CIO's "American Institute for Free Labor Development." By February, even the Christian Democrats were bailing out of the thoroughly exposed junta. Romero came out against the junta as well, and civil war was raging in the streets. Romero had no choice but to oppose the junta. If he had not, he would have faced being totally discredited among the Salvadorean masses.

But the Pope was not idle. At a secret meeting in the Vatican on Sept. 21, 1979, the Pope read the riot act to the assembled leadership of the Jesuits. During the first week in December, the text of the Pope's talk was leaked to the *New York Times* which ran a one-page story on it. The Pope attacked the Jesuits for meddling in "secular affairs." To uphold U.S. imperialism is just carrying out God's will. But to attack the instruments of U.S. imperialism, like the junta in El Salvador—now that's secularism. The *New York Times* commented: "While the Pope did not specify his complaint, Jesuits have developed a reputation for pro-

viding the theoretical foundation for the Church's involvement in political and social issues." Immediately, the reactionary forces in Latin America took out full-page ads in several countries reprinting the *New York Times* story. The message was clear. The Pope supports the Right, not the revolutionary or popular movements, and those priests (Archbishops included) who opt for the wrong kind of politics will have to pay the price.

At the same time, the State Dept., through the U.S. envoy to the Vatican, former New York City Mayor Robert Wagner, began to protest the actions of Archbishop Romero. The U.S. didn't really expect the Vatican to be able to do anything about him since the Church in El Salvador was bitterly split and out of control. The real purpose of the diplomatic feeler was to assess what the reaction of the Vatican would be if Romero were to have a nasty accident. Put more bluntly, would the Vatican throw a shit fit if Romero were to be assassinated, or would they let it slide with the perfunctory condemnation?

Confronted with the swelling revolutionary forces, the White House announced on Feb. 13 that the U.S. was contemplating a military role in El Salvador. Knowing that this would lead to a revolutionary war in El Salvador which the Church and the "moderate forces" could not control, Archbishop Romero made a public appeal to Carter

on Feb. 17 to suspend all military aid to the junta. The response of the junta was immediate, and on Feb. 19 the Catholic Church's radio station and the library of the Jesuit University were blown up. The failure of the Vatican to forcefully denounce these attacks virtually put the Papal Good Housekeeping seal of approval on what was to happen next.

On March 4, Carter asked the Congress for \$5.7 million in military sales credit for the junta in El Salvador. And in keeping with imperialism's policy of dual tactics, the Senate confirmed the appointment of Robert E. White as ambassador to El Salvador. White, a career diplomat, had a sterling "human rights" record, and his appointment was for cosmetic purposes.

Meanwhile, in San Salvador, Romero knew that he was a marked man. According to several sources, he was visited by a representative of the U.S. embassy and urged to change his position back to one of support for the junta. This same pattern preceded the deaths of several other clerics in Latin America: a final chance to repent was given by the U.S. embassy before the assassination was carried out. Romero reportedly refused to let anyone ride in a car with him, so that no innocent third party would be killed when he was hit. But Romero and the "Catholic Left" had committed themselves to opposition to the junta and were trying

Continued on page 19

“U.S. Discovers” Zionist Terror

Continued from page 1

minister Ezer Weisman who declared that Shaka would attempt to disrupt the implementation of the Camp David accords.

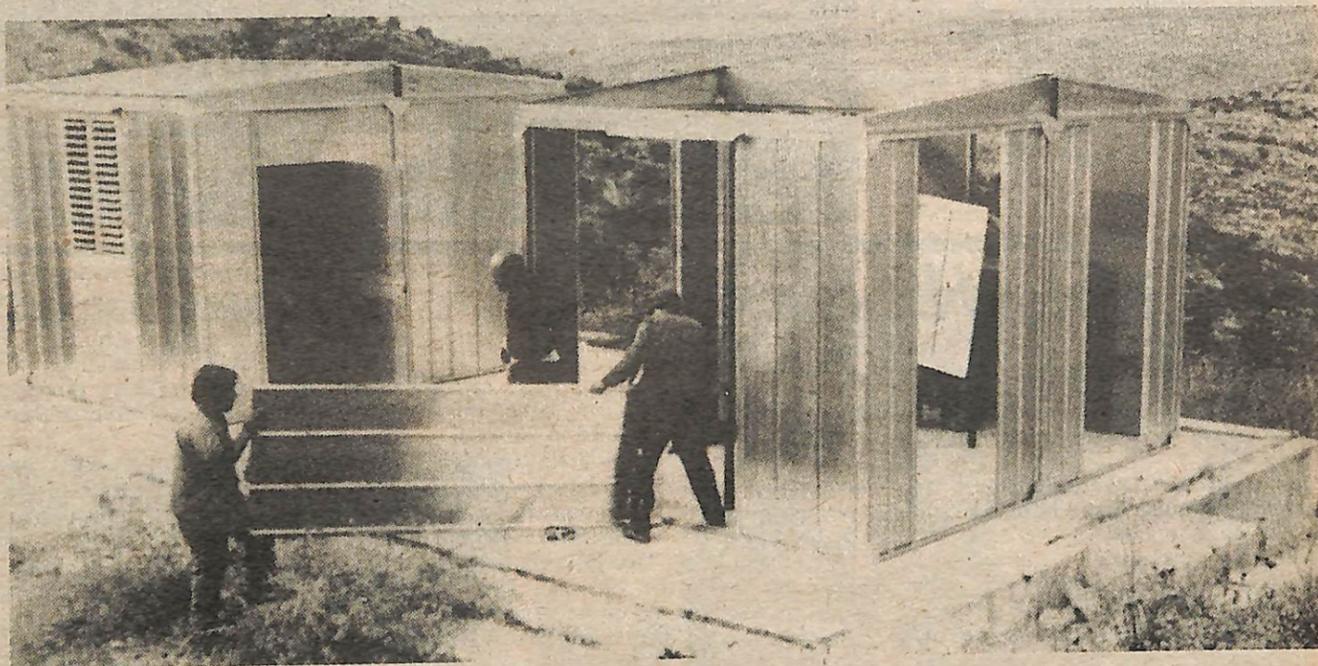
Then on November 10, Shaka was arrested without charge and held in the Ramle prison awaiting deportation from Palestine. On November 15, Shaka refused a “compromise” whereby the Israelis agreed to permit him to remain in Palestine if he would resign his post as mayor of Nablus, and he started a hunger strike. In December Shaka’s case was brought before the United Nations general assembly where it was established that Israel’s attempt to expel Shaka from his homeland was because of his opposition to new Zionist settlements in Nablus, built from land forcibly confiscated from the Palestinian owners. In December the UN general assembly voted 132 to 1 to condemn Israel’s treatment of the mayor, with Israel casting the only dissenting vote. This reflected the widespread exposure of the Israeli Zionists.

Meanwhile, on December 11, Karim Khalaf and Ibrahim Tawil, mayors of Ramallah and al-Bireh and the other two targets of the June 2 bombings, were slated for trial for protesting the refusal of an Israeli court to admit them as spectators in a case deciding the legality of Israeli land seizures in their cities. The attempt to repress the mayors of the West Bank cities, virtually all of whom are supporters of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, came to a head on May 1st when the Israeli military governor banned all May Day demonstrations. Some demonstrations took place anyhow, with one student killed, Anabta. On May 2nd, the Israeli occupation forces called in the mayors of Hebron and Halhoul for a “discussion.” Both were seized and forcibly deported from Palestine.

After all this, the capitalist press “suspects” that “perhaps” “Zionist extremists” were behind the assassination attempts. The *New York Times*, with a straight face, printed that there was now a specter of “Jewish terrorism, apparently the first against Arabs since Israel’s war of independence in 1948”! Say what? Since when? Hardly a day has gone by in the last 32 years without some vicious act of terrorism by Zionists in the service of U.S. imperialism directed at the people of Palestine. Leaders of the P.L.O. in Lebanon have had their cars bombed. Refugee camps have been bombed from the air and from the sea. School children have been shot down in the streets. Prisoners have been tortured. The homes of suspected P.L.O. sympathizers have been blown up. Land has been forcibly confiscated with orchards and crops razed to the ground. And the *New York Times* says this is the first act of terrorism against the Palestinian people in 32 years!

More to the point, this is the first time in 32 years that the bourgeois press has reported an act of terrorism by Israel and called it such. What it reflects is the ever-so-careful stepping away from a 100% pro-Israel Middle East policy, forced on the U.S. by its contention with its rival imperialists in the Soviet Union. The front page *New York Times* headline, “3 West Bank Bombs Maim Two Mayors; Jews Are Suspected” would not have appeared a year ago. Following the Iranian revolution and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the needs of U.S. imperialism to consolidate its position with the Arab countries, to complete the Egyptian-Israeli peace at the expense of the Palestinian people (and the Arab masses in general), and to build a new line of defense along the Persian Gulf, has compelled the ruling class to launch a press campaign to promote the view that it’s slightly more “pro-Arab.” It is this global consideration that has led to the sudden discovery of Israeli terrorism and to the favorable treatment of Ezer Weisman, rival of Begin and the Zionist criminal most compliant to U.S. needs at the moment.

A familiar pattern of Zionist expansion. (Top) Prospective Israeli settlers “size up” Palestinian areas (pictured here is Nablus in the West Bank area). Towns are surrounded by Israeli troops “for security purposes,” often accompanied by harassment and terrorism like crop-burning and defoliation. Israeli military forces commonly order families to leave their homes, they dynamite them (middle picture). Pre-fab settlements are erected on the same foundation! (Bottom) Contrary to Israeli claims that settlers only move onto “public lands” and “make the desert blossom,” in reality 90% of all settlement has been on Arab-owned land!



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.

Draft Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Bob Avakian in D.C. in November, Part 3

Grasp Revolutionary Theory— Rely on the Masses

This is the third and final segment of 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, serialized by the Revolutionary Worker. As a result of a tremendous political battle, centered in Washington D.C. but extending across the entire country and also internationally, only a few days before the rally the case against the Mao Tsetung Defendants was dismissed in a lower court and immediately appealed to a higher one. This was a real victory—the government had been forced to back off, but it continued to plot and maneuver and charges totaling up to a possible 241 years of jail time for each defendant are still pending in the appeals court as the ruling class decides its next move. More attacks, including a Secret Service "investigation" of Bob Avakian have mounted in the meantime. Parts of this speech have already been printed in the Revolutionary Worker and in the pamphlet "Iran: It's not our Embassy." The text has been slightly edited for publication.

The fundamental, critical, and decisive question in the tremendous tumultuous struggles and upheavals of the decade ahead, with everything going on the line throughout the world, is our ability to grasp revolutionary theory, apply it and deepen our understanding of this revolutionary line, and on that basis take it out and spread it more broadly, take it more deeply among the masses of people and bring forth increasing numbers of the people themselves to step to the forefront and, in turn, become organizers and activators of broader and deeper sections of the masses of people. We have to sink our roots and spread them so broadly that no matter what they bring down, and no matter what they do, they can never crush and destroy, they can never fully uproot the line and the program and the influence and the organization of our Party among growing numbers of people who are becoming restless, and going from being restless to questioning, and going from questioning to rebelling, and going from rebelling to seeing the need for revolution, and going from that to actively giving themselves to working for and bringing forward others toward the cause of revolution. That's the most important thing we have to learn in the all-around revolutionary movement that we have to develop.

The Bourgeoisie Miscalculated

Going back for a minute you see, when they calculated and miscalculated at the start of this battle, they thought that we would either be an isolated sect of maniacs and fanatics, or else that we would back away from our revolutionary stand and go the way that others have gone, the Communist Party before us, ultimately the leaders of the Black Panther Party and others who for a time were genuine revolutionaries in this country. They thought that we would go the way that they went, that we would water down our revolutionary politics, that we would talk less about the need to rise up and overthrow this system, and more about the need to defend our Party in a narrow and short-term sense. They thought that we would talk less and do less to expose the thoroughly rotten and reactionary nature of this system all the way through every level and every institution, from the courts to the cops, to the politicians, to the heads of the corporations and every other sphere of society.

They thought we would back away from talking about how this is a dictatorship of the capitalist class and its armed force and its apparatus of the state over the working class and the masses of people, and we'd water down our message and just talk more and more about the Constitution and our so-called democratic rights—covering up the fact that the very Constitution itself is nothing but a document of slavery to enshrine and codify the exploitation and oppression of the great majority of people in this society, and our so-called democratic rights exist only so long as we don't use them in any way to seriously question or threaten this system, and that democracy in this society is only democracy for a tiny upper crust of capitalist exploiters while for the great majority of the working class and the oppressed people it's outright and brutal dictatorship over them. They thought we would back up off of this. Or they thought if we didn't that no one would listen. They thought if we stuck to our revolutionary stand, if we didn't back down and compromise on our basic principles, that people out here, especially among those they've ground down and degraded the

most—among the working class and the oppressed minorities and other sections of the people, would be too ground down, too ignorant, too selfish, too unconcerned to rally to the defense of our Party and take up this battle. And they have been proved wrong. They've been proved wrong by the tremendous surge forward of people in the thousands who came to the speaking tour all around the country, the volunteers who came here nearly 200 strong in response to the Party and made tremendous sacrifices, and by the people who came despite the way they try to manipulate people's thinking through the media.

That was another way they miscalculated. Because through the media itself, even on their own turf in their own arena, literally several million people in this country who had never heard of the Revolutionary Communist Party before have heard of it now. And literally hundreds of thousands of people now have a clear and a basic understanding of our Party and what it represents—hundreds of thousands of people, most of whom had never heard of our Party or didn't understand what it stood for, and how it was different from the so-called Communist Party and many other groups out here. And among these people, tens of thousands whom had never heard of our Party before, have developed a firm and a growing basis of unity, stand in solidarity with our Party and its basic revolutionary message, and are becoming activated to join not just in the struggle to rally to the support of and defend our Party, but to take up its revolutionary line and to wield it as a weapon to bring forward broader ranks of the people.

They Have Never Seen Anything Like The RCP

It became very clear to me going around and talking to the media, and seeing the reaction of these henchmen and mouthpieces of the ruling class. The simple truth is, and was brought home time and time again, they have never seen anything like the Revolutionary Communist Party in this country. And the reason is very simple—there *never has been* anything like the Revolutionary Communist Party before in this country. Now let me be clear on that. Let's be clear on what I'm saying. I'm not saying that there never before have been revolutionaries in this country—that's the farthest thing from the truth. I'm not saying that never before our Party were there people who were dedicated to the cause of revolution, who were heroic in fighting for revolution, who went out and put their lives on the line, stood up to vicious repression, murders, jailings, harassment, hounding, even being driven out of the country to spread the message of revolution and to try to lead things forward toward revolution in this country. There have been many such people and we seek to and must learn from all of them. The blood that they have shed and the sacrifices they made are the blood and the sacrifices of our class and the fighters who have gone before us. And when we take power in this country, there will be monuments erected to educate the people about these heroic fighters who have gone before us. And let's be clearer still. That if simply revolutionary dedication, if simply revolutionary heroism, if simply a burning hatred for this system and an unquenchable thirst to be rid of this oppression, if simply the self-sacrificing stand of putting everything, even your own life, on the line for revolution, alone could make a revolution—then certainly one would have been made in this country by now. And specifically we could say that, in its best time, when it was truly revolutionary, certainly the Black Panther Party could have led a revolution in this country, if it was determination, heroism, courage and self-sacrifice alone that could lead to revolution.

But unfortunately, those things alone are not enough. Now without those things—without a deep hatred of this system and all the evils it brings down and the suffering it subjects millions of people around the world to, without a burning unquenchable thirst to be rid of all this oppression and to bury the cause of it once and for all, without on that basis a willingness to be self-sacrificing, to put yourself on the line and even give your life and shed your blood if necessary as well as the blood of others in order to make revolution, it is impossible to be a revolutionary. No revolutionary party can exist without those things. And our Party certainly shares those feelings of millions and millions of the masses of people out here who for a lifetime have been subjected to this degradation and for a lifetime, if only flickering into a bright flame and dying down once again, have again and again dreamed of a way out of this, and of the millions of more people who will be drawn into political life and begin to raise their heads and question and see the need for a way out in the



future.

But what is different about our Party is that we are able to stand on the shoulders of those who have gone before us—not just in this country and not just in the last few years, but internationally and historically. We are able to learn from them. We are able to learn from their advances and their contributions, and we are also able to learn from their mistakes, their shortcomings, and their limitations. And the most important lesson of all that we've learned, the fundamental, decisive, and main thing that distinguishes our Party from anything that has gone before it in the history of this country, and that unites us with genuine revolutionaries throughout various countries all over the world, is that we have learned, and we have fought, to base ourselves on, to grasp ever more deeply and to apply in a more thoroughgoing way this indispensable and ultimately invincible weapon—the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and to combine that with the hatred that burns in the hearts of millions and millions of slaves in this country and all around the world.

The Two Things We Have To Stand On

When we get down to it, there are two things that we have stood on and that we have to stand on more deeply and more firmly in the battles ahead, not just to beat back attacks but to make revolution. And those two things are the broadest masses of people in this country who are enslaved and oppressed in their millions and tens of millions, on the one hand, and on the other hand, this liberating and revolutionary theory and science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. But we can't have these two things separated from each other. We can't have these two things isolated or cut off from each other, because the masses without this revolutionary theory and without a Party that embraces and embodies that and takes it out and arms them with it, the masses will fight, they will resist their oppression, they will rise up time and again, but will always in the final analysis be crushed and defeated. On the other hand, a small handful of people, studying this theory of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought in isolation, treating it as a dogma, or some kind of a prize, or some kind of knowledge to be used for personal gain and personal advantage in order to be able to lord it over other people, will never make revolution. A small group of people like that may have an intellectual understanding that revolution is necessary, may have a theoretical grasp of the ultimate inevitability of revolution, but they will never be able to lead the one force that has to come forward and consciously fight to make revolution, and that is the working class and the masses of people in their millions, tens of millions, and hundreds of millions.

We have to begin to more deeply and in a more all-around way apply this revolutionary theory to the struggle and, in the broadest sense and with the broadest view bring together and combine this revolutionary liberating science of Marxism with the hatred and the determination of the masses of people to rise up and be free of this. . . . Our Party has fought for and continues to fight to arm itself with that theory and to bring it together with the hatred and the burning desire of the masses of people to rise up and resist their oppression. That is what we have seen has been most decisive and that is what *will* be most decisive in the battles and tremendous upheavals in the period ahead.

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Bob Avakian in D.C.



Continued from page 7

Uniting Broadly and Struggling Constantly

Now don't get me wrong. That doesn't mean that we seek at any time only to unite with people who consider themselves communists—those who say, "Yeah, I'm a revolutionary communist, I'm ready to get down with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and that's the basis I stand on." Of course, the most important thing is to bring forward people on that basis and to unleash them to consciously and actively take up the cause of revolution. But this very revolutionary theory, this very scientific method, tells us that at any given time, and even in the overall struggle we have to be able to go out and unite broadly with many different strata in society, many different forces and movements of people beginning to fight back, from anti-nuclear movements to the people in the streets of the Bronx fighting back against these vicious police murders. We have to be able to unite with them in fighting back against the common enemy, while at the same time we have to be able to struggle, debate, argue and win them to the stand that only a revolutionary movement with the working class at its head, armed and guided by its vanguard party rallying around it the millions and millions of oppressed in this society and rising up to make revolution, can uproot and eliminate once and for all the very cause of all the evils and all the suffering that we are resisting and fighting and uniting to fight back against.

I think you've heard today a broad spectrum of opinion and a broad basis of people uniting in this battle, and this is a very good, a fine and a necessary thing. Our understanding of revolutionary theory tells us this has to be, and this is the way we have to go forward. But speaking for myself, and I think many of you recognize, it becomes clear in listening to all these various broad and diverse opinions and various levels of understanding, the different positions that people bring to this battle, and the various different ways and degrees to which they are uniting with it, why *only* the revolutionary outlook of the working class—the uncompromising stand of the one class in this society which literally and actually *has* nothing to lose but its enslaved condition, its chains—is the only class that can lead the masses of people to make revolution. The working class is the only class which has absolutely no interest in preserving any aspect of this rotting exploiting society, (I'm not talking about individuals, whether George Meany or some chump-change local official, I'm talking about the working class as a class—our class here and around the world), only the working class as a class has an interest—has every interest—in rising up and thoroughly overthrowing and abolishing this system once and for all. It is the only force—when guided by, its consciousness raised by, and linked together with its vanguard party and the revolutionary science of its class—which can lead a thoroughgoing struggle to completely uproot and destroy not only all the evils that afflict us, but the very cause and the very source of all these evils.

Revolutionary Violence Is Uplifting

Now, I don't want to criticize anybody, certainly I don't want to attack anybody who came forward to take a stand in support of this battle—but at the same time, I'm going to make good on this friendly warning: we will never stop struggling with people about what it's going to take to uproot and eliminate all this. Of course, we would prefer if eliminating it could be done non-violently, but that is impossible. The nature of the beast that we are dealing with, the nature of its very system and what it has in store for us right in the period ahead make it clear that they will go to any length and stop at nothing, not only to try to crush revolutionary leadership that rises and leads people to rise up against them, but in an all-around way to try to preserve and prolong their bloodthirsty system here and around the world. And when you are dealing with a system that lives by and can only maintain itself by, not only exploiting and oppressing people, but constantly expanding that empire of exploitation and oppression at the cost of the suffering and the bloodshed of millions of people throughout the world, it is an idle and indeed a dangerous illusion to think that any other way than the revolutionary violent uprising of the working class and the masses of people in this country could ever put an end to all this. It is a *dangerous* illusion.

And I must disagree with one of the first speakers here, when he said in essence that violence is degrading—that when the oppressed rise up against their oppressors, when the slaves rise up against the slavemaster, that this puts them in just as degraded and just as corrupted a position as the slavemaster and the exploiter. We cannot agree with this. It is not true. And furthermore, although I'm sure that the brother who made that statement about non-violence did not intend this—and we unite with him in his stand in fighting back against this system—but nevertheless it has to be said straight up, that the stand of promoting among the people the view that they can somehow rid themselves of this misery without going straight up against, overthrowing and defeating the armed force

of the ruling class of this country, is helping out the enemy. We have to combat that because whether the person wishes to or not, and I'm sure he does not, promoting the thinking that it can be done non-violently and more than that, that if the masses of people seek to rise up violently they will be degraded and become as corrupted as that enemy, has the effect of playing into the hands of and objectively aiding the enemy in keeping the people oppressed, exploited and degraded. We have to tell the truth to the masses of people. We cannot lie to the masses of people, and if we did, we'd have no right to say that we are the Party of the working class and oppressed people, and we'd have no right even to call ourselves revolutionary.

You see the fundamental error of people who advocate non-violence in an all-around way is that they don't draw any distinction between the class nature of different kinds of violence. They don't take the Marxist scientific method of asking, which class does it serve, what kind of purpose is it being used for, what would it lead to in the final analysis? Because the objective of communists, the objective of our Party and all genuine revolutionary communists throughout the world, is not to maintain society and humanity at this backward and degraded and barbarous level where people are forced to go off and commit mutual slaughter in the millions and tens and hundreds of millions to preserve a blood-soaked system. Our stand unquestionably, definitely and beyond all doubt, as Mao Tsetung put it, is to move beyond the stage where mankind ever again has to engage in mutual slaughter and warfare. But the only way to move beyond that is to rise up, take up guns in hand—to violently rise up and overthrow the rulers of this system who are the cause of this suffering and of the fact that people are forced to go off against their own will, against their own interests, and slaughter each other only for the benefit of a handful of bloodsuckers.

We may wish to see some other way to bring this about, but there is no other way to bring it about. And failing to understand this fails to draw a fundamental distinction between the uprising of the oppressed to overthrow and finally bury their enslavement and all forms of enslavement, and the violence of the oppressor to keep the masses of people in an enslaved condition. Let's use a simple example. You mean to tell me that if a woman goes out here somewhere in society and is subjected to the brutality and degradation of being assaulted and raped, that in the face of that, in the face of such a vicious assault, such a demented attack, she fights back and even better than that takes a gun out of her purse and blows that motherfucker away, you mean to tell me that there is no distinction between the violence of that rapist committing that degrading act, and that woman's violence in fighting back against that? You mean to tell me that by engaging in that violence, she degrades herself and corrupts herself on the same level as her attacker? Wake up and realize what is going on in the world and what it's actually about!

Now our objective, our aim, and our goal, and the highest vision that we have is not to see every woman have to walk around with a gun in her purse in order to be able to blow away or at least fend off rapists. No! Our vision is clearly to move beyond such a rotten, corrupt, decadent, degenerate and filthy society as this, where the question of people raping each other will be once and for all eliminated from society and where never again will the possibility of that even exist. That's our objective! And that, and all the other evils that are inflicted on us that we have to suffer under will never be eliminated until we do become politically aware, become politically armed and when the time is ripe becoming literally and militarily armed and organized with a conscious and clear revolutionary military strategy and tactics to go up against, defeat, overthrow, shatter and disintegrate the armed forces of these oppressors in order to be able to move society and ultimately all of mankind beyond the stage where, a handful of people control, choke and suffocate the very means to existence for the masses of people and keep people in a degraded condition, and bury that once and for all.

And when we have done that—when we have not only overthrown this system but when we have advanced the revolution together with our brothers and sisters all over the world, when all of mankind is free and every basis has been uprooted upon which any form of enslavement or exploitation by one person over another, or by one group of society over the majority of society, when we have finally uprooted and eliminated any basis for the division of society into classes, into exploiters and exploited, and together with that, when we have therefore eliminated any necessity and any basis for warfare of any kind—at that time, at that great time in the history of the human race, the people as a whole will hold a grand celebration and finally will be able to carry out the long-talked about and sung about dream and idea of finally burying and destroying every weapon of destruction or turning them into tools of creation and construction for the benefit of mankind as a whole.

At that time, beyond question, when there is no longer any more basis for exploitation and oppression and therefore no longer any need or basis for warfare—at that time the people of the whole world will once and for all bury and destroy or reconvert into productive means every weapon of war and destruction—at that time, *but not one minute before that*. Because we know we're going to have to shed our blood in order to be free of this oppression. And we know that we're go-

ing to have to maintain our political consciousness, maintain our political awareness, remain politically armed and at the same time we're going to have to maintain our political rule of society, including our organized military force and keep guns in hand in order to defeat enemies from within and without who would try to destroy, drag back, corrupt, and defeat our revolution.

This is not a game that we're playing. The lives and the suffering of millions of people here and around the world are not playthings. And the cause that we have declared that our Party is determined to lead the working class and masses of people in this country in carrying through, the historic task that is placed on our class, the working class, is not a gimmick. It's not a plaything, it's not a game. It is a life and death question for hundreds of millions of people, and more than that it is the historic task of the working class internationally and represents an historic advance for all of mankind. And for the oppressed to rise up and fight back against their oppressors, for them to take into their hands the means to first overthrow, and then to suppress and prevent from rising again the exploiting and oppressing classes in society, in no way can be compared to the vicious brutality that is brought down to keep the various forms of enslavement of the people and to chain society and the great majority of the people in this backward condition. It is not degrading, it is uplifting for the masses of people to take guns in hand and rise up and fight back against and more than that to overthrow and thoroughly defeat their exploiters and oppressors. Ask the Iranian people once again, were they degraded or uplifted when they rose up against the Shah and went from unarmed demonstrations to an armed struggle to crush and break his stranglehold over them? Ask them—and they have delivered their message loud and clear. And like the song said earlier, what they did there, we can, we must and will do here. . . .

The Possibility of Revolution

Sometimes people say, "Listen, you keep saying to make a revolution takes millions and millions of people. We're only hundreds or thousands or maybe tens of thousands now." One of the things we have to learn most deeply that Lenin taught us in analyzing the revolution in Russia and its lessons for the worldwide struggle is that when, in still relatively ordinary times—that is, when the system is able to mainly carry out the functioning of its machinery in more or less the everyday way, even if there's turmoil and unrest—to be able to activate and mobilize thousands or tens of thousands of people, to be able to influence tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of people, is of tremendous significance. When, not just for a week or two around Iran or some other event, and not just on the campuses or in a few communities, but when throughout the whole society in a deep-going way everything is seething and up for grabs, when things deepen and in fact approach and actually get to a revolutionary situation, then the work that you've done to bring forward thousands and tens of thousands, to influence tens and hundreds of thousands, becomes of extreme importance. Because then tens and hundreds of thousands beginning to awaken to political life and political activity become millions and tens of millions beginning to question and search restlessly, beginning to rebel and seek a way out. And the tens of thousands that we mobilize now to raise that banner are not only a tremendous material force and an inspiration and a cause to awake masses of people beyond them in this society, but also those tens of thousands that we develop in political activity will become trained through the use of the *Revolutionary Worker* and in key political battles and campaigns. Those tens of thousands will be trained to be able to be the leaders of millions and tens of millions when everything does seethe with revolutionary ferment and when finally things do go up for grabs in an overall and all-around way.

Our Party does not promise anybody a quick and easy way to end this madness. Just as we refuse to capitulate, to back down in the face of any of their attacks, just as we refuse to back up off our communist and our internationalist principles in standing with and supporting the struggle of the working class here and internationally, no matter what the enemy does and what attacks it brings down—just as we are determined to more deeply fight for and grasp and apply in a deeper and all-around way this revolutionary science of Marxism, we firmly refuse to try to mislead people into thinking, or even mistakenly try to console people into thinking, that there is some cheap and easy weekend special way that we are going to be able to get rid of all this oppression and make revolution. Revolution is a struggle. Revolution requires sacrifice, it requires people consciously putting themselves and their lives on the line for the future, for the cause of the working class and ultimately of humanity. And the opportunity to make revolution does not come along, especially in a powerful imperialist country like this, very often. It doesn't come along every week, every month, every year and maybe even every ten years. The situation when all the conditions come into being at the same time, when the system does get weak enough, when the crisis grows deep enough, spreads broadly and convulses society sharply enough, when the people are dragged into political life and awakened and aware enough, and when in the midst of all that there is a party capable of guiding, educating, preparing, organizing and leading them in a revolutionary up-

Continued on page 19

The Life of a Professional Revolutionary

“20 Years in Underground Russia”

Twenty Years in Underground Russia is an exciting account of the life of Cecilia Bobrovskaya in the years before the outbreak of World War I—a rare look into the experience of a professional revolutionary in the Bolshevik Party carrying out revolutionary work inside Russia. While Bobrovskaya's memoirs end rather abruptly at the outbreak of the war—leaving the reader wanting more—her story takes us through the early days of the Russian revolution, the political struggle against the Mensheviks, the days of the 1905 revolution and the period of Stolypin reaction following this great “dress rehearsal.” All these events are seen through the eyes of the author, but this book is not mainly a “history.” It is rather a fascinating look into the concrete work and development of the Bolshevik Party which gives a real sense of the struggle to transform the various Marxist circles into a revolutionary Party led by Lenin, the role of the Party press, the division of labor in the revolutionary ranks, the concrete work of constituting and reconstituting the Party in the face of the tsarist police—in short, a look into the revolutionary underground preparing for the seizure of power in tsarist Russia and the consolidation of the first proletarian state power in the world.

Search for Revolution

Cecilia Bobrovskaya's father was a poverty-stricken Jewish bookkeeper in Russia in the late 1800s who spent his life buried in ledgers all day and in the Talmud all night. Her mother, according to Bobrovskaya herself, was “illiterate... interested only in narrow, material, family questions, and her husband's soaring into the clouds often aroused her to the verge of frenzy.” The first chance she got, Cecilia Bobrovskaya left her remote little town and headed the Russian emigré community in Warsaw, where she hoped to find work and to meet the kind of people she had read about in early revolutionary Russian novels, such as Chernyshevsky's *What Is To Be Done*. In Warsaw, she quickly hooked up with the Russian Marxist circles, but because the tsarist officials were ruthlessly carrying out the policy of russification in Poland, it was difficult for the enthusiastic young Russians to make contact with the revolutionary underground movement among the Polish and Polish Jewish workers, because the workers were suspicious of them. Nevertheless, they persevered, hunting for a workers' circle and studying and debating. The movement at the time was vigorous but disorganized, and every bit of literature that the young revolutionists could get their hands on was precious:

“A copy of a volume of Marxist essays, containing an article by Tulin (Lenin), which had escaped being burned at the order of the censor and had by lucky chance fallen into our hands, caused a veritable sensation. Since only one copy was available for the entire colony, lots were cast as to who should read it first.

“Owing to our estrangement from the Polish underground movement, but mainly due to our lack of organization, we had very poor access to the illegal literature that was printed abroad... Getting supplies of illegal literature in an organized way was out of the question so long as our colony remained a morley, amorphous, and to tell the truth, a garrulous crowd.”

Hemmed in by the isolation of the emigrés from the Polish working class

movement, Bobrovskaya traveled to Vienna in 1896, aiming to learn a trade that would allow her to return to Russia and live outside the Jewish ghettos so she could do work in the major industrial centers. (Jewish people were not permitted to travel outside the ghettos without a permit.)

“I decided to go to Vienna where I could take a six months' midwifery course. After getting my Vienna diploma I should have to pass an examination in a Russian university. The midwifery diploma that I would get if I succeeded at the examinations would give me the right to live in any part of Russia and the possibility of carrying on revolutionary underground work.”

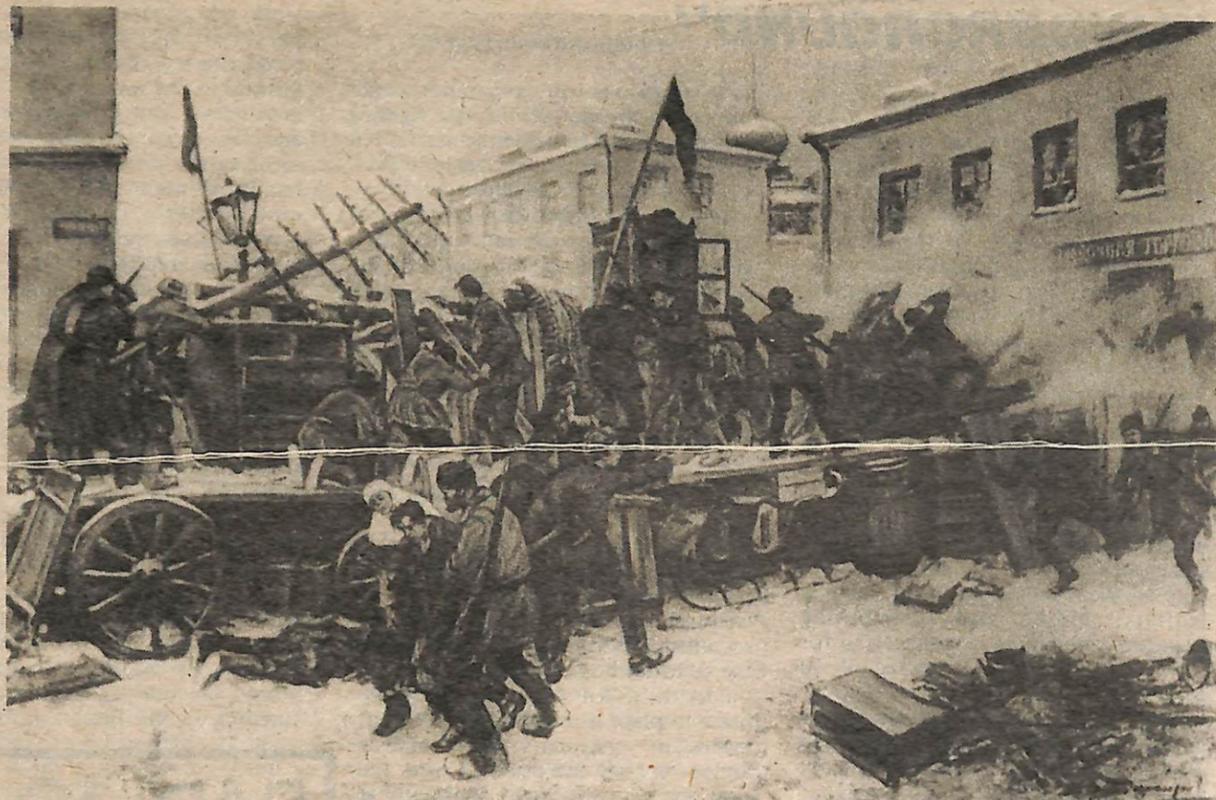
This diploma was clearly seen as a means to a travel permit, and there was no mixing things up with ideas about “putting this skill to use” in Bobrovskaya's mind; she was concerned only with being able to spend all her waking

hours doing Party work and later says, “I hated midwifery. In all my future life I never helped a single infant to come into the world.”

Swirling political life in Vienna—“mass meetings, strikes, fierce party strife... street demonstrations against the hated Bedeni ministry... also the small gatherings in all the socialist clubs where theoretical lectures and discussions were held...”—made an enormous impression on Bobrovskaya. Every day, she and her comrades would buy the paper and “turn to the back page where ‘meetings, lectures and reports’ were announced and according to which we planned our day. We were obliged to cover most of the distances on foot but we didn't mind that, if the meeting proved interesting.” At that time, the controversy between revolutionary Marxism, led by Lenin and Plekhanov, and the revisionist economist trend represented by Bern-

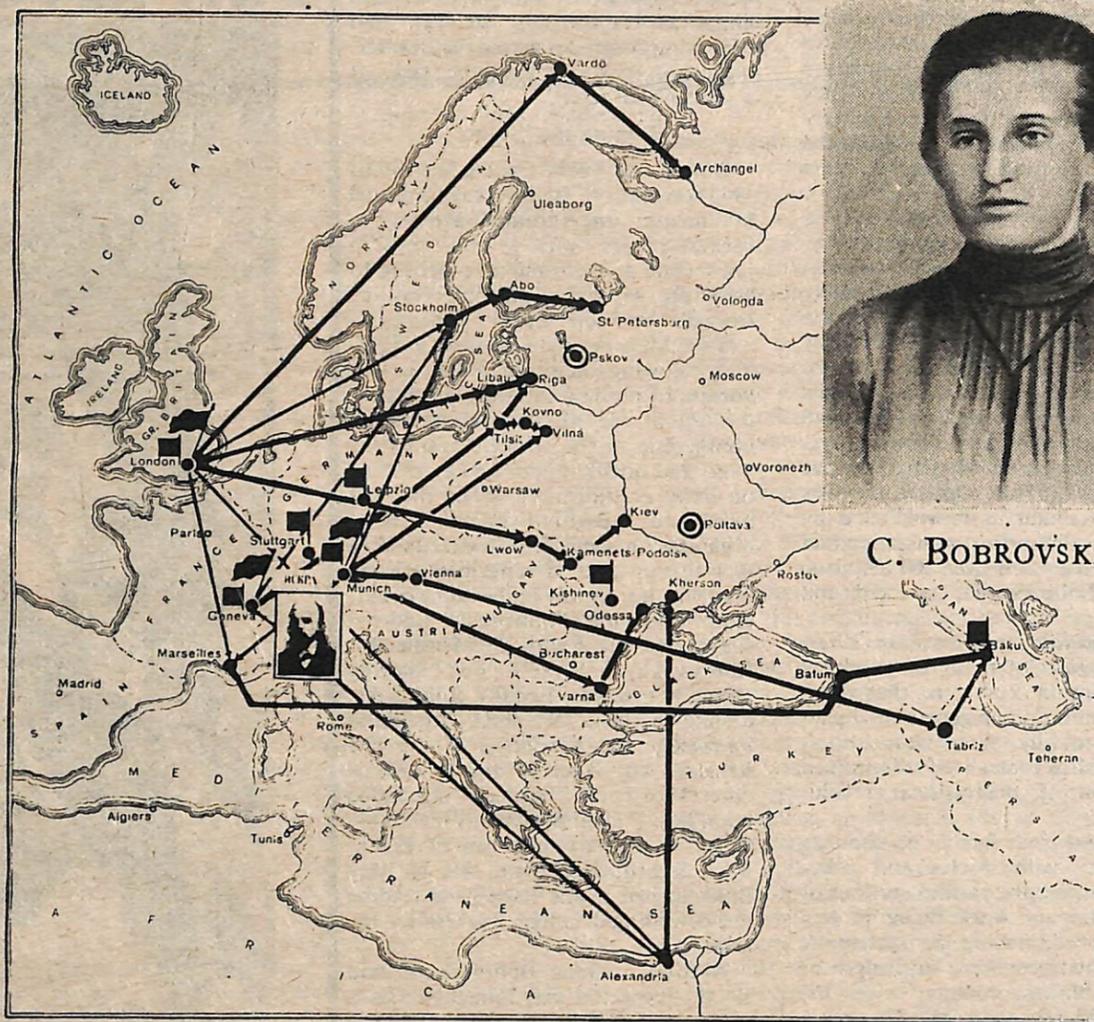
stein was heating up, and the meetings proved so interesting to Bobrovskaya that she flunked her courses in midwifery and “was obliged to remain for another term.” She had the opportunity to observe many of the leading figures on both sides first hand. Bobrovskaya's sympathies were firmly with the revolutionaries, and “notables” who did not fall into that category don't get much space in her memoirs:

“When Eduard Bernstein (the ‘father of modern revisionism’—RW) visited the Axelrods in Zurich, both the hosts and the guest carried on a peaceful conversation at tea. Bernstein, the father of German revisionism, impressed me as a homely man in blue glasses. What this man in the blue glasses said at tea I have completely forgotten.”



Painting depicts the barricades in Moscow during the 1905 Revolution, heroically erected and defended by revolutionary workers of the Krasnaya Presnya district in December, which came to be known as the December uprising.

SCHEME OF “ISKRA” ORGANIZATION



C. BOBROVSKAYA

"UNDERGROUND"

Continued from page 9

The Founding of Iskra

In 1899, Bobrovskaya returned to Russia. By that time, the first efforts to unite the various revolutionary circles and committees in Russia were underway, and the activity of the Kharkov committee in which Bobrovskaya worked was growing steadily. But still, "everybody had to be a propagandist, organizer, printer and distributor at the same time." Bobrovskaya's schedule was definitely packed. She led two workers' theoretical circles, each meeting twice a week (but the discussions of political economy, she admits, went slowly because the railroad workers in her circle wanted to hear about Bobrovskaya's life and experience abroad). She helped to "execute all the technical duties of printing leaflets, hiding and distributing literature, obtaining headquarters for secret meetings. We organized illegal gatherings at which reports and lectures on political and economic themes were made. We arranged concerts, plays and other lucrative undertakings from which we obtained the funds to run our organization as well as to support strikers or comrades who had been arrested." Bobrovskaya herself was charged with visiting sympathetic, if often vacillating, doctors, lawyers and other professionals in quest of funds; she does not omit to record her irritation that when she visited their homes, often half starved, "they greeted you so hospitably, and offered you a miniature cup of tea with flaky cookies. They couldn't realize that there was a hungry person before them who should be given a square meal and not be teased with cookies."

The Kharkov organization led a highly successful general strike on May Day, 1900—so successful that it shocked the organization itself: "It can safely be said that about the time of the first of May demonstration in 1900, the organization undervalued its own strength; but it did not realize that its influence was so strong." But the red flag in the streets on May 1st also jolted the Tsar's police out of their relative complacency: "The whole force was mobilized to hunt us down," and by late summer the entire organization had been uprooted, with over 200 activists, including Bobrovskaya, arrested and jailed.

Bobrovskaya's experience in Kharkov was typical of many of the local organizations in Russia at that time, and was summed up in general by Lenin in his call to wipe out amateurishness and establish a centralized, disciplined organization of professional revolutionaries:

"A student circle having no contacts whatsoever...with circles and other districts, without the various sections of the revolutionary work being in any way organized, having no systematic plan of activity covering any length of time, establishes contact with the workers and sets to work. The circle gradually expands its propaganda and agitation; by its activity it wins the sympathies of rather large sections of workers and of a certain section of the educated classes, which provide it with money...Its sphere of activity becomes wider and its activities expand quite spontaneously and finally they commence open hostilities...and usually the very first of these actions end in immediate and wholesale arrests. Immediate and wholesale, precisely because these open hostilities were not the result of a systematic and carefully thought out and gradually prepared plan for a prolonged and stubborn struggle...because, naturally the police, in almost every case, knew the principal leaders of the local movement...and waited only for a convenient moment to make their raid...and one can only wonder at the virility of the movement which expanded, grew and scored victories in spite of the total lack of training among the fighters. It is true that from the historical point of view, the primitiveness of the equipment was not only inevitable at first, but even legitimate as one of the conditions for the wide recruiting of fighters, but as

soon as serious war preparations commenced...the defects in our fighting organization have made themselves felt to an ever increasing degree." (V.I. Lenin, *What Is To Be Done?*)

By the time Bobrovskaya got out of jail, the kind of organization of professional revolutionaries capable of successfully combatting the political police and leading the revolution forward in an organized way was already under construction. Its foundation and its lifeline was the newspaper *Iskra* (*The Spark*):

"At the time of which I write (1902) the *Iskra* group not only had the paper *Iskra* which was regularly published abroad and widely distributed in Russia, but also a strong organizational apparatus. In accordance with Lenin's plan, there were first of all cadre of well-trained responsible comrades, the so-called *Iskra* agents, who were sent by the editorial board of *Iskra* to work in the locals, in Russia, or were sent from place to place as necessity required. By means of systematic correspondence and secret code and personal visits, they kept the center abroad constantly informed about their own work and the general state of the work in Russia. Besides these highly qualified agents who were successfully carrying out the principles and tactics of *Iskra*, there were professional revolutionaries, who were occupied only with such technical duties as transporting literature and conveying comrades across the frontier, producing passports and other tasks of a similar character."

Joining the "Rams"

During the years leading up to the 1905 Revolution, Bobrovskaya engaged in intense underground activity in various places, with several stops in jail—while at the same time striving to keep up with the growing two-line struggle between Lenin's Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, who were increasingly showing their true colors as advocates of pinning the working class to the tail of the Russian "democratic" bourgeoisie in the struggle against the Tsar, and openly opposing Lenin's line on party organization. When the split occurred, Bobrovskaya's local organization sent her to Switzerland to investigate—and arrangements were made for her to stay in the home of Axelrod who, unbeknownst to Bobrovskaya, had sided with the Mensheviks. Bobrovskaya herself was leaning strongly towards Lenin's Bolsheviks, despite a lack of much first-hand knowledge of the details of the line struggle, but Axelrod and a host of other Menshevik "leaders" descended upon her: "Their arguments invariably ended in a sharp criticism of Lenin, who, according to them, was creating Bonapartism in the Party, and leading the confiding Russian workers by the nose."

Axelrod, whom Bobrovskaya had always respected and thought of as a true leader, told her that he "could not but deplore the fact that I had enlisted with the Leninist 'rams.' Without sparing Axelrod's feelings, I answered, 'Evidently the Bolshevik position is more convincing seeing that I, who have never seen Lenin, enlist with his 'rams' in spite of the fact that the Menshevik doctrines are heatedly defended by the leaders, Martov and Dan.' That was the last time I met Axelrod."

Before her return to work in Russia, Bobrovskaya did meet Lenin—who always took the opportunity to discuss politics and the revolutionary work with party members who had just been in Russia and who were about to return. One evening in Geneva, Lenin volunteered to walk Bobrovskaya to her home after a meeting. When they got to Bobrovskaya's place, they turned around and walked back to Lenin's. Then they walked back to Bobrovskaya's where Lenin finally said good night. They had been discussing the role of the professional revolutionary and the kind of a party, composed of such politically trained professionals, that would be able to lead the working class to victory in the revolutionary struggle.

For the most part Bobrovskaya's

work consisted in traveling to many parts of Russia, constituting and reconstituting the Party organization. Central to this work was the task of the distribution and printing of literature, and she recounts many stories about securing the printing presses from the hands of police, taking them apart, moving them around, sometimes several times in the course of one night—so crucial to the work of the Party was the underground press. That the central newspaper was in fact central to the life of every Bolshevik and every class-conscious worker is unmistakably clear from her memoirs. She recalls being thrown in jail in later years, sometime after the 1905 revolution, when she was taken to secret police headquarters:

"In the narrow corridor near my cell were two huge boxes filled with our newspaper, *Proletari*. I had seen similar boxes in Teriyokki. Most probably an entire shipment of our paper had been seized. During my daily exercise I felt a pang at the heart as I passed those boxes of our splendid newspapers standing in the filthy corridor of the

police headquarters."

For this reason, Bobrovskaya spent much time on the organization of secret print shops and was quite proud to have organized one "excellently equipped with type, cases and parts of machinery," to have "one in reserve in case the other was discovered," and so on, in order to see to it that the Party papers did not end up in the filthy corridors of the police station.

Another of her tasks was often the organization of meetings of workers and getting agitators to speak. Bobrovskaya gives a vivid picture of the division of labor in the Bolshevik Party and the necessity for trained agitators. She recalls the difficulties in 1904 in the Baku oilfields during a general strike, combatting the influence of a semi-Menshevik group led by "Ilya Shendrikov, a very good agitator but a demagogue..." The demagogue Ilya was never tired at mass meetings of discussing minor questions like the provision of aprons, mits, etc., by the employers without touching upon the real significance of the strike. As a

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DARE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE BATTLE PLAN FOR REVOLUTION



Revolutionary Worker

In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity for revolution is there to seize. These moments, particularly in a country such as this, are rare in history and their outcome has a profound influence on history

for years, even decades, to come. Those who do understand what is going on and choose not to act are contributing to the prolonging of this destructive and decadent rule of imperialism. This programme is a declaration of war, and at the same time a call to action and a battle plan for destroying the old and creating the new. It must be taken up.

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

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

May Day in the Oilfields of Iran

We have received more reports on May Day demonstrations in cities across Iran. They indicate further that this year's demonstrations on International Workers Day played a powerful role in pushing the Iranian revolution forward. Generally thousands more workers took part in demonstrations this year than last. These demonstrations targeted both U.S. imperialism and reactionary attacks on the workers movement in Iran. This stand has put thousands of workers squarely against the Islamic government's attempts to stomp out the revolution, restrict the political struggle of the working class and reimpose bourgeois control of society, particularly in the factories. A firm stand was taken at these May Day demonstrations demanding the return of the ex-Shah and his plundered wealth to Iran. "No compromise" and "Down with U.S. Imperialism" were the slogans raised by the workers. At some of these marches, support for the Kurdish people's revolutionary struggle was boldly proclaimed.

The following are reports on some of the most significant demonstrations:

Abadan. In the heart of the key oil-producing province of Khuzestan, over 50,000 people—overwhelmingly workers—marched through Abadan under slogans calling for freedom for the oil workers who are being held as political prisoners by the government; support for the Kurdish people's democratic rights and opposition to the army's attacks on Sanandaj; down with capitalism; and condemnation of the government attacks on the universities. There were also slogans opposing the reactionary attacks of the Iraqi government on Iran. These slogans target some of the key battlelines being drawn between revolution and reaction in Iran today, and it is extremely significant that such a broad section of the working class in this area took them up on May 1st. The workers, organized by the Syndicate of Oil Project Workers, marched by the finance ministry in support of a sit-in there by families of the martyrs of the Rex Cinema fire (where over 700 were burned to death in 1978 by the Shah's troops). The "official" Oil Workers Union (which the government and reactionary Islamic forces strongly influence) called a counter-demonstration that drew only a few thousand, and eventually ended up merging with the larger demonstration.



Part of the May Day march in Abadan, Iran last month. 50,000 people, including thousands of workers, surged through the streets of this center of Iran's oil industry, raised slogans which included: "Defend the Workers Councils"; "Down with U.S. Imperialism"; "down with Capitalism"; and "Support the Kurdish People's Struggle."

Many "third line" Marxist-Leninist organizations and women's groups were involved in the main demonstration, while the Tudeh Party (pro-Soviet revisionists) was excluded.

Ahwaz and Khoramshar. May Day demonstrations in these cities in Khuzestan involved thousands of workers, organized by workers councils in various factories. The marchers called for continuing the fight against U.S. imperialism, the defense of the workers councils in the factories, and for the troops who have been occupying the oil fields to get out. (The oil fields have been largely under martial law since last June.) There were also some slogans in Khoramshar directed against the Soviet Union and the Tudeh Party.

Tabriz. In Tabriz, there was a march of some 20,000 workers, toilers and students, led by a coalition of 37 work-

ers councils. The workers marched to the occupied U.S. consulate in Tabriz and called for workers of Iran and workers of the world to unite, to send U.S. imperialism to its grave. Right-wing Moslems tried to break up the demonstrations, but the students holding the consulate stopped these attacks by publicly calling them counter-revolutionary.

Kurdistan. In both Bukan and Mahabad, there were large May Day demonstrations as the Kurdish people rallied in the midst of an intense war

with the central government. At the demonstration in Mahabad, which was addressed by Sheik Ezzedin Hosseini among others, there were over 10,000 people from this town of 30,000. In Bukan there were also thousands. The demonstrations were organized by a united front of all the groups fighting in Kurdistan. In the Kurdish stronghold of Sanandaj, where there was a large May Day demonstration last year of 20,000, 70,000 people including several revolutionary organizations were engaged in a revolutionary war with the central government. □

Buffalo Media Helps Cops

Iranian Students Deported

On Tuesday, May 6th, immigration authorities raided the dorm room of an Iranian student at the University of Buffalo in New York. With the help of university police, they broke into his room while he and his roommates were sleeping. When other students tried to stop them, they said, "We can do whatever we want." The Iranian student was thrown into lockup and held on \$2,000 bail on false charges of failure to register for his I-94 papers (resident visas required by Carter's November 10, 1979 order on all Iranians) and failure to go to a deportation hearing for which he hadn't been notified. Upon posting bail, he was given five days to leave the country. This incident is a sharp and naked example of the escalating political attacks being leveled against Iranians by the rulers of this country, desperately trying to turn public opinion against the Iranian people's struggle.

At least three Iranian students have been the targets of such attacks at the University of Buffalo recently. In December, a federal court declared the visa recertification called for by Carter unconstitutional. But then, later that same month, another federal court reversed this lower court ruling, and the three students were given one week to go

through visa recertification. All three were away at the time and consequently missed their recertification—but all three attempted to settle the matter in January at an immigration hearing. At that time, immigration authorities told them, "We will let you know our decision." Three months later, one was told to go to an immigration court—he was given one month to leave the U.S. The second Iranian got his I-94 papers and the third heard nothing until May 6, when immigration authorities raided his room and arrested him.

These three were part of a contingent of Iranian and American students and workers at a May 3 anti-draft march through downtown Buffalo. At that time, TV newsmen from channel 7 attempted to interview the Iranians. The Iranians refused, but the newsmen arrogantly filmed them anyhow. At one point, a marcher grabbed a camera and told the news, "If you're so interested in Iran's revolution, then put out some truth about it!" This incident was undoubtedly the pretext for the raid and bust.

Further evidence of media complicity with the police was seen on Monday, May 5. Two or three reporters from channel 2 TV visited the University of Buffalo International Student Club.

**Pamphlet from the
Revolutionary Worker**

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

Club members were prodded about the whereabouts of several Iranian students who had attended the RCP May Day demonstration in Cleveland. These newsmen came equipped with the names of the Iranian students. But no one at the club answered any of the media's "honest questions."

Early on the morning of May 18, the chant "We stand with the people of Iran" resounded through the Buffalo International Airport as thirty Iranian and American students and revolutionary workers marched in solidarity with two departing Iranians, one being the Iranian arrested on May 6. Both airport guards and local police attempted to intimidate demonstrators into leaving the area but were promptly told, "These Iranians are brothers and we will not leave." After the Iranians boarded their flight, the police grew more rabid and attacked demonstrators outside the terminal after the march had dispersed. Two were arrested and

slapped with charges of disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and obstructing governmental administration. Within a couple of hours, the \$750 bail was raised. One contributor, an older Black ex-prisoner, heard about the struggle and called a friend in Atlanta who immediately wired \$200 for the bail.

The internationalist bond concentrated in May Day this year between workers and others in the U.S. and the revolutionary struggles of the people of the world—especially now in Iran—was spoken to in a brief speech by one Iranian comrade before his departure from the University of Buffalo: "As we did here—our work with our brothers here from the RCP—we're going to do the same in Iran. We're going to get the hands of the U.S. off Iran. About May Day—we saw the real solidarity between Iranian and American people in May Day and we think we should have days like that every day in this country. I hope you make revolution here, too."

\$85,000 Ransom for Selling RW in Unemployment City

Gary, Indiana, steel center of the Midwest where city leaders "proudly" proclaim on billboards, "Gary, City On The Move". With the steel mills closing down and cutting back, most of what's moving in this largely Black city is people either leaving or trying to get out. Unemployed workers line up around the block before six in the morning waiting for the Unemployment Office to open, and it's the same with the Welfare Office, rows of homes that once housed the families of steelworkers lie boarded up; the shopping area looks deserted, youth walk the streets with no prospect of jobs. Fittingly, across the street from City Hall is a half burned out building with the sign, "Gary-Model Cities Program". It is a city ready to explode, a tinderbox with anger simmering from every corner of the city. At factories around the area the anger is mounting like when a group of Black steelworkers told the foreman, "If they lay off many more, Gary will be another Miami!"

On Tuesday, June 3rd at the Gary Unemployment Office, scores of people, mainly Black are lined up outside and dozens more are hanging around. Like most other mornings, these people are pissed. Out of work, angry, some after a lifetime in the mills where their sweat and blood poured billions into the pockets of the bourgeoisie, now

chewed up and spit out trying to get a little "comp" to get by. People are fed up and have had enough.

This building anger keeps not only the unemployment office administrators but the bourgeoisie too in a constant state of uneasiness and fear these days that this powderkeg could explode at any time. On June 3rd, they feared that the fuse had shown up right before their eyes. Ten people had come to sell the *Revolutionary Worker* among the people at the office and get down not only about how things were and how people had to rise up but on how to once and for all get rid of all the shit that this system brings down. In a matter of minutes squad cars and paddy wagons were screeching around the corner. The pigs moved in and busted all ten *RW* sellers and threw them in jail. After 24 hours in the jail they were brought before a judge and charged with two misdemeanors each, disorderly conduct and resisting arrest and given outrageously high bail of \$8,500 each (with one given \$10,000 bail) for a total of over \$85,000. As of this writing all ten are still in jail.

The authorities in Gary are so afraid of this weapon—this powerful weapon of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper that they couldn't even stand for the paper to be sold on the streets in front of the unemployment office because they hate and fear

revolution and want to stop it by any means necessary, and because they are even freaked out about the immediate possibility of sparking an outbreak of rebellion in this city where the ridiculous promises of the bourgeoisie are being shown to be just so much garbage. In Gary, especially in the wake of the Miami Rebellion, they are sure to have a hard time keeping things cool. They surely won't be able to get over with the tired old line that what Black people need is "more Black faces in high places". Gary already has a Black mayor, a good percentage of Black police and a number of Black judges. So the authorities in Gary didn't waste a minute in unleashing the armed forces of its dictatorship on the 10 *RW* sellers.

All this shows profound weakness on the part of the ruling class not strength. This vicious and rabid attack on revolutionaries will be taken head on to insure that this rock the bourgeoisie has picked up will come crashing down on their own feet.

FLASH

As we go to press, word has just come in from the Gary Jail. Deprived of all rights to books, paper and pens, 7 prisoners in one cell block alone have pledged to put out and sign a statement of outrage at the arrest of the Gary 10.

As two of the ten (a black man and a

white man) were led to their cells they started singing the *Internationale*. In an attempt by the pigs to quickly silence this, the white brother was singled out. A mopman who is known for inciting the prisoners against each other and breeding racial tensions was sent to the cell ahead of the brother to spread the word: "If you wanna beat this guy, if you jump him—don't worry about no repercussions." The inmates turned him down with disgust at the thought of helping the hand that beat them. "Hey, why should I knock this dude around for them, the police just fractured my skull," one prisoner said later. But the mopman with a mission to complete called the brother from the cell, turned to walk away and then knocked him to the floor, kicking him as he bolted.

Unity between the other inmates and the Gary 10 was quickly forged. This shook the authorities. The day after the busts the entire cell block was locked down all day. "This never happens," said prisoners who'd been in for a while. Debates and struggle have gone on into the night. "As soon as I get out of here," said a new found conspirator, "you can bet on it, I'm with you." As protest rang throughout the cell—a shaken guard indicating the growing uptightness of jail authorities replied: "I just don't want no trouble from you guys."

Uniroyal Gives Walking Papers, 4 Tires

Uniroyal Tire, scheduled to close at the end of July, (one of the spin-offs of the depression in the auto industry) announced abruptly last week that it would shut down after the first week in June, throwing 1,700 workers out on the street with barely enough notice to clean out their lockers.

Several hundred workers turned out for a meeting where the union leadership set out to explain "the best severance agreement we could get." In other words, don't even think about questioning a system that throws you away, like a worn tire, when it can't profit from your labor—just be grateful for whatever pitiful crumbs the bourgeoisie tosses out the door after you.

Through the doubletalk and word games of the union officials, it became clear that even the crumbs were more like bird seed. For example, health and a few other benefits are extended for two years after closing—as one worker explained, "to cool us out"—but the hitch is that the workers are going to have to pay for part of it themselves! And the severance pay, according to one worker, "is just going to be a conversation piece—that's how long it will last."

But the supreme insult and slap in the face came when the union flunkies read the company's offer of a \$550 bonus to every worker—plus a set of four radial tires! And the Uniroyal workers were actually supposed to be grateful for this generous "gift" of some of the company's surplus tires while they won't even be able to afford a car to put them on. "That cracks me up—more of their god-forsaken tires"; "they can't sell those tires, that's the only reason they're giving them to us," said one incensed worker. It was like the tires were grinding their faces into the dirt, reminding the workers that after all the sweat and blood they have poured into Uniroyal, young workers with their insides torn up, older workers who had seen buddies at 38, 39 or 40 collapse and die by their machines that to the bourgeoisie their lives were worth no more than 4 round-treaded pieces of rubber.

Honor Comrade Damian García Revolutionary Martyr

"Death comes to every man or woman—this is something that no one can avoid or change, but the content of people's lives, and their deaths, the cause to which they are dedicated and given, this is something which people cannot only affect but something which makes a profound difference, not just or even mainly for themselves, but for the masses of people and ultimately for mankind as a whole."

—Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA



DAMIAN GARCIA

Beautiful 4 color poster depicts Comrade García raising the Red Flag over the Alamo, March 20, 1980. Inscription by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA reads:

"Death comes to every man or woman—this is something that no one can avoid or change, but the content of people's lives, and their deaths, the cause to which they are dedicated and given, this is something which people cannot only affect but something which makes a profound difference, not just or even mainly for themselves, but for the masses of people and ultimately for mankind as a whole."

Four-color print, 18 in. x 24 in.

Five Dollars.

Proceeds to the National May Day Committee.

Chinese Bourgeoisie Honors Its Big Hero

In the continuing saga of the political resurrection of Liu Shao-chi, that dead revisionist traitor to revolution and mortal enemy of Mao Tsetung who was overthrown by the Chinese people during the Cultural revolution 15 years ago, two recent items have come to light that show once again the depth and breadth of the attacks by China's current rulers on Mao's revolutionary line and legacy. (see *RW* 44, March 7, 1980)

On May 17, in the Great Hall of the People in Peking, a memorial meeting was held that put the finishing touches on the halo now being bestowed on Liu by the equally villainous pack now running China. There were, however, more than a few hitches in planning this spectacle. According to the *New York Times* (May 18) a Chinese official told them that the meeting had been delayed since April 15 and that one reason was that Liu's widow, Wang Guangmei (a hated revisionist herself) had objected to a phrase in the eulogy which called her husband a "close comrade in arms" of Mao. The phrase was omitted when the eulogy was finally given by Teng Hsiao-ping.

Apparently some of the more class-conscious reactionaries in China, represented here by Wang Guangmei, are now seeing that they must begin to attack Mao openly, as opposed to the current practice of "only" attacking everything Mao stood for, while

"upholding" him in name. But even while they do this, these cynical cowards are still trying to use Mao's name and hide behind his great revolutionary prestige. In Teng's eulogy he claimed that Liu's ideas "were a component of the scientific system of Mao Tsetung Thought." This is nothing but an exposure of Teng's current trick of "redefining" Mao Tsetung Thought to mean everything that Mao Tsetung fought against all his life. Teng also claimed that Liu was the "first to advance the concept of Mao Tsetung Thought." In the highly unlikely case that this is true, it shows that Teng's little redefining trick is not just a current one, but an old one. To go along with this, the Chinese *People's Daily* hypocritically titled their editorial on Liu's rehabilitation "Restore True Qualities of Mao Tsetung Thought."

But this thin pretense of claiming Mao Tsetung Thought, even while they attack it, is something that the international proletariat, including the revolutionary Chinese people, will never let these revisionists get away with. And, anyway, they are finding it a hot potato they have to drop. The fact that they are planning new attacks on Mao is also signalled by the new phrase Teng used to describe his enemies in China: "Lin Piao, Chiang Ching and company". Apparently this so-called "company" has a Chairman and his name is Mao.

(According to the Hong Kong pro-China press Teng's most immediate target is Kang Sheng, who died in December, 1975 and was in charge, under Mao's direction, of writing the polemics against the Soviets in the 1960s. Whatever Kang Sheng's role internally in China, the attack on him is significant in relation to the changes underway in China's stand on the Soviets.) (See last week's *RW*, p. 13)

Other troubles for the Chinese revisionists in planning Liu's memorial were indicated by the fact that Yeh Chien-ying, the head of the National Peoples Congress and a powerful participant in the 1976 counter-revolutionary coup did not show up at the meeting. Although Yeh is old, that is unlikely to be the real reason for his absence. Tactical differences among the top revisionists are obviously increasing as their rush-ahead plans for capitalist restoration encounter troubles along the way.

Revisionist Book

The other item is the restoration of Liu's book, *How to Be a Good Communist*. The book, along with Liu, was knocked down and trashed as anti-communist during the Cultural Revolution. Nowhere does the book (republished as late as 1962) mention the dictatorship of the proletariat or criticize Soviet revisionism. No doubt these

omissions alone will make the book now become required reading in China.

Overall the book is a manual for the preening and self-cultivation of a bureaucratic capitalist class within the Communist Party itself. Take the following quote: "Party members do have their personal problems to attend to, and, moreover, they should develop themselves according to their individual inclinations and aptitudes. Therefore, so long as the interests of the Party are not violated, a Party member can have his private and family life, and develop his individual inclinations and aptitudes." The true meaning of this sugary little statement can be seen clearly by the behavior of China's new bourgeoisie, who are following this sage advice to the letter. The *New York Times* has reported (most recently on May 11) that one of Teng's sons has been sent to the U.S.A. to pursue his "inclinations" at the University of Rochester while one of his daughters crams down English courses in her bid for foreign schooling. Foreign Minister Huang Hua's son has been admitted to Harvard for the fall term and the daughter of Deputy Prime Minister, Bo Yibo, is on her way to Brandeis. What better exposure of the fact that a new privileged class of capitalists, barely pretending to be "good communists," is now enjoying their rule in China. □

"On Company Business"—TV's CIA Exposure

The old brownish Newsreel film came into focus. Guards surrounded a man forced to kneel, his hands chained behind him and to his feet. Patrice Lumumba, revolutionary leader in the Congo, had been captured. The new president, Mobutu, approached him, attempting to stuff a copy of one of Lumumba's speeches about kicking out imperialism and seizing power into his mouth. Lumumba clenches his teeth, stares in defiance, refuses to break. The guards tremble and Mobutu backs off. The next day Patrice Lumumba is murdered.

The narration is by John Stockwell, former CIA agent. He tells of his CIA higher-ups, bragging about how they set up Lumumba's murder. They had offered Mobutu \$25,000 to carry it out, but Mobutu refused the money. However, the CIA was responsible for far greater riches finding their way into Mobutu's pocket: they put him in power.

The murder of Patrice Lumumba is just one of crimes vividly illustrated in a recent documentary aired on national television on the Public Broadcasting System. The film, entitled "On Company Business—CIA and American Foreign Policy" has been shown in three parts over the last few weeks; it traced the history of the CIA and its relation to world events from its beginning in 1947 up through 1976. What emerges as the end result is a powerful and damning indictment of the CIA and its role as plotter, financier and hit-man for any and every filthy scheme ever carried out to maintain and defend a world-wide U.S. empire.

Although most of the facts and events brought out in the film have already been drug into daylight, due to numerous books and articles and also partially to things like the 1975 Church Committee hearings in the Senate, the use of news footage, other film clips, and interviews with political exiles, government officials and ex-CIA agents gives the film's exposure of the CIA extra power and impact. One of the outstanding features of the series is the way in which various politicians, from presidents on down (including big-time labor hacks like George Meany) are captured on film "officially denying" everything, only to be exposed in the next scene by ex-agents detailing secret memos and orders signed by the politician involved and "dictating what must be done."

The first two segments mainly served to provide a general overview of the history of the CIA. Although they touched briefly on the efforts of the CIA to "stabilize" Western Europe after World War 2, these segments chiefly concentrated on the role of the CIA in Latin America and Africa. Ex-CIA agent, Philip Agee, along with others, graphically detailed the exploits of the CIA in Latin America, particularly in the 1960s—from the training of Latin American cops in the infamous Texas bomb school, to setting up an Ecuadorian revolutionary leader for arrest by planting secret documents in his toothpaste tube, to the "wet suit" infested by lethal bacteria which was sent to Castro in the early 60s. A particularly stark example brought out in the film had to do with the CIA and its use of the AFL-CIO International Section to carry out CIA work in Latin America. Especially important to this work was the AFL-CIO sponsored American Institute of Free Labor Development, a school in Florida where hand-picked Latin American "labor leaders" were trained in the finer points of preparing, organizing and leading reactionary political police, and then dispatched to their countries to carry out the task (The 1962, "Revolution of the Right" in Brazil was carried out with this technique).

The film fits against the popular idea that somehow the hands of the President of the U.S. are not dirty with the work of the CIA. An aide describes the means by which the CIA carries out presidential commands—if indirectly. The scenario is laid out thus: when the president is meeting or lunching with various CIA or other officials, he states for example, that "Castro is the key to the Cuban problem, if we could get rid of him, the problem would be solved. But, of course, any shady operation would be wrong!" This is the cue for the CIA to pick up—it then quickly carries out its task.

The third segment of the film focused on two of the better known of the CIA's dirty tricks in the 1970s—Chile and Angola. Most of what the film brought out about the CIA's role in the campaign to "destabilize" and overthrow the Allende government in Chile was already well known, the film did bring to light a well documented and little publicized set of facts concerning U.S. involvement in Angola in late 1975 and early 1976. By November 1975, in the

wake of the successful armed struggle which defeated Portuguese colonialism, it had become clear that civil war was imminent between different organizations who had opposed the Portuguese. The Soviet Union stepped up its support of one organization—the MPLA. Massive amounts of military aid were delivered, as were Cuban mercenary troops. Meanwhile, the U.S., which had supplied Portugal militarily earlier, was now making overtures to FNLA and UNITA—two other anti-Portuguese organizations. The battle for the control of Angola was one sign of the future, when the worldwide contention between the U.S. and Soviet imperialists would become obvious even to many who adamantly denied it at the time.

"On company business" concentrates on exposing the extent of U.S. involvement in Angola and the CIA's role in this involvement. John Stockwell, former chief of Angolan operations for the CIA, narrates a good part of this section of the film. In it he relates how Henry Kissinger (who responded to questions at the time about the direct or indirect U.S. involvement in Angola with, "It depends on how you define indirect.") personally ordered the first shipment of arms to Holden Roberto of the FNLA in late 1975. Stockwell goes on to expose the CIA's recruitment of American mercenaries to fight in Angola and the active support of the CIA to the FNLA and UNITA which included military training, briefing sessions, building communications systems, facilitating the delivery of more than \$25 million in cash and \$25 million in arms and the introduction of various commandos and South African troops into the fight. Adding to Stockwell's account is a former mercenary recruited by the CIA for Angola who told of driving to Holden Roberto's palace with four other mercenaries and being present when Roberto "received a call from Henry telling him that there would be no more U.S. support coming in—American public opinion wouldn't allow it."

The film concentrates on exposing the role of the U.S. in Angola (and in general)—and this is a breath of fresh air, especially these days when 99% of TV programming is dedicated to the promotion of the most disgusting chauvinist ideology. But, unfortunately, by this almost singleminded fixation, the film neglects to nail the other

imperialist superpower—the Soviet Union—and consequently falls short of a correct interpretation of world politics. For example, in spite of the massive Soviet involvement in Angola, Stockwell sums up that the U.S. was "fighting an imagined enemy." The idea seems to be that the main question in the world these days is not that of world war between the imperialist U.S. and USSR, but is instead still one of U.S. aggression against the people of underdeveloped countries—as it was throughout the 50s and 60s. Such an idea undercuts a vital political point which can and should be made in regard to the CIA, especially since there is still considerable noise from our rulers aimed at convincing people that the CIA isn't into all that nasty shit they used to be. This is that the outbreak of world war doesn't just mystically explode out of nowhere, but is a leap in a contradiction which has existed and is the continuation of the politics of the past period, only by other means, i.e. inter-imperialist warfare. It was the imperialist interests of the U.S. ruling class which conjured forth a CIA in the first place, mandating it to commit countless crimes against the people of the world—and it is the imperialist interests of the U.S. ruling class which are now forcing it into a showdown with the Soviets.

And this problem in the film is linked to another: its summation of the nature and causes of these "CIA abuses." Philip Agee, a special consultant on the film, states as a sort of summation, "You've got all these agencies, congressional agencies, talking about controlling the CIA. The CIA was never out of control, it has always carried out government policy, its 'abuses' have been ordered by presidents. The problem is with the presidents and those outside the government who decide foreign policy—the CIA is their instrument." John Stockwell adds his voice with, "the problem is the president...the CIA should be taken out of the hands of the president."

This, of course, separates the dirty work of the CIA from the imperialist system as a whole and lays the "abuses" on the doorstep of particular presidents and other individuals. And from there, it's a short walk to the notion that if some legitimate reform were to come about, the CIA could indeed be "controlled." It represents a conces-

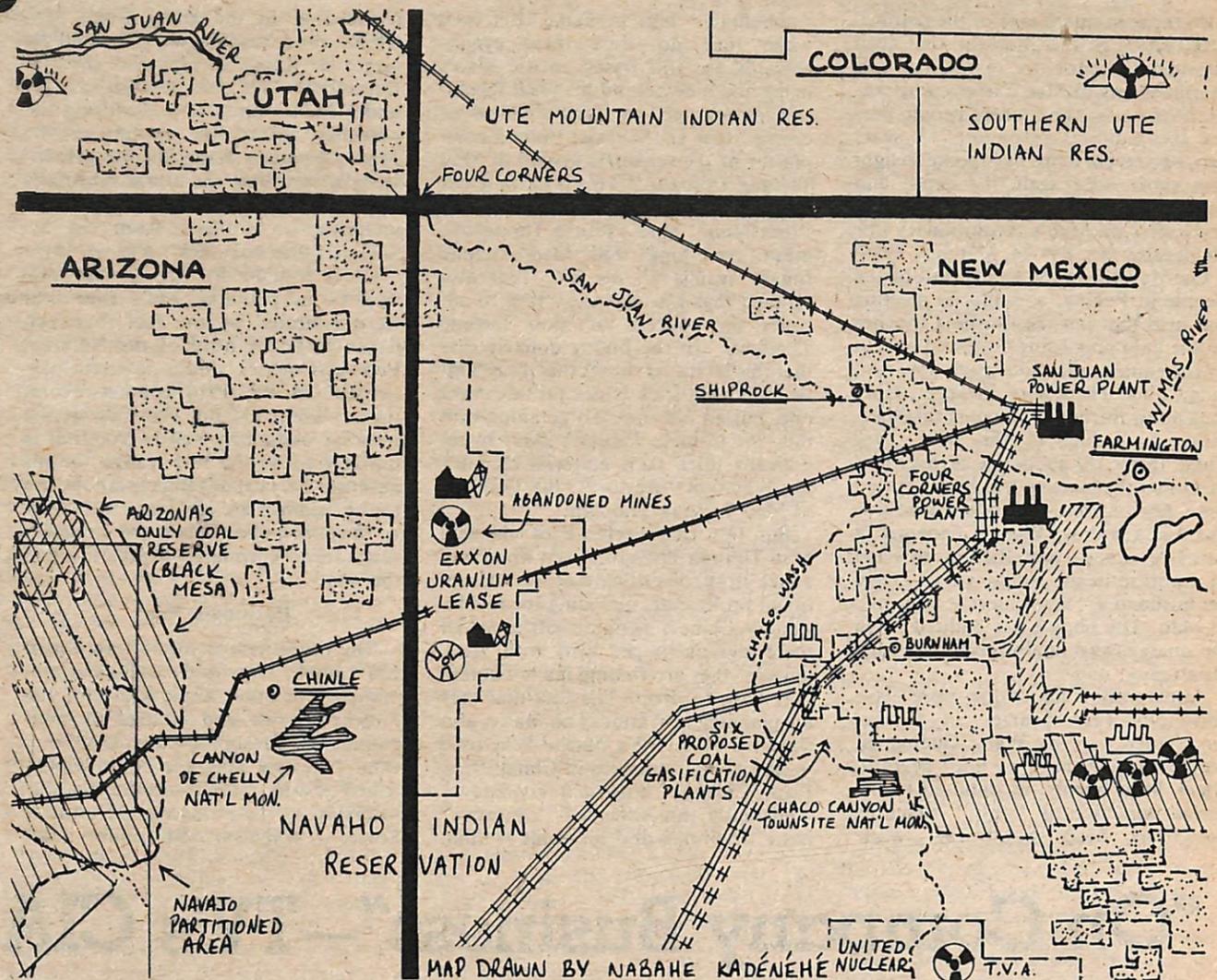
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Corporate Land Grab Meets Indian Resistance

The latest chapter in the continuing saga of capitalism's armed robbery of Native American land is currently taking place in Burnham, New Mexico, in the Four Corners area of the Navajo reservation. This time the chief thief is Consolidation Coal Company, a subsidiary of Continental Oil Company and the nation's second largest coal producer, in partnership with El Paso Natural Gas. As usual, the criminals are being aided and abetted by the Navajo Tribal Council, Peter MacDonald, former executive with the Hager Corporation and now Navajo Tribal Chairman, as well as the courts, Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), police and various government agencies. However, as is also usually the case and becoming more so, the capitalist conspirators are running into what the Department of Energy squirmingly calls "local resistance."

For the past month and a half, the Burnham Dine (Navajo) together with Indian activists from around the country, including members of the American Indian Movement, have been occupying a campsite overlooking the site of Consolidation's first strip mining operations in the area—operations that have taken place on land that has been used by the families of the area for generations for raising sheep, horses and cattle. Since the formation of the Tribal Council, set up by the U.S. government in the 1930s to facilitate Indian land rip-offs, all the land on the reservation has been legally owned by the Council which parcels out grazing permits to the families in the area, supposedly legalizing the family use of the land their ancestors have always lived on.

But in 1974, over the unanimous objections of the people of the Burnham chapter, the Tribal Council approved a proposal to sign away 40,000 acres to the two companies for a massive strip mine. When the Burnham Dine held a demonstration at the Navajo Tribal Council headquarters to protest this thievery, the Council called in the tribal police (who are employed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for just such purposes) and had 13 of the protesting Indians arrested.



In 1977 the lease was approved by the Department of the Interior, the agency charged with "protecting" Indian land. Some of the residents wanted to take legal action, but they soon found out that it is illegal to sue the Tribal Council, since it has "sovereign immunity"—a fancy way of saying that it can (and must) do whatever the U.S. government demands with tribal lands, regardless of the wishes of tribal members who live there. They ended up filing a lawsuit against the Secretary of the Interior for violations of the National Environment Policy Act (strip mining totally destroys

the land, vegetation and animal life), the National Historic Preservation Act, and the Historic Archeological Data Preservation Act (the skeletal remains of two dinosaurs had been found at the site). These had been the only basis for legal action, since stealing land from Indians has always been perfectly legal in the "land of the free." Consolidation and El Paso later joined the suit, on the side of the government, of course, to make sure that the best legal minds money can buy would be at work here.

Meanwhile, the companies were hard at their claim-jumping work on another front as well. Many of the Burnham Dine elders, who don't speak English and have never been out of their area, were taken to the city of Farmington (one elder's son called it "kidnapping"), where Consolidation has a local office. They were pressured and intimidated into agreeing to be "relocated" and sign over their grazing permits, with the threat that if they didn't accept the peanuts the company was offering, they would end up with nothing. Seeing no other alternative, a few of the families agreed.

But others refused to go along. Meanwhile, while the lawsuit was still pending, the company began surveying the area, going into people's homes without their permission when they weren't there and taking pictures of their hogans and land—all to make sure that after they started dynamiting the area, the people would not be able to claim much in the way of damages for the destruction. They also began drilling exploratory wells and conducting a new economic feasibility study. Finally, they determined that the most profitable location for their first strip mine was an area where no agreement had been signed. They moved in anyway, and began drag lining the area, destroying the vegetation and more. Harrison La Mone, whose family's grazing permit area and homes are right in the middle of this area, told the RW: "We never reached any... (agreement) with them, but they started right on our area... started mining. They were overburdening the dirt to level off some of the hills in order to get down to the coal... They destroyed two graves of my family. And that's what kicked off the fire."

"The fire" was the occupation of the La Mone's own land, land that was already beginning to be mined by Consolidation. Immediately, 30 BIA panel trucks with twice as many pigs pulled

up and began threatening the occupiers. The protestors decided to move their occupation to the top of a hill from where they could watch any move made by the company, and that is where they remain today.

Judge Campos, the federal judge who is hearing the lawsuit, decided to issue a temporary injunction against the mining operation to try to cool things out while he made his decision. La Mone told us that the judge appeared to be on the Indians' side throughout the case, even telling the government and the coal companies not to assume that he would be favorable to them. However, he suddenly changed his mind and issued his ruling in favor of the companies, refusing to explain the basis for his decision. The Burnham residents are in the process of filing an appeal of his ruling, and the appellate court has issued a temporary injunction preventing further mining operations from starting up. However, the injunction can be lifted at any moment, and as Susan Tomita, one of the attorneys assisting with the suit, told us, "I don't think the problem is going to be solved in the courts."

La Mone told the RW that the residents had demanded that officials of Consolidation come to the occupation site to hear what the people had to say. "We told Consol officials they'd better come out or we would destroy their equipment. They said we'd all have to go to jail if we did that. And most of the brothers said, 'We've already been there... that don't scare us.'" They have also demanded that Peter MacDonald come to the occupation site, but he has refused as well. When Harrison La Mone was told that MacDonald had recently been in Los Angeles, speaking about all the good things he was doing for "his people," he responded, "I don't know who his people are that he's talking about. He must mean his people that own the coal companies. It ain't us, I'll tell you that..."

As we go to press, there is a waiting game going on. So far, Consolidation hasn't started up its equipment yet, and the people have made it clear that they don't intend to budge. Some of the occupiers have left temporarily, pledging to return at the first sign that the mining is to begin. As Harrison La Mone said, "There's going to be big things happening... we won't let someone just shove us off as if we ain't there."

Klan an "equal opportunity employer" State Gov't. Joins KKK Recruiting Drive

Phoenix, Arizona. Apparently the support and promotion of the Klu Klux Klan and similar vermin by the ruling class of this country is taking more open forms every day. Evidently, the big media job, the financing and the flood of FBI agents and no doubt a host of other government-bankrolled good old boys has still not been enough help to the Klukkers. It seems they even need government assistance to get their sheets sewn, and the government has been happy to give them a helping hand. It has come to light that the Arizona Department of Economic Security (the unemployment department) is now listing the KKK in its job bank, as an "equal opportunity Employer" no less, and advertising low-wage piece-work jobs sewing KKK outfits for their "robe-selling campaign" in the Phoenix area.

Department Director Bill Jamieson and other department officials acted "embarrassed" when questioned about this aid to their white-sheeted friends' recruiting drive to sell 500 sheets in the next three weeks and 40 to 50 a week until October. They said that they would "investigate" their decision to list the Klan in their job bank, but added that the state attorney general's office had confirmed that it was legal to list the Klan as long as they said they were an "equal opportunity employer." Obliging, and true to form, the Klavern dwellers had agreed

to be "equal opportunity employers" on a "one-time basis" and even claimed to have hired one "minority lady." It is not clear yet whether Jamieson and his associates will be selling robes themselves in the recruiting drive or whether they will just be content to buy one.

This shameless and open Klan building by the government is not at all surprising in light of events like the Greensboro Massacre nor is this incident an isolated "humorous" occurrence as reported in the bourgeois press. In fact, the press coverage has been about as cute as its coverage of the KKK/Nazi murders in Greensboro. One Chicago paper, the *Chicago Tribune* had a little friendly chiding for the Klan for not being consistent racists true to their moral principles (because they agreed to be listed as an "equal opportunity employer" in the form of a headline reading, "Arizona Klansmen's racism falls apart at the seamstress." With press coverage like this and everything else that has been exposed and even admitted to by the ruling class, it should be imminently clear that the KKK has sponsors, advisers, and even members not only in the Arizona State government but in much higher places in Amerikkka. Even supposed exposures of the KKK like the story about this little scandal in Phoenix that ran on the *Associated Press* wires are meant more to actually build and promote the Klan than to oppose it.

War Priming Time on NBC

"Ready... Aim... Fire!" the announcer's voice intones, as a row of lipsticks are thrust out of their tubular containers much like a dramatization of an MX missile firing. Fashion models, dressed in military chic, criss-cross the screen in marching step. So goes the latest rage in TV commercials. But much more is being advertised here than L'Erin lipstick—that much is obvious. Then there's the laundry soap ad which concludes with the following claim: "Tide is the best detergent on American soil." These two commercials are a small sample of the kind of overt war propaganda that is currently in competition for top spot in the Nielsen ratings. And this star-spangled garbage is vivid testimony to the feverish war preparations of the ruling class.

In a variety of ways, through a variety of forms, the American people are being assaulted with a constant barrage of the most unadulterated warmongering. Not just from the news and "America Held Hostage" programs, but from the variety shows, the situation comedies, the soap operas—you name it. They even have a new "comedy" show modeled after "Mork and Mindy" called "Phyl and Mikhy" which is about, you guessed it, a Russian defector (Mikhy) who marries an American girl (Phyl) and his "hilarious" adjustment to this crazy land of the free. Set in the backdrop of Olympic competition the ads for the series read, "Meet Mikhy—a hero of the great Russian sport—escaping." This show promises to be jam-packed with jabs at the U.S.'s imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union and loads of patriotic crap about the land of the red, white and blue.

Just exactly how much TV is becoming merely another part of the bourgeoisie's war machine is very clearly shown by looking at the line-up on Saturday night at prime time on NBC a few weeks ago. Flipping on the TV part way into the situation comedy, "Joe's World," we find Joe (a regular working stiff) arguing with his son about signing up for the Army. The thing that has gotten Joe so hot is the fact that his son doesn't want to go and is demanding to know WHY he should and what he would be fighting and dying for. Joe is indignant and enraged at his son's impertinence and says, "Who do you think you are, someone special or something? Someone better than anyone else? Questions like that are not for you to ask. You have to do your duty just

like everybody else." This plea for ignorance and blind obedience to the imperialists is, of course, accompanied by a pile of neanderthal positions from Joe, the industrious, loyal and god-fearing American worker. The son splits in anger and frustration.

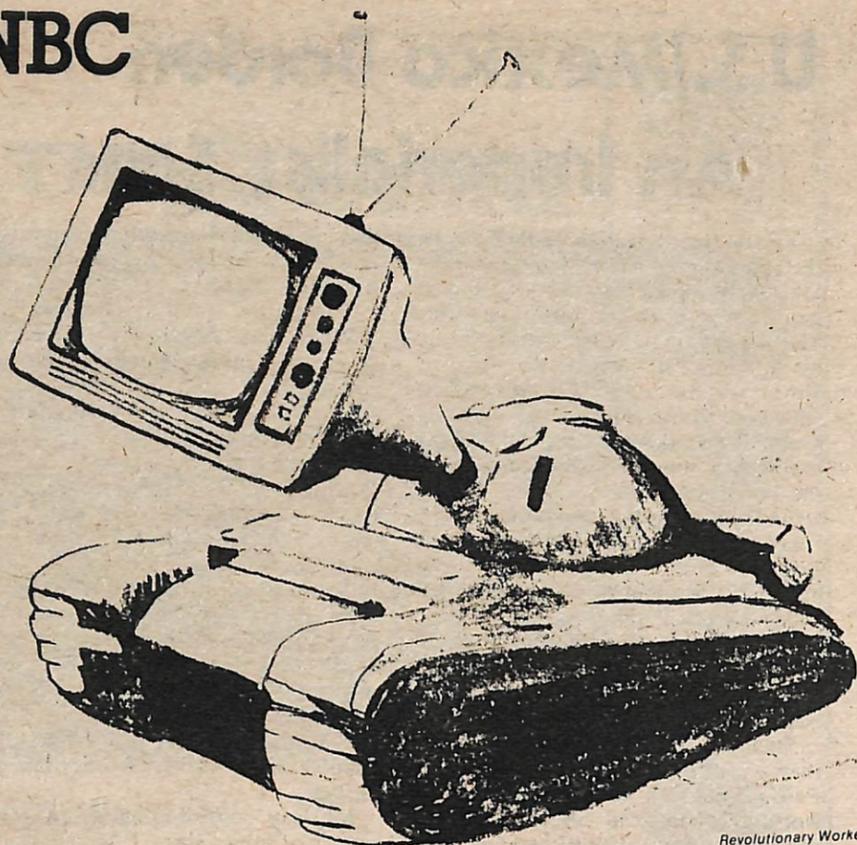
The next scene shows the mother, in a perfect version of the "good cop/bad cop" routine, talking to her son. "It's your choice. You have to live with your own conscience," she advises. "AS LONG AS YOU DON'T RUN AWAY!"—meaning, just don't run off and leave the country, or if you do go in, for god's sakes, don't desert—face up to your decision like a man. The message here is that it is up to you—you can either not go and be a traitor, or you can do your duty and make us proud by being a war hero—dead or alive; but whatever your choice you will have to face up to the consequences, like it or not. With these "choices" to ponder the scene fades out. One sure purpose of this episode of "Joe's World" is to coach parents on how to convince their children to enlist in the military to defend U.S. imperialism. This struggle with the son shows the real necessity for the bourgeoisie to address and give their answer to questions and opposition around war and the draft that are out there broadly among the American people.

There's more. The next scene gets to the main thrust of the show—a reactionary debate over the question of women and the draft à la NOW vs. Phyllis Schlafly. Again, this bit bears out the need for the bourgeoisie to address real contradictions out among the masses around their war preparations and also that in World War 3 the imperialists will need women on the front lines. Here, patriot Joe takes the line of "My little girl in the army? No way," while his daughter comes on with the ERA leaders' gung-ho line. She runs down how she agreed totally with Joe on all the benefits of joining the service: the advancement possibilities, the duty to serve the country, and the spirit of patriotism. "Yeah. Yeah. Yeah," Joe punctuates each plus. Then she blurts out, "So I joined the Air Force!" Joe moves to smash women's equality. "Not my little girl. I won't consent to it. The Air Force is no place for you (a woman)." She runs off sobbing, but the trap is sprung. No doubt ERA alarm bells are sounding out there in TV land—no way is conservative, oppressive Joe going to get away with this—we demand our rights to be drafted and to fight and die for imperial America too.

A troubled Joe soon joins his daughter, lamenting that he only wants the best for his kids and can't understand this generation—one wants in and the other wants out. He finally does consent to her enlisting (surprise!), telling her he respects whatever her decision is. And soon Joe is looking on the bright side. "You just might make officer," he tells her. They go off to dinner laughing after they salute each other and she exclaims "yes sir." Next to top the whole thing off, in comes the daughter's boyfriend, who has just been rejected by the Air Force for a punctured eardrum. Damn! Mr. Gung-ho is on red alert and he can't even get in.

So there you have it. Strip away the cute little jokes necessary for a situation comedy format and you have a blatant, heavy-handed call to join up in America's war effort. In a script that might as well have been written by the U.S. Army recruiting office, the bourgeoisie tries to cover all the angles and, with its crap about "it's up to you," offers only one real choice in the matter, because after all, "Joe's World" is your world.

But the night is young yet. Next up is Tom Snyder's "Prime Time Saturday" which, using the factual news format, continues with the back-to-back beating of the war drums. Snyder asks the ominous question, "Are we prepared to beat the Soviets in the next war?" And the show proceeds with the unabashed and shameless message that "there will be war, the Soviets will be our adver-



Revolutionary Worker

saries, we must get ready, and we are dangerously behind in our preparations, go...go...go." No pretences, ifs, ands or buts about going to war are given.

The cameras take us to Nellis Air Force Base just outside Las Vegas, Nevada, for an inside look at a "special" training program. Four squadrons of America's best pilots are being trained to counter Soviet air combat techniques and maneuvers by learning those very same maneuvers. It is a sophisticated set-up, from enemy uniforms and replicas of Soviet MIG-21s, to Star Wars type computers that playback in 3-dimensional color, a pilot's eye view from the cockpit of the "battle." There is some high profile propaganda as red stars and political posters adorn the walls of the enemy headquarters. Shoulder insignias are emblazoned "Aggressors."

The official name of the program is "Operation Red Flag." How cute! And isn't this exactly what the U.S. bourgeoisie will try to do during the war with the Soviet imperialists—point to the Russians as communists, pinning the red flags on them and lumping them with real communists and revolutionaries working for the defeat of U.S. imperialism. Cries about "Soviet spies and agents" will be more and more directed at revolutionary communists in this country in hopes of misdirecting or stemming the tide of the growing revolutionary movement.

But it should be clear that the Soviet Union today is nothing but an imperialist country rivaling the U.S. for control of most of the world, and that it has no claim whatsoever to the red flag of the international proletariat. In fact, in the "Oath of Soviet Officers" that was read on the Snyder program,

nowhere does it talk about fighting for the liberation of the working class or oppressed peoples of the world. Instead, it reads no different from standard U.S. crap about a soldier's devotion to duty and country. The revolutionary working class will never allow the Soviet revisionists to claim inheritance to the red flag, nor will it allow the U.S. to paint revolutionaries with the "Soviet" brush by associating the red flag with the USSR. The recent international incident in the UN security council, in which both the U.S. and Soviet envoys were doused with red paint by revolutionaries, was ample proof of this.

The commander of "Operation Red Flag" claims it was started in response to U.S. pilots' failures to handle the Soviet MIG-21s over the skies of Vietnam. Besides trying to reverse correct verdicts on the Vietnam war by claiming that it was modern fighter planes and not the masses of the Vietnamese people themselves that whipped America's ass, he is pushing something else. He makes it appear like it was the U.S.'s "inferior training" against Soviet-trained and equipped Vietnamese pilots that was responsible for the defeat of the U.S. air war. What he was implying was that this war was against a Soviet enemy, basically, and not a war of oppression by the U.S. imperialists.

In a fitting end to this war barrage, the show concludes with ominous statistics that show the Soviets are way ahead and the gap must be closed. The Soviets have 9700 tactical fighters to the U.S.'s 4900, with plans for building 750 more this year while America only plans a meager 80. "To arms, to arms," the cry rings out.

NEWS ITEM: HOW TO GET NUKED AND FEEL NO PAIN

The following is from a recent article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer, written by Judy Burke of the newspaper's D.C. bureau.

The government has stored 35 tons of opium to be distributed by the U.S. Public Health Service as pain killer in case of nuclear attack. Last month, disaster officials decided that was not enough. Higher estimates of likely injuries based on more urban areas indicate the need for another 30 tons, they announced. By Cleveland police estimates of local prices of heroin and opium products, the desired preserves could be worth more than \$5 billion on

the streets. Disaster experts figure that with 65 tons of opium, to be released from the vaults only by the president or the head of the emergency agency, burn victims and other sufferers could get enough pain killer for one year. New supplies could be grown after that, unless the disaster had ruined the earth.

The opium goal was announced by the Federal Emergency Management Agency this month as part of periodic planning for shortages in case of war. Known as the strategic stockpile, the reserves include diamonds, rubies and sapphires. Diamonds, rubies, opium—these are both images of decadence and delight.

Tired of being treated like dogs and being fed worse than dogfood, the over two hundred women incarcerated in the Women's division of Cook County Jail in Chicago have gone on a hunger strike. The women's unit—called Division III—is mainly Black and is also where the women among the 10 alleged FALN members recently arrested in Evanston, Ill. and now facing a kangaroo court trial are jailed.

Over 50% of the women in Division III suffer from intestinal problems because of the unsanitary food dished out to them from the Chicago pigs. The food is transported to the jail in garbage trucks that have not been cleaned and the same trucks and men that bring the food also pick up garbage. Fed up with having to eat this rotten slop, every woman in the division has refused to eat, demanding food fit for consumption by human beings.

Immediately in response to the hunger strike, all visiting privileges were cut off while the Cook County warden denied that any hunger strike was in progress. The director of the jail assured the press that the strike had been very brief and was now over. The women remain firm in the strike and in the face of threatened reprisals have declared: "We are fully aware that the administration will attempt to penalize us and bring about repressive measures to break our spirit. We are united and will not yield until our demands are met."

U.S./Mexico Border: An Imperialist Scar

The two men squatted on the bank of the Rio Grande. Across from them the outlines of the El Paso houses could be made out in the faint traces of daylight. The younger man grew restless. It was his first time. He picked up a rock and aimed for the water. The older man stilled his arm and pointed with his eyes. Like a pale green snake the Migra van inched along the American side of the border. As soon as it was out of sight the two men moved—across the rocks, up the concrete embankment and over the fence—disappearing in the apartment building basement. So-called "illegals." Coming across and risking it all to sell their blood at the south El Paso blood bank to bring their families the \$10. They would return later in the week.

Standing on the International Bridge that separates Ciudad Juarez from El Paso, Texas, is like straddling two worlds. I had read about U.S. imperialism in Mexico and I had talked to farmworkers in the U.S. who had described to me in detail the grim realities of life in these "colorful" border towns. But they had not prepared me for what I was about to see with my own eyes and for what I was about to learn about the role of U.S.

imperialism here and around the world. After this, hating the American flag would come easy.

This border is one long scar. When you first cross the bridge, dozens of children, barefoot and bruised, surround you, selling chiclets and shoe shines. Some are begging, while below the bridge, holding hollow poles with funnels on top that almost reach to the railing, other kids plead with you to toss a coin into their makeshift piggy bank. Older boys and men sell and smuggle cigarettes. Along the sidewalks Indian women and children sit, holding their babies, hands out demanding pesos. Their eyes burn with a cold rage at the line of "gringo" tourists, eyes that say "Yanqui go home," defying outstretched hands. Glancing over my shoulder I see clearly the skyline of El Paso's banks rising just beyond the border.

Mexican culture is mutilated in the service of imperialism. Curio shops line both sides of the street, spewing out degrading images of "siesta/fiesta" Mexicans and the "frito bandito." Images from the murals of Siquieros and Rivera flash through my mind in stark contradiction to the pictures here. I am

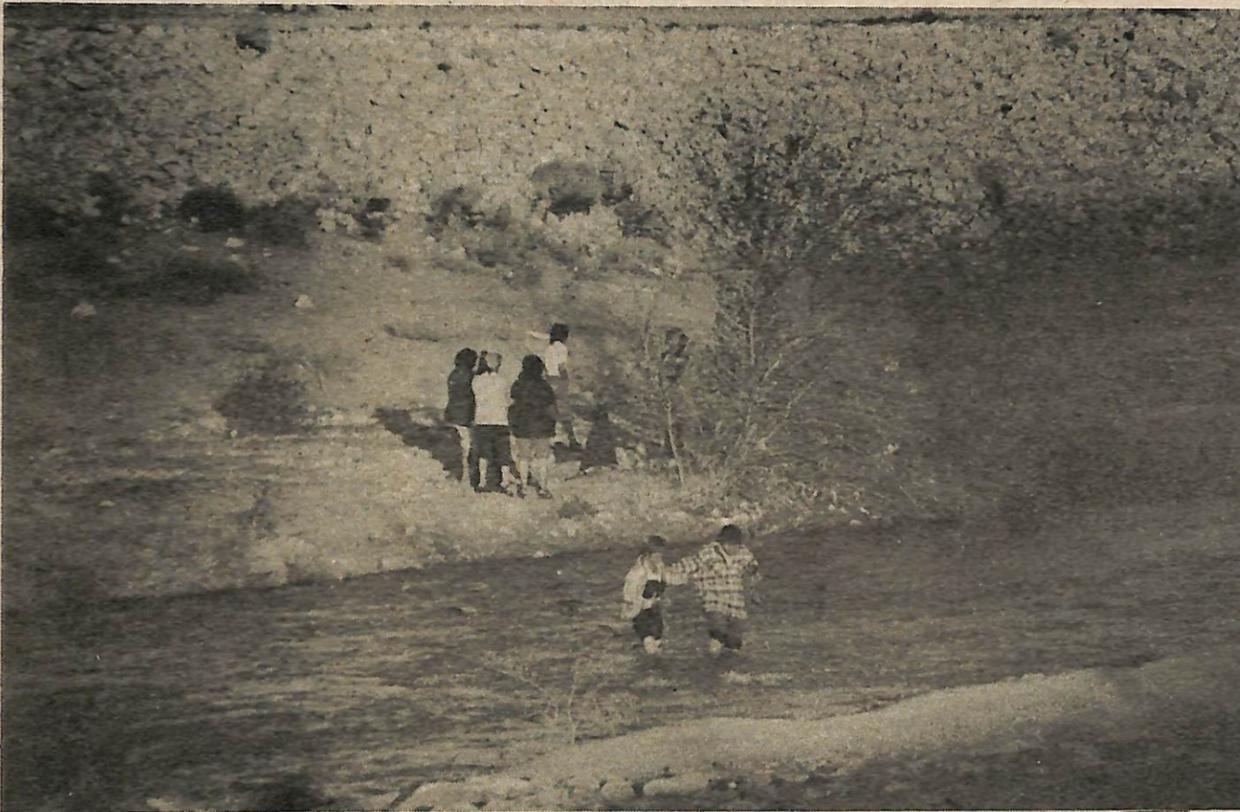
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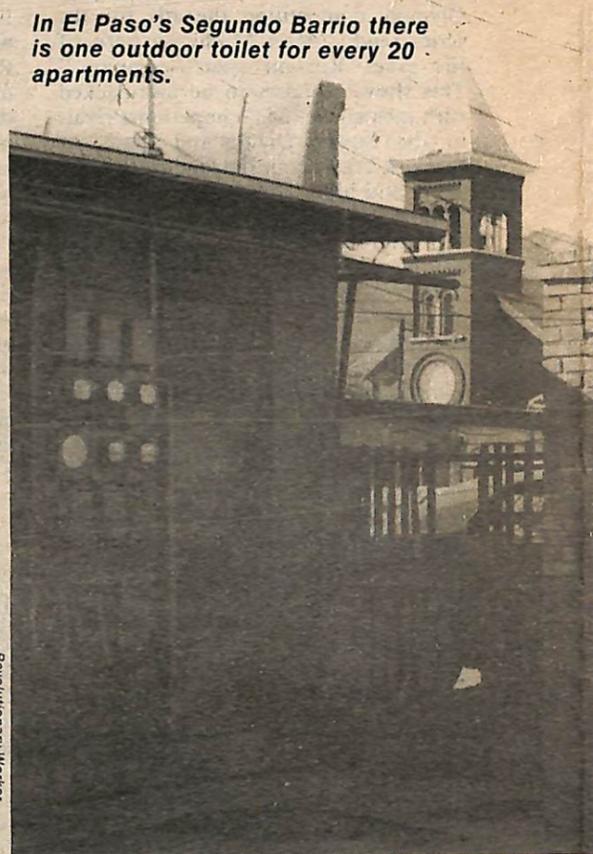
Cultural mutilation spills from the guts of tourist shops in Juarez—paintings of the Beatles or the rock group Kiss (here) are everywhere.



More "culture" Mary and ass

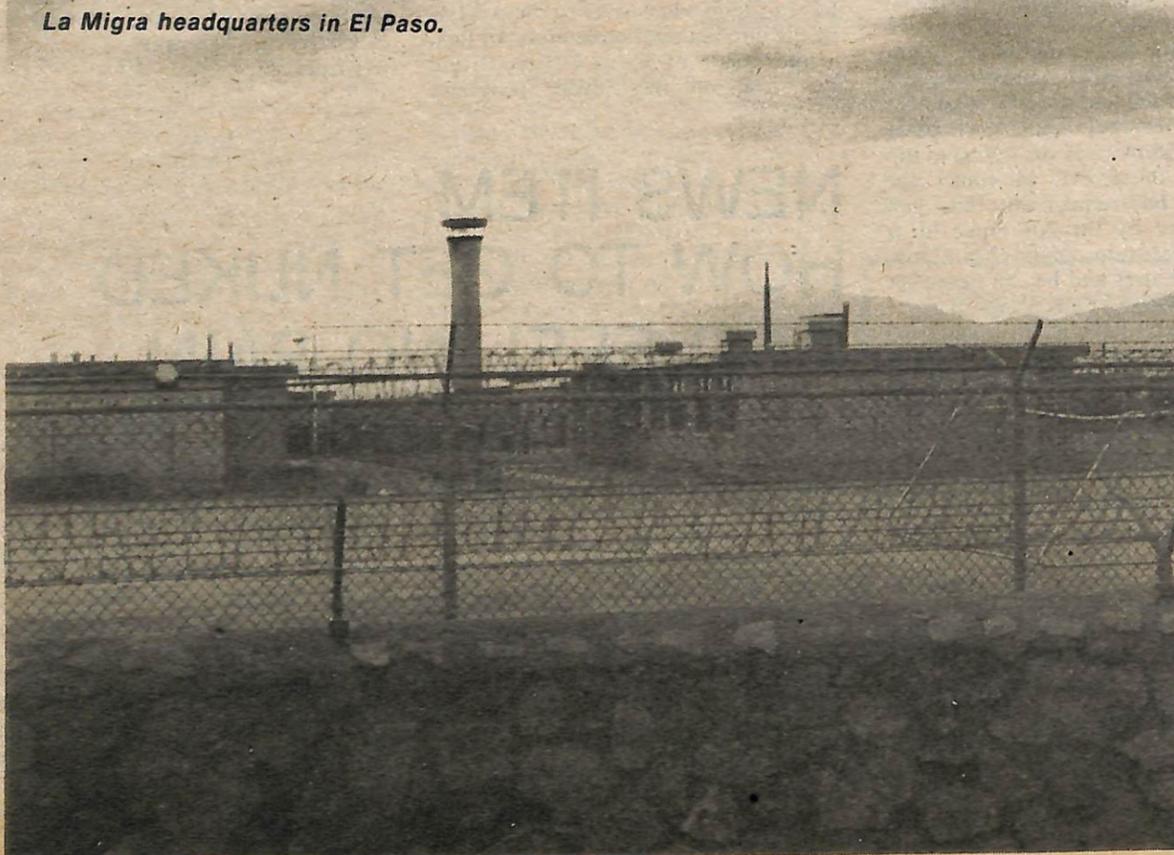


"Illegals" cross the Rio Grande to find the "Golden Streets" or just to sell their blood at the South El Paso Blood Bank.



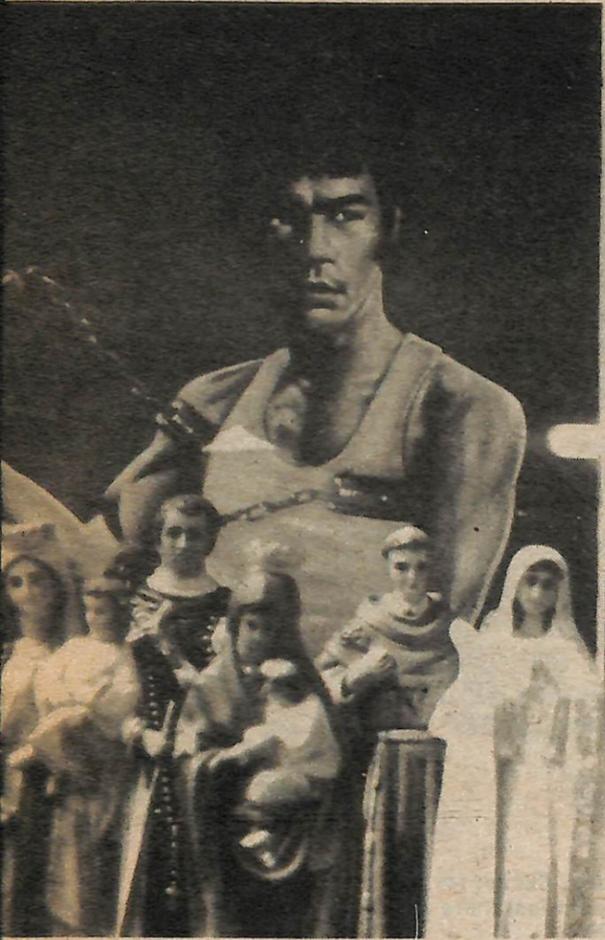
In El Paso's Segundo Barrio there is one outdoor toilet for every 20 apartments.

La Migra headquarters in El Paso.



Young women at quitting time at the maquiladoras (b





—your choice between Bruce Lee, the Virgin
ported patron saints.

FOR THOSE WHO SAW IT... AND CAN'T FORGET IT...
FOR THOSE WHO MISSED IT... *IT LIVES AGAIN!*

BE THERE AT... **"THE ALAMO"**

JOHN WAYNE · RICHARD WIDMARK · LAURENCE HARVEY
FRANKIE AVALON · PATRICK WAYNE · LINDA CRISTAL · JOAN O'BRIEN · CHILL WILLS
RICHARD BOONE

Produced and Directed by JOHN WAYNE · Original Screenplay by JAMES EDWARD GRANT
 Music composed and conducted by DIMITRI TIOMKIN · A BILING PRODUCTION · RE-RELEASED THIRD

TECHNICOLOR
 UNITED ARTISTS

*JOHN WAYNE as DAVE CRONIN...
 He fought for a cause called Texas... and
 the world heard a legend called "The Duke!"*

*RICHARD WIDMARK as THE SHERIFF...
 Willing to take it to a war...
 —and his life to a cause!*

*LAURENCE HARVEY as MISS TRACY...
 Bringing an act of defiance into
 a stronghold of courage!*

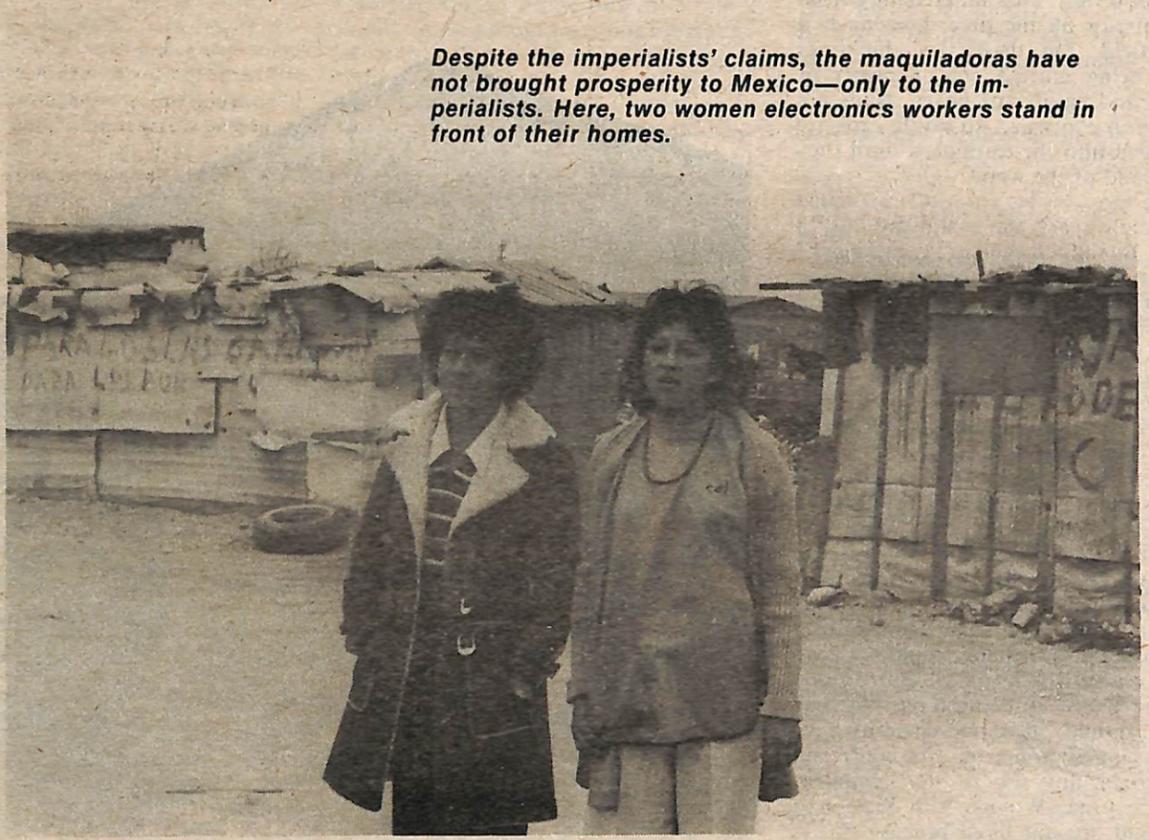
*FRANKIE AVALON as SHERIFF...
 The first battle... and in the night...
 the last hope for Texas!*

*RICHARD BOONE as SGT. LAW...
 Every minute of time he fought... was
 another minute in the job of Texas!*

"The Alamo" plays downtown El Paso, starring "the Duke." The Red Flag of the interna-
tional proletariat flew over the reactionary monument the same day it played here. Con-
trary to this ad's graphic, Davy Crockett did not go down swinging. He surrendered and
was executed by the victorious Mexican army.



Despite the imperialists' claims, the maquiladoras have
not brought prosperity to Mexico—only to the im-
perialists. Here, two women electronics workers stand in
front of their homes.



The Ampes/Amf Parking lot is im-
mense. Even during the middle of
a work day pictured here, the lot
is empty. In the maquiladoras
only management can afford
automobiles.

Revolutionary Worker

Mexico

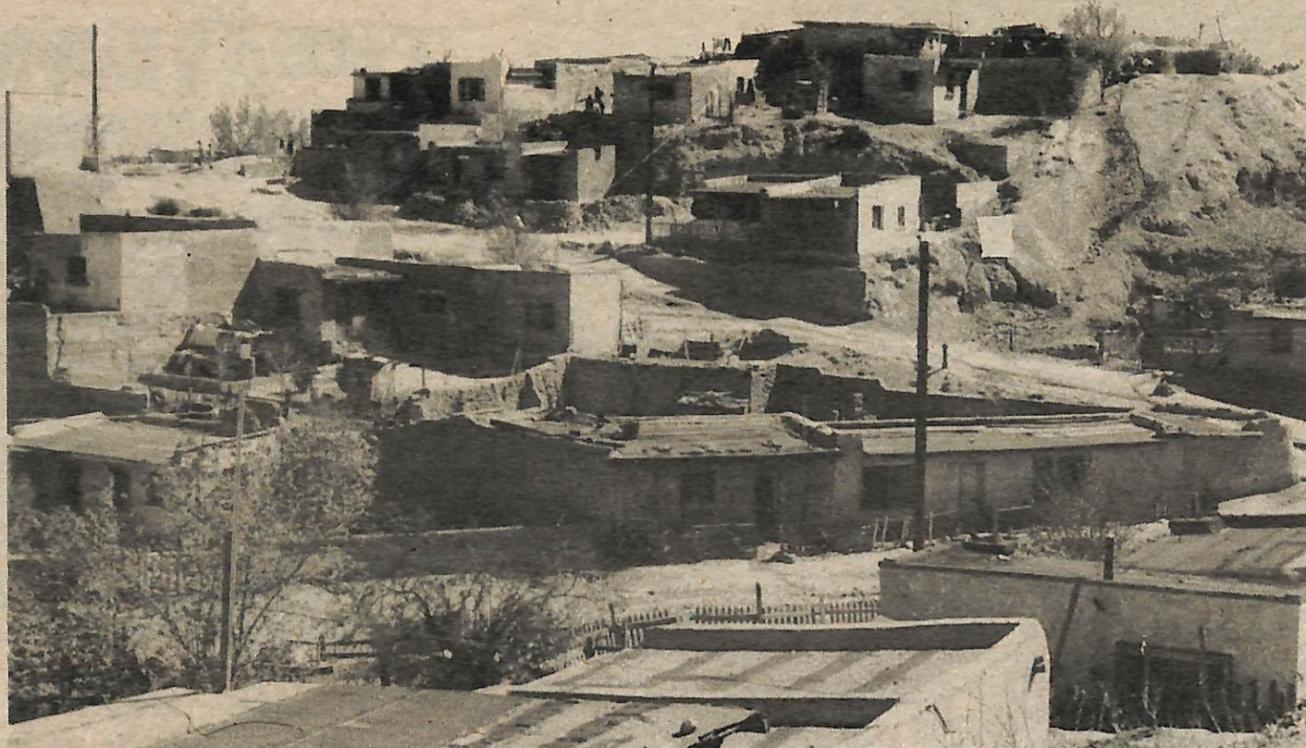
Continued from page 17

told by a friend that one of the aims of the mural movement which flowered in Mexico in the 1920s and 1930s was to demand to develop a national art style, one that would go up against the slavish art created for the consumption of tourists. The history of imperialist rape in Mexico is well documented in trinkets and misery. Today, trinkets for the tourists range from gaudy sombreros to statues of the Virgin Mary and assorted patron saints of machismo, pictures of Bruce Lee, paintings on black velvet of the Beatles or the rock group Kiss. Another cultural import are the discos, springing up all over Juarez. And from the doorways, sidewalks, and taxis come the offers for prostitutes. Everything has its price, everything can be bought and sold. To live here means to hustle—25 hours a day.

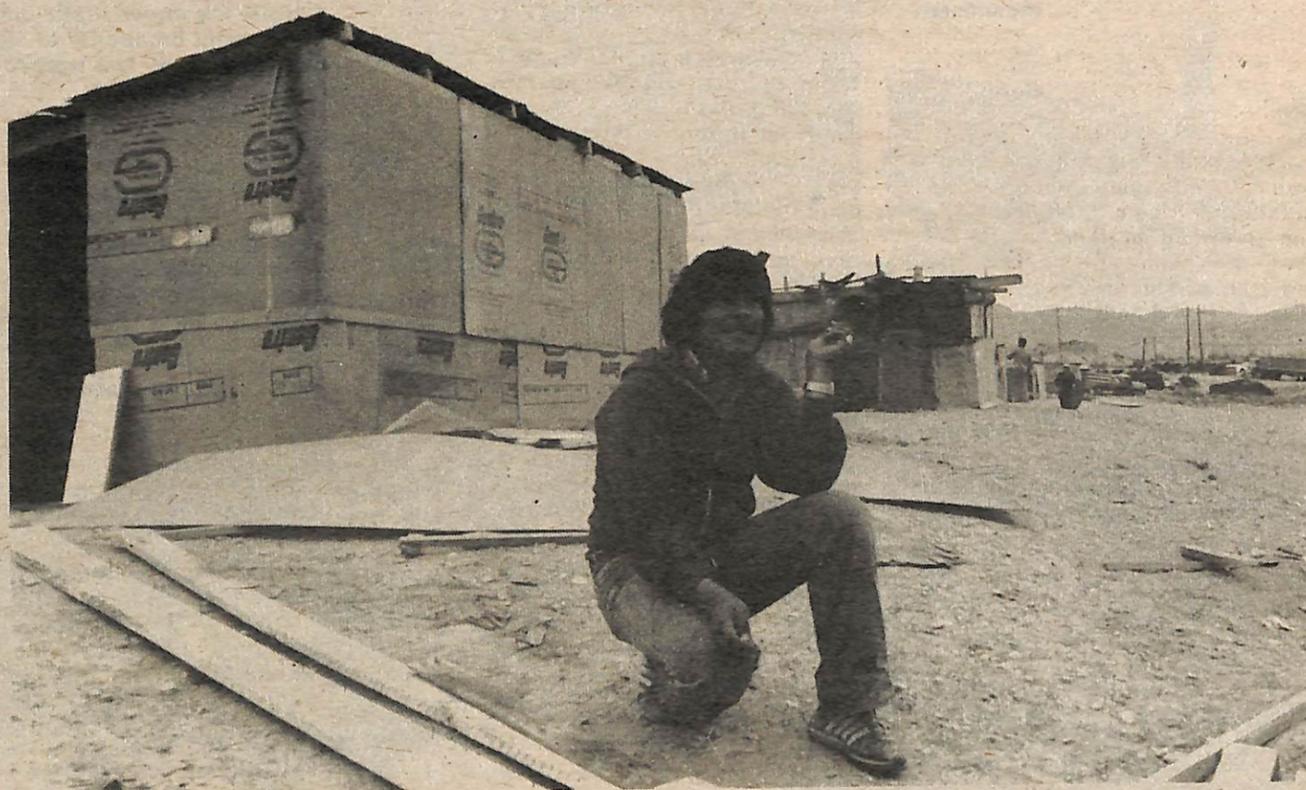
Outside the downtown area, houses, made of clay and stucco with tacked-on rooms of pieces of lumber and tarpaper, line the unpaved, winding streets of Juarez. Often families with more than 10 people crowd into two or three rooms. Recently a story hit the newspapers describing how dozens of families had burrowed underneath the Juarez city dump, hollowing out little caves to live in and drinking and bathing in the sewer water that ran underneath. In Juarez, wherever there is a vacant lot, it is grabbed up by "squatters" (colonias). In a city with over one million people, and more coming from the interior all the time, housing is a battlefield. On these lots, buildings were being erected out of pieces of wood and cardboard boxes. Nails are often too expensive, so bottle caps are pounded into the cardboard until they grab hold of the wood.

The most visible form of imperialist domination are the maquiladoras (a word literally meaning "component" or part of the production process), the factories of the Border Industrialization Program. There are 100 of these plants, mostly electronics—RCA, General Electric, Spectronics, and others—and garment, employing 32,000 in the Juarez area alone. Along the border, in what has been termed the "world's longest assembly line," there are 480 plants with over 80,000 employees. Here a 50-hour week might earn you \$45 at \$1.21 an hour. The workforce is 90% women ranging in age from 16 to 24, with many more who lie about their age to get a job. Some women who passed us at shift change could not have been older than 12 or 13. But no one makes it past 30 because by that time your eyesight, speed and dexterity have been sapped from you and you're no longer of any use to the capitalist. You're fired. Women with kids or a husband are not hired because this is too "distracting," and work might be missed due to problems at home. While abortions are illegal (one million were performed last year, mostly self-induced), sterilizations are not. Company classes on birth control are actually counseling sessions recommending sterilization. These quadrupled in 1977, as 123,000 women followed this course. Poverty, grinding exploitation and outright genocide is the birthright of Mexicans born under the shadow of "old glory." If this was the *only* crime of U.S. imperialism it would be reason enough to overthrow it.

But across the border, the image of "success" and golden streets still shimmers like a desert mirage. Mexican women that can get work visas cross to be maids, making \$10-\$25 a week. And while the smokestack of the ASARCO smelter and refinery mocks and beckons with the promise of jobs, men will either find work in sweatshops and restaurants for as little as \$1 an hour, or they will find La Migra (the Immigration Police). The maquiladoras do not hire men. So they fill the Juarez streets, hustling, staying drugged themselves or rushing the border. La Migra has a flexible policy at the border to serve the needs of local capitalists but surrounds the city limits like a noose. Many are herded to Migra headquarters, a concentration camp fenced in a tangle of



In Ciudad Juarez, this is some of the "better" housing. Except for downtown and between the maquiladoras (border factories) there are few paved streets.



People Flood Juarez seeking work, taking over vacant lots and these cardboard houses.

barbed wire, and held for up to three months before being shipped back to Mexico. Beatings are regular and frequently the body of some "insignificant" Mexican worker will be found floating face down in the Rio Grande, the victim of La Migra or some other armed thug of the state. In March 1979, when the bridge was seized and held for two days by people angry at La Migra's abuses, it was the American flag that was found floating face down in the river.

At first it appears like two worlds, but upon returning to El Paso the similarities are striking. Places like Segundo Barrio, where dozens are crowded into one and two-room apartments—where there is no running water and for every 20 apartments only one toilet—outside! The same tourist shops line the streets of downtown south El Paso. And the culture of the Chicanos is brutally attacked. Not only the racist stereotypes, but last year a Chicano was fired from the State National Bank for speaking Spanish on the job, because the supervisors could not understand what he was saying to his fellow workers. This is the same bank where "Spanish is spoken on the seventh

floor," where the maquiladoras deals are set. And the same bank that has used one whole side of the building to "fly" a giant neon red, white and blue flag, "Until the hostages are released." But just who is holding who

"hostage"?—millions of people's lives tossed to the whims of capital. Looking back across the Rio Grande, I think I'd like to be up on the International Bridge after the U.S. imperialists are overthrown—that would be a real fiesta.

Corrections:

In the May 9, 1980 issue of the *RW*, the statement by David Fisher condemning media attacks on revolutionary May Day 1980 which appeared in the article entitled "Delegation Slams S.F. Chronicle," contained several misprints. The statement should have read:

The aims of the May Day celebration—well expressed by the *Internationale*: "Arise, ye wretched of the earth..."—are ancient and honorable. To attack any of the divergent groups which celebrate this day—whether it be attacks and implicit calls to violence in the press, or right-wing vigilante actions, or *agent provocateur* tactics by the government—is a terrible mistake,

of which this great country has an unmistakable and dreadful history, and against which all humanitarians, of whatever political persuasion, must raise loud voices, now and always.

Signed,
David Fisher, Winner, Poetry
Society of America
William Carlos Williams Award
1978

In the last issue of the *RW*, dated May 30, 1980, the article entitled "Outrageous Verdict in Torres Trial" and the caption to the picture accompanying the article incorrectly referred to Haydee Beltran Torres and the ten others who now are facing trial as "FAIN members." The article should have read: "alleged FAIN members."

Bob Avakian in D.C.



Continued from page 8

rising, does not come about very often.

We don't promise, and we will not promise, any cheap and easy way out of all this, or cut-rate blueprints for revolution. There are no such things, and anybody who tries to sell them is just another pimp and hustler off of the suffering and struggle of the people. We don't say for certain that a revolutionary situation will definitely develop and mature all the way and fully ripen in the next ten years. Even if it doesn't, as we've learned from revolutionary leaders of our class throughout the world, the only thing worth living for and worth dying for, the only thing worth fighting for and worth devoting your life to, is the cause of revolution—preparing, educating, sinking the roots and bringing forward the forces that in the future can lead the uprising of the masses. But on the other hand, not only are we determined to leave a revolutionary legacy and foundation for those who come behind us to build on and carry forward from, but we have to have a clear understanding of the possibility—not the certainty, but the possibility—of a revolutionary situation, of the chance to actually see those factors come together which will provide the objective basis for a mass uprising for revolution.

Looking at the crisis our ruling class and its system

is already sinking in and is on the threshold of much more deeply; looking at the position that they're in, and that it's not as favorable as it has been going into world wars in the past; looking at the tremendous suffering and the tremendous devastation that they're going to bring down on people here and throughout the world, and the tremendous turmoil and upheaval that this is going to give rise to; looking at all that and at the real possibility that a revolutionary situation and the objective conditions necessary may arise even within the next decade—all this gives us a much clearer sense of the urgency of the task we have before us. The urgency not just of rallying to the support of our Party in beating back the attacks on it, but the urgency of stepping up and intensifying our all-around revolutionary work.

Let me just say this, and I know people from other countries have and can and will testify that this is true, that on the day when we are finally able to bring everything together that's necessary to unleash the awesome and ultimately invincible force of tens of millions of people consciously fighting for revolution and the day we are able to carry that through and overthrow this monstrosity of imperialism that oppresses us and feeds on people all over the world and crushes the very lifeblood out of them in the tens of millions—on the day we are able to do that here, not only will that be a tremendous blow for our own emancipation here, but much more importantly than that, and keeping the whole world struggle in mind and the whole struggle to transform the world and advance on on a world-scale to communism, much more important, that will be a tremendous blow for the liberation of oppressed people and our class throughout the world.

When that day comes there won't be nobody talking about how revolutionaries and people who fought against imperialism in other countries are not welcome here. They will be welcome, as they are in our ranks right now, as brothers and sisters in the common struggle. The people who'd better not come here are the reactionary despots and flunkies and agents and murdering dogs of imperialism like the Shah of Iran. Because if they come here once we got power, we sure are going to get hold of them and give them back to the people they've been oppressing to deal with as they should be dealt with.

And when the time comes that we can make revolution in a country like this, it is no exaggeration to say that literally hundreds of millions of people all over the world will come into the streets rejoicing, but rejoicing in the way that our class and oppressed people rejoice. Rejoicing in the festival of stepping up and intensifying our common struggle towards the lofty goal of ridding the world once and for all of class divisions and exploitation and oppression and the degradation this system still maintains us in.

Yes, ruling class, we hear your desperate bellowing. We know you're getting weaker. You're in crisis, your system is decaying, you're forced to lash out desperately. We hear you and we see your putrid efforts to bring forth the dregs and the rottenness of society to rally around your reactionary cause. Yes, you are getting weaker and we understand that very clearly. We also understand what we must do and what we will do. And that is that we must fight together with the people of the whole world to weaken you and when you are weak enough and we are strong enough, we're coming to get you. □

"UNDERGROUND"

Continued from page 10

result, the more backward workers left these meetings without being enlightened as to the true nature of the struggle and went away determined to fight only for mits and aprons.... Another drawback was that we had no speaker in our ranks to match the eloquent Ilya Shendrikov....

What is really striking from Bobrovskaya's accounts is the importance of "flexibility" of revolutionary organization based on a central organ which Lenin speaks of in *What Is To Be Done?*—the ability to prepare for decisive battle while carrying on work through periods of intense upsurge and intense calm. The 1905 Revolution broke out in St. Petersburg and quickly swept across the country. Millions upon millions of workers and peasants staged strikes which blossomed into armed uprisings. Bobrovskaya's tasks turned to running guns smuggled in from Persia, organizing the collection of furniture to be used in setting up street barricades, setting up secret printshops essential to providing day-to-day leadership to the rebellion. Finally arrested in October, she was incarcerated in the Butirsky prison with hundreds of other revolutionaries—and a crowd of thousands, armed and carrying red flags, surrounded the prison, demanding the release of all political prisoners.

The prison officials, in a panic, rushed to comply with this demand—a striking indication of the weakness of the government at the height of this great upsurge.

Again Bobrovskaya, stationed in the Lefortovo district of Moscow, recounts stories about the importance of agitators and the press—this time in the midst of insurrection. "We had to resort to all sorts of ruses to get an extra agitator from the centre.... But such is the mentality of a district worker that it always seems to him that his district is more important than any other. These difficulties were eased somewhat in the days that followed, when, besides the official agitators, speakers appeared from among the masses themselves."

In one particularly moving story, she tells of "a group of workers from the Dufurmantel factory, five of them, led by a middle-aged red-bearded worker. They were sent by the illiterate workers who had organized themselves and demanded that we immediately teach them to read and write. 'It's a crime not to be able to read at such times,' they declared to us.... Despite the disturbed time, regardless of the fact that towards the end of November we had reached the verge of an armed uprising, our Party organization continued as it had done in times of peace, to organize

schools, lectures, clubs, in short, all sorts of cultural work. This work was carried on 'under fire,' so to speak, and was often intermingled with purely military work."

Following the eventual defeat of this dress rehearsal for the revolution of 1917, the Bolshevik organization faced another severe test: withstanding the tide of reaction as the Tsar mobilized every force to violently destroy the revolutionary organizations down to their roots. "The Moscow Bolshevik organization continued to work intensively, adapting itself to the new methods of struggle even though it often had to deal with extremely dejected and morbid moods among the district comrades." Bobrovskaya's account of the party struggle during the lull that followed the 1905 Revolution, when demoralization was widespread and many of the Party supporters fell away, makes strikingly clear that without an iron organization and politically trained and experienced professionals capable of carrying the work forward even at the movement's lowest ebb, as well as at its peaks, the Bolsheviks would not have been in the position to prepare the working class and the masses to seize the initiative—and to seize power—when a revolutionary situation developed in Russia during World War I.

Bobrovskaya's *Memoirs of a Rank-and-File Bolshevik* provide a vivid picture of how the Bolshevik party grew and became, under Lenin's leadership,

a reliable weapon in the hands of the Russian proletariat, working unswervingly for revolution, flexibly adapting to the conditions of the struggle in all its stages and in all its varied forms. And this process unfolds through Bobrovskaya's eyes as she herself develops and becomes a steely professional with vast experience working, as the needs of the party required, all over Russia and Europe.

Lenin, in *What Is To Be Done?*, draws out his conception of what a "professional revolutionary" should be: "...he is encouraged to widen the field of his activity, to spread it from one factory to the whole of the industry, from one locality to the whole country. He acquires experience and dexterity in his profession, he broadens his outlook and increases his knowledge, he observes in close quarters the prominent political leaders from other localities and of other parties, he strives to rise to their level and combine within himself the knowledge of working class environment and freshness of socialist convictions and professional skill, without which the proletariat cannot wage a stubborn struggle against this excellently trained enemy...." Cecilia Bobrovskaya was that kind of professional, and you can't read her fascinating story without gaining a deeper understanding of what kind of party it was that led the Russian proletariat through the flames of war and upheaval to revolution.

The Holy Hit Man

Continued from page 5

desperately to set up a "third force" in El Salvador, a popular front led by the petty bourgeoisie of the Social-Democratic Party and some members of the Christian Democrats.

On Sunday, March 23, Archbishop Romero delivered a lengthy homily (sermon) outlining his reformist program for restoring civil peace to El Salvador, but at the very end he dropped a bombshell. Romero called on the soldiers of the Salvadoran army to refuse to obey orders if those orders conflicted with a "higher moral law." This was a call to officers and others in the military who made up part of the social base of this "third force" to actively oppose the junta and side with Romero and his allies in the bourgeois and petty bourgeois opposition. In attendance at the Cathedral that day was none other than devout Catholic Robert E. White, U.S. Ambassador, like a Mafia capo come to place a kiss on the cheek of his intended victim. The next day at mass, as he raised the chalice, Archbishop Romero was cut down in a hail of gunfire. And no one can seriously believe that the junta could have taken such an extreme step without the prior consent of the U.S. government.

As had been determined in advance by the State Dept., Pope John Paul II was hardly overcome with grief at Romero's death. Of the five other bishops in El Salvador, only one even came to Romero's funeral. Normally the highest-ranking prelate in South America, Cardinal Kassarego of Guatemala, would have been the Pope's personal representative at the funeral, but he boycotted it too. The papal nuncio, as dean of the diplomatic corps, put in a formal appearance, but the Pope himself said it all in his telegram of "condolence" to the Salvadoran Bishop. There was, of course, no mention in the telegram of the causes of the Archbishop's assassination. Instead the Pope called upon the people to pray for the repose of Romero's soul and expressed the hope that the people of El Salvador, "setting aside all feelings of violence and of shabby vendetta, would come ever closer to the paths of faith and Christian love whose force is a guarantee of genuine salvation and justice for all the people of the country."

And so the bloody hand of the papacy, which has sprinkled its unholy water on every crime of imperialism

from the French Foreign Legion in Africa to the U.S. helicopter gunships in Vietnam, laid to rest its faithful servant Archbishop Romero.

* * * * *

By way of postscript, on April 11, just back from a hasty trip to Honduras to see how the counterrevolution was going, James Cheek invited about 30 Catholic dissidents over to the State Dept. for a "roundtable discussion" on El Salvador. Cheek's point was clear enough. With your man Romero blown away there wasn't going to be any third alternative, and support for the junta would be the only way to avoid civil war in El Salvador. He invited again the participation in the junta of the "non-violent Left." Coming at it from the other side, the Pope announced a new ruling barring all priests from holding government positions. The press in this country went into a big song and dance about Father Drinan, the only priest in the U.S. Congress. But with two priests already in the Cabinet in the Sandinista government of Nicaragua, and revolution ripening not only in El Salvador but also Guatemala and Honduras, the Pope's new-found attachment to priestly life was clearly directed at Latin America.

CIA

Continued from page 13

sion to the ruling class. (A concession is also indicated by the virtual absence in the film of any real exposure in the film of the role of the CIA in Iran, especially its current activities. This can only be seen as a conscious omission undoubtedly a result of the film makers' disagreement with the taking of hostages by the Iranians.)

Overall, "On Company Business" was a positive effort and certainly had a positive effect in the exposure that was done. It is interesting to note that there seems to be a growth of such exposures lately—honest attempts to reveal some ugly features of the U.S.A. And while few such efforts get as far as nationwide TV, there are increasing numbers of such exposures appearing in books and magazines. It is a sign of the times and represents a certain step forward in the political awakening of people in this country.



Opportunists on May 1st

Continued from page 3

they have to fight is not one wrapped in the red, white and blue, fighting worker against worker for the preservation of this system, but instead is a revolutionary war as part of one international struggle against these and all imperialists. These opportunists (social chauvinists) have cast their lot with the imperialists for the coming war and are most concerned about this threat. From this stems all their vile little attacks on May First and the Party.

To practice capitulation to the U.S. bourgeoisie tomorrow, in the context of war, requires practicing reformism and economism, tailing and worshipping the spontaneous struggle of the masses today—and blasting all those who refuse to “gaze with awe on the posterior of the proletariat,” as the Russian revolutionary leader Lenin put it. So it is here that *Unity* and their like—which includes practically every single opportunist phony “leftist” group—concentrates their fire today. This is what lies behind all the charges against the RCP and its Chairman Bob Avakian for “anarchism,” “ultra-leftism” and “left idealism.” Let them speak for themselves on this question. “The RCP sees that the task today is to emphasize ‘propaganda work’ to attract to the RCP the ‘advanced’ elements who already hate the system, and to alert the masses to the upcoming world apocalypse... thus the RCP believes that dealing with the immediate concerns of the masses is inconsequential as compared to spreading the word, by whatever way possible, about the RCP’s views on war and revolution.”

To this indictment the RCP gladly pleads “Innocent, as charged!” It is both a dangerous illusion and an outright crime for these groups to propagate that the class-conscious working class should force its head down to the day-to-day concerns when we are right in the midst of the stormy seas of the worldwide struggle and when the prospects of world war and revolution are both on the horizon. And then to call this ostrich-style activity “communist” or “revolutionary”! This is in stark opposition not only to the RCP but to Lenin, for one, who in preparing for the Russian revolution spoke directly against this line and contrasted it with “diverting the spontaneous struggle of the masses.”

This is the difference between the RCP and opportunists like *Unity* and it is the basis for all their wild and frenzied attacks on May Day. As Chairman Bob Avakian put it in a “Talk” in *RW* No. 49, “It’s basically a question of whether you are going to be seeking to link up with the class-conscious proletariat and give political expression to its sentiments and on that basis try to influence the working class and its movements, or are you going to go to the average workers and try to subordinate yourself to their understanding and backward tendencies.”

It is exactly with this backward outlook that the *Unity* article takes another valiant stab at attacking revolution and upholding the “American midstream” when it claims that “the RCP is attracting elements who are anarchistically inclined and isolated from the actual struggles of the masses” which translates into “down for revolution, and not into scrambling for some position in the ‘labor movement.’” Lenin, in denouncing the social chauvinists of his time, spoke exactly to this point: “Of course, the counter-revolutionary philistines cry out ‘anarchism!’, just as the opportunist Eduard David cried ‘anarchism’ when he denounced Karl Liebknecht (a German internationalist in World War I—*RW*). In Germany, only those leaders seem to have remained honest socialists whom the opportunists revile as anarchists.” (“Collapse of the Second International”)

Yes, *Unity*, the RCP certainly sees the raising of class-consciousness and directing the workers’ sights to the broad political questions of the day as crucial to preparing for the armed seizure of the fortress of U.S. imperialism by the working class at the head of a united front. And even as much as you bleat about “concern for the masses’ immediate needs,” what else but the victorious resolution of the question of what class holds state power could possibly put the working class in a position to fundamentally deal with the needs of the masses, both here and internationally? Reformism is not “more realistic” or even, in the final analysis, “more concrete” than revolution; it is a dangerous illusion.

And when *Unity* cynically refers to the RCP as working to “alert the masses to the upcoming world apocalypse,” this is just another self-exposure along the same lines and a perfect illustration of Lenin’s description of the opportunists of his time as having “a fear of sharp turns and a disbelief in them” (from “The Collapse of the Second International,” *Collected Works*, volume 21). These opportunists vacillate between believing that today’s relative calm will go on apace with no dramatic shifts in the situation or in the mood of the masses or, when they do get a glimmer of the upheavals on the horizon, they panic and view it as “the upcoming world apocalypse.”

In order to prepare to seize the opportunities that will arise as a revolutionary situation does ripen, we see our main activity today as revolutionary agitation, political exposure of events that cut to the heart of this system. It is certainly not the kind of head down “activity” that *Unity* and others stand for. But also, it is not only, or mainly, “propaganda work,” as *Unity* claims, though such work which involves explaining many ideas, and their interrelationships, is very important today—although it is always fully understood by only a handful of people compared to those whom agitation will reach. Our central task today is most vividly expressed in the slogan of Mao Tsetung that states, “Create public opinion... seize power.” It is this timely

topical exposure of events here and internationally that is key to develop the class consciousness of the proletariat, to train them to respond to all forms of oppression here and around the world from the revolutionary point of view of the class-conscious international proletariat.

These themes struck up by *Unity* are very common themes in the history of the communist movement. They have been constantly advanced by opportunists who whine about “close organic contact with the mass struggle” or “linking up with and leading the actual struggles of the masses,” or “leading the day to day struggle for the immediate needs of the masses,” etc. All this amounts to is economist catchphrases for uniting with where the mainstream of the working class is at and being enamored with the slightest ripple of movement. And as we said above, the bottom line around all the criticisms of May Day and the praising of spontaneity is this: whether or not they will capitulate to the bourgeoisie in World War 3. In the talk by Bob Avakian cited earlier, this road to hell is clearly outlined. “Because anybody that takes the line of tailing after the masses at this point can do nothing else—I don’t care what your intentions are—once you decide that’s going to be your program there is no question of where you will end up, you will capitulate, you will throw away the red flag and pick up the red, white and blue rag of plunder and oppression.”

“If you just go along and link up with the masses where they are at and concentrate on the trade union struggle, then when war comes along, even if you try to make the transition from the trade union to the international arena and attempt to promote proletarian internationalism and revolutionary defeatism, the workers will answer you in bourgeois trade unionist terms—listen, of course we have to fight these guys for better conditions and so on, but after all, this is our country and we are not even going to be able to talk about improving it if we don’t go out and win this war. In other words, the logic of that trade unionist ideology would propel people not toward revolutionary defeatism but non-revolutionary, counter-revolutionary defeatism towards your own bourgeoisie in the war—a stand of defending the country and not seizing the opportunity, taking advantage of the defeats of our bourgeoisie to overthrow it.”

This corporate merger of social-chauvinism and reformist economism is what marks *Unity*’s attack on May First, and what gives that attack extra virulence. For this same reason, while groups like *Unity* are today pitifully insignificant and non-influential, social-democratic groups (perhaps, but not necessarily, including *Unity* or *The Call*) will be increasingly promoted by the bourgeoisie itself. Especially with their preparations for war mounting, and their much felt need to ensure a “loyal” working class to fight for them, the U.S. imperialists are beginning to sense the need to give a bit of a shot in the arm to social-democratic forces. They must be brought in to play their part in keeping the working class movement safely confined to a patriotic treadmill. This kind of movement is needed by the imperialists precisely when they begin to really feel the heat from a truly revolutionary one. It was revolutionary May Day that got put on the map in 1980, and that is worrisome to the imperialists, given what they have in store for the masses in the period ahead. So part of their response, in Chicago for example, was to promote a little social democracy on May First with articles in the *Chicago Tribune* and TV coverage complete with “expert labor historians” to invoke the “fine traditions of May Day and of the labor movement.” All of a sudden, a dose of great “concern for the working man”—great concern, that is, to hit back with every available weapon at the class-conscious section of workers that made some history on May First. This means not only relying on clubs and guns and jails, but also the “spokesmen for labor” who may even talk about “class struggle” and “socialism” while sticking the workers’ noses to the grindstone of the “proud” and *American* tradition of “labor’s fight” for another dime on the dollar and another five-minute break.

It is for positions like these in the service of the war machine of U.S. imperialism that forces with the line of *Unity* will be contending—all in direct response and opposition to the revolutionary section of the working class that took an internationalist stand on May First. This is why, in response to the salvos fired on May First, and to the sharpening objective situation, the noises coming from these opportunists sound less and less like revolution and more and more like the national anthem.

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