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Joint Communique from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

In October 1979, an important meeting was held between Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA, and Jorge Palacios, a founding member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and a member of the Secretariat of its Central Committee. These discussions on a wide range of subjects marked the beginning of formal relations between our two Parties.

Since that time, and in accordance with the agreements reached during that meeting, representatives of the Central Committees of the PCRCh and the RCP, USA have continued to hold discussions on many topics, including especially the crisis in the international movement and the struggle for unity on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principle. Through the course of this process a unity of views has been achieved on many questions, including:

1) Opposition to the counter-revolutionary coup in China which overthrew the dictatorship of the proletariat and replaced it with the rule of a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The new revisionist rulers are, with breakneck speed, dismantling socialism and undoing the accomplishments of the Chinese revolution under the leadership of Mao Tsetung and subjugating the masses once again to exploitation and all the misery typical of capitalist society. Internationally the new ruling Chinese bourgeoisie is capitulating to imperialism, which at this time is taking the form of integrating China into the sphere of Western imperialist exploitation and hitching China onto the U.S.-led war bloc. The revisionist usurpers have concocted the "strategic theory of the three worlds" and tried to pass off these tarnished revisionist theses as the work of Mao Tsetung. They have even repudiated the polemics against Khrushchevite revisionism. They are trying to spread capitulation and betrayal around the world.

2) The need to wage a vigorous defense of the great contributions of Mao Tsetung to the science and practice of Marxism-Leninism and the revolution in the face of the attacks on his line from all quarters. Mao Tsetung developed and enrich-

ed Marxism-Leninism in the fields of making revolution in the colonial and semi-colonial countries; the theory of people's war and military affairs; political economy and socialist construction; literature and art; Marxist philosophy; and, most important, the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Mao Tsetung led the struggle in the international communist movement against modern revisionism and developed a thorough critique of the latter. Mao Tsetung, at the head of the Chinese Marxist-Leninists, unleashed and led the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution which, for ten years, prevented the restoration of capitalism in China, further revolutionized the socialist society, trained revolutionary successors who today are fighting for the revolutionary overthrow of the new capitalist ruling class in China, and left precious and vital lessons for the world proletariat. For all these reasons the attacks on Mao Tsetung are, in fact, attacks on Marxism-Leninism and must be treated as such.

3) The Soviet revisionists remain mortal enemies of the revolutionary proletariat. Under no circumstances can Marxist-Leninists abandon the struggle against them or the revisionist parties with whom they collaborate and generally lead. All forms of opportunism, including Trotskyism, Castroism, "focoism," and social democracy must continue to be fought.

4) The recognition of the growing danger of a third world war. The deepening crisis of the Western imperialist countries and that of the Soviet bloc states is forcing all the imperialist powers to seek a new, more favorable (for themselves) division of the world. The two imperialist superpowers, the U.S. and the Soviet Union, are heading up rival imperialist blocs to prepare for a new imperialist war that looms more menacing every passing day.

Our Parties condemn recent acts of aggression by the imperialists and those linked to them including the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the U.S. interference in Iran. In this light, the Chinese invasion of Vietnam and the Vietnamese invasion of

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Bob Avakian and Jorge Palacios, Chicago, October, 1979.

Mohawks Remain Vigilant At Akwesasne

The armed face-off of the Mohawk Indians against the U.S. government's attempts to rip off their land and extend state jurisdiction over the St. Regis reservation—known to Mohawks as Akwesasne—continues in upstate New York (see *RW*, June 20). The spirit at the Mohawk encampment at Racquette Point is one of vigilance and determination to see this struggle through to victory. The bunkers are manned day and night; walkie-talkies are constantly being used at key points at the encampment. Many are working hard getting the latest issue of the *Akwesasne Notes* and a flyer out to thousands of supporters with news of the battle. Food and medical supplies are still being sent by supporters from across the country and taken in by boat from Cornwall Island to Racquette Point. Meanwhile, at checkpoints and roads surrounding the encampment, the state troopers have embedded steel road blockades in the cement to permanently close off the area. The police snipers on the General Motors Plant (located right on the Mohawks' land) have been taken off the roof because, according to workers, GM is afraid their gas lines might get shot out in an armed gun battle. The government knows they are not going to be able to move in without paying a heavy price.

Since June 13th, when vigilantes and state police were forced to back off from a planned assault, harassment and false arrests have continued. As one Indian pointed out, "Police have become a political arm of the trustees, not a community controlled police force, just like police forces anywhere, really. There is no such thing as a neutral police force. There is no such thing as a really community police force. Police have always been, their entire history is that they have always been created to serve a specific class or specific group

of people, and their first priority to protect property as opposed to being community service oriented. And that's the same way these guys are..."

About three weeks ago, Cindy Terance, a reporter for *The Rez*, a local paper, who has written favorable articles about this struggle, was charged with harassment of a police officer. They claim that she made a call saying that a community building which houses the Akwesasne Police Force was going to burn down. She was roughed up by state police, and after being hauled into the Franklin County Jail, chemicals were thrown in her eyes. Then, without legal counsel, she was held prisoner in the psychological center in Ogdensburg for 10 days. She was only released after being forced to sign a paper saying she wouldn't take legal action against the state police or Franklin County. Meanwhile, the authorities have come up with a nine-point proposal to "resolve" the conflict, formulated in a meeting that apparently included state police and N.Y. governor Carey. But this proposal cynically calls for exactly what the Mohawks have consistently opposed: that the Akwesasne reservation be under state jurisdiction, that the 17-man Akwesasne reservation police force remain in place and that state police will be the last word in keeping capitalist "law and order" on the reservation. It further calls for the Mohawk Indians to agree to a government-written "tribal code" which would legitimize the authority of the state-elected trustee system set up by the government and the BIA to enforce their will over the Mohawk people. It would also specify that the people who are part of the elective system come directly under New York State jurisdiction.

The Mohawks' 7-point counterpro-

posal which is being discussed in meetings of the Mohawk Indians at Akwesasne completely rejects the government's demands. The 7 points reject the tactic of dividing the people between the "elective" and "traditional" Indians which can only strengthen the state's attempt to gain a stranglehold over the reservation and proceed with its plans to gobble up the Indians' land. The vast majority of Mohawks refuse to recognize any authority of the U.S. government over Indian land where they were guaranteed the right to self-government and sovereignty by the treaties of 1784 and 1794. As the editor of *Akwesasne Notes* said, "We are not going to participate in the development of a tribal code. Tribal code means by the 2 words that it is a predetermined thing that normally comes from the BIA and comes surrounded with a tribal judge and a tribal court system, etc., which means that the trustees further solidify their agreement with the State of New York to maintain concurrent jurisdiction in this area. In the context of tribal code, they wanted us to get into a discussion as to what minor crimes would be under the jurisdiction of here. This so-called tribal code smacks again of federal involvement... Now we don't want to participate in that at all, in enhancing federal jurisdiction, let alone state jurisdiction, and certainly are not going to participate in allowing an illegitimate government to gain legitimacy by our participation in this tribal code or the development of it."

The Mohawk Indians have been given at least two ultimatums that if they didn't submit to the government's 9-point proposal by July 10, force would be used. As usual, the imperialists and their lackeys always think they can intimidate people, but the Mohawk Indians are strong and united against any of that. About a week ago a youth was stopped in his car at Cornwall Island (the Canadian section of St. Regis reservation) by the Cornwall city police. They were going to haul him into jail for speeding. Within minutes practically the island's whole population—300 people—gathered, demanding that he not be busted. When the Ontario Province Police came, they saw trouble coming and told the local pigs to let him go. This incident shows that the Mohawk Indians are continuing to mobilize their strength to back off the pigs. As a Mohawk spokesman remarked, "The main thing we want to stress in our 7-point proposals is that the slogan 'Power to the People' is not a dead slogan or a piece of rhetoric; the people are the authority."

* * * * *

Correction: In the article on the Mohawk struggle in the June 20 issue of the RW, we erroneously reported that some trustees had gone to the Onondaga Council of Chiefs "to beg the council to support them." It has been pointed out to us that under no circumstances would the Onondaga chiefs ever sit down with the trustees. □

The Revolutionary Worker will not publish the week of July 25. The next issue will be on August 1, and with it we will announce and begin bold plans to increase its distribution and influence.



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PLEDGE OF INTERNATIONALISM

The following Pledge of Internationalism is being reprinted from the front page of the July issue of Revolutionary Communist Youth, the national newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade, where it appeared on the occasion of the government's announcement of draft registration.

We will not shoot down the people of other lands in the service of those who rule the United States today.

This we proudly and loudly pledge to the world's people at a time when the war preparations of the U.S. and Soviet imperialists are moving into high gear.

We see clearly that World War 3 is exactly what's on the agenda for these two superpowers, and that this is why draft registration is here and why the draft and bootcamp assignments won't be far behind.

We will never become star-scrambled American patriots—we are INTERNATIONALISTS!

We have no country, we just live here. We do not own the giant companies, the banks, the land in the U.S.—these all belong to the tiny class of U.S. imperialists who exercise their dictatorship of corporate empire over the vast majority of people living within the borders in the U.S.

We are one with the masses of people worldwide in battle against imperialism, headquartered today in the U.S. and USSR. We support all struggles against imperialism as our own because they are our own. We are not interested in the "treats" the U.S. imperialists offer us, their "own people," which come directly from their bloody domination of foreign markets and peoples.

We have no desire to "Keep America Number 1." We welcome each and every defeat the U.S. suffers. We laugh straight in the face of decrepit American Legionnaires who wheeze and pant as American choppers eat desert sand in Iran, "You must restore

America to her rightful place in the world." We will never submit to pleas for "National Unity, especially in times of trouble." We will strike hardest precisely at these times.

We will not answer their hideous calls to attack the people, here or around the world. We will not be used to further their modern-day piracy by dropping their human-incinerator nukes from 60,000 feet, by occupying other lands so that "God's chosen rulers," the rulers of the U.S., can maintain and expand their power and control over vast sections of the world, by raping and robbing "the enemy" to help spread the American way of life, while the Wall Street bankers and Houston oil kings sit locked in velvet-lined bomb shelters, "so there will be somebody left to run things."

Their frantic war cries echo hollow in our ears: this is the third time this century when imperialist powers have sought to rally their slaves behind national flags to fell other slaves of the "wrong flags." Our flag is red. It is the flag of the international working class, and of revolution. Those who raise the red flag are part of another army, the army made up of every nationality on every continent whose message is: the working people of the world have everything in common with each other, and nothing in common with the imperialists.

We will be inside and outside the imperialist military machine, men and women of all nationalities, hidden and yet everywhere. We, the prisoners of capitalist society, will seize the ever growing opportunities presented to us—because the imperialists will

be stretched to the limits internationally—to influence and arouse millions to put an end to this periodic global genocide the only way possible: end the problem by ending the source.

War lays bare the essence of this system. All the ugly features of imperialism that lie hidden in "peaceful times" become blatantly clear in war. We pledge to use their war preparations and the war itself to help people wake up, to jolt people out of meek obedience or at least keeping-on-keeping-on.

We will be told to go off and fight Russian soldiers no different than ourselves, except that they have been bombarded with the poison of patriotism in Russian instead of English, and called on to carry out the crimes of their own ruling class. We will be told to put down rebellions of people fighting to be free in this country, like the one recently in Miami. We will be told to clamp down on anyone who does not go along with the program, "USA All The Way." But, we will not shoot our brothers and sisters! When the overlords of industry put guns in soldiers' hands, we will teach the soldiers which way to aim these guns and when.

We don't agree that "All generations have to go to war for The Nation sooner or later," and that now it's our turn. We've got other plans in mind because our war is here at home.

We will shoulder the great responsibilities that we have in this country to deliver the final blows to U.S. imperialism, and by doing so lift a gigantic weight off the backs of oppressed people here and in every corner of the globe. □

Imperialists Deliver "Message"—UN 2 Sentenced

"One year and one day in jail for felony assault. Three years for felony conspiracy, sentence suspended. Five years probation." Steven Yip and Glenn Gan, known the world over as the UN 2, stood proud and undaunted as the Grand Inquisitor intoned the sentencing. A year's hard time for dousing the U.S. and Soviet UN ambassadors with red paint on the eve of revolutionary May Day 1980, and three more years hanging over their heads. The sentencing, a continuation of the political railroad of the UN 2, has propelled the struggle for their freedom to a new and higher level. This outrageous attack is clearly a sign of the times and a sign of things to come as the bourgeoisie maneuvers into the best position for world war 3—a crucial part of that is striking down or intimidating any who would expose and oppose their plans for world domination. The UN 2 are out on bail pending an appeal and the fight to free them must continue.

"Because of the nature of this crime, I will apply specific and general deterrents to Mr. Yip and Mr. Gan... This is an intended message to other people," Judge Ward said sternly. But it was a message that could not be dealt out as severely as the bourgeoisie had hoped. It was a tribute to the rousing and liberating nature of the UN 2's action in the UN Security Council that 9,000 had already signed the support statement, and that widespread public opinion was rallied, preventing the rulers from handing out the maximum 8-year sentence. The historic significance of their action was spoken to by one of the defense lawyers in court when he said, "This is a new decade where world war is a central issue... this was a salvo... a first act of resistance to the course (of patriotism and jingoism) the politicians offer us... history will and has absolved them."

The atmosphere in the courtroom was highly charged, the stakes quite high. The U.S. attorney got up to say about the defense lawyers' claim that the UN 2 were sincere: "Well, so was Hitler!" Realizing that this was a damaging remark, Judge Ward jumped in, "Now I wouldn't go that far *but*, if the millions had not been drafted in 1940 and died in World War 2 and I quote 'for the red, white and blue,' the defendants would not be here to speak their minds." Not two minutes later the UN 2 were sentenced to prison for "speaking their minds!"

But that is not the best of it. When Glenn got up to make his statement, he was repeatedly interrupted by Judge Ward, who kept defending the "wonders of U.S. imperialism." Glenn tore into the "peacekeeping role" of the UN: What had the UN done to the Palestinian people but carved out the Zionist state of Israel from Palestine, slaughtering the Palestinian people and driving them off their homeland. Under the flag of the UN, American troops marched into Korea, only to get their asses kicked. Ward butted in immediately. "That was the Chinese... let's get that straight for the record."

"That's right!" Glenn shot back. "When U.S. marines crossed the Yalu river, the Chinese people did their great proletarian internationalist duty, just like we are doing ours."

This internationalist stand was punctuated by the rally of supporters from East Coast cities held outside the courthouse. Red flags were held high, clenched by fists of many nationalities, and united in a common struggle. Brothers from Iran and from Afghanistan addressed the rally, indicting U.S. and Soviet imperialism alike, and expressing their solidarity with the UN 2. Letters were read from Fight Back, the revolutionary voice of GIs in Europe, and from teachers in West Germany. The *New York Times* had hit the streets with a half-page ad appearing, with a banner

headline which read "Free the UN 2" (see page 17).

One woman who'd been active in the Black Panther Party heard the agitation and saw a sea of red flags from her office window. She left work telling people at the demo, "I saw a force out there and I had to join up with it." An Iranian student at the demonstration also stopped to tell people that he is planning to write articles about it and send them back to Iran.

In cities and towns across the U.S., workers and veterans, oppressed nationalities, students and others joined in the condemnation of the political railroad, buying red armbands for themselves and taking more, with bunches of the *Revolutionary Worker*, to spread among their friends. As one woman told people in Los Angeles, "I know what's going on with this system, I know they're trying to shut up the UN 2," putting on her armband, taking a stack of 27 *RW*'s with her and then walking down the street selling the newspaper.

In Cleveland a march was held through a predominantly Black housing project. Seventy people joined in the march held on the night of the 15th. 250 red armbands were sold as people tied them on their arms, their wrists, around their heads and waists. In Cincinnati at an unemployment office where many laid-off GM autoworkers collect their benefits and among whom the UAW had organized a big Buy American campaign, 45 workers bought red armbands, wearing them inside the unemployment office.

At the Nickerson Gardens housing project in Watts, the cops showed up as agitators were speaking on the issue of the UN 2. Turning on their sound system, the cops tried to rally the youth by offering them free baseball cards. The older youth, 10 and 11-year-olds, began telling the younger kids to get away from the pigs. Over 100 armbands got out there.

Sharp debate broke out in many places like in the meat district in Los Angeles. One worker started speaking out against the revolutionaries, saying, "The U.S. has got its problems, but it's the best we've got." A class-conscious worker, a regular reader of the *Revolutionary Worker*, stepped up to get his red armband with the backward workers taunting him. Turning to them, he said, "I'm sick and tired of going along with the program, too many people go along with the program. I'm going to stand with those two revolutionaries and what they did," taking four more armbands with him. A group of Muni bus drivers in San Francisco also demanded that people come back at the end of the day to tell them what had happened with the sentencing.

As the 70 supporters moved into the courthouse, they were made to go through metal detectors, their "weapons" of red flags confiscated. FBI agents and undercover cops were afoot, eyeballing the whole thing as they lined the judge's chambers and the door to the courtroom. Once the room was quickly filled, the door was locked, barring any more people from entering.

Right down to the last detail, the bourgeoisie attempted to squash the power of the support for the UN 2 from being spread to millions more. In San Antonio, people were quickly arrested on the day of the sentencing. Students at a trade school in West Virginia were threatened with expulsion for stopping to hear agitation on the UN 2. In New York City, the bourgeoisie attempted to sabotage the publication of the "Free the UN 2" ad. Thousands of dollars had been raised to pay for the ad in the *New York Times*, wired directly into the bank account of a person in New York City. The woman had been assured by her bank that there would be no problem in picking up the money. Suddenly as the deadline for the *New York Times* drew closer, a large part of



Demonstration in support of the UN2 in the Morris Black Housing Project in Cleveland.

the money was not available. The woman received a threatening phone call: Didn't she know the FBI might be interested in all this? Why should she get mixed up in it? The caller, who refused to identify himself, wanted the woman to know he didn't want anything to happen to her or her husband. The full amount of this money was never released until July 15, the day the ad—successfully—did appear.

Judge Ward refused to allow four people to speak on behalf of the defendants in the courtroom: Fred Mills, a Black Vietnam veteran from West Virginia; Ann French, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade; Mohammed, a brother from Afghanistan; and Phil Rice, a medical student at Howard University whose father is a military attache for U.S. embassies abroad. "I've already received voluminous correspondence... I will hear no more!" screamed Judge

Ward—yet in the same breath he tried to make the 300 telegrams he had received seem to be insignificant compared to the "200 million people in this country."

Not insignificant at all is the force in opposition to the stepped-up war moves of the U.S. bourgeoisie, which is why they have come down with this sentencing against the UN 2, a stern signal from the ruling class as a whole. As Steve stated to the judge in court, "The U.S. and the Soviet Union are moving towards world war, when millions of people will be incinerated. The red paint flew, the red flag flew, and that is why the rulers here went for the vengeance of railroading us." Glenn later added, "The 9,000 (referring to those who had signed the statement of support) is not enough, but it is growing. That is why you wanted this conviction and sentencing. The UN 2 has grown to become the UN thousands."

**Free
the
UN 2**

Terms Set for '80 Elections

GOP Convention: Reviewing Stand For War

The 1980 Republican convention in Detroit last week did indeed live up to most people's expectations—it was excruciatingly and profoundly boring, not to mention a crass and shameless display of the unbridled and completely moribund reaction so characteristic of the U.S. ruling class. American flags littered the hall, and red, white and blue dripped and oozed from every corner. The air was polluted with a foul stench—an orgy of virtually every reactionary and jingoistic slogan coined in recent years spewed from the mouths of drunken and bloated cowboy-hatted yahoos. Many varieties of loyal American conservative hideous parasites were delegates. There were maybe 60 Blacks attending out of over 2000 delegates. To attend they all had to be officially certified as honorary whites by virtue of their undying devotion to the principles that made America great. Delegates clenched American flags in their teeth, stuck flags in their ears, waved flags in both hands, and stomped their feet to the music of the I Love America Singers from Liberty Baptist College.

As usual, even the stunningly dull Walter Cronkites, Dan Rathers and Frank Reynolds with their massive and elaborate press coverage grew openly bored and were reduced to covering the weather in Detroit, interviewing prostitutes working the convention, and speculating whether Alf Landon, whose shriveled corpse addressed the convention via film, was really still alive. Even all the drawn out speculation over who would be embalmed leading man Reagan's running mate—oatmeal man Ford or mealy-mouthed Bush—failed to rouse much interest, as the TV ratings plummeted with less than 25% of all viewers watching the proceedings

on all networks combined. Mary Tyler Moore reruns and old movies witnessed a tremendous surge in popularity as such dynamic personalities as Wayne Newton (who brought tears to the eyes of many a Republican matron with his rousing chorus of Dixie), Pat Boone, Donny and Marie, and Billy Graham did their respective things. All this fittingly transpired under this year's theme: "Together A New Beginning."

"Together a new beginning"—a fitting theme indeed. For just under all the convention hoopla and meaningless promises, the ugly and distorted face of a bourgeoisie in desperate straits can be discerned, virtually praying, as Reagan did at the end of his acceptance speech, that America's new beginning—a new life as continued top dog power in the world—will be able to be brought about through a Crusade, 1980 style—World War 3.

This real desperation was graphically and strikingly illustrated by 71-year-old Barry Goldwater, who was brought from a mortuary to address the convention. One arm in a brace, his voice slurred, he addressed the delegates who rose to cheer him. "Weakness leads to war." (Read: "Weakness leads to losing war.") "If we had leadership worthy of the name, Vietnam would not have lasted more than a few days." Then at the end he took off his glasses and spoke to a hushed audience with genuine fear spreading across his face: "My friends, I'm concerned that this may be the last Republican convention we ever have." And, he added, the last Democratic one, too. It was an open announcement from the bourgeoisie—all our stakes are on the line.

The consistent and well worked out theme of this convention was "We are in a real crisis of truly monstrous proportions, and it's time to prepare to move decisively to take on the Soviets." Speech after speech hammered at this theme that everything must be readied



Graphic from a leaflet distributed by C.R.A.S.S., a coalition of "counter convention" forces.

both internally and externally for the coming showdown which will come soon. This was quite clearly the intent of the ruling class as a whole for the purpose of setting the terms for this year's election to act as an important step in preparing public opinion for the war effort. The Republican convention played the "point man" role, but the Democrats will soon be along to play their equally reactionary part.

Part and parcel of this was the unleashing of a broad front of reaction to appeal to the various backward and reactionary forces in society to come out and play their role as a social base for the big war effort. Anti-abortion was a big thing, including a platform plank saying that all newly appointed federal judges have to be opposed to abortion (or pro-life as they put it), and the Phyllis Schlafly's had a field day. The platform is also pro-nuclear power and full of all kinds of general garbage about the American values of Family, Neighborhood, Work, Justice and Freedom (to make profit). The convention was kicked off by a captive nations parade at which two of Reagan's kids spoke, etc., etc. A real reactionary populism was spun out to go right along with the shrill war cry of "Let's make America great again—by crushing anyone and anything in the way of our domination of the world."

Driven by necessity, the theme of the 1976 GOP platform—opposition to "big government" and cuts in federal spending—was chucked out the window wholesale. In its place the 1980 platform begins: "The Republican Party convenes, presents this platform, and selects its nominees at a time of crisis. America is adrift. Our country moves agonizingly, aimlessly, almost helplessly into one of the most dangerous and disorderly periods in history." Reviewing the decline of U.S. imperialism, the preamble continues: "These events are not isolated, or unrelated. They are signposts. They mark a continuing downward spiral in the economic vitality and international influence. Should the trend continue, the 1980s promise to be our most dangerous years since World War 2... We must pull ourselves together as a people before we slide irretrievably into the abyss."

Interviewed by the RW, one member of the platform drafting committee explained the dramatic change and emphasis this way: "There was a coming crisis in 1976. It's here now."

Some of the more class-conscious among the ruling class politicians spoke directly to this question, most notably,

Henry Kissinger, who was a major figure at this convention. In his address to the convention, he ran down in essence his view that the Soviets are now enjoying a 5-year "window of opportunity" during which they have superiority and a great opportunity to launch attacks. The recommended U.S. response? Launch the attacks first to grab the initiative! Not only is this Reagan's view, but increasingly it is the view that the bourgeoisie as a whole is coming to accept. Earlier this year, Kissinger ran it out this way: "We face a period of maximum danger in the next five years, while the military balance is still tipping against us and the cycle of local revolutions is playing itself out. After that, the certainty is that Soviet domestic problems will mount, and our new defense programs can restore the equilibrium. But before then, Soviet reformers and Soviet conservatives may be able to unite on only one set of goals: to secure their international environment brutally and urgently before reassessing their domestic system. It is within our power to close off the avenue of adventurism, but the time is growing short."

"As is often the case, the seemingly boldest course is really the safest; procrastination will only prolong and thereby magnify our danger."

This was all aptly summed up by one of his remarks at the convention: "For if the trumpet give forth an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle."

Donald Rumsfeld, former U.S. Ambassador to NATO and former Secretary of Defense, said, "In an earlier period, we could make mistakes, but our abundance of political, economic and military power provided us with a margin of error"; but now, "our margin of error is gone."

"The most significant world event in the past thirty-five years has been the massive shift of military power, away from the United States to the Soviet Union. That shift—long in coming—is today injecting a fundamental instability into the world equation... we find ourselves facing a gathering storm..."

William E. Simon, former Secretary of the Treasury, reiterated, "Let us open this convention with a solemn warning: the hour is late. The crisis is near. And only with a united effort can we pull ourselves back from the brink."

Of necessity, of course, the war call was made in the name of the welfare of the American people, with demagogic promises of jobs and a revitalized

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The following press release was found on the press table at the Republican convention along with official Republican press releases.

This is a press release from the Reagan for Shah Committee: Titled Reagan for Shah Holds Open Meeting

The Reagan for Shah Committee urges decent consumer-subjects of the Shah-apparent to gather at the so-called "Kennedy" Square in Detroit, Thursday, July 17, at 3 p.m., to protest the ugly emergence of neo-anti-war hysteria in the streets of America. We have been mocked mercilessly by shaggy, contemptuous vagabonds who have publicly profaned our Reagan for Shah banner right or wrong with the stars and stripes. Take a stand for freedom from the riff-raff! Join us at our open caucus Thursday. Formal attire or dress uniform requested. Men in blue are particularly welcome.

The Reagan for Shah delegation has come to the Detroit coronation to inform our peers that the time is ripe to install Ronnie Reagan as the country's first native born Shah. The Presidency is outmoded and boring, and lacks the dynamic power we need in these troubled times. With the help of our freedom fighters, the CIA, FBI, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff, we shall boldly launch the Shah Reagan White Palace Epoch, and avoid the pre-emption of our favorite TV series by tedious election coverage in November.

Ronald Reagan is our choice for Shah because of his genuine Hollywood charisma, and his glorious record as governor, where his domestic appointments included only the most successful businessmen, and he even spoke out on foreign affairs, proclaiming that the "Vietcong should go to bed every night afraid that we might use atomic weapons."

We say, give nukes a chance! All power to the corporations! Media attention for the right side! The Hollywood empire shall not be a b-grade superpower! Warfare, not welfare! Off the poor!

Join us Thursday in an open air caucus for speeches, songs, and spectacle. We will take requests from the public, the press, and the conventional republicans.

- Signed by a Coalition composed of:
- Reagan for Shah Committee
 - Students for War
 - Ladies Against Women
 - Peace Resisters League
 - Mutants for a Radioactive Environment
 - Citizens for Total Defoliation
 - Coalition Against Atomic Agitators
 - Voice of the Unconceived
 - Future Dictators of America Club
 - Science in the Corporate Interests
 - Institute for Violent Studies
 - Union of Concerned Capitalists
 - HEXXON Research Trust
 - Another Mother for World Domination
 - National Grenade Owners Association
 - National Association for the Advancement of Rich People
 - Mobilization Against Democracy.

"The UN 2 Spoke For Us..."



UN 2 outside of court after sentencing. Glenn Gan (left) and Stephen Yip.

D. Sabal

With outrage we have heard that two American revolutionaries are threatened with extraordinarily high sentences for a deed which pointed toward the growing danger of war. It might seem that we here in W. Germany are very far off and should have nothing to do with this case. But this is incorrect because the growing threat of war puts all people in the same situation. This is why we also have an interest in stopping this conviction and the carrying out of the heavy sentence against such people who expose and oppose these war moves.

2 lawyers and 2 employees from an attorney's office in Heidelberg, W. Germany

On April 30th when Glenn Gan and Steve Yip took their bold action in the UN they spoke for us and millions like us around the world. The rapid fire convictions on felony charges for righteously exposing the war preparations of the superpowers and for raising the banner of revolution in opposition to them is but another example of the ruling class' growing desperation and need to launch such a war. The pig has been stuck and how loudly does it squeal. The GIs in Europe are of course very aware of the preparations for war. An officer in the 3/8th Cavalry Unit stationed in Mannheim, W. Germany sent his troops off on the Fourth of July weekend with the following words, "Have a good weekend and remember when you get back Monday there'll still be plenty of Russians to kill." Glenn and Steve did a very important thing when they made clear to people all over the world that our choice is not one of having to side with one set of exploiters or the other to carry out a mutual slaughter for their benefit at our expense. But that the workers and oppressed people have another course of action, that of choosing to unite together peoples of all countries to get rid of these exploiters and their wars. Through the pages of our paper we intend to make thousands of GIs in Europe aware of this act of political repression and the reasons behind it. As we said on April 30, Glenn and Steve spoke for us. We will not sit by while our rulers try to cut our tongues. We say straight up to the bourgeoisie, your railroading of Steve and Glenn to jail is but another nail in your coffin. We demand they be freed at once.

The Staff of Fight Back Revolutionary Voice of GIs in Europe

We have heard that two progressive colleagues Glenn Gan and Steven Yip have been arrested and convicted by the U.S. imperialists. The reason was that the two brothers entered the UN Security Council meeting on April 30, 1980 and poured red paint over the envoy from the U.S. imperialists and the envoy of Soviet social imperialism.

And we also know that the USA and the USSR are two imperialist nations from the large imperialists of the world and for this reason are enemies of all workers and peoples of the earth. The hearts of these oppressed peoples lie with those two comrades and we therefore protest the conviction of the two brothers. Free the UN 2.

Federation of Workers from Turkey in Germany
Federation of Students from Turkey in Germany

The terror conviction of the two RCP comrades shows once more on which side of the fence the true terrorists are standing. This decision stands right in the tradition of American class justice like the Haymarket trials, the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti, the Wilmington 10, etc., etc., etc. Especially in the face of the war preparations by the U.S. ruling class this railroad takes on particular meaning. This short trial is aimed at silencing the opposition to war.

Lokomotive in Chaos
(student group coalition member of ASTA
student government University of Heidelberg)

The UN 2's righteous paint job on the U.S. and Soviet envoys, representatives of the 2 superpowers who are wrestling over a new division of the world is one of the many signs that show us here in Germany that there is struggle going on in the U.S. against imperialist war preparations. This conviction shows that the U.S. bourgeoisie wants to break the resistance against the war propaganda with all possible means. Free the UN 2.

Tagezeitung
Heidelberg group
(Daily independent leftist newspaper)

The people in Europe are following the armaments buildup for World War 3 with much fear and horror, especially since we have just rid ourselves of the scars of World War 2. While using propaganda-type justifications, like defense of freedom or the freeing of the hostages in Iran to the securing of the oilfields, the two superpowers, the USA and the USSR are marching into foreign territory. These acts of aggression serve no benefit to the peoples of the U.S. or the Soviet Union. In many rank and file union groups and political gatherings in the Federal Republic of Germany there is growing protest against these imperialist politics which are being carried out on the backs of the working people. We support these protests. Glenn and Steve also went up against the war moves of the superpowers with their action at the UN. For this they are threatened with long term prison sentences. We strongly condemn this judgment which is nothing more than a flagrant use of the state apparatus in an attempt to intimidate all those who dissent from the power structure. This conviction should not be allowed to be carried out.

Agnes B.
Irmgard H.
Karl H.
Jorg H.
Renate S.
5 Teachers from W. Germany

Who are the criminals? The international terrorists? Those who hold the bomb, those who threaten first strike, those who make millions from producing doomsday weaponry. Not those who pour water paint on UN representatives to unmask complicity in atomic bloodletting.

Philip Berrigan

The U.S. imperialists and their allies and the Russian imperialists and their allies are in a deep dream, they are proud of their powers as superpowers, they don't even think that the people are more powerful than any power that they have and that they are able to crack the walls of the enormous building of the UN in spite of its well-armed security guard. The revolutionary action that was done by Comrades Glenn Gan and Steven Yip in entering that huge building of the UN is the best proof that the American people are able to conquer the most difficult places to demand their rights all over the world.

The Kurdish people as well as any other nation have rights to regain. For this purpose these brave people have set up revolutionary activities especially in Iraq and Iran demanding their autonomous Kurdistan, but their imperialist attackers were able to divide this area into five pieces; five different countries kept defeating these brave people's revolution, one after another, and the latest revolution that was defeated by America and its allies by means of the deposed Shah was in 1975. But this action does not mean that the Kurdish people will go back into a deep sleep. They continue the revolution with the support of all progressive parties all over the world in spite of the imperialists' and their allies' wishes. The imperialists will never think that the people are stronger than their power, but there is much proof that imperialism and reactionary regimes all over the world are weaker than a worm. The Iranian people's revolution and the Kurdish people's revolution and Vietnam plus the Shah and Somoza all prove imperialism is on the way to dying. We are the Kurds, and very proud that we have people in struggle supporting us and we do the same as well. And we are sure that we will achieve victory.

DOWN WITH U.S. IMPERIALISM ALL OVER!
DOWN WITH ZIONISM AND REACTIONARY REGIMES ALL OVER THE WORLD!
LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLES OF THE PEOPLE!

Association of Kurdish Students Abroad, U.S. Organization

As workers and students from many countries we have seen imperialism's true face with our own eyes in many parts of the globe, and we've seen all sides of it here in the USA. Your foul ranting and ruthless oppression of the UN 2 is a vain attempt to stem the tide of history. The force you fear most, class conscious workers of all nationalities, is growing before your very eyes, the force that will sweep away your whole rotten system. Free the UN 2! Down with US/Soviet War Moves!

55 Taxi Cab Drivers in Chicago

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The International Unity of the Proletariat: What It Is and How to Fight for It

This is the second of two parts of an article which appears in the current (July) issue of our Party's magazine, Revolution (Vol. 5 No. 4). It is being printed here as well because of the urgent importance in today's world of forging the international unity of Marxist-Leninists around a revolutionary line.

IV. CENTRISM CLINGS TO REVISIONISM

There is no better example of eclecticism than In Struggle's attempted balancing act between Mao and Hoxha. In fact, this is their entire method—"we do not share the viewpoint of those who would reduce the struggle against revisionism to a storm of wild, fiery denunciations,"¹⁹ as if theirs was the voice of reason in a room full of madmen. Theirs is an appeal to bourgeois common sense, and not to Marxism. But eclecticism is more than an effort to mishmash together antagonistic opposites. It is an attempt to save revisionism by putting a more revolutionary-seeming face on it. Although In Struggle may not like the form that the international debate has taken, especially the aspect of having to choose, there is most definitely a Hoxhaite lean to their balance.

While politely remarking "we think that, generally speaking, Mao Zedong was in the camp of those fighting for socialism,"²⁰ In Struggle praises and promotes Hoxha's all-out assault on Mao, *Imperialism and the Revolution*, as "an important contribution to the debates on fundamental issues which communists must today undertake and complete in order to drive out revisionism wherever it is to be found."²¹ Such obsequiousness to Hoxha, and such bluster in regard to Mao's alleged "revisionism"! This contradiction makes it pretty obvious what further investigation shows in a deeper way—that there is a basis for some strong doubt about exactly what In Struggle wants to drive out of the movement, revisionism or Mao's line and contributions.

First, there is this innocent-sounding (but really very shocking) statement: "the victory of Marxism-Leninism over revisionism is held back considerably by the disunity that has existed in the communist forces for over 25 years."²² Twenty-five terrible years—in In Struggle's view everything has been pretty dismal since the rise of Khrushchev and the final break-up of the Third International. This explicitly denies (or rejects) the advances of Marxism in theory and practice during this period, but there is another implication here as well: that unity is always the highest principle, the key to advance, and that Mao should have tried harder to keep together the parties that had together belonged to the Third International, when what was required was a split—exactly the kind of split Mao led—between the forces of Marxism and the forces of revisionism that were trying to keep them under their thumb, a split without which there could be no question of fighting for the unity of the international communist movement. Here we hear an echo of Khrushchev's favorite and hypocritical charge, that Mao was a "splitter." If In Struggle thinks that maybe Mao didn't go about this quite politely enough, we'd like to remind them of Lenin's attitude: "Socialist parties are not debating clubs, but organizations of the fighting proletariat; when a number of battalions have gone over to the enemy, they must be named and branded as traitors; we must not allow ourselves to be taken in by hypocritical assertions that 'not everybody understands imperialism in the same way'... or that the question has not been 'adequately discussed,' etc., etc."²³ Obviously this goes too far for the form in which those since Khrushchev have been dealt with, whose desertion has come in the form of attacking Mao.

But in condemning this "branding of traitors" and the rest of the political and ideological struggle over the past 25 years, In Struggle is not just criticizing the form—they are criticizing the content, the very struggle against revisionism itself. What else can be the meaning of the following: "The struggle against revisionism was then carried out in a way that many people seem to wish to continue it, that is by criticizing various parties and communist leaders one at a time and in isolation from one other. This has been done with Tito, Togliatti, Khrushchev, Liu Shiao-chi, Lin Biao, Deng Xiao-ping... and now Mao Tsetung!" (Their ellipses)²⁴

We couldn't ask for a better example to prove the point that throwing out Mao means throwing out the struggle against revisionism. The only possible meaning of including Mao in this list of renegades is that they were all "communist leaders," none of them

deserving of "wild and fiery denunciations"—and Mao, who committed this unpardonable sin, in In Struggle's eyes is now getting a posthumous taste of his own medicine. Think about it, In Struggle, you really are going over the edge here. In this criticism of the form the struggle against revisionism took over the past 25 years inside and outside China, a form imposed by the fact that there were real leaders who really went over to the real enemy, there is more than a whiff of the idea that nobody should have gotten so excited about it because the differences were exaggerated. This is what throwing out Mao as a dividing line leads to.

The following selection from one of In Struggle's main polemics, "To Unite the International Communist Movement," is a very clear exposure of how their even-handed and reasonable position in the face of "sectarianism" run rampant, as they like to picture it, really conceals an extremely philistine and rightist standpoint:

"We even feel that at the present time, the appraisal of the lives and works of certain leaders or parties cannot be a starting point for defeating revisionism. In fact, those who have used this method have rapidly strayed from a materialist and dialectical point of view in their examination of the communist movement's past and present.

"Since the starting point for this tendency is to defend the 'purity' of Marxist-Leninist principles—which some find in the support of this or that leader, while others find it in the criticism of those same leaders—congresses and conferences are held, studies and analyses are made, and uncalculable energy is spent in determining the merits of one, and the mistakes of another. This results in a very special understanding of the history of the movement. A few months ago, we learned that the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong never based themselves on Marxism-Leninism. But they weren't alone, since French communists have informed us that the Communist Party of France was never worthy of the name. And more recently, U.S. communists announced that Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese Workers Party were nothing but nationalists from the start. And questions are being raised about the Party of Labour of Albania... Why not, once you've got a good thing going for you?..."

"The struggle against revisionism will be fruitless if it continues to be waged in this way. Why is it so terribly important for the French proletariat to reject Mao Zedong Thought (or to relentlessly defend it), when it is bombarded by dozens upon dozens of communist organizations and groups telling it that it must reject or defend Stalin, or the three worlds theory, or Deng Xiaoping, or Mao Zedong Thought or Hoxha ever since the betrayal of the French Communist Party? None of these often short-lived organizations ever prevented the revisionists or social-democrats from imposing their line of class collaboration with the French bourgeoisie.

"How can U.S. communists justify the fact that they have tried to make the defence of Mao Zedong Thought the main political struggle in the U.S. working class movement in the past year? There as well, there are many disunited Marxist-Leninist groups. The only winners are the reactionary henchmen of U.S. imperialism who dominate the working class and union movements and are preparing the masses to support their bourgeoisie in a new imperialist world war."²⁵

The first thing to note here is a rabid opposition to "driving out revisionism wherever it is found." They are uncomfortable when people say that Mao and the Chinese Party never based themselves on Marxism, that is going too far. They would rather have peaceful co-existence between trends calling themselves Marxist. But they absolutely forbid anyone to even raise deep questions about Hoxha—that is absolutely going over the limit. And although they like to counterpose what they slander as the method of "appraisal of the lives and works," a kind of study of the lives of saints, to the method of "a rigorous analysis of the line and practice of the communist movement historically, and particularly during the period of the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s, a period which has never been fully analyzed in the course of the struggle against modern revisionism,"²⁶ here, when actually confronted by sharp criticism of this period, they show that they consider it forbidden—in advance—to find any revisionism through this "rigorous analysis." All this is symptomatic of In Struggle's dilemma: they really would prefer not to have any dividing lines and would prefer to have everybody swim in one big goulash

together—but at the same time it's really Mao that makes them most uncomfortable.

The second thing about this quote is that it ascribes In Struggle's own philistine outlook to the workers—all these heady political and even ideological questions don't matter to *them*, so please don't bother *us* with it. They engage in demagogic and idealistic speculation on the not too surprising fact that in this overall non-revolutionary period a revolutionary line has not held "dominance" among the French proletariat—and go on to make the pragmatist assertion that political line doesn't matter, which is their real point here. Perhaps In Struggle thinks that instead of all this high-flown nonsense the French Marxist-Leninists should instead concentrate on competing with the revisionists and social-democrats in their own terms in the trade union movement? That too, as we'll see in a minute.

This selection comes to a resounding finale with what In Struggle must think are crushing blows against us. But what they crush with these remarks about "disunited groups" in the U.S. is their own feet, since this reveals all too well what kind of struggle they want to promote and what kind of international they want to build.

In case anybody is wondering who these "disunited groups" are in this country, so far they have favorably mentioned in their paper the Progressive Labor Party (a neo-Trotskyite sect which won wide notoriety for denouncing the Black liberation movement, the Vietnamese struggle and Mao Tsetung in the 1960s, before sinking from sight in a subsequent career of undistinguished economism), the Communist Workers Party (which loudly upholds the "three worlds" theory, which is about the only thing that In Struggle has taken a stand against besides the unity of Marxists), and the almost unnoticeable Communist Party USA Marxist-Leninist, a third sect, as rightist as anyone in the U.S. today, which seems to warrant inclusion here only because it is in the running for the official Albanian franchise (along with the so-called "Marxist-Leninist Party" formerly known as COUSML).

The only thing these groups have in common, besides a common bourgeois outlook, is that in one way or another they all worship at the altar of spontaneity and the economic struggle. This fits quite well with In Struggle's shrill objections to our three-month long campaign culminating in the September 1978 Mao Memorials, which brought the question of revolution to hundreds of thousands of workers and others, which we consider a sort of indispensable part of building "the working class movement," and did far more to prepare the masses for war than anything we could have done during that time in the "union movement."

At this point we are tempted to say, get serious—but that's exactly the point here. Either they are serious in their admiration for these groups, in which case this is a living example of the kind of rightist hodge-podge they are proposing for the international movement, or they are desperately searching for some forces in opposition to the RCP in the U.S. to put forward to their readers and members. Either way, this amounts to one more example of In Struggle's vendetta against the Left in the international movement carried out in the guise of humble, reasonable folks just seeking unity.

Recently, In Struggle has taken to writing articles about how they are not centrists.²⁷ But what else can you call an organization whose newest "contribution" to the international movement, a publication called *International Forum*—"For the Unity of the Marxist-Leninist Movement," is dedicated to putting together ("to let the reader know") under one set of covers both Hoxhaite attacks on Mao and some selections in defense of him? Isn't this a glossy version of their unreal dream of uniting Marxism and revisionism? In Struggle tries to hide under "objectivity" "without any preconceptions," "without censorship or discrimination,"²⁸ but in fact their journal has a line just as they do: a line that "discussion and debate must be stepped up among the forces that are resolutely working to break with modern revisionism (be it the Titoite, Russian, Chinese, Euro-communist or Trotskyist variant)"—in other words, Hoxha's revisionism for them isn't even a question and please don't bring up Mao again! This journal of theirs is actually insidious, since what it discriminates against and seeks to blur is any truthful statement of what the terms of debate really are in the international movement—of what the question of Mao is really about—as well as

Vietnam Era Marine / 1980s Revolutionary

Following is an interview with an ex-marine who is now a revolutionary activist with the anti-imperialist Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

RW: What happened when you enlisted?

XX: The reason I enlisted—and sometimes when people find out they say, “Oh, you enlisted”—the whole reason I enlisted is because I was gonna be drafted. I would have never enlisted if I hadn’t had that hanging over my head.

There were leaflets down at the induction center that day when I went down there to take my physical, and this brother tried to leaflet me on the way in. I just kind of shoved him aside and said, “Get out of my way.” I’ve never forgotten that guy, and I summed it up years later as really being a mistake, that I really owed it to myself to find out what that guy was trying to tell me. That’s one of the things I think it’s really important now for veterans to do, to get out and share their experiences with people who are threatened by that same thing now.

When I hit boot camp, the first three days that I was standing on these stairs waiting to get to my platoon, 24 hours a day standing at attention, I was thinking—you have a lot of time to think—I was thinking, “I’ve really screwed up now.” And then they got hold of me and trained me for however long they were training you—8 weeks in boot camp, another 4 weeks here and 2 weeks there—by the time I got through with all that I was ready to go to Vietnam, because that’s what they’d trained me for, and I thought there was no future in the Marine Corps in the United States, it was too petty, there was too much daily hassle.

Honestly speaking, I had no sensitivity at all for the Vietnamese struggle. I was trained to hate “gooks”—that’s how they were referred to, it was very racist in training, they were looked on as subhuman in boot camp and all my training. That’s what I thought of the Vietnamese. I had no conception of what their struggle was, I had no understanding of Vietnamese history, the French involvement nor the American involvement. Basically when I was going through high school in 1964-66, these things weren’t even spoken to. Here we graduated from high school and were inducted into the service, and went off to fight a war that we knew nothing about. So I was ready to kill Vietnamese for some reason, I suppose

because I’d been indoctrinated so effectively by these people; but then when I got to Vietnam, of course, my whole outlook changed.

RW: Why, what happened?

XX: Well, they didn’t have a chance to indoctrinate me any more. I was living it every day, and I came to understand the Vietnamese struggle through my experiences. I saw the war first-hand, I saw what the struggle was, what the nature of the struggle was and what the nature of the whole involvement was—that the Vietnamese people, from the tiniest little baby to the oldest Vietnamese workers and peasants were involved in the liberation struggle. And it was a righteous struggle. People who were fighting the war and were in the bush could see that. And so it takes the heart right out of a fighter who’s supposed to oppress people when he starts sympathizing with the people that he’s supposed to be oppressing. And that’s basically what happened.

We started pulling phantom patrols. You know, they’d tell us to go out at night away from our compound and set up an ambush. Basically all it came down to was just walking around looking for trouble, either looking to hit a booby trap or hoping someone would shoot at you so you could shoot back and call in the naval gunfire and tac air and all this other great support equipment, you know. So we saw that we didn’t have any interest in going around there playing sitting ducks. So what we did was, sometimes we might not even leave the hill; if it was a night activity, we’d just sit in our holes and split up the watches in the holes on the hill and call in our check points. And these people would think we were out there, calling in check points and running ambushes and patrols. So that’s just basically what we did. We’d go maybe 300-400 meters outside the wire, set up in a defensive perimeter and sit out there and smoke dope and listen to the radio all night, and to hell with the war. And that’s what we did. Finally it got to the point where people began to refuse to fight.

One night we were pinned down by fire and we couldn’t get support. So we came back in and we said basically, “Bullshit! We’re not going out again.” So from then on we ran phantom patrols.

RW: Were you aware of the resistance that was going on?

XX: We knew about the anti-war movement from reading the papers, but

when we got to Vietnam, we were really isolated... Occasionally, *Stars and Stripes* would mention people wearing black armbands, stuff like that, but never anything about fragging or anything like that. I’d seen some of that, or come close to seeing it, so we knew about it... the idea of fragging officers came from the fact that these officers or NCOs were gung-ho, willing to lead us into slaughter or fuck with us some other way. That’s why fragging came down in my outfit. We never actually had a high explosive fragging, but things like CS grenades, smoke bombs, just as warnings, and then if they didn’t back off, there was always the potential...

RW: What kind of effect did it have on them?

XX: We had a CO who was well aware of the fact that there was the potential for him to get shot, he knew he was an asshole... He knew he was going to get a field promotion on the basis of the combat we saw, always volunteering for the most dangerous missions, being really gung ho with our lives. When we assaulted tree lines, it was true that he was right out at the head of the assault, but he also had a fire team in back of him facing the rest of the Marines, to protect him from the rest of the Marines he was supposedly leading... He reminded me of that guy in *Apocalypse Now* who said, “I love the smell of napalm.” But there were Black GIs, they were the most down on the whole system. One night we were on this bridge position and there was a command hooch. Being a radio operator, I had to take my turn on radio watch. The lieutenant’s hooch was well fortified and I went over to the other side of the river and there was this Black guy, Brother X, practicing with an M-79, practicing changing rounds. He was a machine gunner so I said, “What are you doing, Brother X?” and he said, “I’m going to blow that fucker away.” He was practicing to see how many shots he could get off at this command hooch before he had to stop because he would be detected... That was kind of the feeling among Blacks in general, they were the most militant about resisting... They were resistant; they were being led by white officers, there weren’t any Blacks in leadership at all. They saw exactly what was going on, that they were over there as PCFs... There was a lot of racism in the military... particularly since we were oppressing a liberation struggle

which related to what was going on for Blacks in the U.S. at that time. There was a lot of Black power stuff.

RW: Was there fraternization with the NLF troops or the Vietnamese people that influenced you?

XX: Our contact was mostly with kids, although we did have some contact with—I had contact with—provincial reconnaissance units crews, ARVNs (south Vietnamese puppet troops), scouts (which were troops who had surrendered, come over from the other side to fight on the U.S. side—and we never had much respect for them, because we could see that they were traitors). With the kids, you’d play this game “Ho Chi Minh Number 1”; they all had respect for Ho Chi Minh. Particularly the American troops had a lot of respect for Ho Chi Minh and the NVA (North Vietnamese Army): “NVA Number 1, Ho Chi Minh Number 1, ARVN Number 10... (Marine Number 1)...” so the kids had a lot of respect for the National Liberation Front, and we did too, because we were fighting them. We respected their tactics and their bravery, because despite the attempt to overwhelm them with all this technology and firepower, yet they’d come back night after night, hitting your wires, dropping mortar on you. One day we were out on a battalion activity in Dodge City, which was supposed to be NVA territory. A sniper from a spider hole kept our whole battalion pinned down for four hours. He’d come up and shoot at us, and he’d go back into this spider hole. And they’d call in tac air, these navy jets would come in and blow the shit out of things, and after about half an hour or an hour of that, they’d stop and we’d start to move out again—and he’d open up again. He kept us for four hours playing that game. So you have to have a lot of respect for someone who’s that dedicated to their cause.

I remember one time we were on a patrol and we went through a village. There was bombed-out hooch there, concrete hooch or mud hooch or whatever, and it had written on the side of it, “Vietnam to the Vietnamese.” You were really struck by the validity of a statement like that. Here we were plundering their country, defoliating their rice fields and jungles, bombing and napalming their populations, relocating populations, and for what, you know? I remember when we were around Charlie Ridge south of Danang

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Books for a Decade of Upheaval

“There’s a subversive in every library, you just have to find out who they are.” “I heard there were radicals at the convention, you must be them!” “This is just what our library needs.” “There’s a new awakening in my town—these are important books for my bookstore to have.” Such were the responses to the display of revolutionary literature brought by Liberation Distributors to the June conventions of the American Booksellers Association and the American Librarians Association.

People from Liberation Distributors went to these conventions to talk with thousands of booksellers and librarians from around the country about ordering their books, thereby making them available to literally millions of people who, increasingly in the 1980s, will be seeking out books that explain what’s going on in the world. These books can be powerful weapons, arming people with a clear view of this system and the possibilities for revolution.

The *Revolutionary Worker* talked with one woman who attended the convention with Liberation Distributors. “We especially want to stress the new titles being published by Banner Press (*America in Decline: Imperialism’s Greatest Crisis* and *Iran: A People in Revolution*) and by RCP Publications (*The Science of Revolution* and the *New Programme and Constitution of*

the RCP, USA [Drafts for Discussion] as well as the *Revolutionary Worker*. What we found was everything from tremendous excitement about our books and the fact that we were there displaying them to outright shock on the part of a few that we were talking about revolution—right here in the U.S.A.”

The American Booksellers Convention (held this year in Chicago, June 7-10) is an annual, high-powered promotional circus conducted by the book industry to push their newest hot items to booksellers. This year’s exhibits came complete with free booze, women in negligees, live tigers and Darth Vader. Million\$ of dollar\$ were spent by the major publishers to promote their latest ideological weaponry—war books, romantic and escapist novels, books by politicians, jogging and sex manuals. The prevailing atmosphere was, as one progressive book reviewer put it, “TDG: Thinly Disguised Greed.”

In contrast, the American Librarians Convention (New York, June 28-July 1) is an annual professional conference of librarians. Workshops and panel discussions are held on everything from computer ordering to getting literature into prisons to the social responsibilities of librarians. Here too all the major publishers come to display their wares, although in a more subdued manner (the free booze is limited to the evening

parties).

With the exhibit hall packed full of booths selling mass market paperbacks and encyclopedias, hundreds were drawn to the “small press section” where most of the “alternative” literature was located. Many commented that it was “the most interesting part of the whole convention.” “In particular,” Liberation Distributors told us, “there was lots of interest in revolutionary books that talk for real about what’s going on in the world. There’s a definite sense that the ‘80s will be a ‘decade of upheaval’ but sometimes that’s limited to a fear of the impending world war, without seeing the bright possibilities, that there’s going to be a tremendous resistance, revolutionary storms, in opposition to the future the ruling class has planned for us. The vast quantity of books coming from the big publishers won’t answer people’s burning questions, or more to the point, they’ll answer them wrong.”

For instance, there’s a lot of books coming out right now trying to analyze, patch up or just explain away the economic crisis of America—none put forward the thorough, scientific and optimistic analysis of *America in Decline* that capitalism is doomed and revolution on the horizon. Or take the books being published on Iran—by the former Deputy Prime Minister or the

Shah’s sister. *Iran: A People in Revolution* will be the first book published in the U.S. to describe first-hand the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people from a revolutionary point of view!

For this reason, many at both conventions saw the need to order and carry these important books. And beyond that, a smaller number of people recognized the books for the weapons they can be against the mountains of bourgeois propaganda that is now the “order of the day” in most libraries and bookstores and agreed to help promote and turn people on to them.

“I was reminded of the story in the *Revolutionary Worker* about the young Iranian revolutionaries under the Shah who finally got their hands on a copy of *What is to be Done?* and stayed up all night making copies, struggling to write clearly so their friends could read them. These books are precious to people who want to understand how to change things.” Getting revolutionary literature into libraries, bookstores, classrooms and everywhere people are looking for answers is crucial. The great interest shown at these conventions is an indication of the potential that exists for doing just that. □

GIs in Vietnam Era

THE OTHER WAR

During the Vietnam war, there developed within the U.S. Armed forces a widespread anti-war GI movement and a breakdown in discipline and "morale," punctuated by outbreaks of resistance, rebellion, and even outright mutiny, that filled high-ranking military officials and the ruling class as a whole with shock and fear. The growing unwillingness of U.S. troops to fight in Vietnam, the increasing inability of officers to effectively command the troops and the very real fear that military discipline might dissolve altogether, was an important contributing factor to the defeat of the U.S. Army at the hands of the Vietnamese people and the hastening of the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

The *Armed Forces Journal* of June 1971 carried an article by a Marine Colonel called "The Collapse of the Armed Forces," in which the author groaned that "the morale, discipline and battle worthiness of the U.S. armed forces are, with a few valiant exceptions, lower and worse than at any time in this century and possibly in the history of the United States." The House Committee of Internal Security launched a frantic "investigation of attempts to subvert the U.S. armed services." In July of 1970, 40 U.S. Army combat officers in Vietnam sent a letter to President Nixon, warning of the grave threat posed by "the extent of the disaffection among the American troops," and stating that if the war continued, "young Americans in the military will simply refuse en masse to cooperate." The GI movement of the Vietnam era, in short, represented a very serious threat to the U.S. ruling class by shaking the stability and reliability of the very means by which they enforce their rule and defend their empire—the armed forces themselves. The imperialists had drafted an army, but in doing so they had created a giant contradiction for themselves.

The situation today, both in the military and in the world at large, is very different from what it was in the '60s and early '70s. The war that is approaching—a worldwide imperialist war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union—will be, obviously, far different in scope and character than the Vietnam war. But in World War 3, as in the Vietnam war, the imperialists will still be dependent upon the rank and file GI, his willingness to carry out orders, to obediently kill and lay down his own life on command, and, fundamentally his political loyalty to the U.S. ruling class. And more they will be dependent on these GIs not only in the fight against their foreign rivals, but quite likely for the very survival of their system against their "own subjects" here at home.

The Pentagon, the seat of U.S. imperialist military planning, was in the early and mid-'60s filled with the spirit of smug, cool "can do" self-confidence. Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, brought into the administration by President Kennedy fresh from his job as head of the Ford Motor Company, awed reporters at briefing sessions with his crisp delivery of reams of computer generated "stats" and optimistic reports on the progress of the "pacification" campaign in Vietnam. Just a few thousand more "U.S. advisors"—or maybe 10,000 or a few tens of thousands—and the "Viet Cong" threat to "our allies in Saigon" would be wiped out for good. The computers said so; the best and the brightest sharpies in the defense "think tanks" said so; everything was fail safe and foolproof.

By 1969, there were 550,000 U.S. troops in Vietnam. Young men between the ages of 18 and 26 were being drafted by the hundreds of thousands every

year. They were dragged into uniform, shaved bald, and put through the systematic process of degradation, humiliation and indoctrination known as "basic training." Drill sergeants worked 24 hours a day to stomp out any flicker of rebelliousness, to instill fear of and unquestioning obedience to military authority. "I want to be an airborne ranger/I want to live a life of danger/I want to go to Vietnam/I want to kill the Vietcong"—this is what the recruits had to chant day in and day out, at 5:00 a.m. runs and forced marches; and anyone who didn't "eat this shit up" was a "maggot" a "pussy," a "dud." These "maggots" after all carried the M-16; these "scum" were the ones who were going to Vietnam to protect the vital outposts of U.S. imperialism's worldwide empire. It was essential that they fight and die, "waste gooks" and be wasted, reliably, willingly and blindly. There was no room in the computer models for rebellion in the military.

Army Not Insulated

But the soldiers were not and could not be isolated from the upheavals and mass-movements against the war that were rocking U.S. society as a whole—or the national movements including especially the Black rebellions and Black liberation movement, which had a powerful effect on Black GIs in the military. The first significant example of Black rebellion in the military took place in July, 1967, during the Detroit uprising. A group of Black Marines at Camp Pendleton called a mass meeting to question why "Black men should fight a white man's war" in Vietnam. The leaders of the group were arrested and charged with "insubordination and promoting disloyalty"—and sent to 6 to 10 years at hard labor. The same year, prisoners at the Presidio Army Stockade in San Francisco staged a mutiny and hunger strike demanding an end to the war in Vietnam. But these early outbreaks, largely spontaneous in character, were only a foreshadowing of what was to become a phenomenon

never before experienced in the armed forces in the U.S.: an organized and sustained movement of political opposition and resistance to the war, with a strong anti-imperialist character.

A key element in providing a base for GI organizing activities stateside was the development of GI "coffeehouses"—movement centers located near large military installations in the U.S. The first such "coffeehouses" opened near Fort Jackson, South Carolina, in 1967; by 1970, there were dozens of such organizing centers across the country, often initiated by civilian anti-war activists. These coffeehouses were frequently declared "off limits" to GIs by military authorities and were subjected to systematic harassment and surveillance by military intelligence and local police. Some coffeehouses were the targets of bombing attacks and other physical assaults. But despite these efforts at suppression, the existence of these centers of resistance provided a crucial means of politically educating and organizing GIs.

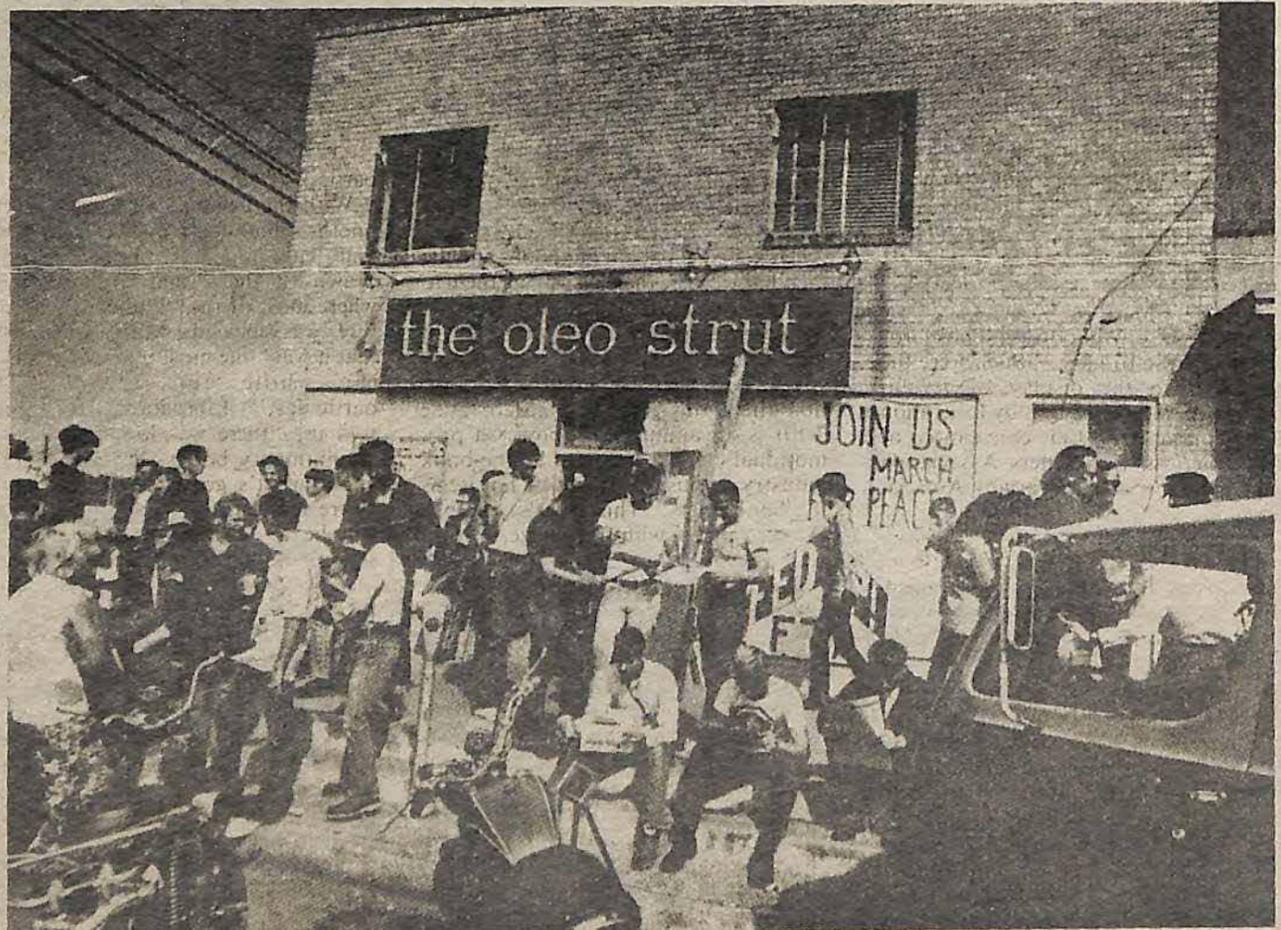
But the most important tool of the organized GI movement was the underground press. In his article, "On the Collapse of the Armed Forces" referred to above, Colonel Heint estimated that in the spring of 1971 "some 144 underground newspapers were published or aimed at U.S. military bases." In March of 1972 the Department of Defense estimated the total number at 245 including overseas. These underground papers varied widely in their quality, politics and frequency of publication; some put forward a strong anti-imperialist program and exposed the imperialist root of the U.S. military involvement in Vietnam and were connected to openly revolutionary organizations; others reflected more of a pacifist orientation, or appealed primarily to the general rebel spirit epitomized in the slogan, "Fuck the army" (FTA). The development of an extensive civilian support network led to fundraising to support various local papers and the initiation of a worldwide GI movement press service, CAMP News, headed by the

Chicago Area Military Project. The early '70s also saw the initiation at attempts at coordinated, nationwide demonstrations of GI resistance. In unity with the May Day anti-war demonstrations at the Pentagon in 1971, GIs at many forts staged mass sick call strikes; and 500 active-duty GIs led the Pentagon march itself.

In Vietnam itself, the GI resistance took a different form: refusing combat. The blows the U.S. military was catching from the Vietnamese played no small part in this. There were some open anti-war political actions; in 1969, 50 soldiers in uniform gathered in downtown Saigon and distributed leaflets urging fellow GIs to stop all fighting and declare a ceasefire; the demonstration was broken by military police. Anti-war petitions were circulated among troops in Vietnam. But the main form that opposition to the war took among troops in Vietnam was simply refusing to fight. On August 26, 1969, the *New York Daily News* sported a screaming headline: "Sir, My Men Refused to Go"—the first publicly reported account of a mass mutiny in Vietnam. There were dozens of such major combat refusals in Vietnam and countless other smaller refusal actions. In "Soldiers in Revolt" by David Cortright, the general situation is described:

"For every major incident, numerous other rebellions probably took place along isolated, unobserved jungle trails... The mutinies we have described represent only the tip of a much larger iceberg of rebellion throughout the army in Vietnam. With disaffection at the stage where soldiers openly refuse to engage in combat, the Army's effectiveness as a fighting force is in serious doubt... On a more general level, such combat refusals must have played at least some role in restraining U.S. operations. The knowledge that dangerous or unpopular missions could lead to mutiny undoubtedly prompted commanders to think twice about ordering certain actions. These mutinies were unmistakable signs of an army on the verge of collapse."

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The Oleo Strut GI coffeehouse near Fort Hood—the U.S. army's armored training center in Killeen, Texas. Begun in mid-1968, it published a GI newspaper, the *Fatigue Press* which was produced regularly until 1972, with circulation exceeding 5000 per issue. In August 1968—43 Black GIs—the "Fort Hood 43" took a stand against military racism and the use of troops against civilians when they refused to be sent to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago to put down the demonstration. The Oleo Strut/*Fatigue Press* built significant support among both Blacks and whites for this action.

Afghan Revolutionary Captured By Russian Imperialists

We received the following from the Afghan Support Committee.

STOP THE RAILROAD OF MAJID KALAKANI

For many years Majid Kalakani has been a popular name in the nightmares of the reactionary regimes of Zahir Shah, Daoud, Taraki-Amin, and now Karmal. Majid Kalakani is an uncompromising Afghan Marxist-Leninist who won the love and respect of hundreds and thousands of Afghan masses for waging antagonistic struggle against reactionary forces of every shape and form. Although his face was unfamiliar to most of his countrymen and comrades, necessitated by his extensive underground work, he enjoyed their love and respect always. Majid, whose full name is still not known after sixteen years of heroic struggle, has been nicknamed Kalakani because he was born in Kalakan, a town twenty-five miles north of Kabul. Majid was born in a peasant family and after completing high school in his home town he attended Kabul University. Following admittance to the department of theology he was soon introduced to the Marxist-Leninist group known as Shoala Jawaid. Keen understanding combined with a deep love for the masses of people led him to drop out of college when he was a junior. He consciously chose to live with the people, fight with the people and die for their cause. Therefore, after the split in Shoala Jawaid in 1972, Majid continued his struggle against Zahir Shah's regime. Shortly

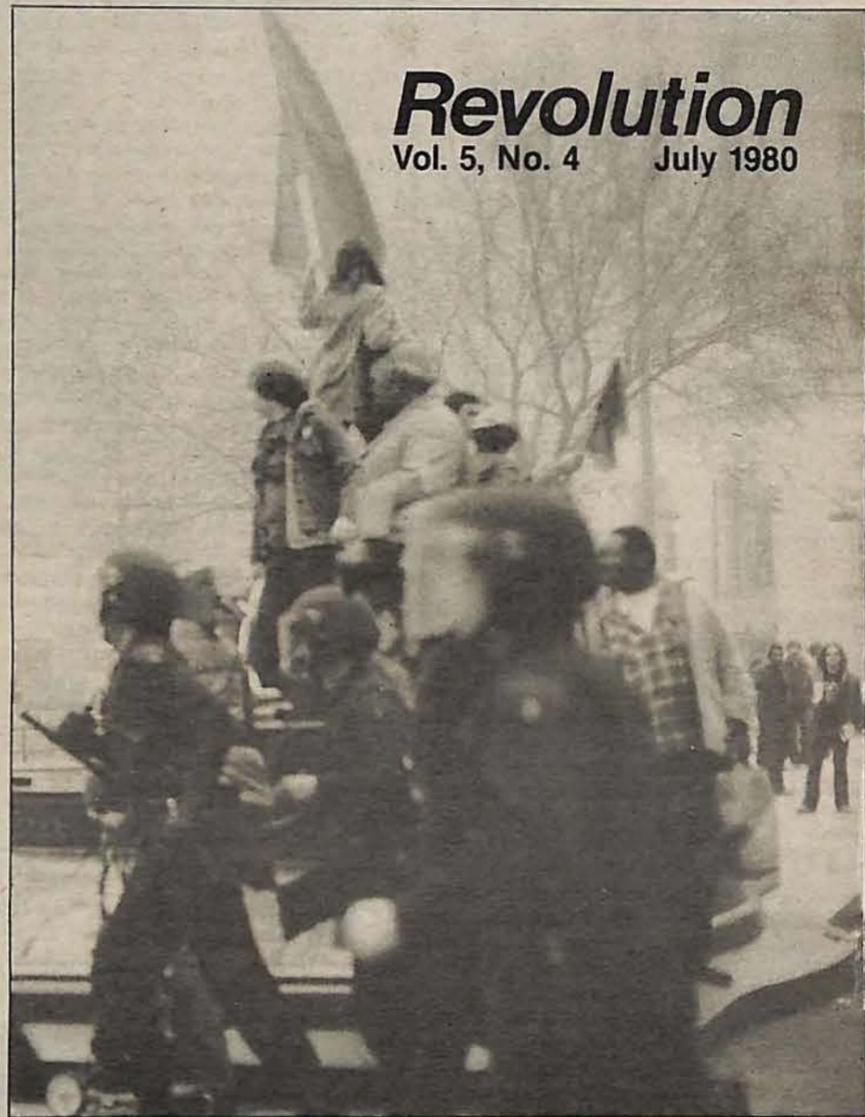
after his underground activities began, he was able to organize the masses of people and develop links with the most revolutionary groups to form the Sama (Afghan Peoples' Liberation Organization). Since that time the APLO has been courageously waging armed struggle coupled with agitation, propaganda, and organizational work among the masses. The APLO was the first organization to attack the Caravan of Russian troops heading from northern Afghanistan toward Kabul on December 27, 1979. The heroic attack was made in the town of Shakar Darah in retaliation for the direct invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union. This intrusive aggression of the "Red Army" met a bitter reception from the APLO which either killed or wounded approximately one hundred troops in the midday clash lasting about twelve hours. The Sama (APLO) has also been successful in organizing mass demonstrations in the cities. The militant week long general strike lasting from February 20-27th composed of workers, students, teachers, and merchants in Kabul which paralyzed the puppet government of Karmal, was a coalition of the APLO and other revolutionary groups including progressive religious forces. The APLO's underground network continues spreading secret night letters among people living in the cities. The letters serve as powerful weapons inviting people to participate in massive actions against the puppet government. The February strike was organized in this way and ended on the day named

Bloody Friday during which the Soviet troops brutally massacred two thousand people. Following this uprising the genocidal organization of KAM (the secret service organization installed and run in Afghanistan by the Russian KGB) arrested five thousand people. Among them was Majid, who led the APLO, along with many APLO activists. Leaders and members of progressive religious groups were also torn away from the masses by the bloody claws of Soviet social imperialism. The puppet government, fearful of the inevitable response to the arrest of Majid,

is trying desperately to keep his capture a secret in order to stage a railroad. In the face of this reactionary attack by Karmal's government, it is the revolutionary task of all progressive forces to protest the atrocities committed by Soviet social imperialism and its puppet government.

RUSSIA HANDS OFF MAJID AND ALL REVOLUTIONARY POLITICAL PRISONERS RUSSIAN TROOPS AND KGB PERSONNEL OUT OF AFGHANISTAN

Now Available!



Revolution
Vol. 5, No. 4 July 1980

War & Finance

Lenin often characterized imperialism as "parasitic or decaying capitalism." Capitalism has reached the stage where it is nothing but a giant leech, sucking the blood of the masses of people and holding back the progress of humanity. This parasitic nature has many aspects; one of them is illustrated in the table below taken from the soon to be published book, *America in Decline*. This table shows the resources which certain branches of industry put into research and development (R & D). Those listed here are among the top spenders for R & D — in contrast, say, to the steel industry, which has been stagnating for years and spends very little in this area.

	R & D Funds (billions of dollars)	R & D Funds as % of net sales	R & D Scientists and Engineers as % of employees
All Industry Total	33.4	3.1%	2.8%
Aircraft and Missiles	7.7	12.3%	8.7%
Electrical Equipment	6.7	6.2%	4.0%
Machinery (total)	4.5	5.0%	3.8%
Office, Computing, and Accounting Machines	3.1	11.7%	7.6%
Chemicals and Allied Products	3.6	3.6%	4.2%

(All figures are as of 1978. Figures in the first column, R & D Funds, are rounded to the nearest million.)

Look closely at the table. The percentage of funds and employees devoted to research and development in U.S. industry in general is not very great—around 3% in terms of both money and personnel. And again, if we look at some of the most important branches of industry, some of the bedrocks of production, such as the manufacture of machinery, of electrical equipment, and the chemical industry—here again the percentage thrown into research and development is not very high: about 4 to 6% in terms of both funds and employees (although this is still higher than the all-industry average).

But then look at the categories of "aircraft and missiles" and "office, computing and accounting machines." Suddenly things take a qualitative leap—R & D spending is about 12% of sales, and R & D personnel are about 8% of employees. Here is where imperialism puts its cash for research, for investigation of the world and how it behaves. This is what imperialism devotes its hired brain-power to. On the one hand, war and the preparation for war—weapons necessary for imperialist domination around the world and (what is now the top question) weapons needed for world war against an imperialist rival. On the other hand, equipment for calculation of profits and even more for arranging deals, manipulations, swindles, keeping the credit net in one piece—the whole superstructure of financial juggling and manipulation which grows up and thrives in an imperialist economy.

These are activities which grow and expand with the "forward" development of imperialism. Some "development" for society! While producing for the masses here—and to a greater extent around the world—an insufficiency of basic necessities and a vast over-supply of misery and degradation, imperialism throws the vast resources of social production into parasitic activities like these.

These functions (preparation for war and financial manipulation) are essentially parasitic with relation to the economy—they leech off of production far more than they push it forward. There are many indications and aspects of the parasitism of the economy of U.S. imperialism (and *America in Decline* will analyze this in an all-around way); what is revealed by these figures is one of them. This system is a real barrier to the productive growth of society—a barrier that must be smashed.

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Inside the Den of Spies in Tehran

Embassy Militants Expose U.S. Crimes

The following article was sent to the RW by a revolutionary activist and journalist who has recently returned from a trip to Iran:

"When travelling in disturbed areas," a U.S. passport reads, "you should keep in touch with the nearest American embassy." This is reassuring to patriotic Americans; anywhere in the world one can expect to see comforting signs of home: the Holiday Inn, American Express offices, and Coca Cola. As Karl Malden might say, "Don't leave home without it." It must be doubly comforting to know that the U.S. government has its 'outposts' all over the world, looking after its citizens and its interests; offices that are respected and backed by the prestige and strength of the United States of America.

I won't say there was utter chaos when we arrived at our destination, that would be going too far, but there were signs of unrest. Instead of porters, the airport was filled with armed soldiers. As we passed through the downtown area on our way to our hotel, everyone seemed agitated: they were congregating on street corners engaged in some kind of heated discussion. And when we got to our hotel, there was no gag of foreign tourists chattering, over whiskey or scotch, about their fascinating travels. Someone had even smeared the hotel walls with posters. By now we were convinced this must be one of those 'disturbed' areas.

There was only one thing to do: head right down to the U.S. embassy, and for any god-fearing, upstanding citizen of the "greatest country on earth," the US of A, this was even more "disturbing" than the rest of the disturbed country. There were metal barricades all over the place; the brick walls had been covered with sheets and pictures of foreign revolutionaries; a bunch of bearded youth with machine guns were going in and out; and there were thousands of people milling around the streets like they were at some kind of street festival. But being the types that would love to see the Holiday Inns around the world stormed in insurrections; who long for the day when the U.S. dollar collapses, taking American Express and Karl Malden with it; and thinking that the only useful purpose Coke has ever served is as containers for the masses' molotov cocktails, when we got to the U.S. embassy in Tehran—we loved it!

Here was U.S. imperialism, with its base 8 or 10,000 miles away from home that had once run this whole country. You looked around and saw that this embassy was situated right in the middle of Tehran, a stone's throw away from the teeming slums of the city, filled with millions of people who hated U.S. imperialism. The embassy was an isolated outpost surrounded by the "enemy" like John Wayne at the Alamo.

The U.S. embassy, an ostentatious symbol of the past 27 years of U.S. domination of Iran is no mere building—it is a 27 acre compound that looked like some billionaire's country estate had been plopped down right in the middle of Tehran—trees, gardens, brick walls and all. It was in this embassy that some of the plans for the 1953 coup d'etat that put the Shah back in power were carried out; it was here that the U.S. advisors who instructed SAVAK worked; and it was through this embassy that the Shah received literally day to day guidance in the suppression of the masses during the revolution. And inside, there were all kinds of buildings, repair shops, warehouses, and who-knew-what-else—until November 4th 1979.

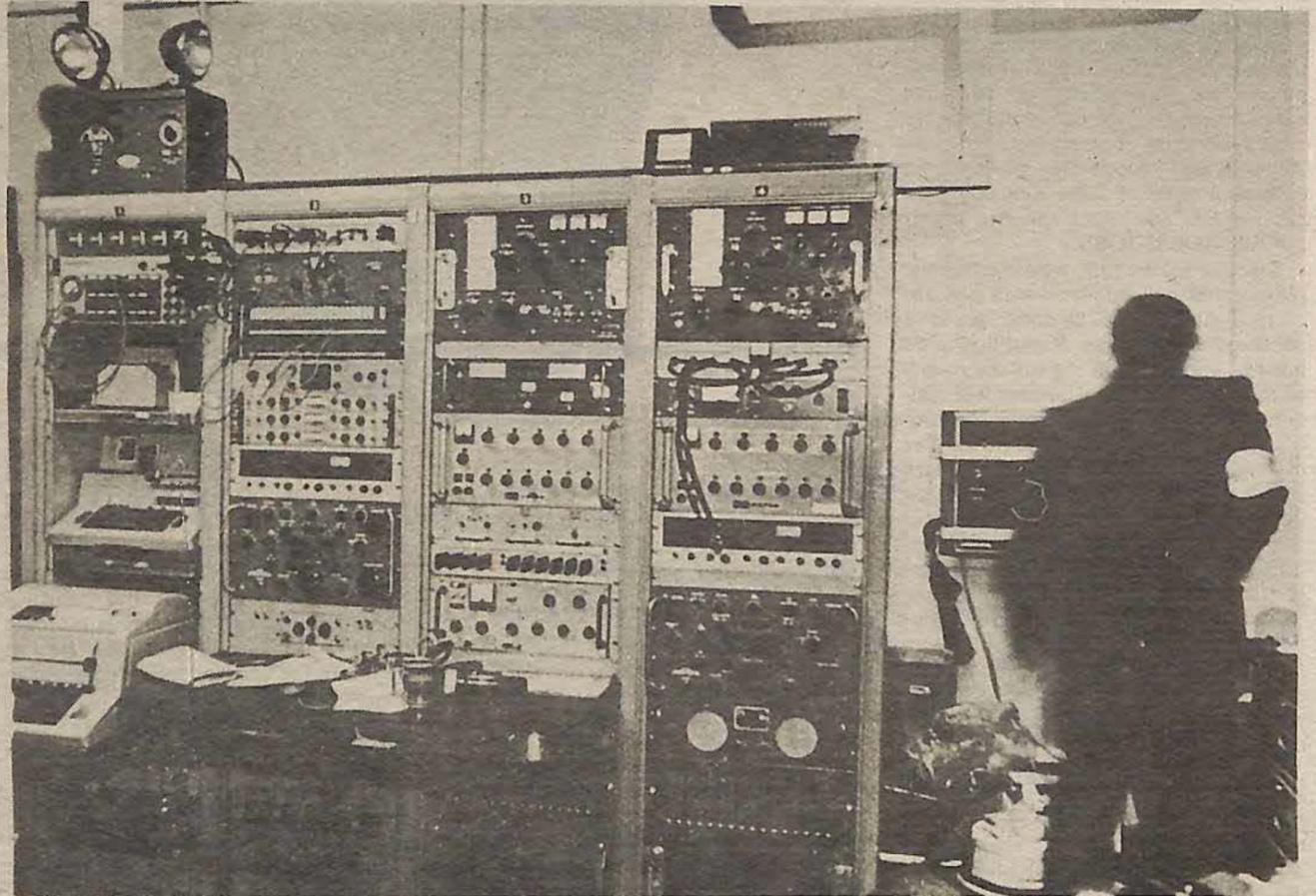
On that day Moslem students dressed in jeans and tennis shoes had overrun the outpost of the almighty U.S. empire—their sacred territory! And to make matters worse they were now sitting right on Uncle Sam's walls and milling around inside his compound telling jokes about him and writing things on walls in huge letters like "U.S. Cannot Do Anything!"

As soon as we arrived in Tehran we



Top: Massive demonstrations of support fill the streets outside embassy compound on the second day of the takeover.

Bottom: A part of the sophisticated computers and communications equipment within the U.S. embassy used for processing and sending out information gathered from spying on neighboring countries—as well as for carrying messages between top ranking embassy personnel and the State Department, Pentagon and National Security Council in Washington, D.C.



gave our greetings to the Moslem students holding the embassy. We realized that the students—who describe themselves as "followers of the line of the Imam"—uphold Islamic ideology and are opposed to Marxism. However, many of their political positions are anti-imperialist and their actions, particularly seizing the U.S. embassy, have dealt concrete blows to U.S. imperialism. We expressed our feelings about their action, and tried to set up a meeting with them. It took some doing. The Tabas attack had recently come down, so naturally the students were busy summing it up and trying to prepare for another one. There had been many groups that tried to take advantage of their openness. Even the Red Cross gave the U.S. government information that was used in planning their raid.

But gradually we got to know some of the Moslem students at the embassy and the university, and they learned about our position. One day we set up an appointment. The next day we were back right on time, and at the appointed hour, the gates swung open: we

were inside of history, in the eye of an international hurricane.

Because of the students' security precautions, we didn't get to walk around much inside, but we saw enough to get one impression. The students were definitely not in awe of this imperialist shrine: they had tents on the lawn and had put up posters and banners in different buildings, and in general just made themselves at home. I couldn't help but remember taking over campus buildings in the '60s and that sweet feeling of being able to walk all over everything the bourgeoisie tried to hold over your head as being so holy and impenetrable.

We exchanged greetings and introduced ourselves. The student we had the opportunity to interview was open and friendly. "Most don't believe we are human beings until they meet us," he said. He explained the history of domination of Iran by U.S. imperialism and the oppressive nature of the Shah's regime, as well as the development of the Islamic movement in the 1960s and '70s. Then we got into the struggle to take the U.S. embassy last November.

When the Shah was brought to the U.S., there was widespread feeling in Iran that some type of coup attempt was underway. "We felt that in order to bring the Shah back to Iran the U.S. imperialists needed international acceptance of him. Bringing him to the U.S. was the way to do that. Their propaganda machine would have been started and they would have made the Shah look good."

"When we decided to take the embassy, we were sure that the U.S. would resist, and we were prepared to be shot (the same risk they had taken many times during the revolution). We planned to stay for three days to see if Imam Khomeini and the people accepted our action." But millions everywhere in Iran did rise to support the takeover and the battle against the continuing U.S. intrigue against their revolution.

What the Iranian people had only guessed was revealed 10 times over when the students captured the embassy and began exploring the compound. "The imperialists used Iran to get data on all the surrounding countries; in nor-

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GOP Convention

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economy directly tied to restoring America's position in the world. As Gerald Ford put it in his much publicized opening night speech, "They tell us it's just a harsh fact of today's economy that workers must give up their jobs. They tell us it's an inescapable price of this inflationary age that America's elderly must give up their savings. They tell us that America's young people must give up the dream of owning their own home. They tell us it's just a sign of the times that American industry must give up hope for growth and prosperity. They tell us America's farmers must give up all trade with the Soviet Union—and the Olympic team must give up their golden dreams. How much better it would have been to have had the intelligence and foresight to maintain our military strength to deter our adversaries before Afghanistan, rather than to penalize our own people after Afghanistan."

Republican/JFK Economics

It is precisely the political necessity dictated by the approaching war that has led to the seeming contradiction of the Republicans adopting a virtual Democratic Party economic program. Whose hallowed name did Reagan conspicuously drop during his speech? None other than Franklin D. Roosevelt, that liberal New Dealer who, coincidentally, was president during World War 2 and who developed the art of combining rabid warmongering and huge military spending with domestic demagoguery to whole new levels. In fact, the massive tax cut proposal (to companies and individuals) to stimulate capital formation and economic growth, which is the centerpiece of the Republicans' economic program—a supposed rerun of John Kennedy's tax cut in the '60s. And the big cry is "JOBS! JOBS! JOBS!"

Like the Democrats, whose economic plan is strikingly similar—with perhaps even a dash more rhetoric about a balanced budget, the Republicans do not really expect that the tax cut or any of their plans for the economy will really have any significant effect. The contradictions within it are obvious. The call is for greatly increased military spending (which, of course, is already in the works). Where will the money for this come from when a tax cut is instituted? Money will come directly from the social services part of the federal budget and by the highly inflationary practice of printing up more money to finance the new demands. In either case the situation for the masses of people will grow worse as the already deepening recession grows still deeper.

The success of the tax cut during the Kennedy years was not in fact the reason the economy recovered from a downturn. Previous recoveries were based on the international position of the U.S. and its ability to make other countries bear the bulk of the burden of its crises. In the current situation, with a \$30 billion trade deficit and driven from markets worldwide by competition and revolution, no amount of tax incentive, stimulated savings, and fanciful capital formation schemes can induce new production for which there are no markets. And that situation is a function of the U.S.'s international position today.

The bourgeoisie as a whole is being inexorably propelled toward war and, as can be seen from the virtual identity in essence between the Democratic and Republican programs, it makes precious little difference which walking mouthpiece occupies the White House. Reagan is not the war candidate nor is Carter the sober head. Whichever candidate is elected will carry out those policies and decisions of war and peace forced upon him by the rapidly developing situation. For the masses, the elections represent the same con game they have always represented. And the present crisis, resulting from the end of a whole cycle of imperialist development coming off the last inter-

imperialist war, World War 2, is driven by laws independent of man's will and will find its resolution only in world war, revolution, and possibly both.

Reagan—No Worse, No Better

Those who stubbornly cling to the view of "Reagan as fascist menace" vs. the "more moderate" Carter, Kennedy, or Anderson can only wallow in and spread a very poisonous muck. The absurdity of such a position will become amply clear to many as election 1980 unfolds. While the bourgeoisie as a whole has not united around either Carter or Reagan, Reagan is very much in the running. He is by no means a "throw-away" candidate like Goldwater in '64, used to unite the country behind Lyndon Johnson when direct military intervention in Vietnam was found to be unavoidable. Precisely to make Reagan a generally acceptable candidate, a candidate who can unite the nation in its hour of crisis, a program to moderate the Reagan image is in full swing. And while there may be some snags along the way (after all, a man of Reagan's calibre famous for his role in such unforgettable classics as "Bedtime for Bonzo" and "The Knute Rockne Story," is bound to present certain problems for the image makers), sophisticated and powerful members of the ruling class have taken Ronnie under their wing.

Reagan's behavior at the convention and his acceptance speech in particular were very cautious, designed to present a moderate and reasonable tone. Many of his more openly right-wing stands were noticeably softened and downplayed. He made it a point to speak about equal rights for all—Blacks, workers, women, and youth. As to the anti-ERA plank in the

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platform (a big beef with important sections of the more moderate Republicans and others), he has been careful to reiterate support for the "equality of women" and state that he "favors congressional legislation for equal rights for women, as opposed to a constitutional amendment." While maintaining his position against abortion, he has kept it in the background. He has taken steps to get the blue collar vote with such moves as meeting with 19 carefully selected unemployed workers in Detroit.

As far as his trigger-happy image in terms of foreign policy, this, too, is being consciously toned down as he surrounds himself with well known foreign policy advisers who have played important parts in previous administrations. An important point in relation to this is that the grooming of such a moderate image is essential for any president who has to make it appear that all U.S. war moves are the result of exhausting every over avenue for peace with the Soviet Union. The actual outbreak of war must be made to appear as the fault of the intransigence of the enemy in opposition to the peaceful intentions of the U.S. This is why Reagan's "moderation" is in fact yet another part of war preparations, and why the more "long-term moderate" Democrats are just as likely to launch a war.

This is not to say that there are no tactical differences in the bourgeoisie around the question of world war in particular. There are definitely many, but there are several points here. The differences are purely tactical in the first place. The distance between the various views is narrowing as the real necessity of the bourgeoisie stands out more and more sharply propelled by world developments. And finally, these views do not by any means break down along strictly party lines. Carter is

basically continuing the foreign policy that Gerald Ford had while he was president and Henry Kissinger (at that time a strong advocate of detente, for which many conservative Republicans still hate him with a passion) was Secretary of State. Now these same forces are attacking Carter, who is in fact promoting a position that differs little if at all from theirs: increasing the military budget, instituting the draft (which Reagan opposes, preferring instead to declare war first before instituting conscription), formulating the "Carter Doctrine" and planning the aborted raid on Iran, and stepping up the general war rhetoric.

Some of the tactical differences and maneuvering around the question of war have recently come to light. One sharp point of contention which has bubbled up around the fight in Congress over financial aid to the Sandinista government in Nicaragua (supported by Carter) is how much to rely on bribery, corruption and the cultivation of pro-U.S. reformists versus outright reliance on military intervention. Speaking to the Foreign Policy Association in New York on July 7, Secretary of State Ed Muskie condemned Republican attempts to block foreign aid appropriations: "Our support for liberty in the world, our defense of American and Western interests, cannot be mounted with military weapons. The battle for American influence in the world requires more than rockets, certainly more than rhetoric. It requires the resources that make our diplomacy effective."

While the Reagan camp points to military losses in Angola, Nicaragua and Granada, the administration points to U.S. diplomatic coups in Egypt, Somalia, and most recently in Zim-

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CORRECT!
(NO CAPITAL SHORTAGE NONSENSE)

ON SAVIORS & HORSE RACES

And Other Items From The Capitalist Election Trick Bag



In 1976, during the last Presidential election campaign, Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, made a speaking tour of a number of major cities where he spoke on this question. Since the same old shell game is now starting up again—only this time while the stakes in the class struggle are even higher as the moves toward world war step up—it's important to look at the past to learn something about these old re-run tricks. Edited excerpts from the final part of the speech given in Los Angeles on election eve, are printed below. (The first part was printed last week.)

The *Mine Workers Journal*, put out by the officials of the mine workers union said, "Jimmy Carter's going to be the best hope for working people." Well, we've got news for them and for the whole class that they flunked for—the best hope and the *only* hope for working people is working people themselves. Because look at this Jimmy Carter a little deeper, not only is he supposed to be the savior of the working people in general, but for the poor, the Blacks and minorities in particular. When Jimmy Carter ran for governor in Georgia in 1970, during the campaign he threw his arm around Lester "Axehandle" Maddox and said they had the same ends and were in unity with each other. Then he turned around after getting elected and said the time for segregation and racism to come to an end is here; it's time for this to be over in the South. Now what happened during the time he was governor, in the city of Atlanta alone during a period of 18 months, more than 20 people, most of them Black, and a few white, were shot down and murdered by the police. And this was fought. Thousands of people demonstrated. Thousands more supported them. And some people said, well Jimmy Carter says it's time for all of this to come to an end. Let's go down and talk to him, we voted for him, we put him in, he's got to be responsive to us because he needed our votes to get in.

So a delegation went down to talk to him and what did he say? He said what they always say: the police chief and the cops in Atlanta are just good hard-working cops trying to do a job and keep the city safe and I support them, he said. And we should have expected no less and no more. And interestingly enough we had this little incident here lately, in the last couple of days, where Jimmy Carter's own church, which has

remained segregated despite his supposed vote against it, turned away some Black people from the door. And of course on the other hand the Carter people are claiming that the guy that came there was set up by the Republicans, and we can probably say that this is one of those cases where everything they say about each other is true. Because this is the general nature of it, one of the good things about them having elections is it lets some of the dirt come to the surface. And if we can learn, understand and analyze it correctly we can use it to expose them and build for revolution.

Roosevelt

Let's go further back, how about Roosevelt? Roosevelt ran on a platform very similar to what Jimmy Carter's running on today. Not too much talk about the issues, just a general claim that he would bring people together and heal the wounds. All we have to fear, he said, is fear itself. Which translated into all the bourgeoisie had to fear was the rising struggle of the working class itself. "Stop all that struggle. Get out of the streets. And fall in line behind me." Because by the time he ran for president in 1932, there had already been, on one day in cities across this country, demonstrations of the unemployed demanding relief involving more than one million people. And other people fighting for social security and other things that they now claim they gave to us out of the goodness of their hearts and that Roosevelt brought to us and presented to us as a gift.

When Roosevelt ran almost a quarter of the people were out of work and it was the depths of the Depression, and so he ran on the slogan that he was going to "run the money changers out of the temple." See, even the religious overtones of "the savior" were there then. He was going to run the money changers out of the temple. What was he going to say? "I'm going to help the money changers get more money"? Of course he had to stand up and say what he did because people were rising up and angry. Millions of them. But what did he do as soon as he took office with his National Industrial Recovery Act, and all his alphabet soup proposals? All he did was cut the minimum wage, cut the wage down further starting with youth and then going to everybody, introduced bills that helped the big banks even at the expense of the smaller banks, helped the big businesses even at the expense of the smaller businesses, helped the big farms even at the expense of the small farms, to say nothing of the working class and the masses of people who were oppressed and ground down even further by this so-called great savior.

And Roosevelt said then, and later in fact carried it out, that he wouldn't hesitate to use federal troops and the forces of government to beat back the growing workers' struggle to win unions in basic industry, when he first came into office he threatened to do it and later on after the upsurge of the working class had receded from the high tide of the mid-'30s, and with the war approaching, he did in fact send troops into California, to an aviation plant to force thousands of workers back onto their jobs at machine gun point when they were striking. But when the struggle rose to its high tide of unionization in the mid-'30s, Roosevelt had to do a turn around. All of a sudden he had to say, "I want you to unionize." And we have to sum up some of the experiences of our own class and its leaders because the Communist Party, which is still around but is not the party of the working class and has totally betrayed us, to a large degree it helped Roosevelt in that. It put out handbills, along with other people saying, "Join the Union, President Roosevelt wants you to do it," and other such things.

This thing that Roosevelt did is something that they've always tried to do and that they've tried to build on since then. Ever since then, they try to tell us that the Democratic Party is the party that represents the little man, the common man, even the working man, the poor people, the Black people and so on and on and on. That's a new thing that they've come up with since Roosevelt. Because certain concessions had to be granted and in fact Roosevelt's program did not solve the basic problems and in 1940 there were still 13 million people out of work, and 13 million people was, in terms of the population then, equal to about 20 million or more today. But they were able to come up with this image of Roosevelt as a savior and since then

they've tried to present the Democratic Party in that light, and we have to learn something from this. Because every time that we rise up and win something from them, not only do they prepare, if they have to give in a little bit, to take even more back, but even more they pay their attention to trying to take away our understanding of how we won that, of our strength, of the potential that we begin to see in each struggle when we get united of what we can accomplish if we carried the overall struggle through and got rid of them altogether, and of what a hell of a good society it could be if we swept them and their system away once and for all. That's especially what they can't stand for us to win and learn to build on.

John Kennedy

So they try to play this image of the Democratic Party—then along came John Kennedy. Another one in this great tradition of saviors. "John Kennedy, he gave the Black people their rights." This is what we're told, as well as doing good things for working people generally. John Kennedy, when he ran for president in 1960, had to resign from all these exclusive all-white clubs, millionaire's clubs, that he belonged to. All these things where he had to sign a statement saying I'm a member of the Caucasian race, all of a sudden John F. Kennedy and the rest of his millionaire family resigned from them. Why? They suddenly discovered it wasn't a very good thing? Not right? Not just? No. Because beginning with the Montgomery bus boycott spreading throughout the South to the North, involving millions of Black people in one form or another, and millions of other people of different nationalities in supporting and engaging in it, the struggle against discrimination and against lynching, and oppression of Black people and other minorities had grown so powerful that nobody could get up and run for president and especially not pose as the savior of the common people and at the same time have it on the record that he belonged to exclusive, all-white millionaire's clubs. So all of a sudden John Kennedy "saw the light"—and a lot of people have not summed this up and do not have an understanding of this yet.

We have to get clear on this, John Kennedy is presented as our savior, even the fact that he was cut down and killed is put forward in a way to say that John Kennedy was killed because he tried to do a few good things for the poor people. And that's not why he was killed. You've got to understand that we're dealing with a pack of thieves, and thieves fall out and they're cutthroats. Not only do they try to stomp on us but they even try to cut each other's throats. And they're always going at it and they're going at it openly now. One of them's exposing the other one's prostitution, and the other one's pilfering of funds, and so on and so forth. But they were going at it back then too. Kennedy got cut down because sections of the class who rule this country were angry about what he was doing and they got their own forces to go out and cut him down, and then they try to turn that into an ideological attack and say, "See, here's one of your own that we cut down because he tried to do something good for you. So honor his memory and follow in his footsteps, and bow down before the next one like him we send along." But what did Kennedy ever really do? When he was killed, like I said, it wasn't any different than the St. Valentine's Day Massacre. Just because Bugs Moran's boys got killed, do we say that they were our great saviors? Al Capone was a bad guy but was Bugs Moran really, after all, our friend? And of course compared to these people we're dealing with here today, Bugs Moran and Al Capone are penny ante.

But nevertheless, what did John Kennedy do? It wasn't even under him that the Civil Rights bills got passed. It was under Lynching Baines Johnson, and why do I call him that? Because 7 years earlier than that, in 1957, when he was a leading member of the Democratic Party and the Senate he led the fight to defeat a bill against lynching. And yet 7 years later he got on TV, smiled and said, "We Shall Overcome" and signed the Civil Rights Bill. Why? Because suddenly the skies parted, the light came down, and he was saved? No. Because the struggle grew so powerful that the people that ran this country and their chief executive, Johnson, didn't dare not sign that bill. For

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Den of Spies

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thern Iran their stations spied on the Russians; in the west on Iraq; and in the South their stations like Behar, Illam, and Kabal were used to watch the Persian Gulf. The data was sent to their computers at the embassy and then to the U.S. They had big warehouses in the embassy filled with these computers." (The ones Sgt. Joseph Subic showed on TV in April.)

The data was funneled through the communications equipment inside the U.S. embassy. "One room inside the embassy—the communications room—was tied directly into their satellites, and had a direct phone to the U.S. There was huge communications equipment. Inside this communications room there is a big vault some ten meters long—the code room. This is where the CIA section was; everyone here was CIA, and it was the most sensitive part of the whole operation. It centered around their spying on Russia."

The more the students explored, the more it became clear that this was no innocent diplomatic sanctuary. "They had CIA documents here showing how to approach someone in order to recruit them as spies—you need an ideology to be a spy, a logical view of why you are doing it, and this is what these documents talked about. Another showed how to train agents; they explained secret writing, secret codes, how to contact someone by phone and make sure it wasn't tapped, and different ways of contacting the agents in the streets. Some examples of this were passing notes in the street or dropping a note somewhere to get picked up later. Everyone had a code name: 'SD' meant those who were working in Iran. These letters would be followed by a number telling which agent was which. SD Eagle (an appropriate symbol—RW) was head of the international section of SAVAK, and the CIA helped get him out of Iran after the revolution. The defense attachés here were also in contact with all the Iranian generals. The CIA people we know here are Malcolm Kalp, Tom Herrin, and William Daugherty and possibly others; the defense attachés were Col. Shaeffer, Sgt. Subic, and others."

In addition to the documents that the students revealed which show that the U.S. had been planning to bring the Shah into the country as early as June, and that they had expected the Bazargan government to be consolidated and subject to pressure as early as December, there were others that revealed active attempts to build up counter-revolutionary forces within the country. "Mr. Tompset met with Forghan (a counter-revolutionary terrorist organization—RW), and Forghan assassinated Ayatollah Motahari, one of the great Islamic scholars (Forghan also assassinated a number of other Islamic leaders). This needs to go to court," a student told us. "Amir Entezam (a deputy prime minister in 1979—RW) was also an agent of the CIA; he helped the embassy get spy equipment out of Iran after the revolution. Of course he is in jail now. We called him back to Iran for 'a briefing,' without his or Ghotzbadah's (the current foreign minister—RW) knowing what was up."

In an attempt to undermine the Iranian economy, "the U.S. brought money inside Iran; Iranian money, German marks, and fake dollars—a whole truckload of it! The embassy knew about this—so why didn't they inform the government and police of Iran? We also found dollars and rials in the CIA section, that were being used in Iran." Despite all the imperialists' talk of concern for the hostages, we were told that "the U.S. doesn't want these embassy people to talk to the American people about these things. One hostage told us that 'when we go back the whole thing starts there.'" He also noted how those released have been effectively silenced in the U.S.

After taking the embassy, "we knew that in the U.S. people from all different branches of the military were preparing a plan of attack, and the National Security Council would choose the

best one. The 40,000 U.S. military advisors knew Iran better than anyone; we found a map showing every house in Tehran, and even how many steps each one has."

We were told by this student that much more had been planned during the Tabas attack than had been released so far. He felt that there had been some 700-800 personnel involved in the attack and that it was tied into plans to bomb Khomeini's house and the radio and television station; to interfere with traffic control and to tamper with Tehran's water system.

He also felt there must have been collaboration from within the Iranian armed forces because key air force personnel were given leave shortly before the attack and all of Tehran's anti-aircraft defenses had been pulled out of the city several days earlier. "How could they (the U.S. military) have come and left several times with no one knowing?" he asked. "And how many came and left this warehouse close to Tehran?"

(It is interesting to note here in regard to the hub-bub about Richard Queen's health, that the students told us that they thought one reason for the Tabas attack was to provoke them into mistreating the hostages. After moving them from the U.S. embassy, they noted that they had in fact upgraded their accommodations.)

In terms of the resolution of the embassy seizure, the student put it in the following way: "We can say nothing but what Khomeini says, that it must be resolved by Parliament." At the same time he felt Parliament would have a hard time letting the hostages go given the anti-imperialist sentiments of the Iranian masses. Other students told us they felt that trials for the spies were in order.

During the interview he made clear his distinction between the American government and the American people, a position the U.S. news media hasn't seen "fit to print."

The students were very aware that the struggle with the U.S. was far from over. "We knew they were working on plans before, and we know they are working on them now. The U.S. imperialists haven't been changed by defeat."

For more than eight months, the whole embassy situation has been at the center of an international storm, both in terms of the U.S. imperialists' world strategy and the internal struggle within Iran. But the hostages themselves were never the U.S. imperialists' main con-

cern. Their goal has always been to suppress the Iranian revolution, and to reassert their control over this important base in the Middle East in order to tighten their war bloc and to prepare for war against the Soviet Union.

Since the Tabas fiasco the tactics that the U.S. has employed have changed. The hostage question, while still an embarrassment to them internationally, and still a source of chauvinist propaganda, is not at the center of their overall strategy to attack the Iranian revolution. Instead they are emphasizing a number of *covert* tactics. The arming and organizing of forces within the Iranian military and exile community; the continued attempts to try and destabilize Iran through economic pressure caused by the blockade as well as the recent series of military coup attempts; and of course continuing to explore contacts within the Iranian government who would be most likely to capitulate to them. Their plan at this point seems to be to try to destabilize Iran and create passivity and demoralization among the people to the point that they feel that they could unleash a successful military coup.

This has all been done under the name of low-key diplomatic efforts to free the hostages, with people like Ramsey Clark as point man. But imperialist diplomacy is directly related to imperialist military aggression and in many ways is paving the way for another escalation of attacks upon Iran, which at this point seems to be directed at unleashing reactionary forces within Iran rather than openly employing U.S. forces, although this could change.

In the face of this mounting pressure from the U.S., all the contradictions within Iran are sharpening. In all of this the role played by the Islamic government and the national bourgeoisie is not one of fundamentally uprooting imperialist influence, but instead in many ways giving them more freedom to meddle with Iran.

The line of the national bourgeoisie—which presently dominates the government and is represented by people like Ghotzbadah and Bani-Sadr—is basically to capitulate to U.S. imperialism. They want to settle this hostage question to try to cool out the mass struggle and get on with rebuilding the country. But this leaves unanswered how to rebuild the country without ripping up those very relations of imperialist dependency that have choked the country up until now.

At the same time, the petty-bourgeois forces represented by Ayatollah Kho-

meini, while lashing out at some of the manifestations of imperialism, are fundamentally unable to deal with them either. Lately there have been some telling examples. Inflation has been raging, so their solution has been to attack individual merchants who have been raising their prices. It is widely known that in the government there are many leftovers from the Shah's rule, so a campaign has begun to purge or "Islamicize" them. And the Moslem Students Following Imam's line at the U.S. embassy, while maintaining a firm stand against U.S. imperialism, have played a reactionary role in a number of other areas—such as their strident attacks against the Iranian Left, their support for the Islamic "Cultural Revolution" at the universities and so on.

All this reveals the fundamental weakness of this force. The real social and property relations left over from the Shah's regime that are responsible for the deep economic crisis and the threat of a pro-imperialist military coup are not really touched by these purges—which have been aimed at the Left and progressive forces as well. The petty bourgeoisie as a class is incapable of fully mobilizing the masses and leading them to transform all of society. Closely related to this is the fact that Islamic ideology is not scientific and therefore cannot be a guide to revolutionize Iran. This is true despite the fact that millions of people in Iran who are believers in Islam have played a revolutionary role in the political struggle and that in some cases organized Islamic forces have programmatic unity with the revolutionary Left in the struggle against imperialism in Iran. (We had many debates with Moslem students on the question of Islam but I will have to go more deeply into these questions at a later date; it is a complex question and cannot be dealt with in short order here. Briefly, I would say that Islam has become a vehicle for the expression of the urban petty bourgeoisie, although there are many feudal hangovers that infect this ideology. In any case, it is not an ideology that represents the proletariat.)

Perhaps the most revealing example of how all this is playing itself out is in the rash of military coup attempts. In the most recent incident, the counter-revolutionaries jumped out into the open as 700 ex-SAVAK agents calling the name of the Shah demonstrated in Tehran. The Iranian government has arrested 600 people and closed all the borders. The U.S. is desperate and

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America in Decline



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Den of Spies

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serious about re-establishing its rule (and it shouldn't be thought that the U.S. has shot its best shot in the Iranian army yet.) But what has been the government's response? Yes, they arrested a number of officers, and executed some. Some agents of the bourgeoisie have been exposed. But has there been a fundamental restructuring of the army? No there has not and there will not be one. And at the same time the government has used this opportunity to attack the Left and the Kurds, by implying that both were involved in

these counter-revolutionary coup attempts.

Despite the fact that the religious leadership still has a hold on the masses and the trends and struggle among the revolutionary forces is complex, the masses continue to play a decisive role in this struggle. Workers and peasants across Iran have pushed forward their struggle to completely uproot imperialism and feudalism; there has been resistance among doctors and women to some of the reactionary Islamic decrees; and the Kurdish people are steadily gaining ground. In addition to this, millions of Iranians continue to wage heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism's counter-revolutionary coup attempts as well as any attempt to capitulate on the hostage question. This is why in fact the govern-

ment and the parliament have been unable to quickly settle this issue as they would have liked to. In short, things are

developing rapidly within Iran but they're still up for grabs. □



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"The UN 2 Spoke For Us..."

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Judge Ward:

We, the undersigned inmates at the Cincinnati Workhouse feel that it is an outrage to put these young men, the UN 2, in jail for so long for the righteous thing they did. This may be the first time this happened but it most certainly won't be the last.

You, judge, stand for a dying system that is preparing to launch another world war that will kill millions of innocent people. In your desperation you hope that the bloody sentence you hand down will intimidate those of us who are becoming conscious of our place in society and where our interests lie. The UN 2 spoke for us, the slaves against your class of murdering imperialists here and in Russia. In view of the upcoming world war, let it be said now we will have nothing to do with it. We will make other plans including the destruction of the system that drives workers of all lands to kill each other for your riches.

If you dare come down on the UN 2 you will only expose yourself and your criminal plans to millions more bringing about your downfall that much sooner.

FREE THE UN 2!

30 inmates at the Cincinnati Workhouse

As we enter a decade of intensified struggle between oppressed and oppressors, it is vital for all revolutionaries to strive for solidarity that is the key to dismantling their war machine and creating a world that belongs to the people.

As a Vietnam vet, I am aware of the magnitude of U.S. war preparations. As a veteran of the May 24 action at Seabrook station, I am aware of the extreme tactics that are being used to protect them. Wherever people rise up to oppose the death machine, its destructive power will be turned against them. At Seabrook, hundreds raised their voices and bolt cutters to short-circuit an energy source that the ruling class needs to fuel its nuclear conquest of the world. The response was mace, clubs, false arrests, high bail, and heavy charges. Suspected "leaders" received special attention—movement organizer Shirley Story was cut down in a mysterious hit-and-run accident; CDAS (Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook) member Brian Foigenbaum was indicted by the Grand Jury to stand trial for a felony assault which he did not commit; I was arrested and charged with a felony assault which never even occurred. By taking a strong stand against their divide-and-conquer tactics and organizing movement-building support actions, we forced them to back down and drop their charges against us. The struggle will continue around Brian's case.

At the UN in April, Glenn Gan and Steven Yip took a stand against the envoys of the international war gamers. Their active resistance is drawing heavy fire from the government and judicial forces which protect the interests of the rich and powerful. They are two more scapegoats absorbing the rage of a threatened superpower.

It is our collective responsibility to act against the illegitimate power and malignant policies of those who would control our world. It is also our collective responsibility to support each other in that struggle, wherever it is waged.

In Solidarity,
Tom Ryan,

Member of Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook

Free the UN 2!

From 436 at the Rainbow Gathering in West Virginia

Judge Ward
U.S. Federal Court
40 Center Street
Foley Square, Times Square
New York City

656 Kingsley Avenue
Palo Alto, CA 94301
July 11, 1980

Dear Judge Ward:

BY SPECIAL DELIVERY

I am proud to be a member of several peace organizations here in the Bay Area in California. I am active in the peace education committee of my church, First United Methodist. I serve gladly on the Commission on Missions in the church and served a three-year term as a member of the Commission on Social Concerns. In August 1978 I was arrested for trespassing at the Diablo Canyon nuclear reactor site, and spent a night in jail.

I am appalled to read about the Nazi-style "trial" of two brave young Americans, Steven Yip and Glenn Gan, the UN 2. I should like to say that I agree heartily with the opinions expressed in a recent letter protesting the abominable conviction of these two young men by your court. This letter was written by a priest who is in the peace movement on the East coast—the Reverend John T. Egan from Jersey City. I join my appeal with that so eloquently written by this militant and devoted priest: Spare the UN 2, do not jail them. You make martyrs of these two young idealists at your peril.

As a peace activist, I am increasingly alarmed by the drift toward political reaction and repression in this country—the so-called "land of the free and the home of the brave." If S1722 becomes law, I, as well as a lot of my friends, shall appear in courts like yours all over the nation. And for what actions, what crimes shall we be punished? For working for peace, for raising the alarm about World War III just as the UN 2 have so courageously done, for warning the public of the dangers of nuclear power, for helping civilized and gentle young men to avoid the draft.

Join us, Judge Ward, in our struggle to bring about a better society in a world at peace. Your death, also, is involved in the current war preparations—and the deaths of your children. Let us all join together and reconfirm our common humanity, our common interest in survival and in the continued natural evolution of all life forms on this unhappy but very beautiful planet.

I wish you a peaceful day, Judge Ward, and request in all sincerity that you reconsider your verdict. Drop the charges against the UN 2; release and set at liberty these two undaunted, loyal and decent human beings—our brothers in the fight for peace, Steven Yip and Glenn Gan, the UN 2!!!!

God be with you.

Pax

Mrs. Constance E. Kuruppu

We strongly condemn the kangaroo court ruling and the conviction of the United Nations 2 and demand that the outrageous conviction be overturned immediately.

Iranian Students Association of Chicago

July 16, 1980

Glenn Gan and Steve Yip are about to be sentenced in New York City for entering one of the the important meeting places of big shots (the United Nations) and throwing red paint on the U.S. and USSR ambassadors. I say this was a great humanitarian act. These two diplomats represent the two world elite nations which are heading toward world war (that is, if we don't stop them). These ambassadors will sleep in comfort while Glenn Gan and Steve Yip will probably sleep in jail. I ask, who's really dangerous—those who prepare for mass destruction or those who hurl paint in protest of such destruction?

John C. McIntosh,
Anarchist
Morgantown, W. Virginia

The capitalist state has taken it upon themselves to viciously prosecute Glenn Gan and Steven Yip. The crime, as charged, is throwing paint on 2 pig diplomats: one an American, the other a Russian—neither a legitimate representative of the people. As a Vietnam veteran, I find it reprehensible that splashing napalm on the Vietnamese people from airplanes is cause for accolation, while splashing paint on diplomats who assist the process of war preparation draws the most profound condemnation. As a law student, I am disturbed and delighted; disturbed that the judicial system, ostensibly committed to justice, instead commits itself to a most ugly cover-up and attack on revolutionaries. However, I am delighted that the class nature of the system is again exposed because I hope it will incite hatred of the system. Accordingly, progressive peoples must join in demanding that the state drop the charges.

Carter Dodge,
Law student and member of the National Lawyers Guild

I am extremely concerned about the sentencing of Steven Yip and Glenn Gan. This country purports to allow freedom of political speech and thought yet those who openly express disagreement with its system are arrested and subject to extreme charges and excessive punishment. I fear the country is returning to the early '60s and '70s when any voice against the Vietnam war and the draft were immediately stifled.

The ideas of men such as Mr. Yip and Mr. Gan should be discussed in open discussion, not crushed below a hammer of the law.

Please consider our guarantee of freedom of expression and political thought and drop the charges against the "UN 2".

Karen Radius
Attorney in Hawaii

We are four of the Hawaiian sisters who, along with our brothers, stood up against the U.S. warmongers in the struggle to stop the bombing of Kahoolawe, which is used by the military as a target island in their war preparations. We proudly raise our fist to salute our brothers Glenn Gan and Steven Yip for their actions at the U.N. These fighters for the oppressed and exploited peoples all over the world did the working class proud when they boldly and dramatically exposed U.S. and Soviet war moves towards war.

Just as their stand struck cold fear in the hearts of both superpowers, the defiance of Hawaiians invading Kahoolawe struck a raw nerve in the U.S. military's war machine, causing the U.S. imperialists to tremble with fear at the vision of thousands of more Hawaiians rebelling against their oppression, breaking-the myths of Hawaii being the paradise of the Pacific, and threatening their plans to maintain Hawaii as a stable military outpost.

We hate what the U.S. government and their military aid did to the Hawaiian people. The early capitalists—the sugar and pine planters, the merchants and bankers, the sons of missionaries, those whole pack of thieves conspired to overthrow the Hawaiian Queen (the Hawaiian government) and had the bloody nerve to call themselves revolutionaries. Those Hawaiians and others who defended the Queen were the counter-revolutionaries. What a distortion of reality, but isn't this exactly what the oppressor always does? Seeking to confuse people about what really went down before, and what's coming down now in order to prepare us to obediently serve them in the future. Well it's a different card game now; because we hold the aces.

We refuse to be corralled into your slave pens only to be fattened up and led to the slaughterhouse of World War 3.

We condemn the court's conviction of these 2 revolutionaries whose only crime was catching the real conspirators in the act of planning and scheming for the mass murder of millions throughout the world and exposing this truth to all of us. We know the U.S. government is desperately afraid of examples like these 2, who inspired the rest of us to stand up against this kind of repression and suppression of the truth, with all the more conviction and strength. We demand the freedom of the 2.

Haaheo Kalama and Kitty Bartel and 2 others (from Hawaii)

Once again in a sensitive period, in a time that the U.S. bloodsucking bourgeoisie and the U.S.S.R.'s evil ruling class are preparing for World War 3, the revolutionary forces who have sprung from the masses exposed the bloody hands of these bloodsuckers. The trial of these 2 sons of the oppressed peoples clearly shows that so-called democracy of the bourgeoisie only serves this bloody class. And their laws are nothing more than chains to prevent the masses from uprising. So we chant here in the United States along with the masses of oppressed people all over the world, "Down With U.S.-Soviet War Moves! Free the UN 2!"

Some Iranian students in Huntington, W. Virginia

To Comrades Glenn Gan and Steven Yip,

Your timely and vivid exposure of U.S. and Soviet war moves and the bright possibilities for revolution that lie ahead brought joy to the hearts of millions around the world. We condemn the charge of conspiracy and assault brought against you by the U.S. ruling class, those filthy hypocrites who themselves are conspiring to incinerate millions in their upcoming global war with the Soviet Union for domination of the world's people and its resources. We, the Arizona Memorial 3, who exposed the imperialists' set-up and sacrifice of thousands in Pearl Harbor during World War 2, stand in firm solidarity with you in proudly upholding the red flag of revolution. Defend the UN 2. Down with U.S.-Soviet war moves. Our flag is red, not red, white and blue.

The Arizona Memorial 3 in Hawaii

FREE THE UN 2!

Statement of Support for UN 2

On June 25th, Glenn Gan and Steven Yip, the UN 2, were convicted of two felony charges—assault and conspiracy—for the political act of dumping red paint on the U.N., U.S. Deputy Ambassador William vanden Heuvel and Soviet representative Oleg Troyanovski April 30th. Today, July 15th, the UN 2 are being sentenced. They face a possible eight years in federal prison and \$15,000 fine each. The action at the United Nations was not an isolated, terrorist act, but a political statement indicting the U.S. and the Soviet Union alike as imperialist powers heading for world war and that the red flag belongs, not to the U.S.S.R., but to the people of the world struggling against the superpowers.

The government's intentions in the case of the U.N. 2 are clear as shown time and time again by the actions of Judge

Ward in court. For example, he stated, "We've got enough problems in the world today, if I may say so, in Iran and Afghanistan; we have got enough problems with the Soviet Union. . . . But the cause, unfortunately, has to be dealt with in the context of where we are in the world." Press accounts of the U.N. incident reported the slogans, "Down with the U.S.-Soviet war moves, Our flag is red, not red, white and blue, On to May Day," shouted while a red flag was raised in the Security Council chambers. Clearly the outrageous charges against the U.N. 2 stem not from any criminal act but because the action politically stunned both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. Below is a partial list of signers of the statement of support of the U.N. 2 demanding that these charges be dropped. It is followed by a selection of personal statements sent to the Judge.



Glenn Gan (left) and Steven Yip.

Over 9,000 people of all walks of life have signed the Statement of Support of the UN 2, including attorneys such as

William Kunstler, peace activist Daniel Berrigan, Rev. William Montgomery of Harlem, E. L. Huston, Mid-Atlantic Chairperson of the Church of the Brethren Peace Committee. The many educators who have signed this statement include Prof. Howard Zinn, Boston University and Prof. Charles Swartz, University of California at Berkeley.

Below are a few of the hundreds of personal Statements in support of the UN 2.

Names of organizations are for identification purposes only.

Statement by 7 Vietnam veterans and 10 active-duty GI's:

From Oakland:
Judge—We understand fully your actions. The UN 2 exposed both superpowers and their intentions for World War 3. The UN 2 put forward an alternative to that—another road forward—one you can be sure veterans and GI's will take—if you think red paint is scary—just wait—Free the UN 2.

Statement by David Lahr, Attorney from Morgantown, West Virginia:

Dear Sir:
This letter is written in regard to the trial of Stephen Yip and Glenn Gan. I believe that the charges should be dropped against these defendants for the following reasons: 1) Their right to a fair trial was violated. Media reports of the political act at the United Nations often distorted and misleading were ubiquitous. This unfair pre-trial publicity could not but have helped to taint the jurors and Judge Ward's preconceptions concerning the defendants' guilt or innocence. Such publicity may have also resulted in the denial of presumption of innocence guaranteed to Yip and Gan. 2) The trumped up charges of conspiracy and the Title 18 felony counts were so prejudicial as to constitute a misuse of the judicial process. 3) The defendants' act was a political statement, as such, constitutes in part, a form of symbolic speech. The prosecution's overzealousness can be attributed to the content of the defendants' acts rather than its form. Free dom of speech prohibits the government from making such content-based discriminations. 4) The denials for trial postponement and certain statements made during the trial indicate an abuse of discretion on the part of the court. 5) The bails originally set were unreasonably high and could not be met. The above reasons and the general handling of the case indicate the defendants' convictions will likely be overturned on appeal. To allow this case to go further does not further the ends of justice but rather constitutes harassment based on political beliefs. For these reasons I strongly urge that Yip and Gan be released immediately.

Statement by Charles A. Meconis, Program Director, Seattle Religious Peace Action Coalition:

The indictment and conviction of the UN 2 on conspiracy charges in connection with the April 30th paint-tossing incident is a moral and political outrage. Moreover, in light of the fact that neither of the ambassadors in question was injured, the conviction of the UN 2 on assault charges is also highly questionable. While I do not approve of their specific form of protest, the UN 2 in some way represent all of us who are appalled at the current nuclear brinkmanship of the two superpowers. They deserve support.

Statement by Felipe Lizana, a Chilean poet-in-exile living in San Francisco:

As a Chilean political exile, I am more familiar with the vicious repression which a desperate ruling class will unleash against those who rise to denounce and expose it and with the bloodiest tactics it will employ to prevent any possibility of forces rising to challenge and overthrow its rule. The two who went to the UN to act so boldly deserve support from all who would stand up against the forces of reaction, war and oppression that are hated and fought by people all over this world. The political railroad trial of the UN 2 is an outrage and will not go unanswered. Drop the Charges! Free the UN 2!

Statement by Fredia Evans, Miners Widow:

My husband was killed in the coal mines—killed for the profit of a handful. Now that handful wants our young people to go off and fight and die to defend their empire. NO WAY! Working people will fight alight—but not for them—against them! Free the UN 2!

Statement by D.J. in Seattle, Washington:

I'm outraged over the conviction of the United Nations 2, Steven Yip and Glenn Gan, in your courtroom, as well as the clear political bias with which you railroaded their conviction. The UN 2 have been convicted of the "crime" of raising the red flag (and hurling the red paint) of the international working class inside the hallowed halls of the UN. They committed their "crime" within the UN grounds, supposedly "international territory." Yet they were tried and convicted in the U.S. court. This shows that the "United Nations," despite its facade of "international democracy," is owned lock, stock and barrel by U.S. imperialism, which, together with its NATO allies, puts up the big money for the UN and its various "humanitarian" agencies. These "humanitarian" agencies provide a convenient "international" cover for the imperialists to intensify their economic, political and military penetration into the underdeveloped world. The UN began as, and remains today, a counterrevolutionary outfit designed to hamstring revolutionary movements around the world in a straight jacket of bourgeois "international law" (which the imperialists themselves toss out the window whenever it does not serve their purposes) and to deploy imperialist "peace-keeping" troops under a "neutral" flag to smash the liberation struggles of oppressed nations: Korea (1950-3), to the Congo (1960) to Lebanon (1976-9). Small wonder that the UN groundskeepers turned the revolutionaries Yip and Gan over to the U.S. imperialists' "justice" system for trial and conviction.

I demand that the conviction of the UN 2 be overturned immediately, and that the U.S. government pay all the defense expenses ensuing from the arrest and trial of the UN 2.

Statement by Margie Robertson, Executive Director, Cincinnati American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU):

The shocking denial of appeal bond makes this a stunningly sad day for due process. Guaranteed due process for all Americans regardless of their political beliefs.

Statement by New York Coalition Against Registration and the Draft:

We call for dropping all charges against the U.N. 2. We believe they are being victimized because of their political views, including their opposition to the draft. We do not necessarily agree with those views nor with the tactics used to express them.

Passed unanimously.

Statement by 8 Iranian students in Cleveland:

The action at the UN was inspirational for the millions standing up to the superpowers worldwide. The whole world saw a revolutionary force in the heart of this superpower. For this the UN 2 are being held hostage. This latest move only serves to prove who is afraid of who, that these bloody gangsters quake in fear over the revolutionary might of the people. We demand the UN 2 be freed right now!

Statement by 10 Elderly Chinese from the Asian Community Center, San Francisco Chinatown (translated from Chinese):

We have known Glenn Gan and Stephen Yip for more than 10 years. They were in the Asian Community Center. The elderly Chinese in San Francisco Chinatown are a product of the exploitation and oppression that this country put on us. Very few of us can read or write English because this capitalist system didn't want us to learn. They only want us to work for their bosses. Glenn and Steve have always helped lead the battles in our community against the attacks by the capitalists—International Hotel, garment workers, etc. They even helped us to translate letters we received in English. They helped us to go see the doctors, etc.

Glenn and Steve are sons of the oppressed people. Their actions at the UN have gotten our full-hearted support. Both the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are superpowers and enemies of the people. And now they are preparing for World War 3. The superpowers say we must choose between them to "save and protect" us, but Glenn and Steve's action says we have another choice—revolution and the red flag. All people should support their brave action. We demand that the court of the government drop all charges against them because no matter what, they will face the anger, the hatred, and the experience of long-time fighters against this capitalist system. Free the UN 2!

Statement by Florence Unger:

Judge Ward:
U.S. Court, 40 Center Street, Foley Square, NY, NY
Your dishonor:

You and your whole class of bloodsucking imperialists are only digging a deeper grave for your whole system.

You know, and the people know there was no physical harm done to either of the imperialist ambassadors. Instead, it is because the exposure of the U.S. and USSR war moves were so sharp and the leadership of the RCP so clear that you are trying to jail Glenn Gan and Steven Yip as political prisoners for 8 years. But the people will not be silenced, and for sure we will not line up behind your war machine. Instead we will renew and increase our efforts to do away with your decrepit system.

You may rant and rave about a "conspiracy" but this kind of action is what we are proud to see happening in this "land of the free." There are co-conspirators throughout this country and the world, reading the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper and exposing your rotten system. FREE GLENN GAN AND STEPHEN YIP. DOWN WITH U.S. SOVIET WAR MOVES. OUR FLAG IS RED. NOT RED, WHITE AND BLUE.

Statement by 14 San Francisco Postal Workers:

Fourteen San Francisco Postal workers say: "Damn your war plans! Damn your hide, bourgeoisie! FREE THE UN 2!"

Statement by Daniel Thompson, poet:

Artists Yip and Gan, with their can of red paint, have replaced Sherwin-Williams. Some actions indeed, 'cover the earth'.

Statement by Portland Women's Health Center:

We demand the charges against the UN 2 be dropped. The sentencing does not mask US-USSR imperialism.

Statement by Bertell Ollman, Author and Professor, Political Science Department, New York University (NYU):

I join with those demanding the charges against the UN 2 be dropped. This case has all the marks of a political railroad. This can be seen in the originally high bail of \$100,000 and in the outrageous charges with penalties up to 14 years in jail, in Judge Ward's statement in court that "we've got enough problems with Iran, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union . . . this case has to be handled in the context of what's going on in the world," and in his collaboration with the prosecution to rephrase charges to make it easier to get a conviction, and finally in the media's attempts to portray this paint-throwing incident as a terrorist act, and in the government charging Steve Yip and Glenn Gan under laws designed to deal with terrorism. All this smacks of a political trial. Drop the Charges! Free the UN 2!

Letter to Judge Robert Ward from Reverend John T. Egan, Priest at St. Boniface Church, Jersey City, recently released after serving 11 days in a Washington, D.C. jail, 29 days in a Richmond City jail for an anti-war demonstration.

To Judge Robert Ward,

I and whole communities of people have been opposed to the war-making of both Russia and the United States for many years and opposed to the daily growth of nuclear weaponry which both powers are involved in. I feel the UN 2, Stephen Yip and Glenn Gan, were involved in the same kind of things we have been. The reason for their dramatic action was to point up, so the world might hear, the danger of the two nations being involved in war hysteria, which could easily lead to world war 3 and the destruction of the whole planet. I appeal to you to hear this message for the UN 2 while they await appeal and if appeal fails not to give them any jail time. If this is not done I would take it as proof that you would approve of the murderous intent by the two nations to kill millions of people.

Statement by Michael Nutter, Former Peace Corps Volunteer, Chicago:

Dear Judge Ward:

The American working class has been conned into Vietnam, Korea, and two world wars in order to expand the American Empire. Never mind the trumped up reasons we've been given for this madness. We now know the truth about imperialist war. We also know our rulers are preparing to drag us into another one. The UN 2 were only rightfully exposing this crime.

Free the UN 2! Down with superpower war moves!
Paid for by the National May Day Committee, PO Box 12039, Detroit, MI 48212.

For further information contact:

The Committee to Free the UN 2
16 East 18th Street New York, New York 10003 212-243-8638

(For a full copy of the Statement of Support send your request to the Committee to Free the UN 2, 16 E. 18th St., New York, N.Y. 10003)

This statement was printed in the July 15th edition of the N.Y. Times.

The International Unity of the Proletariat: What it is and How to Fight for it.

Continued from page 7

containing lots of half truths, distortions and significant omissions in their extended gossip column.

Of course these people for whom the two trends in the world today are reasonable types like themselves on the one hand and "extremists" of all kinds on the other do not worship everything Enver Hoxha ever "said or did," since they're more into the "I'm OK, you're OK" style and obviously don't feel at home with the "orthodox," suit-and-tie aspect of Hoxha's dogmato-revisionism. In fact, far from being the official Albania franchise operation in Canada, instead Hoxha's slimey kiss of approval has gone to the so-called Communist Party of Canada (M-L), and In Struggle complains bitterly that the fully dogmatized Hoxhaite parties all officially recognize what In Struggle has labeled a gang of police provocateurs (with more than a little justice) as the only communist party in Canada and they all refuse to even speak to In Struggle.

In Struggle presents itself as very principled to continue to uphold Hoxha despite the shabby way they've been treated. But there's another possible explanation for their conduct. They don't like Mao. Like Hoxha, they think the past was much better than the present and want to go back to the way things were 25 years ago, before all this rude struggle against revisionism broke out. They don't seem to like Stalin too much either and have implied what seems to be correct criticisms against his tendency to combine Marxism with nationalism (as indicated earlier), although they never criticize him directly. But without taking up Mao's Marxist criticisms of Stalin, as, for instance, Stalin's failure to see that a new bourgeoisie continually arises within the Party under socialism, or his mechanical materialist deviations on the question of dialectics, what In Struggle is left with is the worst of both worlds, an adherence to Stalin's errors along with a vague and formless tone of general opposition to Stalin that runs dangerously close to falling into social democracy.

In Struggle's attempts to deal with some of the theoretical questions involved show how throwing out Mao's contributions can only lead one way, no matter which way anyone wants to go. For instance there is their two-part analysis of the temporary triumph of revisionism in China: the first, "The leaders of the Communist Party of China are taking China down the capitalist road," deals only with the question of the relations of production in China and never even once mentions the word superstructure; it is a wooden replay of Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, which, as Mao pointed out, only mentions things and not people.²⁹ The second, "Some theoretical points about Marxist political economy," has a point in it about the necessity for revolution in the superstructure, but neglects to apply this to socialism. In fact, they don't get it at all—they end up talking about China going imperialist and miss the whole point about Teng & Co.'s capitulation to imperialism.³⁰

As for their criticisms of Mao, consider the following, which is the most concentrated of their attempts to do so: "we think that certain errors were made after liberation in the attitude which was taken towards the bourgeoisie; we think that democratic centralism was violated in many respects, illustrated, for instance, by the lengthy intervals of time between Congresses. The analysis and understanding of the precise reasons for the recent evolution [sic!] of the CPC, whatever these reasons may be, is an important task that remains to be accomplished."³¹ Two thirds of this is without content (including the criticism of the formal question of time between party congresses—if you're going to focus on that, why not criticize the equally guilty Albanian Party?), and the other third idealist: the bourgeoisie won, therefore we must "single out those errors which led to the defeats,"³² as though there could ever be a real class struggle in which there was no possibility of defeat for the proletariat. All of this is sadly identical to Hoxha, not because they are following him, but because they are following the same road.

The problem is that they want everyone to follow them, trying to appeal to the confusion and unclarity on the part of a few forces here and there to get them to go along with what on In Struggle's part is not uncertainty, but a line of agnosticism in regard to ideological questions and of rightism in regard to political ones. For In Struggle, the problem is not that they haven't made up their mind about all the crucial questions facing the international movement, but that they've already decided that nobody should come to any decisions—except to decide that Mao Tsetung shouldn't be defended, which, as we've shown, is a decision that most definitely carries with it an all-around line on these questions. In Struggle's proposals in the international arena for an extended debate among all trends (and classes), in opposition to uniting the Left as firmly and rapidly as possible—amounts to calling on the Left to halt its advance, to calling for an extended recess, until Marxism can be reconciled with opportunism—which would take forever. What else

does this serve but the bourgeoisie and the bourgeois forces of every country?

In fact, the bottom line of In Struggle's appeal to the international communist movement is that it is an appeal to Marxist-Leninists *not* to unite on anything resembling Marxism. Ever eager to appear practical-minded, In Struggle argues against what they slander as "a 'general line,' which is limited to an analysis of the current world situation, declarations of support for one or more socialist countries and communist leaders, and lists of the kinds of organized opportunism to be opposed," and opposes this with their own view that "such a vanguard [the international proletarian vanguard] must be united on the basis of its *communist programme*, just as must be the case with Marxist-Leninist parties in individual countries, just as was the case with the Communist International in the past."³³ But this question of "general line" versus "programme" as a basis for unity of the international communist movement can't be considered in the abstract—it is clear in the context of In Struggle's own general line that their proposal about a programme has no other purpose than to oppose unity around principles and key living lines of demarcation. Pitting programme against key dividing principles would result in a very sorry programme indeed! What they oppose most is not the form of a "general line" type document, which is today within the reach of the international communist movement in a way that a fully developed programme—such as the Communist International developed for the whole world and all the key countries—is not. What they oppose is the content of a general line that embodies the principles we listed earlier. It is not really that Mao's line has nothing to do with international communist unity, but rather that they oppose the political and ideological line that he represents and fought for and they don't want that to be in any way, shape or form a cutting edge question in that movement.

No matter what the *form* around which international communist unity develops, this quote from Lenin speaks exactly to its content and puts to shame all this mumble-mouthing:

"The purpose of a real programme of action can be served only by a *Marxist* programme which gives the masses a full and clear explanation of what has taken place, explains what imperialism is and how it should be combated, declares openly that the collapse of the Second International was brought about by opportunism, and openly calls for a Marxist International to be built up without and *against* the opportunists. Only a programme that shows that we have faith in ourselves and in Marxism and that we have proclaimed a life-and-death struggle against opportunism will sooner or later win us the sympathy of the genuinely proletarian masses."³⁴

V. CONCLUSION

Many of Lenin's polemics during the years 1914-1918, when he was struggling to bring about the conditions to form the Third International, are directed not only against the Right, which had been widely discredited among revolutionary-minded people, but also against the Centrists "who write of 'Mr.' Hyndman with contempt, while speaking—or saying nothing—of 'Comrade' Kautsky with deference (or obsequiousness)."³⁵ (Hyndman, like the Chinese revisionists, openly preached that the workers had to renounce the class struggle because of the world war, and Kautsky, like Hoxha, tried to combine general phrases about class struggle with essentially the same position of capitulation). Counterattacking against those who argued that the two opposing lines represented by Lenin and people like Kautsky represented different legitimate "shades of opinion," Lenin wrote, "Undisguised opportunism, which immediately repels the working masses, is not so frightful and injurious as this theory of the golden mean."³⁶ Lenin himself was quite an "extremist" in defending Marxism from such "reasonable" people!

In Struggle makes a big deal about what they consider the lack of desire for unity among people like ourselves, whom they consider sectarian, and exclaim, as if they had said something profound, "To progress along the path of unity, we must want unity. Unity must clearly be posed as an objective to attain and we must put into place the means for truly uniting the communist forces that want to do so."³⁷ But in the face of the same kind of hypocritical nonsense in the service of the Right in his time, Lenin had the following unsentimental words: "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists, and opponents and distorters of Marxism. And we must ask everyone who talks about unity: unity with whom?"³⁸ And on another occasion, "An adherent of internationalism who is not at the same time a most consistent and determined adversary of opportunism is a phantom, nothing more. Perhaps certain individuals of this type will honestly consider themselves 'interna-

tionalists.' However, people are judged not by what they think of themselves but by their political behavior."³⁹

For Lenin, as for all Marxists, the avoiding of splits was not the highest of all questions, either within the international movement (where he definitely argued that a split was necessary in order to bring about unity based on the revolutionary interests of the proletariat), nor even—horror of horrors—within the existing parties and organizations, where Lenin argued that the genuine revolutionaries had to one way or another free themselves from the clutches of the honey-tongued traitors. You see, Lenin had a very high standard of "political behavior." This is what he believed that Marxists were called on to accomplish with the founding of a new international:

"An International does not mean sitting at the same table and having hypocritical and pettifogging resolutions.... The International consists in the coming together (first ideologically, then in due time organisationally as well) of people who, in these grave days, are capable of defending socialist internationalism in deed, i.e., of mustering their forces and 'being the next to shoot' at the governments and the ruling classes of their *own respective* 'fatherlands'. This is no easy task; it calls for much preparation and great sacrifices and will be accompanied by reverses. However, for the very reason that it is no easy task, it must be accomplished only together with those who *wish* to perform it and are not afraid of a complete break with the chauvinists and with the defenders of social-chauvinism."⁴⁰

The truth is that In Struggle does not see itself in this way. Yet this is exactly what gives the international communist movement its particular urgency and importance at this hour.

Compare *this* understanding of urgency and importance with In Struggle's view: "To say that the international communist movement is on the sidelines of revolution in the world is to admit reality. It means realizing that, under current conditions, it offers no real alternative to the masses, to the Islamic movements in Iran and Afghanistan, to the revisionists in Italy, France and Spain, to Arab nationalism, or the chauvinism of the German, Canadian or U.S. social-democrats."⁴¹

Is this true? It has an aspect of truth, but overall it is false and very harmful. In the vast majority of the countries mentioned, as well as in many others, there are revolutionary communists—and it is certain that the development of the world itself will pose the question of proletarian revolution before the masses. If in some cases these communist forces are small and scattered, and in some countries there is not yet a communist organization, that is something that can and will change rapidly—and especially with the help of a new communist international. For as we have stressed and stressed again, the proletarian revolutionary movement is a world-wide movement and not one that develops only country by country. The very examples In Struggle gives of countries where aspects of a revolutionary situation are already developing and there is either no or not a sufficiently strong revolutionary party should show the genuine communists the tremendous urgency of our efforts in the international movement. Here too the words of Lenin, responding to the situation of the "internationalists in deed" in April 1917 are very relevant: "If socialists of *that type* are few, let every Russian worker ask himself whether there were many really class-conscious revolutionaries in Russia *on the eve* of the February-March revolution of 1917."⁴² It is the very contradictions which make the situation so difficult which also bring such unprecedented opportunities—opportunities we will surely throw away if we pursue the wisp of painless progress.

What we seek is not just some international coordinating committee of what already exists, an international organization which could do little more than rally international support for the struggle in "tiny El Salvador," to cite the example given by In Struggle: "the revolutionary organizations in tiny El Salvador had to take on themselves for the most part, with their own very limited resources, the task of organizing an international campaign to rally support for their revolution."⁴³ Really what is being described here—and this is the only example given—is an international anti-imperialist solidarity committee, and not an international communist organization. Compare this concept with that put forward by the RCP of Chile:

"We believe that the development of the forces of the world's Marxist-Leninists must not be seen as simply linked to the need to amass and coordinate our forces, but rather to a qualitative leap in the comprehension and application of Marxism-Leninism, especially in fusing it with the mass movement in each country. In this sense, our goal is not just the unity of small vanguard groups, but rather the fighting unity of our proletariats and peoples against their common enemies."⁴⁴

In Struggle stands aghast at what it considers the incomprehensible "disunity" in the international movement. But Engels long ago explained such things in his famous letter to Bebel:

"One must not allow oneself to be misled by the cry for 'unity'. Those who have this word most often on their lips are the ones who sow the most dissension... These unity fanatics are either people of

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LAPD "Report" on May Day 1980

Last week, the Los Angeles Police Department finally pulled together its official fabrication of the events of May 1st in Los Angeles. In a report delivered to the Police Commission (and quickly accepted by them), Chief Darryl Gates invoked the well-worn image of the "historic penchant for violence" of the RCP—a statement repeated by the *L.A. Times* in its coverage of the report. The point of the report is two-fold. It is both an attempt to recoup some of the bourgeoisie's political losses suffered as a result of the May Day demonstrations (especially significant in light of the exposure of the police-agent murder of RCP member Damian Garcia nine days before May Day), and at the same time it is aimed at diffusing widespread outrage over the cowardly police attack on the demonstration itself.

Gates' report claims that while the May Day demonstration started out in a "lawful fashion," it "changed dramatically" soon after it started, becoming "tumultuous (and) unlawful." Indeed it did "change dramatically"—it nearly doubled in size as many people who had been checking it out decided to step forward and join. To Gates (and to his employers), nothing could be more "tumultuous and unlawful" than this; in fact, this is exactly what they had been desperately attempting to stop with their month-long conspiracy against May Day and the RCP.

But Gates and Company are far from through. It seems that the vicious attack by the pigs (which was seen by dozens of witnesses, captured on videotape and seen by millions on TV), was all an optical illusion; according to Gates, what really happened (even though absolutely no one else saw it, filmed it, or even heard about it until now) was that the demonstrators "charged into a stationary police skirmish line." Apparently, all the stitches the marchers got in their heads were optical illusions too, as Gates informs us that no one "required more than immediate first aid attention." Certainly the demonstrator whose arm was broken in three places will be relieved to learn this.

And what of the report in the May



Los Angeles police attack the rear of May Day march.

2nd *L.A. Times* that "hours before the march began, police were telling reporters unofficially that the plan was to stop the marchers before they reached the edge of the downtown area"? No problem! Gates just denies that there was any such plan. And apparently the *L.A. Times* "forgot" their May 2nd report as well, as they had no problem printing the news story as the truth.

Actually, the part of Gates' report that the media refused to cover is even more revealing than the rest. At one point in the report, trying to back up his contention that the police were very "restrained" in their attack on the demonstration, Gates offers the proof that the pigs "allowed the march to continue" after the attack. This reference to the fact that the police were

unable to stop May Day, and that the marchers regrouped and continued triumphantly into the downtown area, was somehow left out of all the "news" stories about Gates' report. Apparently admitting defeat is not supposed to be part of the plan here.

The report goes to great lengths to cover the real reason the police attack was ordered on May 1st: the response of the masses to the revolutionary political stand of May Day and revolutionary politics in general. And the police are still on the warpath for the same reason. A few days after Gates' report 14 people were arrested for selling the *Revolutionary Worker* at 7th and Broadway, in the heart of the downtown area, near the May Day march route. Three *RW* cameras were

wrecked by the cops as well and there had been repeated police threats of violence and murder. In one instance after these arrests, a cop came up to the holding cell thinking he'd "expose" one of the *RW* sellers to the other prisoners—"This guy's a communist." But one of the prisoners, a Native American, defiantly raised his hand and said, "Hey, I'm the communist." At this point another prisoner raised his hand saying, "No, I'm the communist." Pretty soon, the entire holding cell was rocking with prisoners yelling, "Hey we're all communists." Not having had time to come up with a new report, the police had no comment on the incident.

Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution!

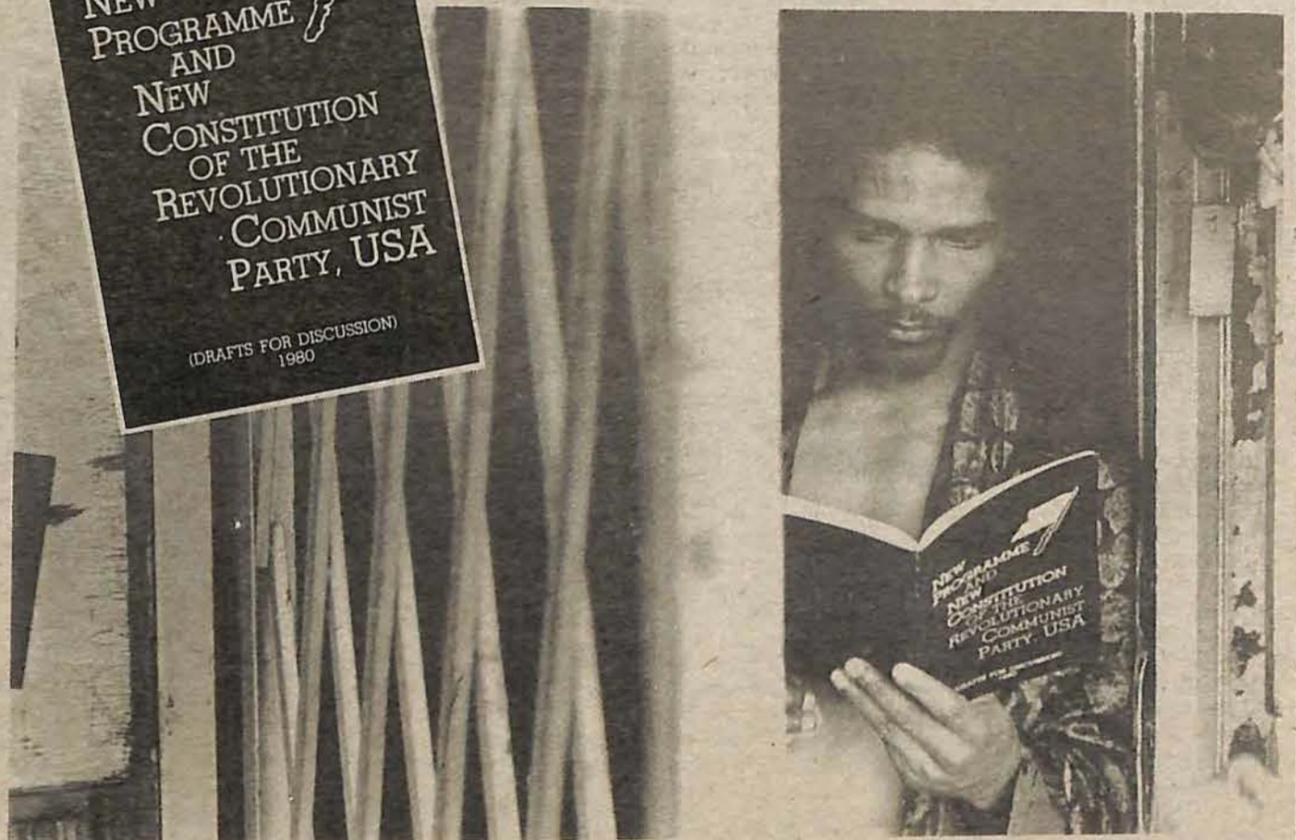
In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity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

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

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

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Recently the Revolutionary Worker received a letter which posed the following question: According to the materialist theory of knowledge, all ideas are reflections of what's in peoples' environment. But if this is true, how did Marx arrive at the idea of a socialist society when he was living in a capitalistic environment?

This question raises some important issues in philosophy. Even if others haven't had exactly the same question, the underlying philosophical issues are important to understand. This is the subject of the following article.

"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary it is their social being that determines their consciousness."

In this famous quotation from the Preface to the *Critique of Political Economy* Marx says that ideas and consciousness are determined by social being. But then how can ideas "outstrip" reality? How can we know anything about the future? How could Marx—and how can we—living under capitalism, know that the future holds socialism and communism? In fact, how can these ideas even arise under capitalism if ideas are determined by people's environment, by their social being?

The first, and most important, step in answering these questions lies in seeing that reality is not homogeneous, not all one thing, but is made up of contradictions: as Mao says in his work *On Contradiction*: "There is nothing that does not contain contradiction; without contradiction nothing would exist." Everything is made up of opposing forces and tendencies; and the key to understanding something lies in understanding it in terms of the contradictions within it—especially its most basic contradiction. In capitalist society, the basic contradiction in terms of the various social classes is the contradiction between the capitalist class and the working class, between the bourgeoisie and proletariat. In this contradiction, the bourgeoisie is the dominant aspect—it's on top, the ruling class. But because this isn't the only aspect of capitalist reality, because reality is contradictory and there is the proletariat with interests and an ideology directly opposed to that of the bourgeoisie—because of this, under capitalism it is possible to grasp the possibility (and in fact the certainty) that the proletariat will become the ruling class. In fact, it is *only* under capitalism that it's become possible to know this. If Marx had lived in an earlier epoch—under feudalism, say—he might have been a genius, but he could not have been a Marxist. Because the emergence of capitalism in human history creates the material conditions for socialism and communism, it is for the first time possible to *know* that socialism and communism will come into being.

The seeds of the future are present in today's material reality. Capitalism creates the material conditions for first socialism and later communism—the classless society. The contradictions of capitalism drive the world toward these goals of human history. Thus capitalism unleashes the immense productive power of socialized labor, bringing together thousands under one roof in a factory to work cooperatively and knitting millions of workers into one systematic economic organization. But the product of this collective labor is appropriated by a handful of capitalists. The socialization of labor lays the material basis for socialism, but it is in contradiction with private appropriation of the collective product. This contradiction is resolved by the action of the proletariat, the embodiment of socialized labor, which finally throws off and crushes the private appropriators, the capitalists.

It is similar in other areas—with regard to the family and the condition of women, in agriculture and the relation of city and country, or with respect to national barriers, which are both built up and broken down. Capitalism creates the material basis for something higher; but at the same time it generates powerful contradictions which prevent the birth of the future, contradictions which cannot be resolved within the

How Marx Could Envision Communism

social relations of capitalism and which therefore compel the bursting apart of capitalist social relations through revolution.

Thus it is possible to know something about the future because elements of the future are already present in what exists today. But this basis of the future is in sharp contradiction with the "dead hand of the past," which also exists in—and in fact dominates—the present.

Since the world is made up of contradictions, it cannot remain the same, but is ceaselessly changing—through the conflict of the opposing aspects of contradictions. Understanding these contradictions and the "laws of conflict" of their opposing aspects can reveal how things are developing, the direction of motion of things, and thus how things will unfold in the future. Not only does the present contain seeds of the future, but in fact the present can only be understood correctly in terms of the future (as well as the past). What is important and gets to the essence of what's happening now, is what's rising and developing, what's now submerged and on the bottom, but will tomorrow be on top. Today there is (relatively) peace; but what's important is the movement toward world war. Today there is a non-revolutionary situation; but what's important is the development toward a revolutionary situation.

That is why the idea of socialism began to appear as soon as the capitalists gained political power—it arises out of the contradictions of capitalism itself. As Lenin explains:

"When feudalism was overthrown, and 'free' capitalist society appeared on God's earth, it at once became apparent that this freedom meant a new system of oppression and exploitation of the working people. Various socialist doctrines immediately began to arise as a reflection of and protest against this oppression." (*Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism*.)

Engels, writing in more detail on this topic at the beginning of Chapter 3 of *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, explains that according to the materialist conception of history:

"...the ultimate causes of all social changes and political revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in their growing insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange... The growing recognition that existing social institutions are irrational and unjust, that reason has become unreason, and kindness a scrouge, is only a sign that changes in the modes of production and exchange have silently been taking place with which the social order adapted to earlier economic conditions is no longer in keeping. From this it also follows

that the means of eliminating the abuses that have been brought to light must also be present, in a more or less developed condition, within the changed relations of production themselves. These means are not to be *invented* out of one's brain, but *discovered* by the brain in the existing material facts of production....

"[Today] the new productive forces [brought into being by capitalism] have already outgrown the bourgeois form of using them; and this conflict between productive forces and mode of production is not a conflict engendered in men's heads, like that between original sin and divine justice, but it exists in the facts, objectively, outside us, independently of the will and even actions of the men who have brought it on. Modern socialism is nothing but the reflex in thought of this actual conflict, its ideal reflection in the minds of above all the class directly suffering under it, the working class."

Exactly because they have arisen out of the actual contradictions of capitalist society, these feelings of the wrongness of the present order are signs that this order is not permanent, that "a better world's in birth." At the same time, what both Lenin and Engels emphasize in these works is that the ideas of socialism which arose at first out of the contradictions and class struggle of capitalism (*utopian* socialist ideas) were not founded on a scientific basis. They were a reflection and effect of the contradictions, but these early theories of socialism (like some theories of socialism today) did not *comprehend* these contradictions. This theoretical understanding of the contradictions of capitalism, thus putting them on a scientific basis, was Marx's contribution.

The point is that human beings do not simply reflect their environment *passively* in their brains, but play an active dynamic role. Not only are the different aspects of contradictions in reality reflected in people's brains, but also—through a process of going from practice to theory, then using theory to guide practice and on that basis gaining more knowledge and a more correct theory, and pursuing the theory at times in its own right—the contradictions can be scientifically grasped and the essence of a process can be comprehended. In the proletarian revolution, the oppressed can come to understand the essence of things, and use this understanding to change the world.

In fact this understanding can only come through the very process of changing the world. All knowledge comes, not through contemplation, but through active practice in interaction with the world, through changing the world; as Mao remarked, if you want to know the taste of a pear, you must

change the pear by eating it, and likewise for other sorts of knowledge. Of course, as Mao also points out, no one can have direct interaction with, and experience of, everything. Most knowledge is based on *indirect* experience, that is, on other people's direct experience. This knowledge can only be gained through learning of others' experiences and, even more importantly, through study of the summing-up of experience and practice. In the case of social reality, too, fundamental understanding can only come from the practice of struggling for fundamental social change—in other words, through revolutionary practice, and through the summing up of past revolutionary practice. This is why the oppressed can come to an understanding of reality, of how it is developing and what the future holds, which the rulers of society cannot come to. For the ruling class, the imperialists today, have no interests in comprehending the possibility of fundamental change, and they certainly are not going to engage in revolutionary practice. As Bob Avakian said recently, "they don't have any understanding of how things really work nor certainly what the actual laws governing the development of things are and where they are actually propelling things in the most fundamental sense—toward revolution." (*RW* No. 49, April 11, 1980, Supplement, p. S-4.)

The working class and the oppressed people of this country and around the world have no such barrier. They can, they have, and to a much greater extent they will both understand and change the world. Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought is the theoretical summation of past proletarian revolutionary practice; it is the science of revolution. By grasping this science, applying it in practice, using it to sum up practice and on this basis theoretically summing up today's concrete reality, all under the leadership of an organization which concentrates this science and leads in applying it (in this country the Revolutionary Communist Party)—through this process the workers and oppressed can know reality and its contradictions and direction of motion, and on this basis change the world through revolution.

Finally, there is one last point. The revolutionary struggle of the oppressed against their oppression, summed up scientifically, provides not just an abstract knowledge of the future, but a concrete one as well. As Bob Avakian said in a speech to the D.C. Volunteers last November:

"...When people say to you, 'what is socialism gonna be like?' tell them to come down to the meeting we're having the next night or the night after that. Give them a living sense of what we're going through here in this battle, because that's a model, although it's not fully developed, it's like an embryo of what socialism is going to be like—a constant struggle, people learning in the course of struggle and learning by studying a theory and applying it and bringing the two together, by going out among the masses of people and for the first time raising their heads and together with them investigating and criticizing and thinking and debating and struggling about every sphere of society, some they never even knew existed let alone others they have been told it was not their province to think about." (*RW* No. 45, March 14, 1980, p. 9.)

Only the real overthrow of our oppressors can bring about liberation, but in the course of fighting for this overthrow people can gain a taste of this liberation. The struggle to bring the future into being creates a little bit of the future right now. □

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Joint Communiqué from the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile and the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

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Cambodia must also be opposed.

An inter-imperialist world war could break out soon and there is a very great likelihood that it will break out in the next ten years unless it is prevented by revolution. In the face of this the proletariat must step up its revolutionary struggle, fight against imperialist war preparations, and prepare so that if revolution is not able to prevent a war it will be in a position to turn an inter-imperialist war into a war against the imperialists and their collaborators.

5) Not only is the development of the objective situation creating more fertile ground for revolutionary struggle in various countries, but there are actually growing revolutionary movements in many countries at the present time, and already within the last few years reactionary regimes in such places as Iran, Nicaragua and elsewhere have been overthrown or powerfully shaken by mass revolutionary struggle. While, as yet, none of these struggles have advanced to the stage of actually achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, they clearly indicate the potential for this, in both the colonial (or neo-colonial) and dependent countries and in the imperialist countries themselves.

6) The need to carry out a thorough discussion and summation of the experience of the international communist movement, the proletarian revolution and the proletarian dictatorship. This is necessary, in particular, to achieve a deeper understanding of revisionism so as to better combat its pernicious influence and to continue and deepen the struggle against it even in our own ranks.

7) The urgent need for the ideological, political and organizational unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world. Such unity will only come about through bitter ideological and political struggle against opportunism; no good will

come from trying to hide or obscure differences, still less by treating major questions of demarcation as irrelevant or mere topics for sterile academic debate.

8) Proletarian internationalism requires the active struggle to overthrow one's "own" reactionary ruling class; the full support for the struggle of the proletariat, oppressed masses and oppressed nations throughout the world; and support for socialist countries where they exist or may be established—all toward the goal of achieving the historic mission of the international proletariat.

On the basis of these common views the PCRCh and the RCP, USA have jointly undertaken bold and serious steps to further the process of unity of the genuine Marxist-Leninists on a world scale. It is the view of both Parties that while the crisis of the international movement is deep and the dangers are menacing, the possibilities for revolution, in each respective country and in the world as a whole, are greater still. With this perspective both of our Parties pledge to fight to their full capacity for the defense of Marxism-Leninism and the contributions of Mao Tsetung, for the victory of the revolution and the advance to communism throughout the world.

July 1980

Signed,
Central Committee,
Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile
Central Committee,
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Marine

Continued from page 8

in 1969-70, there was a "salt and pepper" as they called it; there was a Black marine and a white marine who were fighting with the NVA up on Charlie Ridge. And the Marines offered a \$1500 reward and a one week R & R to any marine who could kill them or bring them in. But just knowing that they were there struggling with the Vietnamese, you know, was a real inspiring thing for us, to come in contact with that kind of bravery among Americans, to be able to go over to the other side and struggle with the Vietnamese. We began to all sympathize a lot with the Vietnamese struggle.

First, everyone said, they wanted to kill them because they wanted the \$1500 and a week's R & R, you know. But I think what we wanted to more than kill them though was talk to them and understand how they did what they did and, you know, I think it would have been great if we had been able to do that, just to talk to them. And we started to look at the war through Salt & Pepper's eyes a little bit more, and in that way came to understand the Vietnamese struggle a lot better. We put ourselves in their situation, living in caves up on Charlie Ridge in the mountains, where everything was underground. We could sit down in the valley and feel the ground shake from the B-52 arc lights that were being run up on the hill. I think that in that way our consciousness was really raised about the Vietnamese struggle.

We saw them as just being on the right side, you know, on the side that was right. Not necessarily the winning side, because we didn't feel that they were winning yet, although we felt that we were getting beat—ha, ha—but we knew in 12 months and 20 days we were going home if we made it. And then we were struck with the fact that these guys were willing to stay there for the rest of their lives and struggle with the Vietnamese, not against them but with them. And that was powerful, really powerful.

RW: After you were wounded and you were sent back, I understand you became more politically active.

XX: Yes, while I was in the hospital at Z, the military was obviously discriminating against us and we were active in certain ways... Anyone who stood up and resisted in the hospital was immediately transferred out of the Naval

Hospital, retired, and transferred out. They thought it was a privilege, being in this naval hospital... I'd been in the hospital nineteen months and got orders to return to active duty.

RW: How much were you guys beginning to look to the anti-war movement?

XX: In the absence of any kind of groups coming into direct contact there was a paper called "Up Against the Bulkhead" coming out in the Navy that we got... It struck the Chicano and Black Marines before me but it kind of rubbed off on me... At the hospital, I became anti-war, I got in touch with VVAW, I was looking for a way to protest and in May I was lying in the hospital, 89 pounds, about ready to die... and here were these students at Kent State protesting the war and I sat there and watched them get gunned down, and I thought, "Fuck, man, there's something wrong here." So that turned me around too, because it was the assumption we were fighting for democratic rights and principles and on campus they were shooting down demonstrators, boy. I realized then that I would never find peace in this society. There was no way that I could even lay in a hospital bed and bring myself to

think that I could ever be satisfied with life in this country, knowing what had happened and what was continuing to happen. So then I realized that I had to become involved actively in the anti-war movement, I had to get out and tell people exactly what my understanding was, to counter the hysteria that was being promoted by other veterans' organizations. I went and joined VVAW in 1970, which was the most active anti-war veterans' organization around.

RW: In light of all this, and with the draft and the imperialists gearing up for world war 3, what are you going to do?

XX: They're coming out with this draft law, which has shown that they just don't care about all that blood that's been shed, and I'm going to be out there exposing it. It would have made a real difference if there'd been a Korean vet out exposing it to me... Veterans have an important role to play in exposing this shit for what it is, and hopefully these young men that are going there to

sign up, they'll take a leaflet from a veteran. If that's the case, I've got to be out there, veterans like me have got to be out there and play that role... The whole two weeks of registration I'll be out there... I call on all veterans to be out there... The draftees have to understand the solution to the thing... and the solution to the thing, the way to stop it—revolution. We went out there on the streets, we resisted, but so what, we still got another draft law, how come? 'Cause it's still the same political system. If people come to that realization, that you can go on protesting and resisting forever within the context of that political system, it isn't going to mean shit until you change it, until you revolutionize the whole society. That's the reason it's coming back, there was a rebellion but there wasn't a revolution. That's the final solution to that whole problem of conscription and war—put an end to the capitalist system which keeps driving people into the situation where they're forced off to go to war.

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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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Lenin on War and the Arming of the Proletariat

The following paragraphs are excerpted from articles written by V.I. Lenin during World War I—the first imperialist war. The “Disarmament” Slogan appeared in 1916 as a newspaper article. Position and Tasks of the Socialist International was written in 1914, and Appeal On the War was written in 1915.

The “Disarmament” Slogan

... An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot, unless we have become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, forget that we are living in a class society from which there is no way out, nor can there be, save through the class struggle and the overthrow of the power of the ruling class.

In every class society, whether based on slavery, serfdom, or, as at present, on wage-labour, the oppressor class is always armed. Not only the modern standing army, but even the modern militia—and even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, Switzerland, for instance—represent the bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat. That is such an elementary truth that it is hardly necessary to dwell upon it. Suffice it to recall that in all capitalist countries without

exception troops (including the republican-democratic militia) are used against strikers. A bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, fundamental and cardinal facts of modern capitalist society.

And in face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats (communists—RW) are urged to “demand” “disarmament”! That is tantamount to complete abandonment of the class-struggle point of view, to renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, appropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie. These are the only tactics possible for a revolutionary class, tactics that follow logically from, and are dictated by, the whole *objective development* of capitalist militarism. Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historic mission, to consign all armaments to the scrap-heap. And the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.

If the present war arouses among the reactionary Christian socialists, among the whimpering petty bourgeoisie, only horror and fright, only aversion to all use of arms, to bloodshed, death, etc., then we must say: Capitalist society is and has always been hor-

ror without end. And if this most reactionary of all wars is now preparing for that society an *end in horror*, we have no reason to fall into despair. But the disarmament “demand,” or more correctly, the dream of disarmament, is, objectively, nothing but an expression of despair at a time when, as everyone can see, the bourgeoisie itself is paving the way for the only legitimate and revolutionary war—civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie.

A lifeless theory, some might say, but we would remind them of two world-historical facts: the role of the trusts and the employment of women in industry, on the one hand, and the Paris Commune of 1871 and the December 1905 uprising in Russia, on the other.

The bourgeoisie makes it its business to promote trusts, drive women and children into the factories, subject them to corruption and suffering, condemn them to extreme poverty. We do not “demand” such development, we do not “support” it. We fight it. But how do we fight? We explain that trusts and the employment of women in industry are progressive. We do not want a return to the handicraft system, premonopoly capitalism, domestic drudgery for women. Forward through the trusts, etc., and beyond them to socialism!

That argument takes account of *objective development* and, with the necessary changes, applies also to the present militarisation of the population. Today the imperialist bourgeoisie militarises the youth as well as the adults; tomorrow it may begin militarising the women. Our attitude should be: All the better! Full speed ahead! For the faster we move, the nearer shall we be to the armed uprising against capitalism. How can Social-Democrats give way to fear of the militarisation of the youth, etc., if they have not forgotten the example of the Paris Commune? This is not a “lifeless theory” or a dream. It is a fact. And it would be a sorry state of affairs indeed if, all the economic and political facts notwithstanding, Social-Democrats began to doubt that the imperialist era and imperialist wars must inevitably bring about a repetition of such facts.

A certain bourgeois observer of the Paris Commune, writing to an English newspaper in May 1871, said: “If the French nation consisted entirely of women, what a terrible nation it would be!” Women and teen-age children fought in the Paris Commune side by side with the men. It will be no different in the coming battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian women will not look on passively as poorly armed or unarmed workers are shot down by the well-armed forces of the bourgeoisie. They will take to arms, as they did in 1871, and from the cowed nations of today—or more correctly, from the present-day labour movement, disorganised more by the opportunists than by the governments—there will undoubtedly arise, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international league of the “terrible nations” of the revolutionary proletariat.

The whole of social life is now being militarised. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the Great Powers for the division and redivision of the world. It is therefore bound to lead to further militarisation in all countries, even in neutral and small ones. How will proletarian women oppose this? Only by cursing all war and everything military, only by demanding disarmament? The women of an oppressed and really revolutionary class will never accept that shameful role. They will say to their sons:

“You will soon be grown up. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn the military art properly. The proletarians need this knowledge not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as is being done in the present war, and as the traitors to socialism are telling you to do. They need it to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, and not by pious wishes, but by defeating and disarming the *bourgeoisie*.”

If we are to shun such propaganda, precisely such propaganda, in connection with the present war, then we had better stop using fine words about international revolutionary Social-Democracy, the socialist revolution and war against war...

Position and Tasks of Socialist International

... The bourgeoisie is duping the masses by disguising imperialist rapine with the old ideology of a “national war.” This deceit is being shown up by the proletariat, which has brought forward its slogan of turning the imperialist war into a civil war. This was the slogan of the Stuttgart and Basle resolutions, which

“... the war which brings in its train endless misery and suffering for the toiling masses, enlightens and steels the finest representatives of the working class. If perish we must, let us perish in the struggle for our own cause, for the cause of the workers, for the socialist revolution, and not for the interests of the capitalists, the landowners, and tsars—this is what every class-conscious worker sees and feels.”



Painting by well-known Russian painter S. Karpov shows workers in a factory distributing arms among themselves during the 1917 revolution.

had in mind, not war in general, but precisely the present war and spoke, not of "defence of the fatherland," but of "hastening the downfall of capitalism," of utilising the war-created crisis for this purpose, and of the example provided by the Paris Commune. The latter was an instance of a war of nations being turned into a civil war.

Of course, such a conversion is no easy matter and cannot be accomplished at the whim of one party or another. That conversion, however, is inherent in the objective conditions of capitalism in general, and of the period of the end of capitalism in particular. It is in that direction, and that direction alone, that socialists must conduct their activities. It is not their business to vote for war credits or to encourage chauvinism in their "own" country (and allied countries), but primarily to strive against the chauvinism of their "own" bourgeoisie, without confining themselves to legal forms of struggle when the crisis has matured and the bourgeoisie has itself taken away the legality it has created. Such is the *line* of action that *leads* to civil war, and will bring about civil war at one moment or another of the European conflagration...

Appeal on the War

Worker Comrades:

The European war has been in progress for over a year. All things considered, it will last for a long time, because, while Germany is best prepared and at present the strongest, the Quadruple Entente (Russia, Britain, France, and Italy) has more men and money, and besides, freely gets war material from the United States of America, the world's richest country.

What is this war being fought for, which is bringing mankind unparalleled suffering? The government and the bourgeoisie of each belligerent country are squandering millions of rubles on books and newspapers so as to lay the blame on the foe, arouse the people's furious hatred of the enemy, and stop at no lie so as to depict themselves as the side that has been unjustly attacked and is now "defending" itself. In reality, this is a war between two groups of predatory Great Powers, and it is being fought for the partitioning of colonies, the enslavement of other nations, and advantages and privileges of the world market. This is a most reactionary war, a war of modern slave-holders aimed at preserving and consolidating capitalist slavery. Britain and France are lying when they assert that they are

warring for Belgium's freedom. In reality, they have long been preparing the war, and are waging it with the purpose of robbing Germany and stripping her of her colonies; they have signed a treaty with Italy and Russia on the pillage and carving up of Turkey and Austria. The tsarist monarchy in Russia is waging a predatory war aimed at seizing Galicia, taking territory away from Turkey, enslaving Persia, Mongolia, etc. Germany is waging war with the purpose of grabbing British, Belgian, and French colonies. Whether Germany or Russia wins, or whether there is a "draw," the war will bring humanity fresh oppression of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in the colonies, in Persia, Turkey and China, a fresh enslavement of nations, and new chains for the working class of all countries.

What are the tasks of the working class with regard to this war? The answer to this question is provided in a resolution unanimously adopted by the socialists of the whole world, at the Basle International Socialist Congress of 1912. This resolution was adopted in anticipation of a war of the very kind as started in 1914. This resolution says that the war is reactionary, that it is being prepared in the interests of "capitalist profits," that the workers consider it "a crime to shoot each other down," that the war will lead to "a proletarian revolution," that an example for the workers' tactics was set by the Paris Commune of 1871, and by October-December 1905, in Russia, i.e., by a revolution.

All class-conscious workers in Russia are on the side of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma, whose members (Petrovsky, Badayev, Muranov, Samoilov, and Shagov) have been exiled by the tsar to Siberia for revolutionary propaganda against the war and against the government. It is only in such revolutionary propaganda, and in revolutionary activities leading to a revolt of the masses, that the salvation of humanity from the horrors of the present and the future wars lie. Only the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeois governments, in the first place of the most reactionary, brutal, and barbarous tsarist government, will open the road to socialism and peace among nations.

The conscious or unwitting servants of the bourgeoisie are lying when they wish to persuade the people that the revolutionary overthrow of the tsarist monarchy can lead only to victories for and consolidation of

the German reactionary monarchy and the German bourgeoisie. Although the leaders of the German socialists, like many leading socialists in Russia, have gone over to the side of their "own" bourgeoisie and are helping to deceive the people with fables of a war of "defence," there is mounting among the working masses of Germany an ever stronger protest and indignation against their government. The German socialists who have not gone over to the side of the bourgeoisie have declared in the press that they consider the tactics of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour group in the Duma "heroic." In Germany, calls against the war and against the government are being published illegally. Tens and hundreds of the finest socialists of Germany, including Clara Zetkin, the well-known representative of the women's labour movement, have been thrown into prison by the German Government for propaganda in a revolutionary spirit. In all the belligerent countries without exception, indignation is mounting in the working masses, and the example of revolutionary activities set by the Social-Democrats of Russia, and even more so any success of the revolution in Russia, will not fail to advance the great cause of socialism, of the victory of the proletariat over the blood-stained bourgeois exploiters.

The war is filling the pockets of the capitalists, into whose pockets gold is pouring from the treasuries of the Great Powers. The war is provoking a blind bitterness against the enemy, the bourgeoisie doing its best to direct the indignation of the people into such channels, to divert their attention from the *chief* enemy—the government and the ruling classes of their *own* country. However, the war which brings in its train endless misery and suffering for the toiling masses, enlightens and steels the finest representatives of the working class. If perish we must, let us perish in the struggle for our own cause, for the cause of the workers, for the socialist revolution, and not for the interests of the capitalists, the landowners, and tsars—this is what every class-conscious worker sees and feels. Revolutionary Social-Democratic work may be difficult at present, but it is possible. It is advancing throughout the world, and in this alone lies salvation.

Down with the tsarist monarchy, which has drawn Russia into a criminal war, and which oppresses the peoples! Long live the world brotherhood of the workers, and the international revolution of the proletariat!

The International Unity of the Proletariat: What it is and How to fight for it

Continued from page 18

limited intelligence who want to stir everything into one nondescript brew, which, the moment it is left to settle, throws up the differences again but in much sharper contrast... or else they are people who unconsciously (like Muhlberger, for instance) or consciously want to adulterate the movement. For this reason the biggest sectarians and the biggest brawlers and rogues at times shout loudest for unity. Nobody in our lifetime has given us more trouble and been more

treacherous than the shouters for unity...

"... A party proves itself victorious by *splitting* and being able to stand the split. The movement of the proletariat necessarily passes through different stages of development; at every stage part of the people get stuck and do not join in the further advance; and this alone explains why it is that actually the 'solidarity of the proletariat' is everywhere being realised in different party groupings, which carry on life-and-death feuds with one another, as the Christian sects in the Roman Empire did amidst the worst persecutions."*

19. *International Forum* (published by MLOC IN STRUGGLE!), April, 1980, p. 39.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
21. *IN STRUGGLE!*, April 17, 1979, p. 12.
22. "For the Political and Organizational Unity of the International Communist Movement," Appeal from the Third Congress of MLOC IN STRUGGLE! (March 1979), p. 3.
23. Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International," *Collected Works*, Vol. 21, p. 212.
24. *International Forum*, p. 38.
25. *IN STRUGGLE!*, January 22, 1980, pp. 12-13. The first set of ellipses are *IN STRUGGLE!*'s; the second set are ours.
26. "For the Political and Organizational Unity of the International Communist Movement," p. 16.
27. *IN STRUGGLE!*, June 3, 1980, p. 15.
28. *International Forum*, pp. 2-3.
29. Mao Tsetung, "Critique of Stalin's *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*," *Critique of Soviet Economics*, p. 135.
30. These two articles appeared in *Proletarian Unity* No. 15, Feb.-March 1979 (theoretical journal of MLOC IN STRUGGLE!).

31. *International Forum*, pp. 38-39. For more on In Struggle's views on what led to the revisionist takeover in China, see "The Communist Party of China: Slowly Strangled by Factionalism," *IN STRUGGLE!*, July 3, 1979, p. 14; "On Enver Hoxha's *Imperialism and the Revolution: The Criticism of Modern Revisionism Must Be Carried Through to the End*," *Proletarian Unity*, No. 16, April-May 1979, especially pp. 32-34; and "The Stakes of the Mao-Stalin Debate," *IN STRUGGLE!*, April 8, 1980, p. 13. For example, in the latter article, which addresses the question of Mao's line on the existence of two lines in the party (which Mao correctly recognized as an inevitable product of class-divided society and drew attention to this precisely in order to wage struggle against the bourgeois line and those who champion it), In Struggle uses the PLA's formulation that Mao "accepted the continued existence of two lines" [our italics] and then goes on to conclude that "there is no doubt that real errors were committed by the CPC on this matter which helped pave the way for the growth and even the victory of bourgeois opportunism within the party..."
32. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
33. *IN STRUGGLE!*, June 3, 1980, p. 15.

No Marxist should be surprised by the apparent paradox of a ripening objective situation and a widening rift between forces that were once more united—it is inevitable that some will "get stuck" in certain attitudes and approaches and refuse to give them up when war time approaches. The fundamental question here is not why this has happened, but what attitude to take towards it: whether to make a petty bourgeois "fear of sharp turns and a disbelief in them" into a political and ideological line, whether to oppose a "sharp turn" in the movement—a break with forces that have deserted it, which is absolutely necessary so that the revolutionary forces can take advantage of the sharp turn in the objective situation—while timidly and idly dreaming of things somehow going backwards to more peaceful times both in the objective conditions and within the political movement, or to *welcome* this turn, this opportunity to make revolution, and, putting revolutionary considerations ahead of everything, welcome too this harsh light of revolutionary circumstances which throws into sharp relief all that is rotten and outmoded in politics.

CORRECTION

There were two mistakes in the first installment of "The International Unity of the Proletariat: What It Is and How to Fight For It" (*RW* No. 63). On page 1, the second sentence of the second paragraph should read: No mat-

ter how international capital has become in its appetites, the fact that the means of production are privately owned and the profits reaped from this ownership privately appropriated means that in the end all capital is tied to one or another country.

On page 4, the first sentence of the first full

paragraph should read: The First International, which lasted from 1864 to 1872, served to propagate revolutionary Marxism across Europe and elsewhere, even though Marx's line never really achieved hegemony within it.

G.O.P.

Continued from page 12

babwe. But on the major issues, the need to unify and prepare the bloc for the coming world war, there is a shared perspective. After his meeting with Reagan at the convention, Henry Kissinger appeared at a little-reported press conference. While artfully managing not to contradict the letter of the Republican platform which contains the pet planks of many hometown neanderthals, he made it clear that he supports Reagan on the basis of their joint understanding of what must be done. For example, his rhetoric in the platform about Taiwan notwithstanding, Reagan is not going to mess with the carefully constructed alliances with the new revisionist government in China, which is so vital to the Western bloc. Asked if he agreed with the platform contention that there was a growing trend toward neutralism in Europe, Henry Kissinger replied, "If you are talking about any of the major established governments of Europe, certainly not."

The last-minute dealing over a possible Reagan-Ford candidacy also reflects tactical differences around the question of war. The negotiations were handled by none other than Henry Kissinger. While important and influential members of the "liberal Eastern establishment" Republicans have a big influence in the Reagan organization behind the scenes, there is still worry that Ronnie could blow it. The offer made to Reagan by these forces in exchange for Ford as Vice President was (according to the *Washington Post*, ABC and others) that he agree to an explicitly formulated plan that would give direct control of all "national security" matters to Henry and his boys should Reagan get elected. Ford was to have the position of chief operations officer with direct responsibility for several key Cabinet posts related to national securi-

ty. Henry Kissinger was to be Secretary of State and Alan Greenspan was to have a key position in the administration. Reagan initially accepted this offer, but soon realized it would make him a virtual figurehead and reneged, choosing George Bush instead and rushing to the convention hall to end the push for the Ford vice-presidency. In spite of this rebuff, Kissinger and his cronies are bound to have a major role in any Reagan administration someday or other. Who knows what deals have been or will be struck.

In any case the 1980 election war games are under way with a bang. Reagan and the "moderate" ex-CIA head will be one team of warmongers, with the other team of warmongers to be chosen next month in New York. The choice will be up to the American people—which will it be? Imperialist war or imperialist war? Oh yes, this year there may be a third choice—John Anderson! He is presently touring the world playing statesman, and posing for pictures with Israeli generals and offering a real different alternative—imperialist war. □

Following are corrections for last week's *RW*, No. 63:

In the article "Two FALN Suspects Convicted" (page 12), the English translation of the slogan "Que Viva Puerto Rico Libre!" in column 4 should read: Free Puerto Rico!

In the article "Wear a Red Armband on July 15" (p. 2), in the paragraph dealing with telegrams of support for the UN 2 from West Virginia, the final sentence should read: People have been sending a telegram a day, numbering up to 30, with hundreds, including coal miners, signing their names to the statement of support.

In the article "Inside the Revolutionary War in Kurdistan" (Second Section, p. S-1), the last sentence in the fourth column should read: Under these conditions it became more difficult for them to demagogically claim that the Kurds and the revolutionary Left were "imperialist agents," who had to be suppressed.

Revolutionary literature, theory, novels, periodicals, posters and records.

- Washington, D.C.:** Revolution Books, 2438 18th St. NW, 20009, 202-265-1969.
- New York City:** Revolution Books, 16 E. 18th St., 10003, 212-243-8638.
- Cambridge:** Revolution Books, 233 Mass. Ave., 01239, 617-492-9016.
- Detroit:** Revolution Books, 5744 Woodward Ave., 48202, 313-872-2286.
- Chicago:** Revolution Books, 1727 S. Michigan, 60616, 312-922-6580.
- Los Angeles:** Liberation Books, 2706 W. 7th St., 90057, 213-384-3856.
- Berkeley:** Revolution Books, 1952 University Ave., 94704, 415-841-8314.
- San Francisco:** Everybody's Bookstore, 17 Brenham Place, 94108, 415-781-4989.
- Seattle:** Revolution Books, 1828 Broadway, 98122, 206-323-9222.
- Honolulu:** Revolution Books, 923 N. King St., 96817, 808-845-2733.

ON SAVIORS & HORSE RACES

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fear of what would happen and how much greater the struggle would grow if they were exposed even more. Not only exposed here but internationally, where they were trying to hide the exploitation behind "democratic" neo-colonialism. The fact is that they have no intention of letting up their oppression and exploitation here and internationally.

They're Both Right

Now does this mean that there are absolutely no differences between these politicians? No, there are some differences between them. But let's examine those differences. First thing we got to get clear on, these are not differences of a nature that one of them wants to do good for us and help us out at least a little bit, even if he's kind of rotten, and the other one is all against us. These are differences between two packs of thieves, between a whole class of thieves. That's the nature of their differences. And the way they battle them out also can educate us and we can learn how to dig beneath the surface and get into the real essence of what's going on. Because one thing is true, it is that this system is a great teacher. It teaches us in a negative way every day, all the time. And like somebody once pointed out to me, it's not only a great teacher, it's a very patient teacher. If you don't learn the first time it will teach you a second time, a third time, a fourth time, so this is something we've got to get hip to. And look how they talk about each other. Carter gets up and points to Ford, for those of you who could stay awake during the debates, and said "Ford, you're tainted with Watergate and Vietnam, you're corrupt, you ought to be ashamed saying that unemployment is not a serious problem. You don't know what it feels like to stand in an unemployment line. You don't know what it feels like to have to worry about feeding your family." Well, hell, neither does Jimmy Carter. But he gets up and says a whole lot about Ford and more he says, "You say inflation's not so bad. Ask the average American family, the hard-working people if it's not so bad. And you don't care about the people and you're going to do whatever's going to help big business." And Carter's right.

And then Ford turns around and says, "Jimmy Carter you're a fraud, you're a liar, you're a hypocrite, you don't mean what you say, you're promising things that can't be delivered. All your programs can't be paid for, they're going to cut into the profits of big business, they're going to make inflation worse, and you know these things can't be done." And Ford is right. Everything that they're saying about each other and a hell of a lot that they won't say is all true. And this is what we've got to understand, and if we can understand we can get better educated and learn better how to fight them. They get up and talk about bureaucracy, each one points to the other and says, "there's going to be more bureaucracy sitting and weighing on the backs of the people if you're in there." And they're both right. Whichever one of them, there's going to be more bureaucracy because they need more bureaucracy to keep us down, and they need more bureaucracy to try to prop up their worldwide profit system which can't even function anymore without the government stepping out and trying to bail it out.

And they get up there and Carter says, "Look at the unemployment, it's terrible." So does Mondale. And Ford and Dole get up and say, "Yes, but at least we're at peace. You're forgetting that, when you're talking about how unemployment is higher than it used to be. But we were at war before." And what they're telling us is to take your poison, which do you like better—a war and having the sons and brothers and husbands and friends killed, or growing and greater unemployment. In fact, we don't even have that choice—what we get is more of both.

And they're educating us once again. When Mondale said to Dole, "I hope that you're not saying that World War 2 and the Korean War were *partisan* wars, just Democratic Party wars." In other words, what he was saying was that the whole ruling class was behind those wars, and he's right. So this is the way they're trying to present the thing to us and we can learn a lot from it.

Lesser Evil

But they've also got some other arguments out there, because they know that people are beginning to see through all this. And they know that people are not too hip on either one of these candidates or either one of these political parties or on the whole show. So they say, "well, after all, you're going to have one of them or the other anyway, so you might as well vote." And what are they saying, and once again they're educating

us. What they're saying is "things are going to get worse anyway. There's going to be more attacks, more unemployment, more cutbacks, more speedup on the job, more discrimination, you're going to be ground down further, you're going to be sent off to fight for us anyway, so you might as well pick the one that will make it a little bit less bad. The lesser of two evils."

Now think about that. That the people that run this country and are constantly trying to drum into us that this is the best possible country in the world, this is the greatest system that mankind not only has created but ever *can* create, and all they can offer us is *two evils*. What kind of a system is it if they can only offer us two evils? By their own admission, they can't offer you anything good. And yet they're trying to tell us that this is the best we can hope for is the lesser of two evils and what we say to them in answer is that we're tired of our evils and the whole system that produces them, and we're going to get together and make revolution and produce something good. And that's where we've got to stand on this election and on our all-around struggle against them.

Right to Vote

Some people say, yeah, but people fought to get the right to vote. How can we give it up? We've got to understand this in two ways, look at both sides of this. On the one hand it's true, the right to vote, like any other right we've got, we won through struggle, and people died and sacrificed to get it. And particularly in recent years, it's been true for Black people and especially in the South. But we've got to learn to distinguish between the right to do something and the actual doing of it. Just because we have a right to do something doesn't mean you should do it. You've got to ask yourself is it going to help you or hurt you? Everybody here's got the right to slap himself in the face. Should you do it? And that's what they're asking us to do by voting for them, slap ourselves in the face. Or to use another example, the right to divorce. That was something that was also won through struggle when situations got intolerable, especially for women, without the right to divorce it was even a worse situation. So that was something that was won through a lot of struggle. But because people have won the right to divorce through struggle, does that mean that everybody should leave here and everybody else around the country should get divorced tomorrow?

And look at this so-called great savior of the working people and the Black people, etc., the Democratic Party, this was the same damn party in the South which kept people away from the polls with shotguns and lynch ropes and everything else. But what are they doing *now*? Are they standing up and saying, "you cannot vote. Don't you dare come near this polling place." No, they're almost on their knees begging, saying please come vote. And trying every means they can to get us to vote. They're even trying to get slick. I was in Cleveland the other night, and someone told me they had an ad on TV there with this guy, like a millionaire, saying, "well, you can not vote if you want, but if you don't vote I'm going to still have my Cadillac, my caviar and everything else." And that's true. And if we vote, he's still going to have his Cadillac, his caviar and everything else. Until we overthrow this system and take not only *that* away from him but the means by which he gets that while keeping us poor. This is something we've got to understand. Because they're setting a trap for us. It's not just "no solution," it's a *trap*. Because if we go out and vote for them and then, as is going to happen, there's more unemployment (there may be little ups and downs but it's going to grow). People are going to be sped up harder on the job and everything else. They will be moving toward war and they're going to say, "well you voted for it, you must have wanted it. You gave us a mandate to do these things. It's your own fault." And if we don't vote they're going to say, "well, you didn't vote, it's your own fault. If you'd voted for the other guy maybe things wouldn't be this bad. People get the government they deserve." So either way we turn, if we get caught up in their terms and get bounced off one wall to another, the way they're trying to do, it's only going to set us back and get us more disarmed and more set up for an ambush. And this is what we've got to understand. This is not the road forward for us.

And this system doesn't offer a road forward for us. The only road forward for us is to prepare now, to build up our strength and to carry it through and to sweep away this whole system. Because whether they put gold-plating on our slave chains or not, does not change the fact that there's still slavery. And no matter how they try to slick it up, this system always ends up

in the kind of crisis, the growing depression, the war and everything that they hold out as the future for us, and which in fact under this system is the *only* future for us.

The System's Laws

Now some people say that I'm talking about something serious here and that's true. I could stand up and I could say, if we go out and vote, if we get in the right man, especially if we vote for the Democrats, unemployment won't be as bad. Housing will be better. Education will be better. Health care won't be so bad. Maybe we can stop them from dragging us into another war. Discrimination will come to an end. All these things—I could say all that and I'd just be another lying politician wasting your time. Because none of that is true. Because this system operates according to certain laws which dictate that all those things are going to happen and get worse until we rise up, take it on in an all-around way and eventually overthrow it.

If you went to a doctor and you had stomach troubles, and the doctor ran some tests and he found out that you had a cancerous tumor growing in your stomach, and you were young, or let's say you took your kid to the doctor and the kid was young, and the doctor analyzed it and said if we cut this tumor out, he said to himself, "we could save this kid, he could grow to be strong and healthy and have a bright future for him. But I don't want to tell his parents that because it might upset them. Besides, if I keep him coming back all the time I can make more money off him." So instead he says, "Ah, the kid's just constipated, take him home and give him a laxative." Well that might make the parents feel better for a little while, but if that tumor grew and got worse and as the kid lay on his death bed do you think those parents would thank or curse that doctor? You know the answer. And if you cut out a cancerous tumor there's going to be blood, there's going to be suffering, there's going to be sacrifice, and that's what we've got to do, we've got to cut out this tumor. This cancerous, uncontrolled growth of their constant grab for more and more profits. We've got to cut it out of society so society can grow and not be constricted and not be diseased and not fall apart around us and fall down on our heads.

And some people say, well, what you say is true, but hey, that's a pretty scary thing. And I'll tell you the truth, if we're talking about going up against them one by one, against all the power they got, everybody's got a right to be scared. And I'd be scared too. You'd have to be a fool not to be scared. They got the police, the FBI, the CIA, and it's been revealed what a lot of people knew and a lot more people know now, they won't hesitate to kill people in this or any other country in order to try and enforce this system of exploitation. And if you're talking about going up against all that, you're talking about doing it one person by himself, and everybody going for himself, naturally you're going to get crushed and naturally you've got a right to be afraid of that. But that's not what we're talking about. That isn't the conditions under which we work together and that isn't the conditions under which we struggle together and it's not the conditions under which we're going to be able to sweep away this system and build a better one in its place.

Yeah, all right, we can be scared, but what difference does it make. Think about it. When it comes time for a layoff in the plant do they go up and say, "Jerry Smith are you scared? Yes? All right, you're not laid off." When they're going to speed up the line on the job, are they going to come around and say, "Mary Howard, are you scared? Yes? All right, we'll keep the line slow where you're working." Do they come around to the Brown family and say, "It's time to go to war and you've got three sons, are they scared, are you scared? Yes? All right, you get a scared exemption." Ain't no such thing. Everybody's laughing because you know that's not the way it works, it's ridiculous the idea of it. They don't leave us any choice. The choice before us is not whether we're going to struggle or not struggle. We've got to struggle every day. The only question is not whether we're going to struggle or not struggle, but whether we're just going to struggle and dig ourselves deeper and deeper into the same hole that they're trying to keep us in, or whether we're going to get out of that hole and carry our struggle forward and sweep away this rotten system and leave something better for the kids that come along behind us all over the world to carry forward even further. That's the question before us. And think about it, I know there's a lot of veterans here. When they talk about sending the army and everything else, it's who they're sending up against us. They're sending our own people against us. And this is a time bomb that's going to explode in their faces over time. Maybe not right away. But they've got a real problem there, because think about what happened in the Vietnam war. And I know a lot of people went through this. They took the working people, the poor people here, put them in uniforms and said, "Go over and kill other people like yourselves so we can grab them and keep them enslaved, and be in a stronger position to grind you down further here." And people rebelled in many different forms. And many came back and th-

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Horse Races

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led demonstrations and they went to the Capitol steps and they threw away their junk medals on those steps, and said, "The next time we fight, it's gonna be to take these steps." And that's the problem that they're going to have as our movement develops. They're going to be saying to young kids, go kill your own neighbor or your own father, or your own mother, your own sister, your own brother, and as our movement grows and we're staunch and build our strength more and become more conscious, and do our work correctly with those people, we're going to win them over to our side. If they can give us or our kids something, and say go 10,000 miles away in one of our little khaki uniforms and go kill other people with this, we can be damn sure that those people they gave that to can learn where to point it and how to use it in the correct way. But the point that we can do that is not here

yet. If we ran outside to do it now we'd be foolish and setting ourselves up to get smashed. The point we're at now is building our understanding, our Party, our organization, our strength against them. And that brings us back to the elections.

This system is a great teacher and as people are forced to fight back against it and as we continue to raise that banner of our class and put it forward and get a scientific understanding of how this system works and why it can't provide any future for us and can only provide more and more misery, more and more people are going to come forward. It's like a dam, this system is a dam holding us back and holding society back, and right now there are a few cracks in the dam and water is shooting through here and there, but you know what happens when that pressure builds up, and when that dam goes it's going to go with a tremendous force and power. And that's what we're building for. And that's what we have got to keep our eyes and our sights on. And this is the way we have to take up and build around this election.

But it's not just a question of being passive, or apathetic or not voting, it's a question of getting out, taking a stand, making a clear political statement that can begin to rally the forces. So let them be desperate. Let them be panicked. Let them beg. Let them threaten and everything else to try to drag us back into this cesspool. We're not going for it. They're desperate and they're trying to cover everything up because they sense, though they cannot fully understand, that they have no future. That all they can offer is more and more evils. But for us, we have no reason to be desperate, we have no reason to fear—our struggle is going to be long, it's going to be complicated, it's going to have many fronts, and there's going to be twists and turns, but the future belongs to us. And it's a future that no savior is going to give us, politician or otherwise. It's a future that we're going to take and forge with our own hands through our own struggle, and tomorrow, election day, can be an important part of that. □

Other War

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Militancy was especially concentrated among the Black troops. By 1970, many Black GIs were not even allowed to carry weapons. In August, 1968, two huge Black-led prison rebellions broke out in Vietnam, one at the Danang Marine brig, where Marine inmates seized control of the central area of the compound and held out against armed guards for 20 hours. Two weeks later, the giant American stockade at Long Binh (known as the LBJ) erupted in a bloody riot in which 58 were injured and one private was killed; a section of the stockade was seized by a group of Black prisoners who held out for over a month. There were also a number of mutinies by Black GIs, saying that racist white officers were intentionally using them as cannonfodder on suicide missions. In November 1970, a group of Blacks at Camp Eagle, near the demilitarized zone, defied orders to join a combat operation. Claiming that they would be endangered by racist commanders, Willie Mouton and six others of C Company, 3rd Battalion 187th refused to move into the field. There was no telling how many other similar incidents took place out of view of reporters and investigators."

A number of Black political organizations arose in Vietnam, including one called the "Black Liberation Front of the Armed Forces," which staged the demonstration at LBJ in 1971 in support of the demand to free the Black political prisoners in the United States on the anniversary of Martin Luther King's birthday.

The "Other War"

The phenomenon of "fraggings"—a slang term for assassination of a commanding officer—was far more widespread in Vietnam than even the Pentagon's official statistics which they began to compile in 1969 testified to. According to the Army's official count, through 1970, 300 fragging incidents had taken place, resulting in 73 deaths and injury to 500. Cortright observed, "In effect, these are the casualty figures for the Army's 'other war' in Vietnam, its battle with the insurgents in its own ranks. As startling as these totals may be, fraggings were in fact more frequent than the Pentagon's figures imply. One quite obvious deficiency is that the statistics include only assaults with explosive devices and omit the vast majority of shootings with firearms, which given their greater availability, probably occurred more often. . . . In fact, assaults against commanders during the Vietnam war probably reached into the thousands. . . ." Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Hebert told *Playboy* magazine of an incident that took place during his command of the 173rd Airborne;

"There had been two attempts on the previous commander's life. There had been quite a few fraggings in that battalion, both officers and senior enlisted men. One man had both legs blown off; seven people had been wounded by a grenade, and a Claymore mine had been thrown right at the tactical operations center. . . ."

This fragging campaign became so extensive that by 1970 it had clearly passed beyond a simple means of eliminating in-

dividual, unpopular commanders. This led the army to implement a policy of restricting access to explosive devices and rifles to the very troops who were supposed to be fighting the war. "Information from various separate sources and conversations with Vietnam veterans confirm that in many units grenades and firearms were taken from all but those on guard duty and on combat patrol. One soldier related how 'a colonel refused to arm the men in his camp, despite an NLF attack, because he was 'afraid of incidents.' Similarly, in 1971, members of Better Blacks United, an anti-racist organization centered in Tui Hoa, disclosed that commanders restricted the possession of arms about Blacks and white radicals. . . ."

Fraternalization with "the enemy" was also important in the crisis in the army. Many soldiers had close contact with Vietnamese civilians and had their minds blown that this so-called "war to defend democracy" by the U.S. was being countered by a true people's war in Vietnam. There were some instances of contact between troops and even a few famous incidents of American soldiers going over and fighting on the Vietnamese liberation side. (See the interview with the Vietnam veteran on page 8 of this issue.)

Europe

The GI movement in Europe during the Vietnam era also reached massive proportions, and many highly significant actions took place there that were much less publicized than the mutinies and other resistance activities in Vietnam. Dozens of GI organizations were functioning, and there was an especially conscious Black GI movement. *Overseas Weekly*, a military publication, in April 1971 ran a feature with the banner, "GIs Declare War On the Army," which detailed GI organizing and a number of armed assaults against military installations: "In one episode at Karlsruhe, 20 Black and white GIs of the 78th Engineers battalion launched a coordinated raid against the battalion commander's office and trucks at the highly sensitive atomic demolition maintenance section. Using molotov cocktails and a pick axe, the group managed to burn the headquarters of the commanding and executive officers and damage 23 trucks, thus delaying the scheduled beginning of field exercises the next morning. . . . In an earlier incident at Nuremburg, men of the 3rd Battalion, 11th Artillery incapacitated 14 self-propelled cannons and 45 other vehicles by pouring sugar into the fuel tanks."

Germany also witnessed openly revolutionary mass actions which united GIs of different nationalities. One of the most dramatic examples occurred at Nellingen, where radical GIs had mounted a molotov cocktail and firebombing campaign against the military brass. Finally, ". . . frightened commanders responded by mobilizing truckloads of MPs and imposing a 6:30 p.m. curfew. At about 9:00 p.m. that evening, however, approximately 100 GIs deliberately broke the curfew and marched through the base shouting 'Revolution' and 'Join Us' to fellow GIs. . . ." Stockade rebellions, rock throwing, window smashing, base riots, and politically motivated military sabotage were rampant in Germany during the early '70s; similar rebellions and incidents, although not on as broad a scale, occurred in Japan, and South Korea as well.

Major mutinies occurred in the Navy, especially the famous uprising on the aircraft carrier Kittyhawk in 1972, and the GI movement grew rapidly in the Air Force as ground troops were withdrawn from Vietnam and the bombing campaign assumed the main role in prosecuting the war against the Vietnamese people.

Despite the deep crisis posed for the ruling class by the GI movement, it was subject to the same limitations as the general anti-imperialist movement in American society as a whole, and it inevitably ebbed with the end of the war in Vietnam and the ebb of the Black liberation struggle in the mid-'70s, along with the end of the draft and the initiation of the "all volunteer army." The volunteer army, in fact, represented in part an attempt by the imperialists to fashion a professional mercenary army that would be a real reliable tool not subject to the sharp class and racial contradictions which had such explosive consequences during the Vietnam era. Of course their "volunteer army" generally drew from the poorest ranks in society and was also considered "not reliable," particularly in the form of "too Black" for the bourgeoisie's comfort. But now they have been forced to reinstate draft registration, and soon they will have no choice but to once again fill the ranks of their military massively with the oppressed and exploited masses with absolutely no interest in fighting and dying in an imperialist war.

The coming war, as pointed out earlier, will certainly be a very different thing than the Vietnam war: the contradictions will be immeasurably sharper, the question of the loyalty and reliability of the troops will be a literally life and death question for U.S. imperialism, and the most ruthless measures will be taken to root out the slightest sign of rebellion or "subversion." And the nature of the war, in which the U.S. imperialists' opponent will not be a small nation fighting for liberation, but another giant imperialist power contending with the U.S. for world domination, will also mean radically different conditions of struggle. But the depth of the contradictions and the great opportunities before the proletariat will also be immeasurably higher. In the coming war—a war which itself can only be stopped by revolution—a defeat for the U.S. imperialists and the transformation of the imperialist war into a civil war, in which a section of the imperialist armed forces themselves can be won over to the revolutionary cause, is a real possibility. With this future in mind, the inspiring history of the GI rebellions of the Vietnam era, in which many thousands of troops openly and actively stood—in word and deeds—for the defeat of the United States and joined in solidarity with the anti-imperialist struggle, should be recalled and its lessons seriously studied. □

COMING FROM BEHIND TO MAKE REVOLUTION

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

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