



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

No. 148 (Vol. 3, No. 46) Published weekly

March 26, 1982

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French ISSN 0193-3485 50c

Palestinian Upsurge Meets Latest Israeli Assault in West Bank

Israel has dramatically stepped up its campaign of terror against the Palestinian population of the occupied West Bank. There are strong indications that the recent attacks may be part of a systematic strategy by the Begin regime aimed at the outright formal annexation of the West Bank in the near future. Two weeks ago, the Israeli Defense Ministry dissolved by military decree the elected town council of El Bireh on the West Bank and dismissed its mayor, on charges they refused to cooperate with the newly formed Israeli civilian administration. The attempt to replace direct Israeli military rule with a Zionist civilian bureaucracy is widely seen on the West Bank as a step toward annexation.

The dismissal of the El Bireh town council triggered large demonstrations of Palestinians who blocked the streets with burning tires and threw rocks at Israeli soldiers. Most of the West Bank has been in the grip of a general strike since Friday, March 19, though news has been sketchy, the Israeli repression has met with fierce resistance in nearly every town in the region: Bethlehem, Nablus, Ramallah, Hebron, as well as the city of Jerusalem has been the site of major disturbances. Throughout the area, youths have come to the forefront. In el Bireh itself, on

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**Rebel Youth!
May 1st is
Approaching!**

On that day from behind every boundary, every wall and every prison-schoolyard gate will burst the dreams of a future without oppression and war. The proletariat, who come from every nation and belong to none, can lead the assault on the fortress of the past. Above all isn't it the youth who delight in spitting in the face of tradition, defiling every rule and code that bourgeois society would have us live by? And when the youth step out and challenge the hypocrisy and the rot aren't they always attacked? Here with the force of arms of the state, there with a barrage of condescending lies about how inexperienced and naive they are to "the way the world works" "Oh, the idealism of youth" these saviors cluck.

Fine! Let the ideals of youth blaze forth on May First, inspiring our friends and terrifying our enemies. Imagine in the streets of these citadels of imperialist slaughter and oppression, youth from El Salvador, Iran, youth from the ghettos and barrios, and punks from garageland joining together in a living expression of the world we will bring into being.

Let the youth who are filled with daring and determination to raise the red flag to unprecedented heights challenge others to blow the lid off the stifling atmosphere of reformism and look to the future world proletarian revolution.

In this spirit the Revolutionary Communist Party makes a call: Let the youth be in the forefront more fully and consciously than ever before. On to the First of May!

Put the Stamp of the International Proletariat on
New York, Atlanta,
L.A.

Another Coup for Democracy in Guatemala

A mere two weeks after the embarrassing spectacle provided by the Guatemalan military regime's staging of elections — surprise! — the constitutional process has once again been vindicated in the finest traditions of U.S. democracy. On March 23, the outgoing Lucas Garcia regime and its handpicked president-elect, General Anibal Guevara, were abruptly removed in what was described as a "bloodless" coup d'état and replaced with yet another military regime. In the no-nonsense fashion of the U.S.'s typical democratic recipe for Latin America, tanks, helicopters and troops commanded by what the media solemnly described as "rebel leaders" surrounded the National Palace, brought up artillery pieces to within point blank range and ordered the Lucas government and its functionaries out with their hands up. Some reports have it that Lucas and Guevara were driven immediately to the airport and flown out of the country to "destinations unknown." (Miami, perhaps?) Others have it that the Lucas government remains in the country, safe and sound under house arrest.

It was quickly announced that a three-man junta and a six-man "advisory panel" of junior officers had been set up to run the country, headed up by retired General Efraim Rios Montt, a born-again Christian who delivered a rambling soliloquy in which he screamed that "I have confidence in my God, my Master and my King, that He will guide me, because only He can grant or take away power" (a most fitting invocation to his U.S. imperialist creators). Rios declared that the elections had been fraudulent and pledged to restore "authentic democracy" to Guatemala. After all, authentic democratic elections didn't do the trick, so why not an authentic democratic coup? As the media hastened to point out, Rios was only taking what was rightfully his since he was elected back in 1974 when the elections were stolen from him by the military's man Laugerud!

Once the coup seemed to be "in place," the U.S. media apparatus began to crank out the usual prepared fairy tales: e.g., "It was clear that the coup was popular with the Guatemalan people, who turned out in front of the National Palace to sing the national anthem and dance in the streets..." Undoubtedly there were a few reactionary civil servants and supporters of the new regime dancing around in anticipation of "getting theirs." However, the only pictorial evidence the press could come up with of the masses' "patriotic enthusiasm" for the latest turn of events was a shot of Guatemalan youths looting the home of a deposed government official during the confusion. Nevertheless one U.S. embassy official rejoiced for reporters that "Everything they're (the new junta) saying is sounding good now. It's like being for apple pie and motherhood."

Indeed, it is. Expanding a bit more on this point, one guerrilla spokesman quipped: "This farce is another farce within the farce. And Rios Montt is just another



A street scene in the capital of Guatemala in the weeks before the elections.

gorilla." Indeed, the following day as the new junta members assembled before the camera appropriately bedecked in enduring symbols of motherhood and apple pie — wearing jungle camouflage uniforms and packing .45's and M-16's — Rios enlightened the press on the reason for his "popular" success: his troops, he said, were "Israeli-trained — that's why the coup went so well!" He then revealed the junta's first steps toward "restoring democracy": the constitution was suspended, Congress was immediately dissolved, the junta would rule by decree and all forms of political activity were immediately banned. "We do not want any more cheap politicians!" Rios screamed. We will have a proper democracy here ... or else!

U.S. "Surprise"

The U.S. rulers were, of course, completely taken aback by these developments. A smirking Secretary of State Haig, attempting his best to dead-pan for reporters, stated that "We are following it very closely. It's too early to make any substantive comment, and I'll reserve on that until the situation is clarified." Meanwhile, the U.S. media could hardly contain its undisguised glee as it reported on the "unexpected" developments which had been signaled the week before by Assistant Secretary of State Thomas O. Enders' statement that the U.S. had "not committed" to the Guatemalan government in the way it has to El Salvador — i.e., that they were not wedded to the particular set of over-exposed U.S. lackeys who ran things last week. On the day of the coup, ABC Nightly News mused that Washington would not "shed any tears" over the downfall of the Lucas regime and that "The U.S. could use some good news in Central America ... a regime that would do something about

human rights." Another report straightforwardly stated the day after the coup: "U.S. officials said they hope the new regime will show a desire for friendly relations with the United States..." (No doubt the U.S. rulers are sitting on pins and needles awaiting the junta's first definitive foreign policy statement!)

Soon, however, the obligatory expressions of "surprise" — which are standard operating procedure after the U.S. pulls off one of its palace revolts — had subsided. The next day the *New York Times* was openly admitting that "Some United States officials have said they were aware since January that junior military officers were plotting a coup." There were a few crossed signals, however, as simultaneously in Guatemala City one of the plotters doggedly continued to insist to reporters that "The first reaction of the United States was surprise. Even their intelligence service did not know of the coup."

Such minor confusion aside, it has been transparently obvious for the past couple of weeks that the U.S. has been preparing public opinion for the changing of the guard in Guatemala's presidential palace. A few days before, a CBS special on Central America in Revolt blatantly did a bit of agitating for a coup in its Guatemalan segment by doing a little exposure of the U.S.'s very own death merchants in power and complaining about how the government's "legitimacy" must be restored if it is to meet the "growing challenge" of guerrilla insurgency. Likewise, an article on El Salvador in last week's issue of *Time* contained a none-too-subtle bit of uncanny prophecy as an unnamed Guatemalan "opposition leader" remarked: "Something is going to happen here. I can feel it. The will of the people has been mocked one time too many."

That the Lucas clique could by no means be said to have a monopoly on such mockery was apparent from the first utterances of the new junta, as spokesman Leonel Sisniega Ortega read a statement over the national radio explaining that the coup had been necessary because Guatemala "is in the midst of hunger and misery, subjugated through the use of terror by a corrupt minority." The statement further pledged "absolute respect to international treaties signed by our country and full respect for the human rights of all Guatemalans." And just to make the full meaning of this new found respect for its international obligations clear to the new regime's U.S. imperialist backers, Sisniega then repeated the standard vow of all Guatemalan government leaders — a pledge to eradicate the guerrilla movement from the face of the earth!

A "Moderate, Broad-Based" Coup

While there was some apparent confusion about which particular forces had the upper hand in the junta, when the first reports of the coup were allegedly "received" in Washington, administration officials nevertheless hastened to affirm that, whatever the case, they believed that Guatemala was finally "in the hands of moderates."

Just who some of these "moderates" are was apparent from the installation of Rios as the temporary head of the junta. Rios, backed by the Christian Democrats in the 1974 election, worked his way up through the military ranks by distinguishing himself as a top-notch butcher during the U.S.-directed 1966-68 counter-insurgency campaign known as "Operation Guatemala" in which thousands of peasants were slaughtered under the auspices

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Deng Xiaoping vs. Lin Biao ... Their Lines and Their Times

Chamber of Commerce Types VS. Revolutionary Nationalists

Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in the talk, "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," published as a special issue of Revolution magazine (issue No. 50). Earlier excerpts in this series dealt with questions about the party (RW issues 136-144) and about anarchism (issues 145-6) and "'60s people" (issue 147). Bob Avakian's remarks are edited from a tape. This segment will continue next week.

Q: In "Conquer the World..." you put forward the need to look at the '70s developments from a more international viewpoint. You raised Lin Biao's *Long Live the Victory of People's War* and the Chinese line of that time (the late '60s) and what it has in common with the "three worlds" theory of later on. Could you expand on your thinking on what happened in the '70s internationally, this whole ebb period in the movement?

BA: Take Lin Biao's *Long Live the Victory of People's War* on the one hand and the "three worlds" theory on the other. First of all, I think the Lin Biao document is a much more revolutionary document. It has errors in it; especially with what we've learned since we can sum them up more clearly as errors. Whereas the "three worlds" theory, especially as it has been developed and put forward by Deng Xiaoping and in particular after the coup d'etat in '76, is a counterrevolutionary theory. If I were to describe the line of *Long Live the Victory of People's War* I would say that it is a document that contains both Marxist-Leninist analysis and also a lot of revolutionary nationalism. I think it is correct in identifying the third world as the storm center and focal point of revolutionary struggle at that time against imperialism and in particular U.S. imperialism. I think it is correct even in identifying the principal contradiction in the world at that time as the one between the oppressed nations and imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism. That's a basically correct position.

However I also think that there are some things that are clearly wrong in there. I pointed some of them out in

that excerpt, "What's Wrong With Impatience..."* that was reprinted in the RW. In particular there is a tendency to try to take the experience of Vietnam and mechanically project the reproduction of it throughout the third world as though it could be done everywhere there. On the one hand it says that Vietnam becomes sort of a concentration point or focal point of world contradictions, but on the other hand it doesn't apply that in the sense that it projects the idea that what's being done in Vietnam can be done everywhere in the third world. Things are more complex than that, and precisely because Vietnam became a kind of focal point and a concentration point, it's a little unusual. Not everything is, obviously, a concentration point at the same time. Similarly there is the idea of surrounding the cities by the countryside, which was taken from the experience of the Chinese struggle. In particular that whole essay hinges on extending the analogy of the anti-Japanese war in China to the world situation at that time with U.S. imperialism being cast in the role that Japan played in the struggle in China during the pivotal period in the Chinese revolution.

Now to put *Long Live the Victory of People's War* in context, it was also written as part of a line struggle in the Chinese party and in opposition to the line of reliance on the Soviet Union. It was struggling against a line in the Chinese party at that time which was summing up historical experience in such a way as to erroneously project the idea that reliance on the Soviet Union and cooperation with the Soviet Union is essential and correct, in the conditions of the mid-'60s when the Soviet Union, as is pointed out in Lin Biao's essay, is betraying national liberation struggles everywhere and collaborating with U.S. imperialism in pursuit of its own developing and more strongly emerging imperialist interests. At that time the Soviet Union is collaborating with U.S. imperialism to suppress revolution and in particular to suppress national liberation struggles for fear that they will heighten contradictions and set things in motion which will disrupt and shatter the whole attempt and scheme of the Soviets at collaborating with U.S. imperialism in pur-

* "What's Wrong With Impatience in the Service of the International Proletariat?" (RW No. 102)

suit of the Soviet Union's own imperialist interests, and for fear that these struggles will cause the U.S. imperialists to come down on the Soviet Union, particularly at a time when the Soviet Union was unprepared for such a confrontation. So, *Long Live the Victory...* played that kind of role within the Chinese party and more broadly in the international movement in that struggle.

2, 3, Many Vietnams?

But at the same time, when *Long Live the Victory...* attempts to extend the analogy of the anti-Japanese war in China onto a world scale, it runs into some troubles. For one thing, it makes an absolute, almost a principle, out of a fact that it correctly cites, that for a number of reasons the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in the advanced countries had been retarded, especially since World War 2. But one thing which is a problem in *Long Live the Victory...* and in fact was a general problem in all the documents that were mainly revolutionary and coming from the revolutionary camp in China was that they didn't really analyze the reasons for this retardation. And when some analysis was made, it didn't put enough emphasis on the objective situation and, ironically, it didn't see that the intensified plunder in the third world, and also certain changes that were made there to carry this out, were the underlying basis for the temporary lull and retarding of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in the advanced countries. They didn't really get into analyzing some of the things that more recently, for example, we've been forced to analyze in order to be able to continue to advance on the revolutionary road in the context of the sharpening world situation. So the fact of that retardation is noted, but is not analyzed, and is basically absolutized, and along with this what was happening in Vietnam is presented almost as proof of the validity of this notion of repeating the Chinese experience in the anti-Japanese war, the idea that you can spread that throughout the third world.

Ironically in some ways it is somewhat similar to Che Guevara's concept of "two, three, many Vietnams." Che Guevara didn't just confine himself to Latin America. He went to the Congo at one point in the early '60s and so on. And there is some similarity with this Chinese line, although I wouldn't want to get into analyzing all the similarities and differences right now. But it's an interesting aside, somewhat ironic, because the Guevara line and the Chinese line would come sharply into conflict (maybe not so sharply then, but soon afterwards). And that was also complex because Guevara's line was incorrect, but so were some of the lines that in particular the revisionists in the Chinese party used to oppose Guevara and Guevara's influence. On the other hand there was a more correct opposition to Guevara coming from Mao and his revolutionary comrades, in opposition to the short-cut methods that Guevara tried to use which did contribute to his being isolated and cut down.

But in any case, *Long Live the Victory...* tries to take the idea that you can repeat or extend the Vietnam experience all throughout the third world. So while on the one hand it makes a principle out of and treats undialectically the lull, the ebb, the retreat and retarding of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in the advanced countries, it also treats rather metaphysically the prospects for and the development of the revolutionary struggle in the third world, as though it's all uniform and there's all the same possibilities, and as if it's merely a question of the understanding and the will and determination to wage people's war. In fact, as I pointed out in "Conquer the World..." they even made the dividing line between genuine and sham Marxism whether you dare to and whether you do wage people's war and whether you support it.

This is a case where some of the more glaring errors did not show up right away because of the importance of the Vietnam struggle at that time in particular and because of the fact that it was in the third world in general that the storm center of revolution against imperialism was concentrated. But especially with further developments since then, and by deepening our grasp of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought as an integral ideology, we can more clearly see some of the errors. The error of attempting to extend the experience and analogy of the anti-Japanese war in China onto a world scale, and to project the struggle in Vietnam throughout the third world and as the basis for encircling the imperialist citadels, in particular the U.S., begins to run up against its limitations and begins to turn into its opposite. One incorrect tendency that appears not just in *Long Live the Victory*

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**Charting the
Uncharted
Course
Proletarian Revolution
in the U.S.!**

Reprinted from a section of the report from the 1980 Central Committee Meeting of the RCP, USA

"The point is to challenge old, economist conceptions of what an insurrection and civil war is. We have to get away from straight-jacketing preconceptions of the sort that the enemy is 100 families and that millions upon millions will surround them (after a round of successful general strikes). In 'Guerrilla Warfare' Lenin wrote, 'The forms of struggle in the Russian revolution are distinguished by their colossal variety as compared with the bourgeois revolutions in Europe, Kautsky partly foretold this in 1902 when he said that the future revolution (with the exception perhaps of Russia, he added) would be not so much a struggle of the people against the government as a struggle between two sections of the people...'"

"Historically, having a majority working class has always been viewed as an advantage for the revolution in a certain sense, it is. But isn't there some strategic significance to this fact? Isn't it more difficult to win this whole class to a revolutionary banner? Doesn't it mean we have to look at the strategic significance of the stratification within the working class itself, even within the industrial proletariat?"

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Chamber of Commerce Types

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of *People's War*, but in the General Line polemic** and generally in the line put forward by the Chinese, including Mao at that point, is that the other imperialists besides the U.S. are treated unevenly. The other Western imperialist powers are sometimes treated as part of the enemy camp along with the U.S., but in other contexts, even in the context of talking about possible allies for the national liberation struggles, at least some of those imperialists are treated as possible allies, if vacillating and temporary allies. They are treated as possible allies of the national liberation struggles in that period against U.S. imperialism, or it is presented as if the contradiction between them and U.S. imperialism can be made use of in such a way as to neutralize or partially and temporarily win over some of these imperialist powers to support these national liberation struggles. And this in fact was not correct. Along with this is the idea that if the fires of national liberation wars are lit up throughout the third world this will literally consume U.S. imperialism. *Long Live the Victory...* says: "U.S. imperialism like a mad bull dashing from place to place, will finally be burned to ashes in the blazing fires of the people's wars it has provoked by its own actions."

Correct Thrust—but "Left" and Right Errors

As that letter "What's Wrong With Impatience..." pointed out, I believe it's correct to overall uphold the revolutionary thrust of this kind of position in this time, because it was an attempt to make the most out of a revolutionary upsurge that was occurring in the national liberation movements in many parts of the third world. That's the correct thrust which should be upheld down to today and that attitude and the attempt to do that should be united with and learned from. But still there were these errors. And it's not simply that there was an overestimation of the situation, but along with that were certain errors of line—both "left" and right. In a little bit we'll get around to what features this *Long Live the Victory...* line has in common with the Deng Xiaoping "three worlds" theory. But it might be possible to say in certain ways that the errors involved in *Long Live the Victory of People's War* were "left" errors in the sense that I've just been talking about, that is, overestimating the possibilities of just spreading the experience of Vietnam, or extending the experiences of China in the anti-Japanese war uniformly, and overestimating the advances that could be made and attempting to push things further than they could actually go. If on the one hand you could say there was a "left" error of that kind, there were also some tendencies expressed in *Long Live the Victory...* which called for a very broad united front of forces, and this, as I said, even implied at least certain imperialist forces—states or sections of the imperialist ruling classes—other than the U.S. imperialists.

This, too, was an attempt to extend the anti-Japanese war analogy and in part at least the Vietnam experience where there was an enemy of the nation and the overwhelming majority of the nation could be, should be and was united against that national enemy, Japan in the case of China, and the U.S. in Vietnam. This kind of invasion by a foreign imperialist power, and a war of national resistance, makes possible a very broad united front in colonial and semi-colonial countries. But the accumulating of forces and the actual political preparation for revolution in the advanced countries—the imperialist countries—was not taken up. That merged with the oversimplified and metaphysical tendency to try to project uniformly the Vietnam experience or the anti-Japanese war experience in China onto a world scale. That interpenetrates with the error of generally calling for very broad united fronts without making all the necessary distinctions. Yes, in Vietnam it was correct, but in other parts of the world at the same time, or in other situations it may not be possible and may not be correct to try to establish such a broad united front.

The situation in China was not the same, for example, after the anti-Japanese war as it was during that war. It still was correct to try to build the united front of all forces that could be united against the enemies of the time but certainly it wasn't correct to try to continue a united front with Chiang Kai-shek as in the anti-Japanese war, because that was now the very force you had to concentrate your blows against. And, leaving aside the fact that the question of strategy for revolution in the imperialist countries wasn't even addressed, another problem was that the situation isn't uniform in the third world. There were and are different situations. In some situations, even though in these countries the domination by imperialism must be broken, nevertheless the form of the struggle may at a given point more closely approximate revolutionary civil war than the kind of national war of resistance with a very broad united front that correctly characterized the struggle in China during the anti-Japanese war. In other words, it might be more analo-

gous to the war against Chiang Kai-shek afterward. (That war was in fact a national liberation war because it was U.S. imperialism that was the bulwark behind Chiang Kai-shek and without breaking its stranglehold on China no real social change was possible; but nevertheless it has been described often as a *civil* war and did take that form with the imperialists operating through Chiang Kai-shek and through supplying material and so on.) Plus in some countries in the third world half of the population, or nearly half, is in the urban areas—in some cases even more. While there still is a national liberation character to the struggle there, it is not the same as the situation in China before, during and after the anti-Japanese war, during the whole phase of the new democratic revolution and the national liberation struggle.

So, you get into problems when you try to project this internationally; and unfortunately this had some harmful effects, misleading influences on people in terms of thinking they could simply one-to-one reproduce the experience of the anti-Japanese war in China. This produced both "left" errors and also right errors. Promoting the idea that you ought to be able to unite a very broad array of forces when that might not be possible in a particular country and its situation within the web of world contradictions, which is a strong thrust through Lin Biao's *Long Live the Victory of People's War*, promotes errors to the right. Errors to the "left" come in the form of the tendency to overestimate the possibility to advance, to see a possibility for a uniform advance throughout the Third World.

I think that *Long Live the Victory...* even though it was written by Lin Biao, was not just Lin Biao's document; it was a document of the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party including Mao, though I think that it contained errors that reflected the influence of Lin Biao and I think the influence of Lin Biao was in an opportunist direction even then, in 1965. (I'm not going to try to get into dissecting whether or not he was mainly an opportunist at that point or not, but I think there were some definite opportunist tendencies in there that were his.) Had Mao taken on the task of writing this document and not had to unite with Lin Biao at that point, the document would have been better than *Long Live the Victory of People's War* was. It wouldn't have had some of the errors that are in there. But on the other hand, I do think that the general thrust of it was the position of the Chinese leadership including Mao, and there is a basically correct thrust in the sense that there is a basically revolutionary thrust. It is an attempt to figure out how to make the greatest advances against the main enemy on a world scale at that time. It does identify the most powerful reactionary force, the head of the imperialist camp at the time, it does identify where the main revolutionary storm center was and it does attempt to give impetus to the one against the other. In that sense and in that aspect it is correct. However, the way in which it attempts to do that, the line it puts forward, and the strategy it projects, contains a number of fairly significant errors.

Revolutionary Nationalists

To make it a little more provocative and sharpen it up, the Lin Biao line is basically what the revolutionary nationalist position in China was; it is the position held at that time by the most radical of the bourgeois democrats in China. Lin Biao had not really ruptured beyond being a radical bourgeois democrat. Nevertheless, given the situation at the time—a period of upsurge of national liberation struggles—and the concrete position of China in relationship both to the imperialists and to the revolutionary peoples, given the relationship of the different contradictions in the world, there was a section of this stratum in China that took a strong revolutionary position against imperialism, even if on a revolutionary nationalist basis and not a really thoroughly or fundamentally Marxist-Leninist one. That's different than Mao. But I think that it was possible for Marxist-Leninists to unite with these forces at that time, at least up to a point, and that included within China, even within the same party.

Despite all the Hoxha-ites and their erroneous ideas of pure, monolithic parties, and the purity of Marxism-Leninism and so on, things are not pure and monolithic and even within the party you will find yourself forced to unite with people whose position if not broken with will lead them in the future to be against the thrust of revolution, and against the Marxist-Leninist line. But for the time their position does not bring them into antagonism with the Marxist-Leninist line. That occurs broadly in society and also even within the party, though on a different basis and a different level because these people in the party uphold Marxism-Leninism in name and present their theories and political programs in terms of Marxism-Leninism. Maybe even in their own subjective understanding they think that they are Marxist-Leninists; that's impossible to gauge, but they present themselves as Marxist-Leninists and present their positions and arguments as Marxist-Leninist. This is different than people outside the party who either are openly not Marxist-Leninists or even sometimes opposed to Marxism-Leninism, but at various junctures take a revolutionary position from a nationalist or radical democratic position. You will find such people outside the party and you will find them of a different variety and in a different context inside the party.

At that point in the 1960s there was a good section of bourgeois democrats in China that was driven to take a radical democratic and even revolutionary position in the world. Such a position did not bring them into antagonism with the whole upsurge of national liberation struggle that was going on throughout various parts of the third world. You saw the same phenomenon in the

U.S. People whose ideology was still ultimately bourgeois, who hadn't really ruptured with bourgeois democracy, still took a very revolutionary stance. I'm talking about forces that took a genuinely revolutionary stance, or a radical stance of opposition to the system, especially among the Black people and other oppressed nationalities in the U.S. itself during the height of the '60s movement; that was a very real and significant phenomenon. The same thing was true throughout the third world in general, and also was true in China. And those forces tended to group around Lin Biao.

I think that it was necessary for Mao to unite with them. And under the conditions, they influence you and you influence them. Principally, you influence them if you're on the correct road and you maintain a principled position and fight for it—which Mao did. Mainly you influence them, but they also influence you, and the times and the conditions that drive you together influence you and pull you in certain directions. So Lin Biao is not in the camp of Mao, in the sense of being a Marxist-Leninist; still there's able to be unity there and Mao influences him, but secondarily, he and the conditions that make this unity possible temporarily also influence Mao.

On the other hand, Deng Xiaoping represents a wing of these bourgeois democrats which tends to come to the fore when there is not an upsurge but a lull and a reflux, an ebbing of the tide of the revolutionary movement. These kind of bourgeois democrats who are not so radical, who are much more openly reformist, capitulationist and pro-imperialist are the ones among that general stratum of bourgeois democrats who tend to come to the fore and have the upper hand. Not inevitably, not mechanically, not directly and one-to-one as a result of the change in the overall conditions, but the conditions tend to foster and support them. They did not triumph inevitably, but the way the contradictions were shaping up in the world as a whole in the mid-'70s tended to favor these forces. Much more than Lin Biao, they tended to be that section among the bourgeois democrats who came to the fore. Now they are not absolutely distinct, pure sections that are completely unrelated to each other. Some people may have been in one at one time and in another at another time.

Analogy to Black Liberation Struggle

Just for a second let's put this phenomenon in terms of the U.S. situation, which people in the U.S. may be more familiar with (although we don't want to promote narrowness and nationalism and chauvinism), but just to put it in those terms for a second and use an analogy: In the Black liberation struggle, there were a lot of people whose ideology was still ultimately bourgeois and even whose politics were ultimately reformist, who were however extremely radical—it would even be correct to call them revolutionary in their stance. They were revolutionary nationalists during the upsurge of the '60s. Some of them were out championing the upsurges of the Black masses and seeking to give expression to them politically and organizationally. That was wrapped up, of course, with a great deal of what was called cultural nationalism at the time, openly bourgeois nationalism. But the types that came to the forefront roughly in the late '70s, were much more your three-piece suit types. You know, the ones with a briefcase who are "beating the man at his own game" or "hustling him" and who may or may not wear a Dashiki, but still basically the only thing they have in common with what was going on earlier is some of the rhetoric and some of the external forms. They may have some of the cultural trappings of the earlier period, but it no longer has the same content and thrust of "fuck you and fuck your whole system and your racist oppression" and is much more an expression of upwardly mobile bourgeois aspirations. It's like Sister Sledge with her all-American girls theme. Even when Curtis Mayfield was singing, "we're moving on up," it divided very sharply into two. It had the bourgeois upwardly mobile character to it, but also was more speaking for what the masses were doing, even though it was certainly not the fullest or most radical expression of it. But now, "we're all-American girls" is an expression of that negative side in the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois strata.

It's not fair to take Andy Young as an example of this because he never was a radical; I don't imagine he even pretended to be a revolutionary, but he did pretend to be a so-called civil rights activist. He isn't really an example, but there are others who were active in that time, who even took a radical, revolutionary stance and have since gone the three-piece suit route. It's not just that the same people have changed their stance, there's also different strata who have come more to the fore. There were some people who put down their Molotov cocktails and picked up their briefcase. Some of them were sincere about what they were doing when they were throwing Molotov cocktails and that really was their stance. And some were only pimping off it at the time and maybe didn't throw them but assumed the posture after the danger was over. There were both kinds. And, of course, there were also some who didn't give in and capitulate, even if they became confused or temporarily demobilized, disoriented.

In the mid-to-late-'70s in the U.S. too, this was part of an overall world phenomenon; the U.S. had its own dialectic but it was in an overall sense part of this larger phenomenon, particularly part of the larger ebb in the revolutionary struggle. And this phenomenon of the bourgeois nationalists in the U.S. can in some ways be used as an analogy for what happened on a world scale and also for what happened in China. You had these different wings, or sectors within the general group of bourgeois democratic forces, some of whom were ex-

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** "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement," (Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1963).

An International Exchange for May Day

Upon reading the call to action on May Day in the *RW*, my heart was filled with the joy of celebrating the day of the international proletariat. And I also pictured the battlefield of the future and the challenge to act in a revolutionary, internationalistic tradition and spirit. Not to just watch it, but more, to make it a loud-sounding event that neither the enemy nor the oppressed masses of the world can ignore. A thunder that spreads fear in the heart of the enemy here and the world, when we storm the streets of U.S. imperialism. With the far-reaching scope beyond the borders of countries in mind we will celebrate in solidarity with op-

pressed people armed in El Salvador and Afghanistan. We must not just wait for that day, we must prepare by sending messages of support and plans for proletarian internationalist action on May 1st. That could be done by sending a banner, red flags or even letters to be carried by other fellow workers and oppressed on May Day. As symbols of internationalism that go beyond all the poisonous national chauvinism and patriotism upheld by the imperialist rulers, we more and more understand that only the international outlook can serve our class interest.

During the American spy crisis in Teh-

ran, in the height of the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of Iran, the U.S. embassy was surrounded by millions of people gathering to express their hatred and anger at U.S. imperialism (when, of course, the reactionary U.S. media and their master U.S. rulers were trying to get "everybody behind the red, white and blue rag"). One day there was a six-foot tall banner proclaiming "U.S. Hands Off Iran!", "No U.S. Military Intervention in Iran!", and "Send the Shah Home To Face the Wrath of the Iranian People!" signed by defense workers from McDonnell-Douglas, hanging from the wall of the U.S. embassy in Tehran. I wish I had been there to see the joy of the people, but I can just say that when I talked to my mother on the phone, who is an old woman and does not read or write (she knew nothing of politics before the revolution) she said: "Tell your American friends that we have nothing against the people, we are fighting against U.S. imperialism." What did the banner indicate? Think now leading up to May 1st what impact these banners and messages could have.

Or, when the Shah of Iran went to Panama seeking a calm and comfortable hole to hide from the people's wrath. He soon learned that things wouldn't be easy for him, when thousands of Panamanians gave him no shelter and no comfort — they kicked out the Dog of Dogs, with his tail between his legs. This was a tremendous victory for the proletariat worldwide. Here the Panamanian masses risked their lives to deliver a clear message that resulted in thwarting the U.S. imperialists' plans for their neo-colony to harbor their puppet. And seeing the Panamanian brothers and sisters on the TV screen, fighting the police and burning

the red, white and blue, reminded me of scenes of battles in the streets of Tehran.

I remember even hearing of thousands of Iranian people in Tehran and 14 other cities in Iran taking to the streets with their anger at U.S. imperialism in support of the Miami rebellion when the outrage of the Black masses over yet another brutal police murder exploded in rebellion in "Liberty" City. The action of the Iranian people was a clear indication that they have also set their sights beyond their borders. Let's bring the sentiment from thinking to doing, from wishing to action itself. Forward to May Day '82.

From an Iranian, living in the U.S. for the past five years

This proposal that various groups among the masses here — from a particular housing project or neighborhood, factory, school or whatever — send symbols and messages of proletarian internationalism to the masses of other countries would play an important part in helping to inspire and shape a truly internationalist May Day. A similar proposal has been made to friends and comrades around the world. Such exchanges on May First can help splinter the nationalism and narrowmindedness with which the bourgeoisie tries to bind the proletariat in the imperialist countries and strengthen the proletarian internationalist trend in the oppressed nations fighting imperialist domination as well. People here wishing to send such exchanges can send them to our national post office box for us to forward if they wish; or they can send them other ways and let us know about it. We hope that people living here with contacts abroad can help spread this appeal far and wide.



A banner and messages sent to Iran during the embassy takeover.

L.A. Workers Say: "It's Not OUR Embassy"

LA NUWO to Iran
The following statement was circulated by the Los Angeles chapter of the National United Workers Organization and signed by 97 workers. It was read at an event sponsored by Iranian students several weeks ago in southern California.

To the Iranian People from American Workers:
The history of U.S. imperialist domination of Iran has been written in the blood of the Iranian people—witness the 1953 student massacre that occurred at the time of Nixon's visit to Iran that we remember here tonight. Comrades—Iranian brothers and sisters. We reject this domination of the American people and the American workers. We have never stood wholeheartedly with the heroic struggle of the Iranian people and we stand against U.S. imperialism and its bloody rule. This domination has never been passively accepted by the masses of Iranian people and we state today, the passive acceptance of this criminal activity in our name is ENDING!

The Iranian rulers to incrementally, to ret nothing else b over the Iran worldwide. Therefore, DEPORT TI

From the Struggling Masses in D.C. to the Fighting Masses of Iran

On Thursday, December 13th, the Iranian embassy dispatched a telegram to Tehran, Iran signed by 193 residents were gathered in less than a week through *Revolutionary Worker* networks displaying them on their counters, on university campuses and in throughout D.C. After passing from hand to hand, it was sent to coincide with the visit of the Send the Shah Back/Hands Off Iran delegation. The telegram stated in part: "From the Struggling Masses of Iran: We, the undersigned with the Iranian people against the designs of the U.S. imperialists to pull off a coup in Iran. The revolutionary might of the Iranian people drove the U.S. and their puppet Shah out of the country. The Iranian peo-

ple have responded to the master bringing his puppet under wing by taking over the U.S. embassy and taking the American public and cried about "our" oil, "our" embassy, "our" red, white and blue, "our" people being held hostage... The U.S. rulers' aim is to slip the noose of imperialist domination back around the neck of the Iranian people. They parade the most backward and reactionary forces to try to make us think that all Americans are half-crazed fools rattling off reactionary garbage like "Nuke Iran," etc. They want to get over their objective. But the people aren't going for their mess. We can see through it. The Iranian people are fighting our slavemaster the Iranian people against our common oppressor. (signed) 193 residents of Washington, D.C."

Nicaraguan and Salvadoran Youth Write

With a Different Future in Mind

The following letter was written by a group of Salvadoran and Nicaraguan youth who contacted the *Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade* to discuss plans they had for "Career Day," and also ideas they had about May Day. They especially requested that an RCYB political organizer come after school to sum up and make further plans.

Compañeros:

We give a revolutionary greeting to all our brothers in struggle and proceed to relate the following:

Today, March 24th, at the secondary school, Los Angeles High a so-called "Career Day" was being held, in which the capitalists spread their great opportunity for careers and professions that they offer us for the future of America.

One day before this "Career Day" we prepared to unmask this so-called "future of opportunities." We charged toward the school hall where said conferences were being held with representatives from the air force, army and navy. Challenging those representatives in front of all the students, we unleashed a huge revolutionary agitation, distributing the *Revolutionary Communist Youth* newspaper, defending our Red Flag, we challenged the common enemy. The students, armed with the newspaper, united with us. The teachers, security agents, and principal's assistants didn't know what to do on hearing the voices of the compañeros yelling "Revolution." "Down

with Capitalism." We were arrested and our newspapers confiscated; a number of compañeros were suspended from school for being revolutionaries, anti-racist, for being rebel-communists and for wearing RCYB T-shirts, because they are provoking, they are "inflammatory T-shirts." Later dozens of students got together across from the school to expose this slave-driving and hypocritical system, to make a call to all the students to prepare for May Day and to join the struggle. During the discussion an ideological struggle ensued among the students; it was resolved for the necessity of unity and participation of Black and Asian students. Also discussed was the need to take the voice of revolution through all the schools of Los Angeles to unite the student movement.

We could see that the response to this call was gigantic because many compañeros decided and called for continuing the struggle to form rallies to bring consciousness to people and continue forward.

"WE SHALL CONTINUE WITH THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE BECAUSE IT'S A HISTORICAL NECESSITY WHICH DIRECTS US TO BETTER HORIZONS. WE SHALL BURN THE HEAVENS IF NECESSARY TO MAKE REVOLUTION IN THIS COUNTRY AND IN EVERY CORNER OF THE WORLD." March 24th, 1982, Los Angeles, California.

Students in Struggle

The Rude and Unrepentant Women of the Paris Commune

The Paris Commune, proclaimed March 28, 1871 — the first seizure of power by the proletariat. Even though crushed by the French bourgeoisie a bare two months later, the Commune began to demonstrate in area after area what the proletarian revolution meant in practice. One aspect of this revolution, remarked upon by all observers, was the prominent part played by women. From the initial takeover of Paris on March 18 to the heroic fighting on the barricades which marked its last week, the Commune unleashed the fury of women as a mighty force for revolution in a way never before seen. Not only was there an unprecedented participation of women in every sphere of the activity of the Commune, from political struggle to organizing production to fighting militarily, but in this context women rose up to attack the sacred chains and institutions of bourgeois society which bound them, from the bourgeois family with its male as "lord and master" to the Catholic Church, which supported the oppression of women in a myriad of ways.

Already during the siege of Paris by the Prussian armies (beginning in September 1870) women had become active in various neighborhood committees, as ambulance nurses, or as canteen workers — organizations set up principally to deal with day-to-day problems connected with the siege, but which also brought women increasingly into political life — a fact taken full advantage of by revolutionaries like Louise Michel. On the eighteenth of March, the women played a large part in the successful seizure of

Paris. It was women, out early to buy bread, who gave the initial alarm about the attempt to secretly seize the National Guard cannons, and they also were decisive in the rapid winning-over of the bourgeoisie's troops who'd come for the cannons. As one General later described it: "The women and children mixed with the troops. We were greatly mistaken in permitting these people to approach our soldiers, for they mingled among them, and the women and children told them: 'You will not fire upon the people.' This is how the soldiers of the 88th, as far as I can see, and of another line regiment found themselves surrounded and did not have the power to resist these ovations that were given them."

But it was the period of the Commune itself which really showed the "feminine ferment." Look at the London *Times* reporter's account, reprinted on page 14, of the meeting of a woman's club. (There were numerous such clubs in the Commune where the agenda would likely begin with the question "How is society to be reformed?") All his bourgeois prejudices cannot conceal the energy, fury and creativity unleashed in these women by the revolution, and the essentially proletarian thrust of this upsurge. The anticlericalism is very marked — and with good reason. The church was firmly connected with the state and had the particular task of inculcating subservience into both the "lower orders" in general and into women in particular. After the 1848 revolution (in which the proletariat had first come forward head to head with the bourgeoisie), the French ruling class had

sought to stabilize things and Thiers (now the bourgeois leader at Versailles) had emphasized then that the church had to be given command in the educational field, and "the priest's action must be strong, stronger than ever, because I am counting on him to spread that true philosophy that man is here to suffer . . ." Not only did the church attempt to enslave the minds of the masses' children, but nuns also acted as surveillants in factories where young girls worked, to keep both their morals and their work "up to standard," and even acted as strike-breakers on occasion.

Women's clubs were not the only form of expression for the women of the Commune. They also participated in other political clubs, and formed organizations such as the Women's Union for the Defense of Paris and for Aid to the Wounded, organized by Elisabeth Dmitrieff as a section of the First International. Its avowed purpose was "to give assistance in the work of the government's commissions, and to serve at ambulance stations, at canteens, and at the barricades." Its primary function, with the Commune under attack almost from its first day by the troops and artillery of Versailles, was military. It also made plans for the organization of production through setting up cooperative workshops — but the implementation was interrupted by the entry of the Versailles troops into Paris.

Education was also a prime concern — to provide basic elementary education, secular and scientific, equally for both sexes. Priests and nuns were evicted from church schools as education began to be

reorganized, and plans were made for day care centers to be situated near factories.

Of course there were conflicts, different lines on the woman question as on others within the Commune. The first public pronouncement of the Women's Union was in response to a poster appearing on Paris walls appealing to both Versailles and the Commune for peace in the name of "a group of *citoyennes*" (women citizens). The Women's Union rightly branded the authors of this poster "an anonymous group of reactionaries" and declared that there could be no conciliation "between liberty and despotism, between the People and its torturers" and that the women of Paris would fight for the Commune which, "representing the international and revolutionary principles of the people, carries in itself the seeds of social revolution."

The same struggle between bourgeois and proletarian lines is manifest in a movement among women in early April, after the Versailles forces began attacking Paris. There was a series of initiatives by groups of women on April 3, 4 and 5 to "march on Versailles" — but some groups wanted to "call upon the Government to stop sending bombs down on Paris" and to appeal for peace, while others had the idea that they would march as soldiers and spur the male Communards into immediate action against Versailles. Both were more or less spontaneous movements, but while it is not at all surprising to find the influence of bourgeois and feudal ideas and the tendency to slip

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Women defend the barricades.



Hortense David a well-known *Canonnière* — one of the women at the barricades of the Commune who took up arms and fired cannons.



Louise Michel was the daughter of a peasant woman and a no good aristocrat who refused to acknowledge his child. In a more unusual twist, the father's parents helped to raise her and educated her in the tradition of 18th century rationalism; when these grandparents died, she was turned out as "a bastard." Louise got a diploma and became a teacher. Running into political restrictions after Napoleon III's coup in 1851, Louise moved with her mother to Paris. There she helped found the Society for the Reclamation of Women's Rights and the newspaper *Women's Rights*. During the siege of Paris, she founded a "vigilance committee" in Montmartre, and was elected delegate to the Central Committee of the 20 Arrondissements, which in February 1871 joined forces with the Trade Union Federation and the Paris sections of the International to form a Revolutionary Socialist Party, based on the demand for "... the abolition of the privileges of the bourgeoisie, its elimination as a ruling caste and the advent of the workers to political power." (This party does not seem to have endured as an organization into the time of the Commune.)

tionary transformation of society from top to bottom. She wanted to go to Versailles and kill the reactionary leader, Thiers. When this was over-ruled, partly on the grounds that it was impracticable, she disguised herself, made her way through the lines to Versailles, agitated among the troops and bought some newspapers to prove she'd been there, and returned safely. In another incident, when a panic-stricken Commune officer wanted to surrender the Clamart station, Louise Michel sat down with a lighted candle at the door of an ammunition storage room, saying, "Go ahead if you want to, but I will stay here, and I'll blow up the station if you surrender it." The station was not surrendered.

possible," and returned to her house to look for her mother. Finding that her mother had been arrested when Versailles police had failed to find Louise, she ran to the station and gave herself up in exchange for her mother's freedom.

Imprisoned and brought to trial, she refused a court-appointed defense lawyer and pleaded "innocent as charged," in a manner which had a tremendous effect both in France and internationally. (See the excerpts from her trial, page 15.) She was imprisoned on the French colony of New Caledonia. When a revolt of the Polynesian people broke out there in 1878, some of the imprisoned Communards joined the army of repression, but Louise Michel, an internationalist, took the part of the Polynesians and secretly aided them. Freed after the amnesty of 1880, she returned to France, became an anarchist revolutionary and was forced into exile in England in 1890. Just before her death in 1905, she hailed the first Russian revolution.

In the Commune's last week, she fought at a barricade at Montmartre cemetery until its 50 defenders were reduced to 15, and then led a retreat to another barricade, escaped when that one was overwhelmed, changed her bullet-riddled skirt, borrowed a hooded cape to look "as bourgeois as



Elisabeth Dmitrieff was a member of the International and organizer of the Women's Union for the Defense of Paris. For more information on her life see RW 147, page 8.



Paule Minck was the daughter of a Polish military officer who immigrated to France after the revolution of 1831. Language teacher, linen draper and journalist, she founded the *Société Fraternelle de l'Ouvrière* (Fraternal Society of Women Workers). During the Commune, she opened a free school in a church taken over for the purpose, wrote for the newspaper *The Social Revolution*, and then travelled to the provinces to agitate for the Commune. When the Commune was defeated she escaped to Geneva.

During the Commune she was everywhere, organizing women as both nurses and fighters, speaking in the clubs, fighting in the front ranks of the military battles. Several incidents illustrate her characteristic bold initiative, imbued with a vision of the revolu-

Nathalie Lemel ran a bookstore with her husband, then worked as a bookbinder when the business failed. She joined the International in 1866, and started a workers' food cooperative with Varlin (later prominent in the Commune), which also served as a secret place for political education. During the Commune, Nathalie helped Elisabeth Dmitrieff found the Women's Union, and worked within it. On May 21, as the Versailles troops entered Paris, she presided over the last session of a committee of the Women's Union, which then adjourned, red flag in the lead, to man the barricades. She was captured, and at her trial proudly acknowledged her role in the Commune. She was sentenced, with Louise Michel and others, to imprisonment in the French colony of New Caledonia (near Australia).



Aleut Testimony at War Crimes Tribunal

Sanam Aslan Tumin Ukun

It Is Time We Got Together

This testimony was given by an Aleut woman at the New York hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal against U.S. imperialism:

Aung Slum Angagengin:
Greetings People of the World:

Usakimichin tanam etxalaxtangin ilan walegan anatchin ukogatchin examnako. It is good to see all of you here from different lands.

Sanam aslan tumin ukun. It is time we got together.

Sanax nanax katox tatlax amey asgathgox amakun tukun angunasathax rxi tchin etanangin kreslan lethali slum emunagan matchxeli wa akun. Enough suffering, starvation, slavery and murders have been caused by the imperialist rats around the world.

Tumin aqathun agacha wan slox ekusgathukox. Only through understanding each other will we be able to turn this world around.

Unangax akoqen. I am an Aleut.

I should say Unangax. We were called Aleutsky by the Tsarist Russian Rats who came to our lands around 1741. Then Alaska was sold to the U.S. in 1867 and it was shortened to Aleut. Someone said it means "peasants" — aleutsky. Just like here on Ellis Island, they shorten names — from Aleutsky to Aleut. They have a thing about that, I don't know what it is. Tsarist Russia and the U.S. Rats tried to stop us from speaking this language I'm speaking fluently today. That was over 200 years ago.

Too many people even here in the U.S. do not know who the Aleuts are so I must give you some idea of their background, where they have lived for thousands of years, etc.

The Unangan (Aleuts) still live along the Aleutian Islands which extend out from the Alaskan peninsula westward with the Pacific Ocean to the south and the Bering Sea to the north. Aleuts also live on the Pribilof Islands which are located about 200 miles north of the largest Aleutian island, Unalaska, on the Bering Sea. The Pribilofs are four small islands. Two of them are inhabited with about 700 Aleuts. These Aleuts are on these islands because of the fur seals. At the present they are struggling to remain on the Pribilofs. Their main income comes from the fur seal industry. Most of them earn a salary during the sealing season in the summers and are laid off during the winters when they have to collect unemployment. The cost of living is so high individuals are thousands of dollars in debt. When the government completely pulls out by 1984, they will have to fend for themselves . . . They are trying desperately to create their own industry by fishing instead of opening a boat harbor and letting vultures from around the world take over the islands like at Unalaska where there are only about 250 Aleuts and 2000 or more non-Aleuts who could care less about their culture, language, etc. At Unalaska there are several canneries and floating canneries which do give the people jobs but also give them the evils of this so-called civilized society like the use of various drugs, high cost of living which is much higher than all other states.

The exploitation of the Aleuts began back in the 1700s when the Tsarist Rats came to the Aleutians. (They did not discover the islands, for our ancestors were there just like Christopher Columbus did not discover America.) Those Tsarist Rats murdered thousands of Aleuts. At times they lined them up to see how many they could kill with cannon balls. Some escaped into the mountains but were told all the people in the villages would be killed if they did not return. Anthropologists claim there were 25,000 Aleuts at that time but our elders told us that there were at least 5000 in one village and on Unalaska Island alone there were over several villages. They knew of village sites they did not dare tell the anthropologists for they did not like mummies being taken to

museums and artifacts which are rightfully theirs. So who knows for sure how many Aleuts were slaughtered like animals? I am sure they did not just stand there to be killed. We know they fought back but of course they did not have the weapons the monsters had.

Aleuts were taken by the Russians to the Pribilofs because of the fur seals. They were taken away from relatives and friends. We can imagine the horror they must have felt when they had to kill thousands of fur seals. The Aleuts knew of the existence of the fur seal islands but they, out of respect for nature, did not live on those islands.

Back in 1700, as I said, the Russian Tsarists were there and they started a deliberate destruction of our culture. "Be

Russian. Wear our clothes. Eat our food. Pray to our God." Ceremonies were stopped. Medicine men were stopped. We still have one, thank God. They practice in secret of course. Midwives, we still have a few left today. Of course their religion evidently said, "Slaughter as many of them as you can and beat them into submission" — the monsters' cry of victory throughout the world! (Which is happening today all over the world!) When, in 1867, Russia sold Alaska to the United States Rats, the Aleuts rebelled against having to teach their children another foreign language and another life style. They did not have much choice of course.

The Pribilof Islands became really isolated from the rest of the states and the

world. No wonder even today we are not known to exist. Because of the fur seals the people were not allowed to leave the islands except maybe to visit the Aleutian Chain. We were under the Fish & Wildlife or the Bureau of Fisheries. In other words we were classified as fur seals. A government agent was in charge with orders from Washington, D.C. Anyone wanting to visit the islands from other states had to have permission from Washington, D.C. The U.S. continued to use the feudal system the Russians used.

The men were separated into the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th and boys' classes. The 1st class man was the person who said, "Yes, sir. No, sir. What, sir?", and it went on down. Very few of them made it to this class which showed their contempt for this system. They were put into certain classes for various reasons.

An agent and a doctor inspected the homes every week to see if they were kept clean, saying they belonged to the government, although practically everything in the homes were bought with their small salaries or built by them. They built the homes themselves too. We had to call them "Mr. & Mrs.," as they called us by our first names. There was only one per-

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"Wednesday Music" in Colombia



Above: Police duck behind the wall of the entrance to the National University. The sign above the gate reads "Attention... Music... Wednesday."

Below: Cop jumps to the music as he tries to escape a teargas canister returned to him by the students.

Students at the National University of Colombia in Bogotá March 3 registered their feelings about the state of affairs in Colombia and the upcoming congressional elections there a few days before the polls opened. According to an article from *El Tiempo* in Bogotá, university students began the day's events by convening a rally in a plaza on campus, where portraits of the two Liberal Party and the one Conservative candidates for President were placed together on tripods. The Liberal and Conservative parties have taken turns governing Colombia for U.S. imperialism since the 1950s. Students described as "dressed as clowns, with extravagantly ridiculous costumes" set off a rocket, setting all three portraits afire. The students then marched off campus where they clashed with a well-armed contingent of riot police, who chased them back onto the campus.

El Tiempo relates, "The clash began in the usual way. There was an exchange of rocks. Suddenly the police were ordered by a major to pull out of the campus and the roles were reversed; the police turned from the pursuers into the pursued. . . The battle continued until three in the afternoon. The police threw teargas bombs and the students, in suicidal assaults, threw them back at the police." Later police opened fire, wounding many students; while a dozen police were also



felled. "A strong downpour finally allowed the police to enter the plaza and dominate the situation at last," continues *El Tiempo*.

In the following days, the revisionist Communist Youth organization denounced the anti-election demonstrations as "terrorist provocations" designed to

"impede the massive expression of the Colombian people who are going to the polls to support the forces of change"—in other words, the kind of "historic compromise" government with the pro-Soviet revisionists in a governing coalition with pro-U.S. elements that the Soviets are pushing throughout Latin America at this moment.

Colombian President Turbay Ayala, in turn, whose Liberal Party won the March 14 congressional elections, two days later called for an "inter-American" naval force to blockade Cuba and Nicaragua, saying that intervention against these two countries should come through the Organization of American States. "If the Americans act outside the inter-American system," he explained, "it becomes an imperialist act, an American act." Apparently his own act has been coming under fire.

Meanwhile, back at the National University, *El Tiempo* comments, "Curiously, the notices on the (campus—RW) walls say 'Attention—Music Wednesday.' Although such notices have been painted on the walls for several weeks, an observer notes that rock-throwing and car-burning always seems to happen on Wednesdays." This "Wednesday music," as *El Tiempo* calls it in such a sinister manner, seems to be spilling over throughout the week and the continent.

THE TERROR OF TOXTETH

Events in late February at a Toxteth, Liverpool grade school have shocked British authorities. The headmaster of the school, described as "a sick and shattered man," took an early retirement, his wife stating that the students had driven him "to despair." The media lashed out at the grade school pupils, first describing them as "a gang of pupils," at what was dubbed "the terror school," floating the rumor that they were running protection rackets for the first and second graders. A ten-year-old girl was singled out by the *London Times*, described as "the riot school leader," "the girl behind the terror at the school," and the real figure "behind the protection rackets." They would no doubt have loved to trot out the typical allegations levelled at those that oppose them—screaming about hardened "terrorist leaders" trained by the IRA in PLO camps, or perhaps they were Libyan hit squaders, who knows—but, since they were dealing with 8, 9 and 10 year olds, the authorities were forced to settle for the "racketeering" charge. The media hyenas dutifully shrieked at the youth, calling them "the mini Mafia," or "the children's mafia." Finally, Maggie Thatcher herself appeared in the House of Commons to express her "concern" over events at the school and delivered the hard-line warning that the youth would be dealt with, that "parents and all citizens have a duty both to teach the principle of law and order and to see that it is upheld."

What happened that aroused the holy, hysterical wrath of all official England, right up to the Prime Minister herself?

It was a righteous rebellion of the students, mostly nine and ten-year-olds, but including even seven-year-olds, who wreaked havoc on the school, the teachers and the administrators. The rebellion was set off by a mass "caning" (beating) of seven students by school authorities. But rebellion and turmoil had been seething for months. A staff spokesman said that teachers openly wept after lessons, that 25% regularly called in sick, and that most "were cracking under the strain." Two teachers were assigned to each class of third and fourth graders, where each class size was already a very low 16 pupils. As it turned out, this only meant that more teachers were spread out when the cap of the volcano blew.

The school, St. Saviors, is in the Toxteth district of Liverpool, where official unemployment is 44% and cops patrol like an occupying army, where thousands hang out on the streets, angry, ready to explode—just as they did last summer, putting hundreds of cops in the hospitals and levelling 10 square blocks, including torching a large bank and an upper class gentlemen's club.

In the wake of the riots Toxteth became the closest thing in England to Belfast, as the cops invade the area at sundown equipped with the latest riot gear, including armored vans. The people of Toxteth are blacks and Irish, the most oppressed groups in England and the most rebellious as well. The mass beatings at St. Saviors concentrated and brought to a head the beatings doled out from the cops' batons, as well as all the evil forces that are bearing down on the youth everyday. The kids had clearly had enough of the school's barracks-like discipline, with their enforced regimentation and uniforms, and all the petty harassment. They exploded!

The students were reported to have burst through the halls, breaking down the doors and windows, slashing furniture, ransacking classrooms, setting fire to books and writing materials and covering the cars of the staff with trash from the school cafeteria's garbage bins. An administrator pitifully complained: "One morning the head (teacher) got a phone call and left the class for a few minutes. When he got back it was empty and had been ransacked. They deliberately smash windows and doors at lunchtime and playtime in front of us, and if you say anything they turn a fire extinguisher on you." The youth were bold and fierce—and their very fury underscored that this was no petty eruption.

The ferocity of the youth was turned by the media into just another indication that they were bestial little animals, Mafioso goons on the rise. But the fangs behind the upper crust *London Times* and their gentlemanly compatriots glistened all the more clearly when it came

out, for example, that the "caning" they had inflicted on the students is not at all an uncommon practice, in England and many other places as well. (In England such punishment is even still officially legal, which is somewhat unusual for such a "civilized" country.) One woman, whose daughter returned home from school with welts over a foot long, took the case before the European Commission on Human Rights which condemned the practice. The *London Times*, rising to what it certainly perceived to be an obligation to defend England's reputation here, argued that, "It would be quite out of proportion to regard the judgment as representing some special indictment of this country as a haven for child beating." The proof? "Parts of Germany, Switzerland, Canada, New Zealand, and most of the United States still practice it." Why, all the great democracies indulge in bouts of child-beating, in the proper measure of course, pip, pip and carry on—which is precisely what the head of the National Union of Teachers told his members to do.

The British Cabinet Minister who took

personal responsibility for the Liverpool area in the aftermath of last year's riots, tried to maintain a stiff upper lip over the events at St. Saviors, blithely remarking that "Every generation has its wreckers." But 8 and 9-year olds who are uncompromising in their hatred for the authorities?! As one administrator groaned, "The youngsters have hardly left their cradles, but they are threatening to take over the school." The Ministry of Education has announced that posters are being put up in schools nationwide offering a 10 pound pay-off (about \$20) to anyone who turns in their fellow students for engaging in "wrecking" activities. Already school officials have stated, a "hardcore of children" — quite an interesting phrase — have been interrogated by the police "and there is no way they are going to be allowed back in school." They go on: "It is like a cancer spreading through the classrooms, and it must be stopped."

And so the British authorities have gone after their third-grade pupils as they would an army of doom, brandishing the implements of war and bellowing for

"law and order." What the events at St. Saviors reveal is how very deep the contradictions wracking England are. When a government comes into such sharp conflict with the youngest of its youth, drawn from different nationalities, when the government must suppress them with clubs, open bribes and threats of worse—in short, when the government has lost the allegiance and even the tolerance of such wide ranks among this volatile section of society, then that government is indeed doomed sooner or later.

As for how widespread such sentiment is, it is enlightening to look at the meticulous studies of the British investigators, the School Inspectorate committees. Two years ago, their survey of the Toxteth school district reported that "the very great majority (of students) were orderly, hardworking, and free from any serious troubles." Following the riot at St. Saviors, their only comment was, "Nobody has ever seen anything like it." □

Letter from Holland

The Day the Trains Stopped

The following report was written by friends from Holland.

On January 13 of this year, people who lived in the direct neighbourhood of where the trains that carried U.S. ammunition and weapons to West Germany would pass found a letter in their mailbox. In this letter, they were told in name of the city of Groningen, what to do in case of emergency of explosions of the weapon trains. The people, who heard for the first time about those trains and their loads, really woke up and started ringing up the civilians protection department. The civilians protection department did not know anything about a letter because the letter was made up by the action group against those train transports. A very good beginning!!

The action group had organized sit-downs at different places of the railroad system, continuing every day of the week, the first weapon transport was planned (Jan. 18-Jan. 23).

As a result of these actions the whole train system in the northeast of Holland was very chaotic for the week the weapon transport took place. The delays varied from 2-8 hours a day. When the police "cleaned" up a place from activists, there was another group starting all over again on another place. That made it very hard for the police, because they did not know which places were prepared by the activists. The groups were about 150 people big. The largest group (± 500 people) stayed in Groningen to make trouble there. Tuesday was the day to put heavy furniture, frigidaires, iron beds, wooden beams to block the railroads. When the trains were forced to stop people attached themselves to the trains with iron chains. Wednesday, sabotage on several electrical terminals and signal houses took place. Thursday and Friday the M-E (Military Police) came very hard with gas but at night the sabotage continued. Saturday there was a big protest rally in Groningen in support of the actions against those transports. But also a very right-wing group which called themselves "Law and Freedom" were demonstrating in support to the police, the queen and the NATO. The rally ended by fights between the two groups. The planned schedule of those kinds of trains was that there will be 300 trains a year passing Holland to go to W. Germany with 60 tons weapons each.

Till now (as a result of this first week troubles) the government has decided to have first only one more transport in April.

And action groups' meetings on what to do next are still going on . . . □



above: one of many sitdowns in front of trains.
below: a sample of the phony letter.

MAY 1ST

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3. Hold as flat as possible when spray-painting.

SPRAY PAINT

Latest Israeli Assault in West Bank

Continued from page 1

March 20, Israeli troops attacked, after a group of 100 women, who had been joined by youth and other residents, sat down in the road in front of the town's city hall. In one incident, reported on ABC's Nightline, the body of a Palestinian youth was stolen by Israeli authorities. The Zionists were fearful of the consequences of a Palestinian funeral procession and subsequently buried the body themselves. Hundreds of Palestinians held a militant demonstration anyway which was prominently led by the Palestinian national flag. Though flying this flag is illegal and treasonous in occupied Palestine, the Israelis did not attack this demonstration.

There have been numerous reports of gangs of Zionist settlers carrying out kidnappings and murders against young Palestinians who express anti-Zionist sentiments or are known to be active in the nationalist movement.

There has also been rising violence against the Palestinian population in the occupied Gaza Strip and growing mass resistance there.

In Jenin, a town north of occupied Jerusalem, a young Palestinian man was accosted by border policemen for, according to the *New York Times*, "pressing Arab shopkeepers to close their doors and join a general strike." The man was shot dead by the border police. They alleged that he "stabbed an Arab Druse policeman."

The Israelis have also arrested a number of other Palestinian municipal officials on charges such as "possessing PLO literature" or "leaving one's home town without permission." This from the Zionists who, under the tutelage of U.S. imperialism, have murdered countless numbers of Palestinians, stolen their land, innumerable "home towns," and driven the Palestinians out.

The program of Menachem Begin's Likud Bloc has always explicitly called for the incorporation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip into Israel—indeed, according to their vision of "Eretz Israel" (biblical Israel), their territorial ambitions extend to Jordan's east bank and south Lebanon as well.

Ever since the seizure of the West Bank from Jordan in the 1967 Arab-Israeli war, Israel has pursued a settlement policy designed to dispossess the Palestinian population and make the Zionist presence "irrevocable." The settlement policy was enthusiastically carried out by Begin's predecessor in the Israeli Labor Party. Despite the vague provision in the Camp David resolutions of 1978 calling for talks between Israel and Egypt on the subject of "Palestinian autonomy" on the West Bank, the fortification and expansion of the Zionist settlements has continued unabated. The United States has from time to time made statements critical of Israel's settlement policy, in a sop to Arab and European imperialist opinion, but has never made a serious effort to bring the policy to a halt.

The Begin regime has consistently referred to the occupied territories as "Judea and Samaria," biblical terms for provinces of ancient Israel. When it came time recently to appoint an Israeli representative to the autonomy talks, Begin assigned his Minister of the Interior, Josef Burg, to the post. In this and other ways, therefore, Begin has made no dark secret of Israel's ultimate territorial designs.

But while the policy of "creeping annexation" has long been in force, numerous obstacles have stood in the way of a formal Israeli annexation of the territories. The United States has opposed any such move as a provocation to the Arab regimes which the U.S. has been attempting to involve in some sort of broader "comprehensive Middle East peace," aimed in part at defusing the "Palestinian question." As long as the farcical "Camp David autonomy talks" had a breath of life in them, any peremptory Israeli annexation would have seemed to be out of the question.

But, although the U.S. still claims to entertain some hopes for the autonomy talks, it is now nearly universally agreed that they are a dead letter, and that the last remnants of the "Camp David framework" will disappear when Israel completes the transfer of the occupied Si-

nai back to Egyptian control on April 25.

The search for a new "initiative" to supplement or replace Camp David has so far not been very fruitful. High hopes were placed in the so-called "European initiative" in 1980 and the "Saudi initiative" in 1981, both of which envisioned Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, rigging up a rump "Palestinian state" on the West Bank, and burying the hatchet between Israel and the bourgeois Arab regimes. But there are many divisions within the Arab camp, and despite some coy U.S. signals implying some sympathy with the Saudi initiative, Israel has shown utterly no interest in playing along. It is not, in any event, clear that the U.S. imperialists are very sure about the best course of action to take; and the Saudi initiative went down in flames during an abortive Arab summit late last year.

The annexation of the Golan Heights last December was not an isolated act divorced from the main lines of Begin's territorial policy. Indeed, the Golan annexation sets a precedent for future annexations. And despite the predictable outcry from "world opinion," including protests from the United States, the sky has noticeably failed to fall on Israel's Prime Minister.

The view of the Begin regime appears to be that with the approaching April 25 return of the Sinai to Egypt, events have come to a turning point favorable for decisive action. Though some imperialist observers continue to speculate nervously over the possibility of a last-minute hitch in the Israeli withdrawal from Sinai, Begin appears to be committed to carrying it through. The future of the Israeli-Egyptian "axis" after April 25 seems cloudy, but nevertheless Israel has a great stake in maintaining good relations with Egypt if possible, both because it is essential to Israeli security and because it is a cornerstone of Israel's relationship with the United States.

But many analysts have pointed out that Israel "could not choose a better time to act than in the days preceding the final Sinai withdrawal on 25 April, when America's top priority will still be the successful conclusion of the Israeli-Egyptian part of Camp David. Washington's reluctance to rock the boat before the withdrawal was highlighted by its meek reaction to the Golan annexation." (*Middle East* magazine, April 1982)

There is substantial opposition to Begin's West Bank policies from the Israeli Labor Party, although much of this opposition has to do with the Labor Party's greater sensitivity to European imperialist opinion and concern for possible damage to U.S.-Israel relations, rather than basic principles of territorial policy (as noted, the Labor governments which preceded Begin were relentless colonizers of the occupied territories). Within the Labor Party, there has been strong support for the possibility of a compromise based upon returning the West Bank and Gaza, with a combined population of over 1 million Palestinians, to Jordan, whose population is 80% Palestinian, under some sort of "autonomy" arrangement supervised by King Hussein. Most Labor politicians do not hold this to be feasible in the short run, but that it should be held out as a long-run solution, while in the meantime making the best of the status quo. This would mean an "enlightened" occupation policy in which a sophisticated, lenient approach to the Arab population would increase the chances for stability.

But few even in the Labor ranks advocate an Israeli military withdrawal from the West Bank under foreseeable circumstances in the near future. And the preponderant sentiment in Israel appears to be that there is little point in returning any more of the territory it seized in its 1967 conquest. Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, according to the U.S. journal *Foreign Policy*, has made it known that he would rather see King Hussein overthrown and a PLO regime established on the east bank, than any Israeli yielding on the west bank.

It will be recalled that the bulk of the criticism of Begin for the annexation of the Golan Heights—both from the Israeli Labor Party and from U.S. imperialist quarters—never maintained that the cor-

rect course was an Israeli withdrawal, but that the issue of sovereignty over the Golan should be held out indefinitely as a "bargaining chip" to influence Syrian behavior.

Roughly, the debate over West Bank policy within Israel follows similar lines. But the "bargaining chip" argument really did not hold water, in the eyes of the Israeli leadership, because the main stakes in the confrontation between Israel and Syria (and by not too remote extension, between the U.S. and the Russians) reside in the battle for Lebanon. As the current number of *Foreign Policy* notes, "Syria controls most of Lebanon... to imagine that Israel would negotiate an agreement with Syria that settled only the Golan problem and left the Syrian presence in Lebanon intact is chimeric... The Syrians have signaled by their deeds that they consider Lebanon much more important than the Golan Heights, thus making a possible exchange of Israeli withdrawal from Golan for a Syrian withdrawal from Lebanon unlikely."

Thus on the one hand Begin correctly judged that the "Golan card" would not be an effective lure to gain Syrian concessions; and on the other hand that Syria would not be distracted from the larger contest in Lebanon by mounting a military challenge to the Israeli annexation of its territory.

The bald fact is that the 25,000 Syrian troops and the burgeoning PLO military presence in southern Lebanon constitute the main "security problem" Israel must deal with—and, as we pointed out in last week's *RW*, Israel may be preparing to deal with it by a major military assault against Syrian and PLO positions in Lebanon in the near future. If Israel really is planning a major war in Lebanon which would radically transform the whole political situation in the Middle East, then one can understand why Begin is not gauging too carefully the nuances and gradations of "world opinion" regarding his West Bank policy, or bending over backwards to create a climate "favorable to the resumption of talks on Palestinian autonomy."

On March 24 and 25, Israel began to report incidents of "terrorist activity" spawned allegedly by Palestinian commandos operating from Lebanon—just the sort of provocation Israeli officials have already announced would justify a massive military counter-strike to "defend Israeli civilians."

In Washington, certain "senior administration officials" began on March 25 to supplement the official expressions of "concern over rising violence" with

off-the-record complaints about Israeli belligerence and misjudgment of the political situation. These off-the-record comments claimed the United States is daily, on a private basis, urging Begin to come to his senses and to adopt a more flexible policy toward the Palestinian mayors, but that Israel has ignored all U.S. advice.

If Israel is really preparing to carry out operations of the magnitude we have been discussing, there is every reason for the U.S. to be concerned—for it is ultimately the U.S. that has the most riding on the outcome. No matter what credence we may give to Prime Minister Begin's reputation as a "maverick," it is extremely unlikely that Israel would undertake such an operation in defiance of the U.S. With regard to the specific situation on the West Bank, clearly Israel's own agenda does not mesh so neatly with U.S. objectives as appears to be the case in Lebanon. One can see, for example, that while Israel would be keen on mopping up the West Bank before mounting an invasion of Lebanon, the U.S. would prefer to see Israel go into action after some real or contrived "terrorist attack" from PLO zones in the south. By the same token, the U.S. can calculate that some of the Arab regimes might be willing to look the other way while Israel knocks Syria upside the head in Lebanon, but feel put up the wall when their pose as "defenders of the Palestinians" is put to the test by Israeli atrocities against a "defenseless" West Bank population.

The U.S. is also biting its nails over the Sinai withdrawal: will it be a casualty in the chaotic chain reaction of events, including even the possibility that Begin's government might not survive until April 25? One must admit that the idea of orchestrating a major war in Lebanon and a repressive annexation on the West Bank, and then handing over the Sinai to Egypt on a silver platter as if nothing had happened, does strain the imagination.

Beyond whatever jitters the U.S. is having, though, we must observe again that the administration has found that ritually "deploring" Israeli policy on just about any issue, whatever the private views of the "senior officials" happen to be, seldom costs the U.S. anything and serves sometimes to smooth ruffled Arab feathers. In all likelihood, more such statements will be issued in the future. But while such U.S. statements are tailored to fit the current diplomatic situation, there are nevertheless many indications that it is the U.S. that is preparing to wield Israel as an instrument for the violent transformation of that situation.

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Correction

In the ad for the *Joint Communiqué* run in last week's *RW*, the spelling of Bangla was incorrect.

AN INTERNATIONALIST CALL TO MAY FIRST ACTION

We are now in the process of preparing the final version of "An Internationalist Call to May First Action" by the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Since we published the first draft of the call five weeks ago, it has appeared in 18 languages—in Aleut, Arabic, Chinese, Creole, Dutch, English, Farsi, French, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Oromo, Polish, Sinhalese, Spanish, Sutu and Turkish. The final version must appear in many languages in early April, and this is the last part of March. We are calling on people to broadly take up discussion and struggle over this call, to send us suggestions and criticisms right away, including criticisms and comments on the various translations, as well as any new translations.

Etswang Bohle Ba Mafase Balwe ka May 1

Sutu (spoken in Azania)

Baberki koafela, Bahlophehi, le Balwi botile Ba ba Lewlang Bakamoso ba khotso:

Ntwa ya lfase, le Phetoho, di kopantswe ke mot-satsing la May 1. Letsatsi la Babueki lefatshelohle. Ke mathomo le tsela ya mosebetsi wa phetoho ya babereki lefatshing lohle.

May 1 ke tsatsi laphomolo la babereki lefatshing lohle, bahio ba senang sa bona, baba bofeletsweng lefaseng ke tshetele, bokgoba le polao. Ke tsatsi le nnete ho bona; ke tsutsi la ho hlahisa bohle baleng bokyobeng; batho bohle ba bonang botsha bohlahella, bo tliša phetogo mo lefaseng le la tshenyego; maatla a batho go tswelapele -- lefaseng lohle -- ho fetsisa matshwinyego le tshoflego; go fetsisa kotho ya bantsho le absweu, le ba merafe, bisadi le banna, go fet sisa atwa tsa mirafe le batho ba yona, le phetogo ya maphelo a batno ba buswang. Tsela engwe fela, ya go lwela tsatsi le, ka go lwa le go lwa le go lwantsha maaka ka lerumo la nnete, re lwela ntwa ya phetogo le bokamoso ba nnete.

Dithuto di dintsi, difapane di fetoga, di tshetsha, go fihlela di apaela gohle. Dithuto tse di revele nnete e kgolo. Tse digwe ke tsa Ma Russia, a lwantsha Ma Amerika; Ba leka go lwatsha lfase ka maatla a Nuclear tsa bona, "Bogafibo ba bona, ba tsentsa moya ho batho ba bona." Ka go rialo, bu bolaya batho ba bona, ba ntse bu bua khotso le tswelapele. (Mokgwa wa ma imperialisi) goba "Khotso le to kologo" (mokgwa wa Ma Russia).

Fa thoko go bana? Se ba sa se boweng? Moya wa phetogo wa batho bantsi o siana faaka mollo o cha o tloga Gdansk go tswa ka El Savaldo go fihla Haiti Kompong tsa marefiiji. Masogana le barwetsana ba a hoa ba bua faaka Ma Eritrea, ba bontsha botlatla ba Ma imperialisi. Mah lo a ba batlang phetogo a shebile, a bontsha mollo wa unete, dipelo di sianela nnete di dumisa di bolaya batho ba ma imperialisi.

Ntwa -- ke mollo wa bahlopegi, ke yona e tla ba lokollang dinageng tsa bahloki le tsa maimperialisi. Ka tsila e phepa ya revolution, le tsela ya babuerki ba hlaloganyo e phepa gohle e tla direga. Ntwa e a tla mahareng a maimperialisi le bahlophegi, ke yona e tla bontsha bokamoso. May 1 ke tsatsi la Revolutioni ina. Tsatsi lena le tla sedimoga, balwani ba babueki ba tla tswetsa mogwa, ba tla tseya lefase lohle, ba tla kop-auya babueki bohle ba ldfase Lenin o boletse ka taba ena: "Eseng Naga yaka... fela seo ke tla se dirang go tliša ntwa ena, le go tsweletsa tokologo ya baboteki ba lefase."

Go tsweletsa ntwa eno, le go tsweletsa May 1, ke go tsweletsa tsela ena ka go tlogeta maabane. Balwi ba tla ipeya tseleng ena ya go kgotlelela, ba bolella bohle se ba nnete; baba thatafatsa. Palo tse senang nuete, di tla beelwa thoko ke balefase, go beya tswelope le ya Lenin gohle. Lefaseng lohle, tshinyego e tliša ntwa ya bohle engwe, a ka senya mafase ohle, a tla godisa Ntwa ya mosebetsi wa bona ba kopanya matla a go lwatsa ka tlase go Makominisia Revolution -- Balwi ba lefase.

Bangive ba ka re rea lora go siame! Ditoro di a tsweletsa, mme dia fihla nneteng kahewo. A Lenin ka 1917 e ne ese moluri? A Mao ena ka 1966? Fela ditoto tsa bona di fetotse lefase, di boutsha nnete e fetang maaka a bahlopi ba lefase... "ba tsebi ba nnete. Ba reng?" Batsibi ba, ia "tseba" tshole, ba bontsha imperialisi le hlopego... ba tliša maaka lefaseng, fela ba bulegile gobane nnete e a tseba, Rena ba hlopegi re pallwa de eng?

Revolutionary Communist Party ya Amerika e bitsa mono Amerika ka May 1 gorswa Megabetsing, dikelong ba tle go sebekeletsa phetogo ya di "housing project", ditotranko, diklaona tshole, ditla boutsha lefase nnete ya puso ya moya le maatla a phetogo e sa feleng e lwatsha imperialisi. Fela go teta mo, a ge sebeltseng May 1, 1982 gore e bontshe toro, le kopano tsa Babereki ba. Lefase, di tla di tshwasane, di lokolla mafase a Kapitalisi; di ba tliša matsatsing ano tontshong etlang, e tlela ruri, go tetola, le go lokolla bohle lefaseng go imperialisi. May 1 e tla bonisa gohle, janka dipola, e fenya ntwa ya.

Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
P.O. Box 3486
Chicago, IL 60654

Ενα Διεθνιστικό Καλεσμα για Πρωτομαχιατική Δραση

Greek

Προς τους εργατες τους καταπιεσμενους και ολους οσους τολμουν παλη για το μελλον :

Παγκοσμιοσ πολεμος και επανασταση ... Η συκρυνση αυτων των δυο τασεων σημαδευει το πλησιασμα της Πρωτομαχιας, διεθνης μερα των εργατων. Αυτο θετει τη σκηνη - και τους πασαλους - για τις πρραξεις των επαναστατων εργατων σε καθε χωρα.

Η Πρωτη του Μαιη ειναι η επαναστατικη χιορτη του διεθνους προλεταριατου, μια ταξη που αληθινα δευ εχει να χασει τιποτα παρα μονο τις αλυσιδες που την κρατα σε ενα παγκοσμιο συστημα συχρονης δουλειας και εκκληματικότητας. Υπαρχει μια αυθεντικη σημασια αυτης της μερας : η οποφασιστικότητα ολων οσων ειναι εκμεταλλεομενοι και υποδουλομενοι, ολων των δυναμεων ενσωματωμενες στο νεο και ανερχομενο να φερονυ σε περας την επανασταση εναντιον αυτου του διεστραμμενου συστηματος η οποφασιστικότητα να προχωρησομε - ξεπερνοντας φραγματα γλωσσας, εθνου και φυλης - προς την καταργηση ολων των ταξεων και την ταξικη διακριση, την εξαλειψη της υποδουλωσης μιας εθνικότητας σε μια αλλη και της γυναικας στον ανδρα, προς την εξαλειψη των πολεμων και των ιδιων εθνων-κρατων και το θυμμρατισμο ολων των αλυσιδων της παραδοσης. Και υπαρχει μονο ενας τροπος για να χιορτασομε αληθινα αυτη τη χιορτη : με παλη και ξεσηκωμο, κρατοντας το κοκκινο λαβαρο προς τους ουρανους σε καθε γωνια της υδροχειου, και παλευοντας οσο πιο προθυμα μοπορωμε προς το επαναστατικο μελλον.

Η ιστορια προχωρα με ασταματιτες εκρηξεις που εκρηγνυται και μετα κοπαζει για να εκραξει ξανα, σκορα περισσοτερο εντονα Αποκατω απο τους σητερμας κλιδωνισμου βρισκεται μια παλη προφανων και κωρολεκτικων εδωστασεων παγκοσμιας αναταραξης.

The Rude and Unrepentant Women of the Paris Commune

A Revolutionary Women's Club

The following account of a meeting of a women's club during the Paris Commune was written by the Paris correspondent of the London newspaper *The Times*. Judging from this account, it would not be too surprising if the author turned out to be the man referred to by Lenin when he said that, "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!'"

Clubs, too, are cropping up on all sides — clubs for discussion of political affairs, clubs for disseminating inflammatory and irreligious sentiments, clubs for men and clubs for women. There have appeared in corners of several Red newspapers of late short notices that places of meeting would shortly be established where 'citoyennes might congregate' and let off the steam of their enthusiasm. Two or three preliminary assemblies were held with closed doors at the *Mairie* of Passy, I suppose as rehearsals of a forthcoming performance. Within the last week, however, the plan has taken a tangible form; certain ladies make a circuit of the different *Arrondissements*, laying down their articles of faith, and inviting all women to join in a common cause. . . . The meeting (we were to visit) was to be held on the Boulevard d'Italie, in the lowest quarter of Paris, some distance beyond Montrouge. After a drive of three-quarters of an hour we reached a kind of outhouse, surmounted by a red flag, and through the carefully-closed shutters of which came murmurs of subdued voices, and long streams of light spreading across the road. We entered the building without knocking, and found ourselves in a filthy room reeking with evil odours and crowded with women and children of every age. Most of them appeared to belong to the lowest order of society, and wore loose untidy jackets, with white frilled caps upon their heads. At the end of the room was a table littered with papers and books, and behind it sat a row of women, with red scarfs over their shoulders and red belts about their waists. None took much notice of us at first, being too much occupied with the oratory of a fine-looking young woman with streaming black hair and flashing eyes, who dilated upon the rights of women amid ejaculations, and shakings



Churches were taken over and turned into "Red Clubs."

of the head, and approving pinches of snuff from the occupants of the benches near us. "Men are *lâches*", she cried; 'they call themselves the masters of creation, and are a set of dolts. They complain of being made to fight, and are always grumbling over their woes — let them go and join the craven band at Versailles, and we will defend the city ourselves. We have petroleum, and we have hatchets and strong hearts, and are as capable of bearing fatigue as they. We will man the barricades, and show them that we will be no longer trodden down by them. Such as still wish to fight may do so side by side with us. Women of Paris, to the front!' She sat down out of breath and rather confused, having had to bear up against considerable tittering on account of the imperfection of her French and the strangeness of her similes; but she look-

ed very handsome, and might have sat for the portrait of one of the heroines of the first Revolution; but there was that in her eye which made me think as I looked at her that I should not like to be her husband. The next speaker seemed tolerably respectable, wearing a decent black gown and bonnet, but her discourse was as rambling and inconsistent as that of her predecessor at the tribune. "We are simple women", she began, 'but not made of weaker stuff than our grandmothers of '93. Let us not cause their shades to blush for us, but be up and doing, as they would be were they living now. We have duties to perform. If necessary we will fight with the best of them and defend the barricades, but I cannot think that so supreme a sacrifice will be demanded of us. We will attend on the battle-field and help to bring our wounded heroes

back into the town, and thus save many lives which would otherwise be needlessly sacrificed. Yet another service we may render. We will establish portable cooking stoves, and cook the raw meat which is served out to the men of our army, which they throw away for lack of means to dress it.' Encouraged by the applause which had followed her thus far, she now degenerated into rant, attacking the priesthood generally and the confessional, mimicking the actions used at mass amid the laughter and bravo of the throng. One old lady became ecstatic, and continued digging me violently in the back with her elbow until the tears ran down her face and mixed with snuff that lay scattered over her countenance. "Ah, the priests!" murmured another from under the heavy frills of her cap, a lady of a serious turn of mind, who nodded her head slowly from side to side as though it were a pendulum. "Those priests! I have seen them too closely, *la canaille!*" This portion of the speech was the hit of the evening, and so the speaker kept up the subject for some time longer before launching into the history of Jeanne Hachette, and drawing a moral therefrom. She was listened to with respect to the end, great effect having evidently been produced upon her auditory by her immense command of historical detail. "Elle s'y connaît, celle-là, ma chère," said one old woman to another with conviction, and an awe fell over the assembly, which permitted another woman, who looked like a laundress, to take her place behind the table. The new speaker was fluent and possessed a loud, shrill voice. She commenced a diatribe against all Governments as such, because, as she explained, they 'all caused the poor to sweat' The presence of the wretched male sex had already been remarked, sundry angry glances having been turned in our direction, and the newspaper woman, under the aegis of whose protection we had come, now suggested that it would be wise to retire, lest we should get hustled by an angry mob. We went accordingly, passing a lady in the doorway who held out a bag and solicited a trifle on behalf of the new society.

Report by the Paris correspondent of *The Times* of London of a woman's meeting: *The Times*, 6 May 1871, abridged.

1. 'Cowardly bastards'.
2. 'She knows her stuff, that one does, my dear.' Jeanne Hachette, heroine of the siege of Beauvais in 1472, was famous for seizing a standard from a Burgundian soldier. An annual procession commemorated the event.

Continued from page 6

into the traditional role assigned to "the weaker sex" as "peacemaker" — what stands out so sharply is the depth and the extent to which these ideas and social relations were challenged and broken as the proletariat took its first steps in transforming the world.

Within the leadership of the Commune as well, there were different lines on the woman question. Here Proudhon, who had been very influential within the French workers' movement, cast a bad shadow. Proudhon had openly supported the oppression of women, declaring that this sex is neither physically, intellectually nor morally equal to men, and so must be kept under the firm domination of father and husband — the same age-old shit, in other words. There were many Proudhonists among the workers, within the leadership of the Commune and most notably in the Paris sections of the International. While all of them did not necessarily agree with Proudhon on the woman question, his influence reinforced the bourgeois line which would have existed anyway.

One area in which there was bound to be struggle, since it was a question posed so sharply by life itself, was women's role in the military sphere. Here it took the form, given that the line of women as "peacemakers" was quickly seen by the masses to be reactionary, of struggle over

whether women were simply to tend the soldiers as nurses or canteen workers, or were to take up arms themselves. Signs of this can be seen, for instance, in the name, the aims and the activities of the Women's Union for the Defense of Paris and for Aid to the Wounded — a struggle which was decided in this case and generally by the proletarian forces in the Commune, especially among the women themselves, as they took up rifles and took over cannons. On May 24, with the battle raging in Paris, one of the Commune's newspapers quoted an old revolutionary's remark: "I've seen three revolutions and, for the first time, I've seen the women join in with determination, the women and children. It seems that this revolution is exactly theirs, and in defending it they defend their own future."*

The old man was speaking against the backdrop of the final fight of the Commune against the advancing Versailles troops, and his observation is vividly illustrated in this fight. Women were outstanding in every aspect of the week-long battle. Many began as ambulance nurses, but did not necessarily remain in that role; in Louise Michel's words, "they

tended the wounded, but they also took up the rifles of the dead." Many others were soldiers from the first. An English medical student who'd set up an ambulance station by the barricade on the Place du Château-d'Eau later wrote: "Just at the moment when the National Guards began to retreat, a women's battalion turned up; they came forward on the double and began to fire, crying 'Long Live the Commune.' They were armed with Snider carbines and shot admirably. They fought like devils. . . ."

Later the women Communards were accused of acting as *pétroleuses*, of forming incendiary squads armed with kerosene to set fire to the property of the bourgeoisie as they returned to claim it. Many fires during this last week were caused by the incendiary shells and kerosene bombs which the Versailles army used, but many were also started by the Communards as a means of defense against the troops — and rightly so. Women participated in this, perhaps took the lead, and it was out of their heroic participation in this mighty battle that the reactionaries concocted their picture of crazed harpies maliciously burning down the city. The bourgeoisie, in fact, were totally unnerfed by the extensive activity of women in the Commune and in the fighting, and they massacred them whenever they could. As the troops fought their way through the city, any

woman of the urban poor with a market basket or a bottle was a *pétroleuse*, to be executed on the spot — a measure of their fright at the spectre of insurgent women. What the bourgeoisie thought about the feminine role in the Commune, and why it horrified them, is indicated by one Captain Jouenne as he prosecuted one of the military trials of Communards immediately after the defeat: "The horrible campaign against civilization begun on last March 18, by people who believe in neither God nor Country. . . must bring before you not only men forgetful of their most sacred duties, but also — and, alas, in great number — unworthy creatures who seem to have taken on the task of becoming an opprobrium to their sex, and of repudiating the great and magnificent role of women in society." Really — an excellent summation! These revolutionaries believed in neither God, country, nor the oppression of women. Indeed these were proletarian revolutionaries!

Many women at these trials showed once again their proletarian courage and understanding, pleading "innocent as charged." The trial of Louise Michel (excerpted on page 15) is an excellent example, as is the answer of one Marie Schmitt to the military court: "I am sorry that I did not do everything I am accused of." □

* Presumably he is referring to the revolutions in France of 1830, 1848, and September 1870 (when the bourgeoisie did away with Napoleon III).

The Trial of Louise Michel

Colonel Delaporte, from the 12th cavalry, presided over the 6th Council of War. With a curious mix of deference and hostility, he led the interrogation, the essential points of which follow, based on the account made at the time in the "Gazette of the trials."

Colonel Delaporte: You have heard the facts you are accused of; what do you have to say for your defense?
Louise Michel: I do not want to defend myself, I don't want to be defended; I belong entirely to the social revolution and I declare that I accept responsibility for all my acts. I accept it completely and without reservation. You blame me for participating in the assassination of generals? To that I would answer yes, if I had been at Montmartre when they wanted to fire upon the people; I wouldn't have hesitated to have those who gave such orders shot myself; but, as long as they were prisoners I don't understand why they were shot, but I consider that act one of notorious cowardice!

As for the Paris fire, yes, I took part in it. I wanted to confront the Versailles invaders with a barrier of flames. I have no accomplices in that, I acted on the part of my own movement. They also tell me that I'm an accomplice of the Commune! Most certainly yes, since the Commune wanted above all social revolution, and social revolution is the dearest of my desires; even more, I consider it an honor to be one of the originators of the Commune, which furthermore had no hand in, no hand—and you know it well—in the assassinations and the fires: I who attended all the sessions at the Hôtel de Ville, I'm declaring that it was never a question of assassination or of fire. Would you like to know the real culprits? It is the people from the police and later, maybe, light will be shed on all these events... today it's considered just natural to lay the blame on all the partisans of the social revolution.

One day, I proposed to Ferré to invade the Assembly; I wanted two victims, Mr. Thiers and me, for I had decided to sacrifice my life, and I had resolved to strike him.

Colonel Delaporte: In a proclamation you said that every 24 hours a hostage should be shot?

Louise Michel: No, I only wanted to threaten. But should I defend myself? I already told you, I refuse to do it. You are men who are going to try me; you are openly before me; you are men, and I am but a woman, and yet I look you straight in the eye. I know well that nothing I might say would change your sentence in the slightest. (...) We never wanted anything but the triumph of the great principles of the Revolution; I swear it by our fallen martyrs at the Satory Plain, by our martyrs who I hail loudly here again, and who, one day, will find an avenger.*

Once again, I am yours; do what you please with me. Take my life if you want it; I am not a woman to argue about that for an instant.

Colonel Delaporte: You state that you didn't approve of the assassination of the generals and yet it is said that when you were told about it you cried: "They shot them, well done."

Louise Michel: Yes, I said that, I admit. (I remember it was in the presence of citizens Le Moussu and Ferré.)

Colonel Delaporte: So you approved then of the assassination?

Louise Michel: Excuse me, but that was no proof; the words I uttered were for the purpose of not stopping the revolutionary momentum.

Colonel Delaporte: You also wrote in the newspapers; in "The Cry of the People," for example?

Louise Michel: Yes, I don't hide that.

Colonel Delaporte: Every day these newspapers called for confiscating the property of the clergy and other such revolutionary measures. Were these your opinions?

Louise Michel: Indeed; but note well that we never wanted to take this property for ourselves; we took care to only give it to the people, for their well-being.

Colonel Delaporte: You called for the abolition of the magistrature?

Louise Michel: That's because examples of their mistakes were always right in front of me.

Colonel Delaporte: Do you confess to wanting to kill Mr. Thiers?

Louise Michel: Of course! (...) I already said it, and I'm repeating it.

Colonel Delaporte: It appears that you wore various kinds of dress under the Commune.

Louise Michel: I dressed as usual; I only added a red belt to my clothes.

Colonel Delaporte: Didn't you wear men's clothing several times?

Louise Michel: Just once, it was on March 18; I dressed like the national guard in order to avoid drawing attention.

Louise Michel didn't call any witnesses for her defense. The prosecution did call some. A merchant, Madame Poulain was heard.

Colonel Delaporte: Do you know the accused? Do you know what were her political ideas?
Madame Poulain: Yes, Mr. President and she didn't try to hide them. She was very revered, you saw only her in the clubs; she also wrote in the newspapers.
Colonel Delaporte: You heard her say in regard to the assassination of the generals: "Well done!"

* The Satory Depot, southwest of Versailles, was a vast fortified plateau and one of the four major prisons used by Versailles for incarcerating Commune prisoners before shooting many of them.



Defiant even in the face of execution, women suspected of being pétroleuses were ordered to be shot on the spot.

Madame Poulain: Yes, Mr. President.
Louise Michel: But I admitted this fact, it's useless to have witnesses come and verify it.

Then it was a Lady Botin's turn, a painter.

Colonel Delaporte: Louise Michel, didn't she denounce one of your brothers in order to force him to serve in the national guard?

Madame Botin: Yes, Mr. President.
Louise Michel: The witness had a brother, I believed he had courage and I wanted him to serve the Commune.

Colonel Delaporte: (to the witness) You saw the accused one day in a car riding with the guards giving them a queen's salute, as you described it?

Madame Botin: Yes, Mr. President.
Louise Michel: But that can't be true, because I could never want to imitate these queens they talk about and who I'd like to see decapitated like Marie-Antoinette.

The truth was that I had simply climbed into a car because I was suffering from a sprain after a fall at Issy.

Cécile Denéziat, no profession, knew the accused rather well.

Colonel Delaporte: Did you see her dressed like the national guard?

Cécile Denéziat: Yes, once, around March 17th.
Colonel Delaporte: Was she carrying a carbine?

Cécile Denéziat: I said that, but I don't remember this fact so well.

Colonel Delaporte: Did you see her riding in a car with the national guards?

Cécile Denéziat: Yes, Mr. President, but I don't remember the details of this exactly.

Colonel Delaporte: You also already said that you thought she was in the front ranks when generals Clément Thomas and Lecomte were assassinated?

Cécile Denéziat: I was only repeating what had been said around me.

When captain Dailly took the floor for the public ministry, he abandoned right away all the charges except that of "carrying un concealed or concealed weapons in an insurrectionary movement."

The government commissioner asked the judges to hand down a severe penalty against this "woman who we must remove from society as she represents a continual danger."

Colonel Delaporte: Accused, do you have something to say for your defense?
Louise Michel: What I demand of you, who call yourselves a Council of War, who act as my judges, who do not disguise yourselves as the Commission of

Pardons, and of you who are military men and who sit in judgment in front of everyone, what I demand of you is the Satory Plain, where my brothers have already fallen.

I must be cut off from society, you have been told to do it; well! The commissioner of the Republic is right. Since it seems that every heart that beats for "freedom has no right to anything but a little slug of lead, I demand my share! If you let me live, I will not cease to cry for vengeance, and I shall avenge my brothers by denouncing the murderers of the Commission for Pardon.

Colonel Delaporte: I cannot permit you to keep speaking if you continue in this tone.

Louise Michel: I have finished! If you are not cowards, kill me.

After these words, which according to historians, caused a "deep sensation in the audience," the 6th Council of War withdrew to deliberate. But its siege was laid in advance.

The deliberation didn't last long. The military court returned immediately to deliver the verdict, in which Louise Michel was condemned unanimously to banishment in a prison stronghold. That is, to the convict prison of New Caledonia.

The condemned was brought back into the room to hear the judgment read. After the clerk told her that she had 24 hours to present an appeal, Louise Michel cried out: "No, there will be no appeal; but I would have preferred death!"

On December 2, 1871, 4 days after the execution of Ferré, Bourgeois and Rossel, Louise Michel addressed the following letter to General Appert, commander of the subdivision of Versailles and chief of military justice:

Versailles Prison:

Sir,
 I am beginning to believe in the triple assassination of Tuesday morning.

If you don't want to try me, you have enough on me, I am ready and the Satory Plain is not far.

You know well that if I get out of here alive, I will avenge the martyrs.

Long Live the Commune!
 Louise Michel

—translated from French by the RW
 from Georges Soria, Grande Histoire de la Commune (Livre Club Diderot, 1970), Vol. 5.

Ενα Διεθνιστικό Καλεσμα για Πρωτομαχιατική Δραση

Στη μια πλευρα οι ιμπεριαλιστικες δυναμεις αμφοτερων των Η.Π.Α. και των Σοβιετικων οδηγουν τα μπλοκ σε ετοιμασια για πολεμο, αφινοντας τα σε κινητη αμμο που αυτοι διηγουρχουν προσλαβοντας να κρατισουν τις αυτοκρατοριες τους μαζι ενω κλινουν αιφνιδως προς την πλευρα μιας πυρηνικης αναμετρησις.

Θωμενοι σ αυτην την πορεια απο τη λογικη του παραφρονα του συστηματος τους, ειναι επισις ωθουμενοι για περισσοτερι μολυνση των μαζων τους με αυτη τη λογικη και γραμμη και τους βαζουν σε σειρα για να σκοτωνουν ο ένας τον αλλον κατω απο το λαβαρο της "ελευθεριας και δημοκρατιας" (δυτικο ιμπεριαλιστικο υφος) η "δικαιοσυνη και απελευθερωση" (σοβιετικο ιμπεριαλιστικο υφος).

Και ζανα αυτους; Ενα πραγμα που ποτε δεν λοχαριασαν - το επαναστατικο πνευμα και την παλι των μαζων, διαδιδομενα σαν υποχειες φωτιες απο το Γτανσκ στο Ελ Σαλβαντορ στα στρατοπεδα των Αιτιανων προσφυγων στη φλοριντα. Μπορεις να τα ακουσεις στις κραυγες της νεολαιας - οι ιδιοι τονοι ηχουν στους δρομους της Αγγλιας και στους προποδες της Ερυθραιας - προκλητικα δειχνοντας του αυτοκρατορα τη δυναμιτητα και προκαλοντας την αυτοκρατορια του. Μπορεις να το δεις στα ματια που ακομα μια φορα λαμπουν με το φρατα της απελευθερωσις αντανακλουμενο στις φλογες ουρανου της νυχτας. Μπορεις να το αισθανθεις στους σφυγμους που ακομα μια φορα παλλοντας στο ρυθμο των εφορτουνητων ποδιων και των λκων των θυρρατισθενων εικωνων. Επανασταση - μια κοκκινη φλογα που καιχεται στα καταπιεσμενα εθνη του κοσμου και ανακινειται ακομα και στα ιδια τα κεντρικα καστρα των ιμπεριαλιστικων χωρων με τον αποφασιστικο δεσμο του να ειναι ο επαναστατικος ρολος και η ηγεσια του με ταξικη συνειδηση προλεταριατου σε καθε χωρα.

Η συγκρουση τωρα κτιζομενη μεταξυ των δυναμεων του ιμπεριαλιστικου πολεμου και της κοινωνικης επαναστασις θα ειναι το κυτιριο οπω θα ριφθει το μελλον. Την Πρωτη του Μαι, οι δυναμεις της επαναστασις πρεπει να παρουν ενα προβαδισμα στην ετοιμασια.

Αυτη τη μερα ενα οραμα πρεπει να λαμβει μπροστα στο εμβρυο της προλεταριακης συνειδησις του διεθνους χαρακτηρα του και του ανταγωνιστου του προς ολας τους τυπους αντιερασις και της ιστορικης του αποστολις και να μην κανει λιγοτερο απο την κατακτηση του κοσμου. Στην ερηνευση των κοινων πραξεων των εργατων στα διαφορετικα τεταρτα της υδραχεις πρεπει να ειναι η αποφασιστικοτητα να προχωρησει οπως ο Λενιν το τοποθετει, "οχι κατω απο το βλεμμα της 'εικας του' χωρας... αλλα οπω το βλεμμα της συλλητοκικης του στην ετοιμασια, την προπαγανδα, και την επιταχυνση της παγκοσμιας προλεταριακης επαναστασις".

Ενεργητικη και κατεπειχοντως να φερωμε σε ηερας τετοιες προετοιμασιες τωρα, και να βρωμε τους τροπους την Πρωτομαχια ειδικα να σπρωξομε αυτη τη μεθοδο προς τα ηηρος, οπατισσεις μιας διαρρητις με το νεκρο χερι του παρελθοντος.

Επαναστατικα ματια και καρδιες πρεπει να θεσουν πανω απο το ελιβερο επιπεδο της ουρας μετα απο οποιονδηποτε παλι επιτευχθει, λεγοντας τις μαζες οτι αυτοι ηδη ζεφουν και φυλαχοντας τους πνευματικα και πολιτικα δεφενους μεσα στα ορα του εθνους τους. Η απαιτη απλοτιτα αλλα εντελως λαθος αριθμητικα στην ομοια η παλι - ακομη και επαναστατικη παλιτου λαου καθε χωρας "προσθετει" σε μια παγκοσμια επανασταση πρεπει επισις να απορριφθει για τον επαναστατικο λογιμο του Λενινιστου. Ειδικα σε μια οξεια κριση που θα ειναι παγκοσμια στις διαστασεις της, το προλεταριατο επισις πρεπει να ειναι παγκοσμιο στη βλεψη και την προσεγγιση του, συντονιζοντας τις δυναμεις σαν αποσπασματα ενος και μοναδικου στρατου.

Σηλαντικες επιτευξεις ακομα και σε μια η περισσοτερες χωρες οδηγουν στο αδυνατισμο ολου του σαπιου οικοδομηματος του εχθρου και ανοιχουν ακομα πλατυτερες παγκοσμιας επαναστατικες πιθανοτητες.

Σ αυτο το πνευμα και την κατευθυνση ταξικα συνειδητες δυναμεις πρεπει κατεπειχοντως να προωθισουν ενα κοινο προγραμμα, μια κοινη στρατηγικη και μια κοινη οργανωση σε διεθνη κλιμακα της επαναστατικης κομμουνιστικης/προλεταριακης διεθμιστικης τασις.

Ισως ολα αυτα φαινονται σαν ονειρα... ακομα και φαντασιωσεις. Θραια και καλα! Τιποτα λιγοτερο απο βλεψεις - βλεψεις που διαπερνουν το πεπλο της καθημερινοτητας και φαινομενικα φανερα να αποκαλυφουν τα πραγματικα ελατηρια που βρισκονται απο κατω - ειναι απαιτουμενα σηφερα. Δεν ηταν ο Λενιν το 1917 και τηχορουμενος οτι ηταν φαντασιωδης; Δεν ηταν ο Μωο το 1966; Ακομη δεν ηταν τα ονειρα τους που αλλαζαν το προσωπο του κοσμου και της ανθρωπατητας, και αποδεικνυονται περισσοτερο πραγματικα απο τις επικλησιες να διαλεξουν τον "λιγοτερο διαβολο" και "να ειναι ρεαλιστικοι";

Αυτος ο ρεβιζιονισμος και ρεφορμισμος ειναι ενας "ρεαλισμος" του οποιου τα ορια ειναι προσδιορισμενα απο το πλαισιο του ιμπεριαλισμου και του στατους κβο... και ζανα σηφερα ερχεται σε χρονο που τα παγκοσμια γεγονοτα θα ριξουν στερματα κατακυλοντας τα στα αυλακια των δρομων, ανοιχοντας μεγαλες ευκαιριες για τους επαναστατες. Δεν πρεπει να φιλοδοξουμε στα ιδια φιλοφρονα υψωματα κλιμακουμενα απο τον Λενιν και τον Μωο;

Αυτο το καλεσμα τοτε απο το επαναστατικο κομμουνιστικο κομμα, Η.Π.Α.; Η Πρωτομαχιατικη μαρτυρια, μεσα στις ιδες τις Η.Π.Α., παραβιασεις απο ερχοστασια και σχολεια, και επαναστατικες πολιτικες δραστηριότητες διαφορων ειδων σε οικιστικα σχεδια, φυλακες, χωνιες δρομων και καθε ιερη σφαιρα και οχυρο, νευοντας σε εκατομμυρια οχι μονο εσω αλλα ανα τον κοσμο που υπαρχει αληθινα ενα ανερχομενο τηηρα ακομη και τωρα "ετοιμαζοντας νους και οργανωματα δυναμεις" για επανασταση σ αυτην την επαλξη του ιμπεριαλιστου.

It Is Time

Continued from page 8

son they called "Mrs." She was my grandmother who never spoke the English language even though she understood it fluently and could read it, but she would not speak it. The agent and doctor never went into all the rooms when they inspected our house for they were not so sure what my grandmother would have done. I used to wish they would and I know grandmother would have taken a broom and chased them out, and I would have helped her. When they came she would look out a window, never at them, and say in Aleut, "Get out. You have no business here. Get out now." We did not have to translate for the tone of her voice was enough for them to hurry out.

Grandmother used to say, "One of these days the Black man will lead us and help us to get out of this mess." Where she got these ideas from I do not know but she was a leader whom everybody respected and not once was she called a leader and she did not think of herself as a leader. It is said that even our ancestors were embarrassed if they were told they had done a great deed. Maybe that is why I resent anyone who starts acting like a leader.

She made sure that I learned the language. But I forgot it when I went to Seattle for 3 years as a child. In the hospital, I forgot Aleut. Grandma made sure I learned it as soon as I got off that ship. She was quite a woman.

The Aleuts on the Pribilofs worked at times 13 to 14 hours during the sealing season and were paid according to how many seals were killed. The 1st class man would get maybe \$600.00 and then it would go on down to the boys' class which received \$20.00 to \$50.00 a year. Some married men with families received the boys' class wages. They did receive food every week, from half a gunny sack to a full one. Some of the cans were black inside. The flour had mice turds in it, which we sifted to make bread, like a brother from Puerto Rico said about maggots being in their food.

When I was a little girl, 5 years old, I was sent to Seattle, to the Children's Orthopedic Hospital. We got bread that had seeds in it. I forget what kind of bread it is. I picked them all out. I thought, "You guys did not sift your flour." Our food was pretty bad. The agent got oranges and fresh food. We had our berries and wild vegetables and herbs.

Too many Aleuts died because of poor medical facilities and too many of us became crippled because of negligent doctors. It is even happening today. One of our elders who had a great deal of knowledge of our history and culture died because there was not an oxygen tank available. This also happened on the Pribilofs. Not too long ago a doctor would not come to a home, saying the patient had to be brought to him. She passed away also. The bastards continue this monstrous killing all over the world. One doctor, and who knows how many others, deliberately fixed women so they wouldn't have any more children. This happens among other Native American tribes. Too many of them treat us like animals when they check us, deliberately hurting us, as they drill teeth with very little novacaine or check female organs. A woman almost passed out during such a check-up as the doctor pulled out the instrument without closing it. That is why many of us minorities hate to go to doctors. Too many of us wait until it is too late. On the Pribilofs, dentists came once in maybe three or four years and because of not having the right equipment, had to pull teeth out by the bushels. Many of us got dentures at the age of 16 years old.

Before the evacuation of the concentration camps, the Pribilof Islanders were not allowed to leave the islands to go to high school or college. Education went as far as elementary, no further. They kept me in elementary school 4 extra years. They put you in 3rd grade two years, 6th grade or whatever, two more years. Because of the seal treaty, only Aleuts can kill seals. They don't need any education. They don't need to go to college to become doctors, lawyers, whatever. So they kept us there. There were 16-year-olds in elementary school. No report cards either. They were not necessary for people who were not meant to go further. Some of us hungered for knowledge and read

anything we could get our hands on. Even the Sears Roebuck catalog was a welcome to look at. In other words we were under a fascist government on those islands. During the time Senator McCarthy had his goons going around looking for Communists I happened to be at a gathering where one was present. I started to talk about the islands and a friend behind this goon was signaling to me saying with his lips, "He's from the FBI." I said, "I don't give a damn if you're from the FBI." He said, "Are you a communist?" I said I didn't know enough about the communists but that I was learning.

Now for the internment of the Aleuts which to this day we do not know why we were taken to those concentration camps. A freighter suddenly arrived at St. Paul Island where I was then at the age of fifteen. We were told we had to make immediate arrangements to be taken off the islands. They did not say why. Some say they said they had to take us off the island for our protection. They gave us 24 hours to pack and move. First, we said, "Maybe we're going to Seattle." The grown-ups were kind of excited: "Oh, we are going to have freedom! From this island! The children will get to go to high school, college." They sure learnt what that all meant later.

They said to take one suitcase. Most of us did not have suitcases for we did not do much traveling. Some managed to take more than others. One woman had a box of dishes, etc. which a sailor threw overboard, saying, "Not this time, old lady." The freighter Delarof was built to carry 120 crewmen, but 700 from the Pribilofs were put aboard in the hold. Doesn't that remind you of when our Black brothers and sisters were put in the holds of ships? People died on the ship. On the way, a 5-year-old and her brother and sister were thrown overboard. They stopped and picked up more Aleuts along the Aleutian Chain so we do not know exactly how many people were put aboard. Some had to sleep on the decks. We were then taken to southeastern Alaska where we were put in separate camps. It is interesting that they had five camps for the Aleuts who numbered maybe a thousand or more and then the Japanese who numbered in the thousands were put in ten camps. Why were they so afraid to keep us together in more numbers? They were very cautious about not letting the rest of the country know about our internment. An agent at Funter Bay where the Pribilof Islanders were interned used a shotgun to keep anyone away who was not an Aleut.

Going back to the ship people had to line up to eat and at times if anyone was late they were not served food, so some parents went without eating so their children could eat. Water was rationed, of course, so there was not much bathing and mothers had a time with diapers. If it wasn't for the captain of the Delarof, at least, we would not have had the blankets and extra food he gave us. The agent was having a time trying to contact headquarters in Seattle. He was disappointed that no one met him at Funter Bay. What did he want, a red carpet rolled out for him? Other non-Aleuts, like teachers, etc., left Funter Bay, saying they could not stand to see how we had to live there. Of course they didn't want to stay and live the way we did.

The St. Paul Islanders were put in an abandoned cannery, where they had to sleep on floors in a huge building, where there was one large room about 150 feet long with one makeshift stove which did not give off much heat in the winter. The St. George Islanders were put across the bay at an abandoned gold mine where they also had to stay at a building like ours. Quite a few of our people died. At least 18 at Funter Bay, 19 among the people from Nikolskie, and others we do not know about. Others died after leaving the camps trying to get jobs elsewhere. At first no one was allowed to leave. Then they did not discourage those they thought would cause trouble. The food was terrible and the water contaminated. Measles broke out. There was dysentery caused by the contaminated water. Some of the children became deaf from the measles outbreak. They did not have a doctor there, he left soon after they arrived there. They were there three years. It is interesting that they took the men up to the Pribilofs to kill fur seals during this time. To the so-called war zone.

Any non-Aleut was forced to stay in Alaska. If his wife was Aleut, his wife

and children were sent to the camp. In other words, all non-Aleuts were left back. They told us it was for our safety, maybe because we look Japanese. As a matter of fact, they took some Eskimos down to the Japanese camps in the Washington area. Why did they leave the Aleuts at King Cove? They say because there were canneries there. If we had been sent to Seattle or a Japanese camp at least we would have gotten to know our Japanese brothers and sisters better. We did get a chance to go to a government high school but only two of us continued and went on to college. Most of the others were too homesick and went back home.

When our people went back home they found their homes ransacked by the army and navy men who were stationed on the islands. Many things were stolen. The navy shot holes in small boats the Aleuts built themselves. They burned down the village of Atka and took over the village of Attu. They are still there after forcing the people of Attu to move Atka.

There are similarities all over the world, even today, as lands are taken from people and they are put in concentration camps. Even here in the United States. Some people said they wanted the world to know about the internment of the Japanese-Americans so that it would not happen again here, not realizing that it is still happening with so many people in camps here from Haiti and Cuba and other countries. We must be aware of what is going on and spread the word to those people who are afraid and want to pretend such things are not happening.

As for what is happening at the Bikini Islands, we were shocked to hear what was happening there is still going on. We fought the Amcika nuclear testing. This

island is one of the Aleutian Islands. They finally stopped the testing but as someone said, they were aware of the lack of sea urchins on the Pribilofs. And why are too many Aleuts dying of cancer?

This is an example of the invisible monstrosities which exist. Out of their greed they do not care how much damage they do to the earth and the people living here. Out of their greed their eyes are on the Pribilof Islands for oil which overshadows their greed for the fur seal pelts, which is why they are trying to move the people off the islands. I can just hear their voices, "Get them the hell out of there! They are non-humans anyway. Let them go and fend for themselves and die on the streets. We don't want them claiming some of our profits."

I don't think I said things like I wanted to but I hope I helped you to understand a little bit of the Unangans. In closing, I'd like to say what a friend of mine said: "When you read about, or hear about different peoples, different groups, you have a special feeling for each one, but we all have, through the ages, had similar experiences — they were huge and horrible or insignificant, maybe, to some people, but we still are brothers and sisters around the whole world or on Mother Earth as the Native Americans say."

I want to thank all the brothers and sisters who made it possible for me to come to the War Crimes Tribunal. One of the reasons for me coming was that I read in the *Revolutionary Worker* an article on the Aleut internment. It was the first time we ever read an article about the Aleuts which was truthful. We could not find one thing wrong with it. What a contrast to articles written in imperialist newspapers. We thank the RCP.

Ενα Διεθνιστικό Καλεσµα για Πρωτομαχιατική Δραση

Αλλα περισσοτερο, η Πρωτη του Μαι, του 1982, ας αποκαλυψει το ονειρο του διεθνους προλεταριατου να ενωθει ερχομενο στη Γωη σε απο κοινου ενεργειες εκτεινομενες απο εθνη κατοπιεσθeno απο τον ιμπεριαλισμο ως τις ακροπολεις των ιδιων των πρωτενουσων.

ας αφησουμε το πολιτικο προημνησµα, τονο για μια-δωο μερες, και βοηθησουμε για να ετοιμασθει ο δρομος, τις οχι και πολυ μακρινες μερες οταν το προλεταριατο θα απελευθερωσει εδαφι και καταλαβει την εξουσια τωρα εδω, τωρα εκει, να οπισθοχωρησει μονο για να ξαναφουσκωσε, απελευθερωνοντας οσο περισσοτερο απο τον κοσµο ειναι δυνατον απο τις στριβηλενες αλυσιδες του ιμπεριαλιστου. ΤΟΤΕ η Πρωτη του Μαι ας λαβει παντου σε κοκκινες σηµαιες της επονασταςς, ανθιζοντας σαν τριανταφυλλα σπρωκνοντας το τσιφεντο, ακαταυικητη Γωη εν τρωσω σπασθενων πετρων και φθαρθενων απο την θανατωση

Επανάστατικό Κομμουνιστικό Κόμμα, Η.Π.Α.

Αυτο το καλεσµα ειναι το πρωτο σχεδιο. Εληγουμε πολλοι διαφοροι ανθρωποι και αρχωνσεις θα το κυκλοφορισουν σε διαφορετικες γλωσσες, κανουν κριτικες και συλλεξουν εισηγησεις χι αυτο και το προωθησουν σε μας πριν το τελος του Μαρτη ετσι ωστε να μπωρεσει να ξαναεδαθει σε τελικη φορµα-ολοι συνεισφεροντας σε ακοµη περισσοτερο δυνατες διεθυστικες δρασεις την Πρωτη του Μαι.

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Guatemala

Continued from page 2

of the notorious regime of dictator Arana Orsorios. Rios reportedly had "strong words for both sides" — i.e. the extreme left and the extreme right. To the guerrillas he warned "Turn in your weapons or we will take them from you . . . arms are only for the army." To the "far right," he ludicrously exclaimed: "Please, gentlemen, all you civilians who are armed, remember: Take the machineguns off the roofs of your homes and turn them in. Take the pistols off your belts and pick up a machete and go to work." This latter advice hardly seemed necessary, since as we reported last week, the death squads brutally hacked the Indian inhabitants of an entire village to death with machetes right on election eve.

Then there was the initial press spokesman for the junta, Leonel Sisniega Ortega. He was the vice-presidential candidate of the fascist National Liberation Movement (MLN) in the elections and running mate of Sandoval Alarcon, founder of the U.S.-inspired death squads. The MLN is well known for its profound concern for the "human rights of all Guatemalans." It describes itself as the "party of organized violence" and something of where it falls on the political spectrum is indicated by the fact that it refers to Guatemala's northern U.S.-dominated neighbor as "Bolshevik Mexico"! However, news reports emphasized that the coup was more "broadly based" in that it also included some supporters of Alejandro Maldonado Aquirre, the reactionary backed by the Christian Democrats as a "moderate alternative" in the elections. The U.S. reassured that the junta's leaders are only acting in response to a "popular clamor" touched off by the results of the presidential elections.

Indeed, it is indisputable that there has been quite a clamor among the U.S.'s lackeys who got aced out in the recent election, and it is also true that the object of this coup was, as the junta's statement put it, "to install immediately a government representative of all sectors," that is those sectors who are not considered part of the "tortureable" masses. After all, this is precisely what bourgeois democracy is all about anyway — a democratic voice for all members of the ruling classes in deciding how best to enforce their dictatorship over the ruled! The situation in Guatemala brings this home all the more sharply, it being the case that all features of U.S. imperialism stand out most nakedly in the countries it oppresses. The main reason for this little coup d'état was none other than to extend democracy within the admittedly narrow confines of Guatemala's oligarchy to certain parties like the Christian Democrats, who have lately been iced out of the picture by assassinations, etc., something which has in turn posed rather serious problems for the U.S. in maintaining its grip on Guatemala. As one of the "rebel" colonels remarked: "The current (former) government has not placed an emphasis on combatting our internal contradictions."

What is at stake here for the U.S. was revealed in an editorial summation in the *New York Times* which, not surprisingly, scooped the rest of the bourgeois press and went to press the same day as the coup — if not before. (Indeed, the *NYT* has been known to be favored with advance knowledge of CIA activities. In 1954, one *Times* reporter was expelled from Guatemala by the Arbenz regime prior to its overthrow by the CIA for blatantly creating public opinion for the coup which was carried out by Castillo Armas' mercenary army invading from Honduras not long thereafter.) As usual the *Times* got to the bottom line:

"The coup d'état in Guatemala couldn't have happened to a more deserving dictatorship — or at a better time . . . Guatemala's recent experience has been so awful that by the law of averages alone the insurgents — young officers and civilian populations — would have to be an improvement . . ."

"The political shape of the next government remains uncertain, but it is sure to need emergency economic aid as much as the military equipment it will request. With determined outside encouragement, Guatemala could yet be nudged back toward a democratic path. And that

would be the best counter to the challenge of a recently unified guerrilla movement.

"There is a chance, in short, to shift the tide in an important country. Let the administration seize it."

Beyond the truly hilarious references to "outside encouragement," "democratic nudging" and "seizing the time," it is clear that what the *Times* is alluding to is a quite serious problem for the U.S. rulers. It is one that has everything to do with the press of world events toward war, and the "shifting tide" referred to here is none other than the fact that the U.S.'s Soviet imperialist rivals have been gaining rapidly in the stepped-up contention for this part of the globe with the increasing political influence of pro-Soviet revisionism within a number of liberation movements in Latin America aimed at U.S. domination. In this situation what the U.S. fears right now in Guatemala is that various pro-Western sections of the ruling class, most notably the Christian Democrats, are being pushed into the position where they are apt to strike up an alliance with the revisionist-led forces in line with their "historic compromise" strategy being pursued in Latin America. They are trying desperately to avoid the kind of extreme political isolation which is so characteristic of the situation in El Salvador, where large sections of the Christian Democrats and social-democratic forces have joined with the pro-Soviet revisionist forces forming the FDR. This is virtually the case already in Guatemala, including the recent merger of varied political forces into the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG).

The hoped-for "improvement" here is that cutting some forces in the ruling class in Guatemala in on the action will restore the unity of pro-U.S. imperialist forces somewhat and at least delay the inevitable consequences that will result if the badly splintered and fiercely competing sections of the Guatemalan oligarchy don't bury the hatchet — and soon. And, of course, at the same time an improved "human rights" image will make it somewhat easier to publicly carry out the large-scale U.S. military assistance that, it increasingly appears, will be necessary to stave off the growing guerrilla insurgency. (Interestingly, one of the main complaints of the lower echelon officers regarding "corruption" was that the Lucas regime had been purchasing used arms from Spain and Israel and then

pocketing the difference — thus exposing some field commanders and their troops to getting blown away by the guerrillas when their weapons "didn't fire well").

Of course, there are also larger concerns here than just Guatemala itself. As the *Times* editorial put it: ". . . the coup flashes a useful message to the ruling military in El Salvador just days before that country's crucial vote." The warning being telegraphed here is that Duarte had better get elected "cleanly and fairly" and that the ruling clique there had better not blow it like their Guatemalan counterparts did a few weeks ago or they could suffer a similar fate. But more, that this coup was put into motion at this time reflects a growing awareness by the U.S. rulers that, as Haig recently stated, Guatemala is "the most strategically located country in Central America."

What is meant by this was illustrated in part two weeks ago as Mexico's Minister of Defense and then Guatemalan Army Chief of Staff Benedicto Lucas Garcia (ex-president Lucas Garcia's brother who was removed during the coup since, as one Western diplomat quipped, he was "an able general, but a lousy mouthpiece") held a secret meeting to discuss ways of preventing Guatemala's revolution from spilling over into southern Mexico. Last year Mexico deported some 3,000 Guatemalan refugees who it feared (rightly in many cases) were setting up the camps as support bases for the Guatemalan guerrillas. As one U.S. observer noted: "Some American officials" assert that Mexican officials tend to minimize the risks of infection by Central America's revolutionary fever. In reality, the government recognizes the vulnerability of the southern state of Chiapas — which in ethnic, cultural and economic terms is similar to Guatemala — and has sent in more troops and aid."

Future Cloudy

U.S. officials are yelling that Guatemala is "ultimately the U.S.'s most difficult policy problem" in Central America. That all they have to rely on is a motley assortment of well-known death squadders, tin-horn generals and openly reactionary politicians does not speak well for U.S. options even in the wake of their own CIA-inspired intrigue. And an indication that the U.S. has by no means yet accomplished what it set out to in pulling off this latest coup was revealed by the fact that the U.S. ambassador has so far

declined Rios' requests to meet with him.

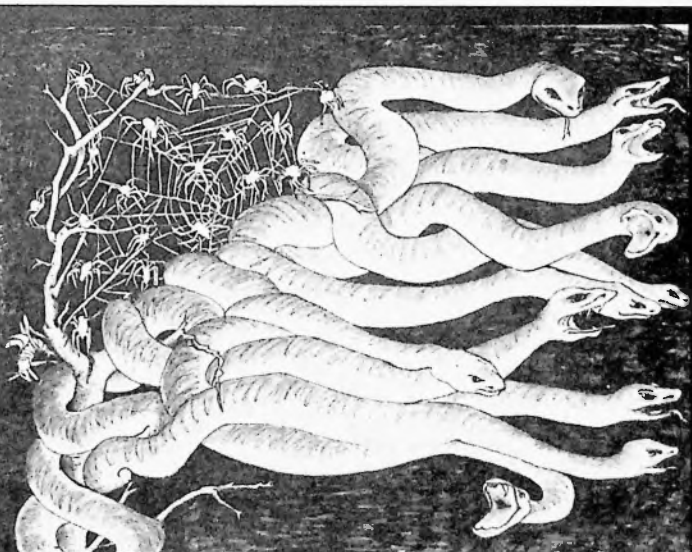
As we go to press, U.S. officials have described the direction of the coup as still extremely "fluid," and it is not yet clear whether it has succeeded in resolving some of the contradictions it was supposed to. Apparently the planned scenario had called for Rios to be only a figurehead who would immediately schedule "free and clean" elections, but so far no date for this has been set. It also came out that at least two different juntas had been formed in the early hours of the coup, with the final version dropping a number of the "Young Officers" who were supposed to be leading the rebellion. Another ominous sign was that MLN leader Sisniega, who appeared early on as the "spokesman" for the coup, suddenly disappeared from sight and according to a high-placed source was demanding to know "what happened" to plans that his party would be part of the new government. All this does not bode that well for U.S. hopes of quickly healing the debilitating splits that have plagued Guatemala's compradors and which have made things so difficult in the past.

Nevertheless, Rios indicated his willingness to oblige with at least some of the cosmetic changes that the U.S. requires, announcing that the heads of the elite police and security units (whose thousands of members have been trained over the years by U.S. counter-insurgency experts both here in the U.S. and in U.S. torture schools in Panama), had been removed and that the units would only be reorganized (but, naturally, not dissolved) since "The men are not to blame, but those who command them are." Truly a victory for "human rights"! In line with the "moderate political orientation" of the new regime, the death squad officers will now undoubtedly be moved from the "extreme" east wing closer to the center of the presidential palace! In light of the recent election disaster and now a coup about which the best State Dept. spokesman Dean Fischer has been able to say so far is that the U.S. is "monitoring it carefully," it can truly be said that the latest U.S. attempts to apply a dash of pancake to the grotesque face of their Guatemalan regime have only conjured up a visage that is looking even more bizarre.

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Chamber of Commerce Types

Continued from page 4

tremely radical, even revolutionary in their stance, and some others who were much more reformist and openly capitulationist. And it's the latter—whether the same people or others—but the latter as a social phenomenon that came much more to the fore from the mid-'70s on.

What's in Common?

The "three worlds" theory has some things in common with the Lin Biao line in the sense that it also treats the prospect of revolution in the advanced countries as null and non-existent, and insofar as this "three worlds" theory makes an analysis of it, it attributes it entirely to the victory of the revisionist parties; that is, it just uses that as another example of how the Soviet international apparatus and the Soviet bloc and its extensions inside the West is holding back everything and has a strong, unbreakable hold—in other words, another reason why the Soviet Union is the main danger. That's a subjective analysis of the reasons for the temporary (even if temporary means a few decades) retarding, temporary lull, and temporary setback in the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in the advanced countries. And the objective basis for all this—and much more significantly than that, the contradictions within the objective basis for that and the changes, motion, development and the prospects for that to turn into its opposite, that is, for revolutionary prospects to develop and ripen at least in some of these countries for the first time in a long time—all that is ignored and thrown out the window. But there is that element of similarity between that Deng Xiaoping analysis and the Lin Biao line, even though the latter one is a radical expression.

Also, in Lin Biao's *Long Live the Victory of People's War* there is, as I pointed out, a tendency to project a very broad united front. In the "three worlds" theory what's preserved is the bourgeois forces part of that united front. Whereas Lin Biao said "rely on the revolutionary masses" and did talk about the worker-peasant alliance as the backbone of the revolution—that basically correct, Marxist-Leninist thrust is all gone in the "three worlds" theory. And as for the whole idea of relying on the masses as a revolutionary force... well, the idea of making revolution itself is thrown out. If you're not going to make revolution, there's not too much point in relying on the masses either, because really that's all they're good for. They're not good for carrying out all this bourgeois stuff. The bourgeoisie is better for that.

To get at it another way, the "three worlds" theory is

what "the third world will take the lead" is at a time when the forces in the third world who have the upper hand are much more the bourgeois forces and even the ones who are openly the props of imperialism. Temporarily in the late '70s that was more the character of things than in this tremendous revolutionary upsurge of the '60s, when even if a lot of the leadership was petty-bourgeois and not Marxist-Leninist, not representing the proletariat, nevertheless, it was a revolutionary expression. In the mid-to-late '70s, in this period of lull and ebb on a world scale, what you have coming to the fore temporarily is a lot more of these bourgeois forces and their "militant" activity, is the kind of things that are cited in the "three worlds" theory—all these sheiks and feudal princes, bourgeois comprador forces and all the rest of them trying to negotiate with the imperialists for a little bit better deal or use one imperialist bloc against the other. In the shifting of forces in the mid-'70s, there was a little bit more opening than there was before or certainly than there is now for these forces to do this kind of thing. Not that there's no more maneuvering room now, but certainly there was a unique and temporary situation in the mid-'70s which gave some sustenance to this "three worlds" theory type of thing.

So, we get the Better Business Bureau expression of third world-ism; this is what the "three worlds" theory is. It's your Chamber of Commerce wing of the bourgeois-democrats, instead of your radical democratic, revolutionary nationalist section. In general you can see the possibility of unity, and sometimes even the real importance of unity with those latter kind of forces. Whereas those who are in fact the props and retainers of

imperialism obviously must be targets of the revolution. It wasn't just in China, but it was throughout the Third World in general that these kind of forces got more initiative and had the upper hand more than they had during the period of revolutionary upsurge of the '60s. They came to the fore in China and they also sought out and projected theories as an extension of their attempts to unite (as bourgeois will unite, that is, unite with ME on top) with their kind who also were getting a little bit of initiative in other parts of the third world. Deng Xiaoping was seeking out his own types, both in terms of the bourgeois types in the imperialist countries who were the overlords of the third world, but also the lackeys and props of imperialism inside the third world countries themselves, as he was maneuvering to be inside China.

So analyzing what there is in common between Lin and Deng also brings out the differences in the kind of expression that Lin Biao represented in the '60s versus the political programmatic thrust that Deng Xiaoping represented in the mid-to-late-'70s—and he still represents it. But overall there is an ultimate similarity between the two in the fact that neither of them represents a rupture beyond bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois democracy is what they all have in common in terms of their ultimate framework and their ultimate point of view, but they are very sharply opposed in terms of the expression that takes, and also sharply opposed are the kinds of circumstances which tend to bring forward and give the initiative to the one and then the other.

(To be continued)

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Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Dear friends:

I'm writing you in regards to obtaining a subscription to the *Revolutionary Worker* weekly paper. My cellmate was fortunate enough to be receiving one but he has recently been released which leaves me in a bad situation of wanting to continually get the news and be aware of what's happening in the world from another perspective besides the Media but unable to afford the finance to pay for one. Therefore any assistance rendered in this matter would be highly appreciated.

Yours truly,
X

Comrades,

I'm a prisoner in the Imperialists' San Quentin prison and your paper has been my education and awakening to the Racists' Imperialist System of exploitation and oppression in this so-called "Land of Liberty," a false front for the Racist System. I also would appreciate any books or material for my awakening knowledge.

A Prisoner Within the San Quentin Walls

Dear RW:

I would like to thank you and everyone for making it possible for myself and my brothers to receive literature through the "Prisoners Revolutionary Fund."

I received the copy of *The Science of Revolution* and have read it and passed it on down the line of my brothers here in isolation. I would like to know if it is possible for me to receive a copy of *Revolution and Counter-Revolution, the Revisionist Coup in China and the Struggle in the RCP, USA*. If so it would be highly appreciated.

P.S. I should be released from prison in '83 or '84 if there is anything in particular I could do for the party let me know.

Respectfully,
XX

Compañeros:

I am a Mexican who is doing time in one of California's State Dungeons, and I want to tell you just how much I really appreciate you people helping us out and keeping us informed on what is happening in the outside world, because from this hell hole it is very hard to keep on top of what's happening on the outside. . . . There is one other thing that I would like to tell you and that is if there is anything I could do to help with the fight I would be more than willing because without the paper that you have been sending me which I share with other prisoners, we would be lost in this Dungeon which they call a State Institution. . . . Once again I thank you for keeping us informed and may you have the very best of luck with your May Day poster. . . . I will put one up in this institution so that all the brothers can become aware. . . .

In Solidarity

P.S. Please send a poster.



The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* has established a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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