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Into the Streets, Thurs. May 1st, International Workers Day

THE INTERNATIONALE

In march time (♩ = 120)

f A - rise, you pris-'ners of star - va - tion!

April 24 — Pick up the Red Flag!

rise, you wretch-ed of the earth,

Our flag is red, not red, white and blue. Only weeks ago, the Red Flag flew from the top of the Alamo in Texas, raised by the May Day brigade. Yes, the Red Flag—raised on top of that monument to red, white and blue imperialist plunder—in this case the armed robbery of Mexican land. Millions were jolted; millions more around the world took note of this class-conscious stand being taken by some inside the belly of this world-ravaging beast; and in this country, tens, even hundreds of thousands took heart and wondered anew about the possibility of revolution, about the existence of a force serious about seeing it through.

On Thursday, April 24, one week before May 1st, International Workers Day, the Red Flag will be raised even more powerfully. On that day an exhilarating sight will unfurl in the USA. That day, 50,000 hands, many rough from labor, will grip this symbol of the revolutionary future and join their voices together at one time singing the

Internationale (the anthem of the worldwide working class). The sights of these 50,000 and many more whom their actions influence will be set on May 1st and beyond—on revolution in the USA and the whole world.

The effect will be electrifying. It'll be "these people are serious!!!" about May 1st, about revolution. Here in *America*, with reactionaries in a mounting frenzy, trying to dull people to the smell of shit by wrapping it in red, white and blue, calling it "the best there is" and praising it with "God Bless America"; here in *America* the Red Flag will be waving and the *Internationale* defiantly and proudly sung! With these actions—only a prelude to May 1st itself—a still small but very significant class-conscious section of the working class, rallying others beside it, will be mounting history's stage to grandly announce its arrival on the scene, its intention of seeing this fight through.

In other countries, oppressed people's stunned surprise will be dissolved into heart-pounding joy and inspiration to see that right alongside

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Behind the Barricades in Wrightsville, Ga.

Barricades in the streets. Street lights shot out. Armed sentries guard houses. A child with a pistol crouches behind a tree then sprints across the night to warn clusters of armed youth of an approaching car. In an instant young men with rifles are in position in bushes and behind houses. This is not Iran, nor Nicaragua...but Wrightsville, Georgia, Wednesday, April 9th. The Black people of this tiny south Georgia town took a defiant stand against the local sheriff and nightriding vigilantes. They stood their ground and gave the local defenders of the bourgeoisie a real good taste of their own medicine.

"We've got to get the man with the money," says one rifle-carrying youth, "he steals our money, he steals the poor whites' money, too, so that's who we've got to fight against."

"If I have to die to win, that's ok," said another, "but if we don't win this time I want my son to grow up fighting, too, so they can win." The night air crackled with the fiery mood of these Blacks who feel they cannot live another day with oppression's chains.

Several months ago a couple of organizers from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) began picketing a supermarket. They were demanding more jobs for Blacks. As the demonstrations grew from a handful to scores, the focus changed to the sheriff's office at the county courthouse and the demands broadened to include hiring of Blacks in the Post Office and county government and the treachery of calling for Black police. On Tuesday, April 8, a demonstration of 75 Blacks was attacked by sheriff's deputies and two hundred vigilante types, among them the sheriff's son. Blacks were beaten with chains and clubs. 9 people were hospitalized, including two reporters. One white attacker caught a righteous blast of buckshot in his face. That night carloads of goons cruised the Black community, shooting randomly into houses. Some Blacks decided that the same thing would not happen the next night.

Dusk on Wednesday—the *Atlanta Journal Constitution* reported that "the

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Demonstrate May 1st!

L.A.—10:00 a.m. MacArthur Park (bandshell area), Parkview and 6th

New York—9:30 a.m. Union Square

Chicago—11:00 a.m. Daley Center Plaza

Washington, D.C.—11:00 a.m. Malcolm X Park, 16th and Euclid NW

Detroit—9:30 a.m. Palmer Park, Woodward and 6-mile

Atlanta—12:00 noon, Central City Park (downtown)

San Francisco Bay Area—10:00 a.m. San Antonio Park, 16th and Foothill Blvd., Oakland

May 1st demonstrations will be held in many other cities. For information contact the *Revolutionary Worker* in your area.

or phone National May Day Committee (313) 893-8350 or (313) 893-7831

Refugees Flee Capitalist Cuba

The crush of more than 10,000 Cubans who have sought asylum within the Peruvian embassy compound in Havana over the past few weeks has precipitated another imperialist propaganda orgy in the "Sweet land of liberty." In the context of the escalating hostility between the United States and the Soviet Union, the sentiment of thousands of people living in the Soviet Union's puppet showcase in the Western hemisphere that "We've got to get out of this place" is being billed as a touching desire for "freedom and democracy," U.S. imperialist-style.

Why do thousands of people want to emigrate from Cuba—to Peru, to Costa Rica, to the U.S., anywhere? That's easy. Life for the masses in Cuba is extremely hard, just like it's hard in any country subjugated by imperialism. The Soviet social-imperialists who run Cuba through their flunkey Fidel have destroyed the Cuban revolution, and the Cuban economy is distorted and twisted in ways fundamentally similar to the pattern under the U.S.-backed dictator, Fulgencio Batista, before 1959. Recently, the economic crisis has grown especially severe. Prime Minister Castro himself, in a major speech last December, warned of sharp deprivation on an even greater scale in the coming times—though he tried to blame everything on tobacco blight, sugar cane rot, and swine fever, instead of his own col-

laboration with the Soviet imperialists in the rape of the island.

It is obvious that the Peruvian government, which has begun to tighten its relationship to the United States since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the increased pace of war preparations of both imperialist camps began in earnest, helped instigate or at least encourage the "drama" of thousands of prospective emigrants crowding into their embassy compound. The whole thing started in early April, when a bus containing about 25 Cubans crashed through the Peruvian embassy gate, killing a Cuban guard. Castro demanded that the Peruvians turn over the 25 "criminals, bums, anti-social elements, delinquents, and trash" to the state for trial in the killing of the guard. Peru refused. In retaliation, Castro ordered the withdrawal of all guards from the embassy compound. It backfired. By April 5, 750 had crowded into the embassy grounds. It then became clear to the Cuban regime that a major embarrassment for their "socialist outpost in the Caribbean" was shaping up. So Cuba switched from its hardline tactics and attempted to adopt a stance of disinterested "reasonableness," promising that the refugees could leave the country if they could get foreign entry visas. Another backfire—the word spread, and within 24 hours, another 9,000 Cubans had

jammed into the embassy. Then, Castro ordered his police to seal off the area.

This, of course, created a situation made to order for reactionary U.S. propaganda about people fleeing "socialist" Cuba for a life of "freedom and democracy" in either the U.S. or one of its neo-colonies. Costa Rica, one of the most servile dependencies of the U.S. in

Latin America, is serving as a "staging area" for the refugees being flown out of Cuba from Havana. News reports about Cubans debarking from the "freedom flights" tell about the elated refugees "kissing the soil of Costa Rica, a free land," and shouting "Freedom, si! Fidel, no!"

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A sight that truly tapped the revolutionary sentiments of the masses was a huge 50-foot red flag that greeted the whole East Side of San Jose in the Monday dawn as workers drove to the factories. There it was, flying atop one of the most famous monuments to the anarchy of capitalism—the unfinished interchange of freeway 101 and 280. For seven years these two huge slabs of concrete that drop off in mid-air on both ends have served as a tribute to the once expanding and now dying system of imperialism.

Stories came in from plants all over the area. "did you see the RED flag this morning?" And the reply that often came, "That has to be the May Day People." Even a local radio station broadcasting its morning traffic report from a helicopter announced that: "Some big red flag is hanging things up!" Smiles broke into full grins as many speculated, "How did they do it?"



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The Speech That Launched May Day 1980

This System Is Doomed! Let's Finish It Off!

The Revolutionary Worker proudly reprints here the famous speech given by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, in Washington, D.C., May Day 1979. It was in this speech, which was simultaneously broadcast to the West Coast, that Bob Avakian issued the call to build a mass, revolutionary May Day on Thursday, May 1st 1980, which said: "On that day the enemy and the people alike will have no choice but to direct their attention to the awesome occurrence of revolutionary May Day, as thousands and thousands stride in unison through the streets, in step with the millions throughout the world fighting for the same goal, backs straight and eyes cast to the broadest and farthest horizons. . . ." The first part of the speech is reprinted this week, to be concluded in the next issue of the RW.

We're here today on May Day which as we know is the revolutionary day for our class, the international working class. It's a day of great historic importance and a day of battle every year for working class and oppressed people throughout the world. We see that the enemy hates this day. We see them trying to find every way they can to bury it, to try to make people forget about it, and if they can't do that (and increasingly they can't) to try to suppress it by force. And yet again they have failed, because we have the strength of the masses of the people that we're resting on and who are standing behind us. It's a day that the enemy hates and fears like a vampire shudders at the light of day and the first dawning of a bright new horizon. It is a day when slaves, as we are doing today, stand up proud, throw the whip off our back and declare that we will get rid of it once and for all. It is a day that is crucial to building the revolutionary movement.

With this understanding and in this spirit I want to speak to some important questions and then upon the conclusion of that I want to read an announcement, a call from our Party regarding certain important plans for the struggle in the period ahead.

Now most of you, I think, would agree, but let's talk for a minute about what do we need to solve the problems of the people in this country and to move society forward? We need revolution—nothing else, nothing less. I got into D.C. a few days ago, and this is a perfect example of what this rotten hell-hole they call "the greatest society on earth" is all about. This city, with its tall buildings and its marble halls full of decadent roaches scurrying around, decrepit old men whose time has long since passed, who stumble out of the whorehouses and the topless and bottomless bars to vote ways to try to keep us further oppressed. It's a city which is shown off to tourists, where little kids are brought in to be brainwashed by being taught that this is where the great men who run this country make the decisions that make this country great. And yet all around it, like a sea around an island, as we see right outside this building, are the falling-down, rotten slums and ghettos where hundreds of thousands of people are crowded together, the people on whose backs this system has been built, people crowded together in hell holes.

And a very poignant scene, and in a way a very powerful scene, struck me on the first day I was here. I was waiting for someone, and in this marble-halled, hallowed house of imperialism, Washington, D.C., on the street was an old lady, an old white lady, about 70 years old going through the garbage cans looking for her lunch. And that's the contradiction, that's the nature of this system, that the masses of people who built this country, on whose backs it's been built up along with the people of the world, are cast out like useless garbage and end up having to rummage through the very garbage cans, trying to survive.

That's the real nature of this god-damned system that they call the greatest on earth. Don't tell us a god-damned thing about this system. . . We know about it because we live in it and it lives on us every day. You can't tell us, none of you politicians, whether it's Kennedy, whether it's reflection-mouth Carter, or whoever it might be, they can't tell us nothing about this system and all their trash. More and more people are waking up and saying they don't want to hear that shit any more because we have to live the reality that they're trying to cover up every day.

Look right here in D.C., Terrence Johnson, a young black dude, a teenager, stood up righteously. They were beating him to death down there in the pig

station, and he did what we can only say "Right on!" to—he grabbed ahold of the holster and ripped the gun out of the pig's hand and shot two of them dead in the station!

But we're not just talking about a little taste of justice or just dealing with a few. It's like that old statement from Mao Tsetung, talking about the enemy. Kill some, Mao said, and get some satisfaction; kill more, get more satisfaction; kill them all, get complete satisfaction. Now Mao wasn't talking about literally killing every last person in the ruling class; he was talking about wiping out their army on the battlefield, winning the revolutionary war, overthrowing the old, rotten system, and building the new system to meet the needs of the people and advance society.

And, actually, we can't and shouldn't kill every last one of the bourgeoisie in this country when the revolution comes, or else who would there be left to exercise dictatorship over? Besides, we have to keep some of them around to provide a negative example to teach and remind the people about the evils of the old society—and we can make them do some useful labor in the process, under the stern supervision of the masses, the very people they used to misuse and kick around like animals. Those of them who have committed the most towering crimes (since they're all criminals) will have to be executed by the popular will of the people; and the rest of them will have to have their blood chilled by this and have terror struck into their minds by the sight of the masses of people, armed with political consciousness and with guns, educated and organized to rule and remake society in our interests. And this same fear must be impressed into the thinking of anyone or any clique of people that thinks about and tries to turn the advances of the revolution into their own private gains.

This is what makes them say we're bloodthirsty. Well, let them say it. Let them say it because we're going to go on and do what has to be done, and we're going to spill their blood to get it done. When the time comes, when it's ripe—and we're building for that day. We're talking about an organized struggle that's politically led, mobilized and guided so we can strike the blow when the time is ripe, deliver it and win, because we don't want (like I said) just a little taste of revenge. We want to get rid of the whole system once and for all that puts us through this daily grind and spits us out like useless garbage, that shoots us down in the streets for maybe committing the crime of trying to walk with our head up and have a little dignity in our lives.

Terrence Johnson, what did he do, except what anyone would have had to do in that situation to defend himself. And what did the judge say? They threw the book at him. The jury wouldn't convict him of

murder, so the judge gave him 25 years and told him he should be grateful that the pig who subdued him, who was probably afraid of being the third pig killed that day, didn't try to kill him. This is what they're saying to us: "You got a place in this society, under our boot and under our whip, and don't think about trying to rise up above it, don't ever think about trying to get justice."

Well, don't tell us a god-damned thing about your so-called capitalist system of justice. That's your capitalist system of justice—what you did to Terrence Johnson for righteously defending himself. Don't give us any more of your god-damned shit about "truth, justice and the American way" with Superman and all the rest of that bullshit! We don't want to hear it! We've seen your justice—in Moody Park. We've seen what you did to Joe Torres and countless others, especially the people you say are weak and hopeless minorities, but who shook your country to its foundations in the 1960's and early '70s, and the people who, more and more, the working class as a whole will come to unite with and give the kind of powerful blow to this system that will bring it down.

So don't tell us about your "land of opportunity" and how it offers everybody a chance to get ahead. We've seen through your hypocrisy, we've seen through your lies, we've seen through your whole rotten system, and it stinks, and we don't want any more of it except to get rid of it. Don't tell us about the land of opportunity when you kill more than 50 construction workers on a job because you won't spend the money, cut into your profits, to put in a decent foundation when they have to go into the air to build these mighty skyscrapers you brag about. Don't tell us about your land of opportunity when you blow up miners and bury them under the earth to dig that coal out that you brag about. Don't tell us when you washed away countless homes in the coalfields and wouldn't do anything to rebuild them for the people because it wasn't profitable, which is your almighty god and holy law—profit, profit, and more profit. Don't tell us about none of this anymore!

Now I want to say something, by the way, they say that they don't have any work for one out of two of these Black youth, and for a good number of these other youth out here. And they're telling them straight up, slapping them in the face and saying "This is the way it is, what are you going to do about it? You don't have a future under this system, much as we lie and talk about the land of opportunity. You don't have a job and you don't have a future!" Well, we've got news for you, we've got a job for them, and we've got a future for them! We've got a job and a future and a revolution to turn this whole world upside down and

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

Draft Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA



The Armed Struggle in Kurdistan

20,000 Honor
Martyred
Communist



Armed Kurdish rebels, patrolling the hills they effectively control, having defeated Iranian government troops.



Martyred comrade Worria Modarasi, member of the Union of Iranian Communists and military commander of Kurdish liberation forces.

February 21, 1980. The stutter of machine gun fire rattled through the barren winter hills of Iranian Kurdistan, just outside the town of Kamyaran. The fighting between a handful of leftist revolutionaries and an assortment of government forces and mercenaries recruited by local landlords had raged fiercely all day. One government thrust had just been repelled, and now there was a wary pause in the shooting.

The 15 or so fighters from several revolutionary groups in Kurdistan were the night watch surrounding the enemy positions. From behind their makeshift stone bunker they could see that the reactionaries had gathered their forces. Four tanks and a hundred or so men were advancing on them. The clacking of helicopters grew steadily louder. . . The revolutionaries decided it was time to retreat up the mountain-side.

They all arrived safely, but Worria Modarasi, a member of the Union of Iranian Communists and a fighter in the Peshmergas of the Oppressed People of Kurdistan (Peshmergas are fearless Kurdish frontline fighters) noticed something wrong. One of his comrades, a leader from another group, the Revolutionary Organization of Oppressed and Toiling People of Kurdistan, was missing. He must be trapped on the mountainside—an easy target for the enemy. Something must be done, Worria thought.

Like thousands of others in Kurdistan, Worria had become a revolutionary in the years when the Shah, backed to the hilt by U.S. imperialism, enforced a brutal dictatorship on the Iranian people. On top of this, the 4 million Kurds living in mountainous western Iran suffered national oppression in every area of society—from the schools where they were forbidden to speak their own language, to the local administrations which were dominated by non-Kurds appointed by the Shah. In the villages where 80% of the people in Kurdistan live, the peasants were the virtual property of the feudal landlords, who levied exorbitant taxes on the peasants for everything from water and crops to holidays.

When the Shah's hated regime was finally overthrown in early 1979, the Kurdish people's struggle surged forward, demanding autonomy within a democratic Iran and land to the tiller. In the spring and summer months, tens of thousands of peasants expropriated feudal estates from one end of Kurdistan to the other and organized armed peasant councils to defend their gains against the landlords and their armed thugs. Wherever fighting broke out, the central government sided again and again with the reactionaries. The

continuing struggle to uproot imperialism and feudalism erupting in Kurdistan threatened to spread through out the rest of Iran and upset the plans of powerful reactionary forces in the new government to consolidate their power to stop the revolution half-way.

After an initial round of sharp fighting in the Kurdish capital city of Sanandaj, the government tried to take Kurdistan by storm in August and September. Launching a combined air and ground offensive, they thought they could simply wipe out the revolutionary forces and the peasant movement and be done with it. But they were sadly mistaken. Faced with heavy firepower, including U.S.-made helicopter gunships and F-4 jets, the Kurdish freedom fighters avoided large-scale battles and headed to their familiar rugged mountains where they regrouped and prepared to counterattack. Revolutionaries like Worria left the cities and took their organizations to the mountain villages. There they stepped up their work among the peasants and began launching guerrilla attacks against the government's "revolutionary guards" (Pasdaran) who were at the head of the invading forces.

Worria was only 22 years old and a newcomer to the peasant struggle. He had come to his native Sanandaj only last summer after several years as a revolutionary activist at a nearby university. Yet already he had earned a reputation as a fearless fighter and a serious comrade who always fought to put the revolutionary struggle of the masses first.

Soon Kurdistan became a nightmare for the Khomeini-Bazargan government. Unable to penetrate the rugged mountains where the majority of Kurdish peasants live, the government forces concentrated in the Kurdish cities. Yet whenever they ventured forth or tried to reinforce units occupying other towns, they were hit by Kurdish fighters wherever they turned. As September dragged into October even the cities they "controlled" weren't safe.

The brutal repression unleashed by the government forces—such as the executions of over 100 captured Peshmergas—aroused the bitter hatred of the masses of Kurds. Strikes and sit-ins against the occupying army grew. Soon the government forces were literally imprisoned in their military bases. Then even these sanctuaries came under attack, and in October the Pasdaran were driven out of the important city of Mahabad completely.

Many of these young, politically naive "Revolutionary Guards" had been convinced they were going to Kurdistan to fight against SAVAK agents and "satanic enemies of Islam," as Khomeini had called the Kurdish freedom fighters. But as the Pasdaran were forced to gun down men, women

and children in cold blood, and even old peasant women spit upon them in the streets, it became clear that something else was going on. Many Pasdaran became demoralized, and stories of government atrocities spread throughout Iran, changing the attitude of the urban masses to the Kurdish struggle dramatically. With its own forces in growing disarray, the government found itself bogged down in a sea of Kurdish resistance, more organized and more determined than ever.

About this time another event transpired that changed the whole complexion of the struggle in Iran and in Kurdistan as well. The U.S. imperialists again stepped up their meddling in Iran by bringing the Shah to the United States in late October. A storm of anti-imperialist struggle was unleashed as the U.S. embassy was captured on November 4. Suddenly the government was confronted with an entirely new situation; they could not afford to fight U.S. imperialism and the Kurdish masses at the same time. And the thought of the Kurdish people linking up with the anti-imperialist upsurge throughout the rest of the country gave them the shivers.

The government had little choice but to negotiate a ceasefire in Kurdistan which the revolutionaries also agreed to in order to aim the struggle primarily at the U.S. imperialists and their agents in

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You May Not Take Revolution Seriously, But . . .

" . . . you may not think that revolution is a serious possibility, but the rulers of this country think that it is a real possibility, and they're starting to talk about it more—and act on that understanding, too."

Bob Avakian

Opening Remarks to 1979 Central Committee Meeting

"In many respects, this would appear to be the worst of times. But I honestly believe we can change this to a time of opportunity. We have a better opportunity than ever before to assert leadership over an apparently insolvable problem, to shift the cause for inflation and energy problems to OPEC. . . We should seize this opportunity now and with all our skill. . ."

Presidential advisor Stuart Eisenstadt

in a secret June 28, 1979 memorandum to Carter

"Really massive unemployment, such as these events (oil cutoff—RW) would produce, would create economic turmoil which domestic radicals would be ready to exploit. We know already that our police departments have difficulty controlling crime in times of relative affluence. With poverty even worse than produced by the Great Depression, with power plants shutting down or rationing electricity, with our individual mobility reduced because of scarce and surely rationed gasoline, many of our cities, I fear, would explode with violence. The armed forces would be called on to restore order and the potential for revolutionary coup would be seriously enhanced. People prefer almost anything to chaos. The situation would be greatly aggravated by the total unpreparedness of our national guard and army reserve forces today.

"Just imagine for a moment your own situation. Suppose you were laid off and couldn't find a job. There would be some meager government relief, but not enough to buy food and meet your mortgage payments. Eventually, you would be evicted. Where would you and your family live? There might not even be enough gasoline available to travel any great distance to the homes of relatives if they were any better off. What would you do when your children got hungry or members of your family were ill and there were no hospital facilities?

"Most Americans, thank God, have never been faced with such emergencies and have not had to answer these questions; but I have been to areas of the world where they are asked and I can tell you that when life is reduced to basic survival, interest in what kind of government one has evaporates. Food is the foundation on which civilizations are built and hunger is one of the most basic motivations of man. Take food away and all else will crumble."

General Louis W. Walt
U.S. Marine Corps. Retired,
Writing in *Eleventh Hour*

Economic News

Big Jolt Downward in America's Decline

The long awaited recession seems to have arrived—at least that's the consensus among government and academic economists as they sift through the latest disaster reports from the Department of Commerce. These experts had been predicting a slow-down for well over a year. Of course, such doomsday prognostications offer them the advantage of being able to say, "I told you so," and to prepare the people for hard times, since their blind optimism has worn a little thin in recent years. But while these bourgeois spokesmen are trying to console us with the silver lining behind the cloud, that this slow-down will wring much of the inflation out of the economy, the cloud is darker than they think, or dare to say. There are all the ingredients of a major recession, and even if it does not immediately materialize, a further weakening of the economy.

The two industries hit hardest by the latest turn of the economy tell the story. Housing construction in March experienced its biggest monthly drop in 20 years. The level of new housing starts was pretty close to the low point of 1975. New permits (an indication of future construction activity) also declined steeply. The soaring cost of mortgage money has priced many prospective buyers out of the housing market altogether; in fact, the latest estimates reveal that only 5% of those wanting homes can afford them. Meanwhile, 1 out of 5 home deals during the last few months in California fell through on account of financing difficulties. The housing industry is fast approaching depression conditions.

In the auto industry, sales of domestic lines did in fact fall to a Depression-level annual rate in late March. For almost a year the industry has been saddled with uncomfortably high inventories and Chrysler has all but offered to give you a car to clean out their lots. GM announced major production cutbacks. Ford announced its own retrenchment program a day

earlier, including the permanent shut-down of its Mahwah, N.J. plant, throwing almost 4000 people out of work and sending unemployment soaring in the surrounding area. With these two back-to-back announcements, unemployment in auto rose to over 200,000 workers permanently or "indefinitely" on the streets—over a quarter of the industry's total. As for Chrysler, its continuing operating difficulties and inability to secure outside finance have led many within the government and the financial community to write it off as a lost cause—even if it gets federal assistance. Attention was turning to Ford, which anticipated record losses on its 1980 domestic operations. For the first time the word "bankruptcy" was mentioned in connection with its problems.

The auto and housing industries are the pillars of the private economy in terms of total employment directly and indirectly related to them. The drastic cutbacks in auto production have already led to a new round of layoffs in the steel industry, on top of plant shut-downs like those in Youngstown, Ohio. The crisis in housing industry has led not only to heavy unemployment among construction workers (and bankruptcies among small contractors), it has already begun to ripple into massive layoffs in the lumber industry. Up until the beginning of this year, unemployment, overall, hovered around 6%. Since then it has risen steadily. Manufacturing inventories are climbing relative to sales throughout the economy, as demand slackens. The production cutbacks that follow will have a snowballing effect.

The recovery of the last few years was fueled by consumer expenditures and government spending—all of which have generated an incredible and inflationary mountain of debt. Consumer debt has increased by 50% in the last three years alone. The housing sector

was kept alive by new mortgage instruments and practices, such as government-backed mortgage bonds and higher interest rates in savings and loan banks; automobile purchases were financed by 4-year loans; credit card money became a major factor in the government's redefinitions of the money supply. The recovery, however, was never more than partial and fragmentary.

Capital investment never took off and there remained major weak spots—like the steel industry. There was no massive restructuring of capital which would improve conditions of profitability. But the credit expansion continued, and more and more of it underwrote speculative activity—from real estate to the dramatic rise in every conceivable type of futures trading, no longer just metals and agricultural commodities, but exotic interest-rate futures. Where productive investment was taking place, billions of dollars of short-term borrowings were financing long-term projects whose profitability and payoff were uncertain. Loans grew astronomically and extended in all different directions, yet the base of production and economic activity on which it was all built proved to be feeble. The auto industry was borrowing huge sums just to maintain its excessive inventories.

The whole financial structure became more vulnerable to disturbances, and the banks began pushing up the prime interest rate to levels not seen since the Civil War to protect themselves against inflation and the risks inherent in this loan activity. (The money they were lending also became more expensive as the government raised the interest rates.)

Eventually debt has to be paid back or re-financed. The capacity to do either is now seriously impaired. Delinquency rates rise for consumers and the reins are tightened for corporate borrowers. The whole thing can't be sustained. The housing sector is not just a sensitive barometer of developments in the economy. It has been compared to the stock market of the 1920s by many analysts, in the sense of being a major arena of speculation, including heavy investments by the biggest banks, and in the sense, therefore, of being a potential trigger. A collapse in real-

estate values would not only wipe out consumers' equity, but might also be the event that touched off a major financial distress.

Normally, when a downturn sets in, the government would pump up the credit supply. But now the economy is so overloaded with debt that blowing up this balloon further carries with it tremendous dangers—but so does its deflation. The current slide in industrial production is not, therefore, simply a repeat of 1974-75: the threat of financial failure and bankruptcy is greater, the ability to counteract it considerably undercut, and the prospect of an even more serious recession far likelier. In short, this recession was brought on by the failure of this inflationary credit explosion to generate a substantial and durable recovery and by the feed-back effect of this credit manipulation on the financial superstructure. It became necessary to rope it in, and this hastened the decline. The two major consumer sectors, auto and housing, the leading edge of a credit-induced recovery, are now the first casualties of an impending downturn.

In short, the imperialists did try to cool the economy out and bring on a controlled recession since they saw this as the only way to deal with the inflation problem and try to create the conditions for a new expansion. But they can't control the economy, and their dreams of a "recession with a soft landing" threaten to turn into a nightmare of a crash—which is why they are freaking out. What the imperialists do know is that they don't know exactly what they are doing. Last year, Treasury Secretary Miller was saying we were midway through a recession—now he's saying that the current sudden downturn is concluding the longest peacetime expansion on record.

Now the same day that Ford announced its plant shutdown, something else was going on, though it did not make the front pages. This was a meeting of governors from the central banks of the U.S. bloc (the Federal Reserve is this country's central bank) held in Switzerland. Here the topic of discussion was the danger of a worldwide financial panic rooted in the sluggishness of the world economy and the instability of the international monetary order and the dollar which is its linchpin. Feverish trading of dollars and paper currencies for gold is only the tip of the iceberg; at the international level the currency and credit system is even more con-

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Truth in Advertising—Parts V and VI
Left: "... Just tune in 1980."
Below: Improved Marine Corps billboard. Across the image of the Marine are the letters FTMC—"Fuck the Marine Corps."

We recently received a letter and flyer from the San Francisco Poster Brigade inviting artists to contribute to an "International Workers Day—May Day 1980—Mail-In Art Show" to run from April 27th to May 9th at the Intersection Gallery in San Francisco. Their flyer calls on artists to "Contribute to the forward motion of history. Let loose with the talent the imperialists would like to extinguish. Weld your fury and your highest aspirations together into a drawing, painting, poster, collage, photo, xerox, tape, poem or song that speaks to the significance of May Day 1980."

Excerpts from the letter follow:

International Workers Day—May Day 1980—Mail-In Art Show will be a wall to wall bulletin board, a collage of artwork, photos and poems submitted from around the world in honor of International Workers Day...

The show is causing many artists to put their hand to art of a revolutionary character never before attempted. One artist who is a proficient and popular painter of flowers on silk is now working on a six by four foot silk painting inspired by May Day and dedicated to the future which is ours. Invitations to contribute have gone out around the world and we anticipate a truly international character to the show. Already we have received work from a known German poster-maker as well as some particularly sharp satire from this country. A section of punk artists are submitting their work and quite a number of poets are contributing their

poems. Notice of the show has appeared in eight newspapers. The word is out in the art community and while we've gotten letters from some artists claiming they are "blocked" they say they still plan on being at the opening. A lot of interest has been provoked. Already requests have come in to take the show to New York City.

We have contacted many known artists but we would like to reach many more people who are stirred to create something for this day. Like one worker who is making puppets of Uncle Sam to be used for May Day as well as in the show. And people like one six-year-old girl who wants to be a waitress when she grows up. She drew a waitress about to take an order saying "I am a revolutionary!" And one of the customers replying "Yeah I am too!" We know there are millions of "would be" artists of all ages out there with a class consciousness to match—and quite a number of them read the RW...

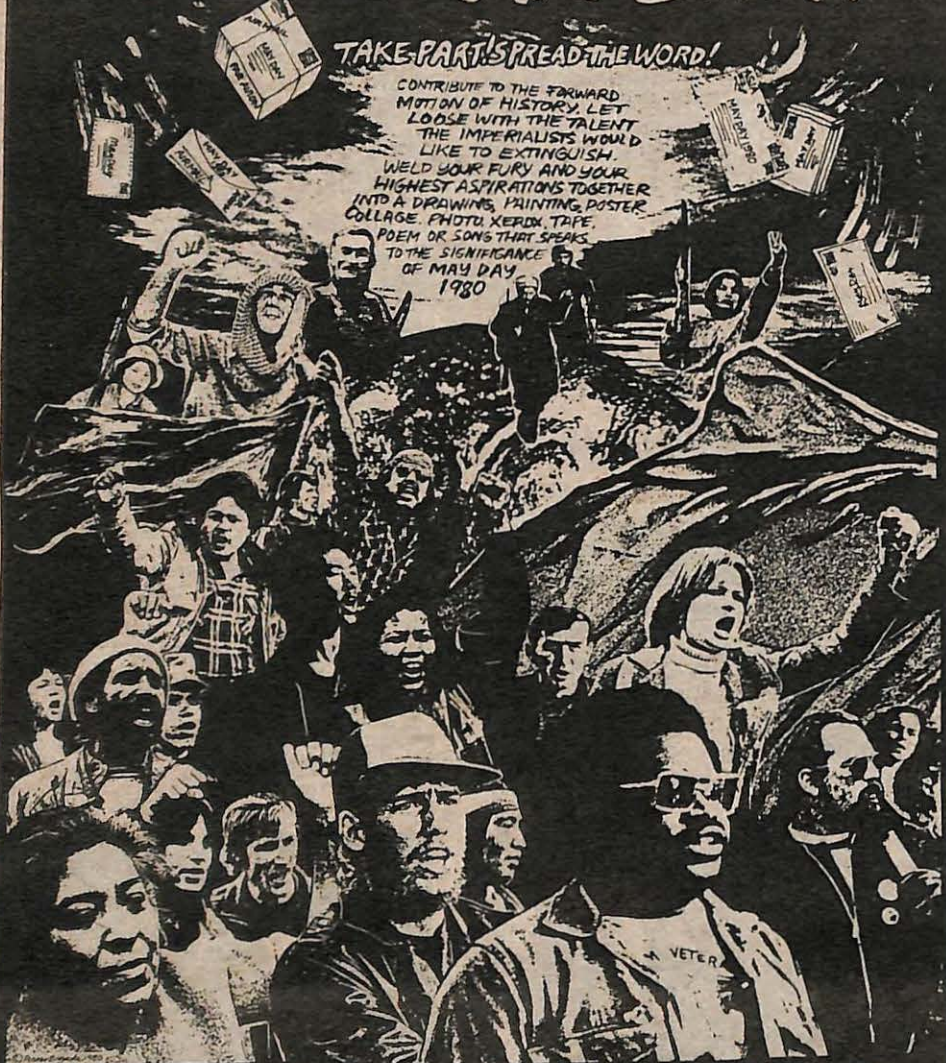
How about it? Don't let this one slip by, it's an historic show—the seeds of the revolutionary art of the '80s yet to come—a nail in their coffin and a contribution to the building of May Day itself.

On to Revolutionary May Day

S.F. Poster Brigade
April 5, 1980

(Works should be sent to S.F. Poster Brigade, P.O. Box 31428, San Francisco, CA 94131. The deadline is April 25, and there will be no limit, no returns.)

**you are invited to contribute to the 1st
INTERNATIONAL WORKERS DAY
—MAY DAY 1980—
MAIL-IN ART SHOW**



NO LIMIT—NO RETURNS. DEADLINE, APRIL 25
CAN YOU IMAGINE—THE CREATIVITY OF SISTERS AND BROTHERS AROUND THE WORLD GALVANIZED TOGETHER INTO A POWERFUL STATEMENT OF UNITY WITH THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES EVERYWHERE
**SEND TO: San Francisco Poster Brigade
PO Box 31428, San Francisco CA 94131, USA**
SHOW RUNS APRIL 27th—MAY 9th AS A PART OF WORK IN PROGRESS
**AT INTERSECTION GALLERY 756 UNION ST. SAN FRANCISCO
OPENING SUNDAY APRIL 27th 4-7PM**

Friends & Foes Alike U.S. Threatens Everyone on Iran

The Iranian people just don't seem to understand. America is a big, bad superpower. When the U.S. imperialists threaten a small country—for instance, by cutting off diplomatic relations, embargoing trade, and waving the big stick of military force—that small helpless nation is supposed to cringe in fear and capitulate. But immediately after U.S. commander-in-chief Jimmy Carter announced a new "get tough" policy toward Iran last week—breaking diplomatic relations and embargoing trade—a vast outpouring of revolutionary exuberance and victory burst throughout Iran. Ayatollah Khomeini, sensing the mood of millions of Iranians, declared that "We take this break in relations as a good omen. The Iranians have forced an oppressive superpower to terminate its pillage here. The nation is justified in celebrating the advent of victory."

Tehran hadn't seen such a celebration since the Shah was forced to flee Iran last January. The streets were choked with people. On Friday, April 11 and again on Sunday, millions and millions of people from one end of the country to the other joined massive demonstrations. Chants of "Good rid-

dance, U.S." and "Death to U.S. imperialism" threw Carter's new threats right back in the imperialists' faces. Armed members of the Mojahadeen guerrilla organization marched in formation throughout the streets of Tehran, demonstrating the willingness of the Iranian people to defend their victory with arms.

The U.S. news media dared not broadcast these demonstrations. How could they allow their own slaves here in the U.S. to see millions of other slaves just like themselves, openly flaunting and defying the imperialists and their latest threats of economic strangulation and military force against Iran?

While there was joy in Tehran, there was gloom in Washington, D.C. *Time* magazine whined, "(How can we) deal with a nation of zealots, who do not play by the rules of law, who do not or cannot keep their promises, who seem more inclined to martyrdom than statecraft..." Another "expert" sighed, "The feeling is widespread in Iran that America has no will whatsoever, that Carter is spineless, that they brought the Shah down and they can bring down

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U.S. Spying Disclosed— Hostages Begin Spilling the Beans

As the sabre-rattling against Iran was being stepped up this past week, the carefully cultivated view of simple, honest U.S. embassy employees carrying out the "friendly" foreign policy of the U.S. government was being torn to shreds. In film footage made by the students holding the embassy and first aired on Iranian television a week ago, Army Staff Sergeant Joseph Subick, who had worked in the military attaché's office, revealed what the Iranians have claimed all along: that the U.S. embassy was little more than a "legalized" spy center.

He showed evidence of a secret computer terminal hidden in a "warehouse" on the sprawling 27-acre embassy compound in Tehran. For all to see, Subick pulled up the carpet on the floor, uncovering the metal tops of computers that were used to monitor Iranian radio and computer traffic. The U.S. embassy also coordinated flights of a C-12 aircraft, a small "executive" plane, from which aerial reconnaissance photos of Iran were taken. And there were even admissions that military attachés and CIA personnel had met with reactionaries in the Iranian military to discuss plans for a possible coup against the Khomeini government last year.

Of course, the U.S. news media—that great bastion of truth and objectivity—refused to show this film in the U.S. But several biographical sketches were done on Sgt. Subick, leaving one feeling that either he was William Wacko or he had been forced to talk. This was strikingly similar to the media's hatchet job back in December done on Corporal William Gallegos, a 22-year-old Marine who had made the "mistake" back then of telling NBC newsmen that he was being treated fairly by the students holding the U.S. embassy.

But the best response was from the

U.S. government, who one minute scoffed at the revelations as "hardly credible" and then the next admitted that it is "taken for granted in diplomatic circles that embassy personnel...are engaged in intelligence-gathering activities." Quite true, Mr. Imperialists: despite all your prattle about "the sanctity of international law," in good part due to your continuing intrigue against the Iranian revolution, many more millions of people around the world now understand that imperialist embassies are little more than "espionage dens." Just don't think that the masses who are your targets will "take it for granted" and refrain from doing anything about it.

A big lie that the bourgeoisie has repeated daily since the embassy takeover is that they are mainly concerned about the fate of the poor hostages. But this lie too was wearing very thin. A month or so ago they had complained loudly about the "mistreatment" of their captive CIA operatives and embassy personnel, and called for visits by outside agencies. Yet when the International Red Cross did visit the "suffering hostages" and reported that they were in good health, the report was dismissed as irrelevant to realizing U.S. demands of releasing the hostages without returning the ex-Shah and his billions in plundered wealth to Iran.

And the threatened military action by the U.S., which the student militants have repeatedly warned would lead to the death of the embassy personnel, has made many of the hostages' families nervous about what Carter is up to, wondering just how much he is "concerned" for the embassy personnel. Perhaps he will tell the American people—as we were told many times during the Vietnam War—that he had to "kill the hostages in order to save them." □

"... we have to put the challenge squarely to the advanced, to those who do hate this shit: if you say it can't happen and don't act then you are working to make it not happen; don't say 'it's a good idea but it won't happen'—it can (and ultimately will) happen, but you have a role to play, a crucial role, in making it happen."

Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP Central Committee

May Day Inside the War Machine

The gate to the U.S. embassy compound in Tehran is decorated with banners and messages from all over the world. On one part of the fence, a yellow banner with red letters stands out—not only because of its bright color but because of where and who it's from. It reads: "No U.S. Military Intervention in Iran," "U.S. Hands Off Iran," and "Send the Shah Home to Face the Wrath of the Iranian People." It is from the U.S. and it is signed by 19 workers from the McDonnell Douglas company—the largest arms producer in the U.S.

We talked to workers who supported this banner being signed and sent to Iran. "I'm sure part of the idea was to make people stop and think and reflect on this. To break through some of the brainwash," a Boeing worker who'd been a machinist for 21 years told us after he'd heard about it. "It's good that it went to Iran," added another aerospace worker with over 15 years. "We don't need dictators like the Shah," a young worker told us. "But the politicians do, to get what they want." "People ain't taking America's shit anymore," added another, obviously inspired by the Iranian revolution. The U.S. is always hiding something from us." The banner signing, and another telegram sent to Carter and to the students at the embassy, were both penned in the weeks just following the embassy takeover. Right in the face of the patriotic hysteria, workers of all nationalities and most with over 15 years seniority, right inside the imperialists' defense plants, were spitting on the red, white and blue. Right in the midst of a concentrated and orchestrated media blitz workers that the imperialists must rely on as they prepare for world war were siding with the Iranian people.

"But," some say, "it was such a small number who signed compared to the tens of thousands of workers in aerospace and the millions across the country—what good did it do? What effect did it have? After all, over 100,000 Christmas cards were sent to Iran to support the hostages." But the McDonnell Douglas workers who stood up and said, "... we have far more in

common with the Iranian students than with the Americans being held hostage," stood with the forward march of history and stood with the revolutionary struggle against their own ruling class. And that stand was the product of very sharp struggle. The words quoted above from one of the telegrams proved too much for those workers who still held to the view that "the hostages were our boys" or "but they are Americans," and refused to sign. Others did see through the America held hostage crap and stood firmly with the Iranian revolution. "What the hell were they doing there in the first place? They weren't on no damn vacation," an older worker said forcefully. And there were others who saw just whose interests were being served. "They'll never send the Shah back. Can you imagine what these other dictators around the world would say if the U.S. did that!" In a beginning way, these workers were being trained concretely in proletarian internationalism, in the heart of the U.S. war machine, and today in this same plant the sparks of May 1st 1980 are flying.

If ever there was an Archie Bunker

stereotype that the capitalists can point to with pride and say mockingly, "Here's your working class," it is in the defense plants. We've spoken to workers all over the country and whether it's Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, Northrup or Lockheed, the bourgeoisie has a great necessity for a loyal, patriotic, disciplined work force. Being out there in white bread and mayonnaise land has a real conservative effect on these workers, and the question of openly and powerfully breaking with the backward is a big question in the defense industry.

These are highly skilled and better paid workers. In one aerospace company, they recently got a raise (read: bribe) to cool things out. Some workers just looked at the checks and said, "This is crap. How much longer can we put up with this. Inflation is kicking our ass." But many others just took the check and returned their noses to the grindstone.

They are constantly being bombarded with patriotic calls and paid holidays like NATO Day and UN day; threats to achieve 100% participation in U.S. sav-

ings bonds, or calls to support the U.S. Olympics teams. Hell, at Douglas, when the DC-10 murdered over 200 people in a Chicago crash, t-shirts and buttons and bumper stickers were issued that read, "I support the DC-10." The majority of workers wore them. At one Douglas plant the call went out to buy stock to show you're behind the company. The union, not to be outdone in the promotion of gross narrowness, issued their own button that said, "I love my job and the DC-10." By the time the third DC-10 almost fell from the sky, fewer and fewer could be found falling for this crap.

As the imperialists gear up for war—they are intensely promoting the backward and narrow thinking that war provides jobs so you'd best like it or at least accept the idea that it's fine to produce the weapons of mass carnage and murder for them. Every time they get a new contract, they announce it over the loudspeakers in the production areas. It used to be followed by applause. But even this shit is breaking down as one worker told us, "They've stopped announcing them in my department because now there ain't no applause."

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This cartoon was submitted to the RW by a San Francisco artist.

New Bristol Stomp

Black Rebellion in Bristol England

Bristol, England—All hell broke loose in this working-class suburb of London on April 2. For eight hours 2,000 Black West Indians joyously took to the streets to kick the ass of the cops, the enforcers who roam the streets of Bristol's ghetto to keep the lid on the people's smoldering anger. The people battled the cops with everything at their disposal, pelting them with bricks and rocks, burning up cop cars and ambushing a paddy wagon. They had the pigs running in fear of their lives.

It started on Thursday afternoon when the cops came to crack down on the Black and White Café (named after the Black Jamaican owner and his white wife) for the usual excuse of violations of the liquor license. The police have completely driven all the other bars in the neighborhood out of business this way. In fact they took away the liquor license from the Black and White 2 years ago, and despite 2 previous raids, the café continues to defy the police and stay open. The Black and White, the only social gathering place left, is a focal point around which almost everything in the community revolves.

And on this day, April 2nd, the main topic of conversation at the Black and White was the trial of Lascelles Dixon, a 21-year-old West Indian youth who was busted last November in the St. Paul's area of Bristol on charges of being a "suspected person loitering with intent to steal from passing handbags"! Dixon is a student at London's polytechnic in electronic engineering. Ever since his arrest Dixon's mother

and others have been fighting against the arrest of her son, exposing what everyone in Bristol knows very well—that Dixon was arrested because he is Black. Lascelles' trial was scheduled to begin on Thursday, April 3, and there were a number of black youth in the Black and White talking about going up to London to demonstrate at Lascelles' court hearing against police harassment, when the cops burst in on a "beer raid," frisking everyone and knocking cigarettes out of their mouths.

The people were ready to rebel. "They call me 'bastard' as if it's my name," said one man angrily, describing the cops constant brutalization of Blacks in Bristol where police patrol the neighborhood with dogs at their side.

When the cops busted the café's owner, Bertram Wilkes, it was the last straw. An angry crowd of 200 gathered within minutes. But the full-scale rebellion did not erupt until a column of 100

riot-equipped police marched into the neighborhood to "restore order"—causing the crowd to swell to 2,000. In the words of one woman, "The cops came down the street left-right, left-right, like they were on parade. They had dogs with them. When they came in front of the café we let them have it."

Businesses were broken into and store windows smashed on a selective basis, leaving aside both Black and white owners popular with the people. The angry masses trapped a police car; someone threw a match into the gas tank and it exploded. Throughout the ghetto there was, as one eyewitness put it, "a march of retreating men" as the people turned the tables on the marauding pigs and drove them out of the community.

While various liberals and social-democrats whined about the "break-down of police-community relations," the *London Times*, licking the wounds

of the authorities, made it quite clear that what is meant by that is that this time the people turned the tables on the pigs. The *Times* summed up several days after the rebellion that not enough repression was brought down to beat the people into submission. Openly calling for the blood of Blacks, the *Times* stated, "The error was not the attempt to restore law and order. The error—as painful experience in Northern Ireland has repeatedly demonstrated—was to try to do so with inadequate force."

The rebellion ended around 11:00 p.m. in victory for the people. The cops were forced to heed an ultimatum issued to them over the telephone—"Release Bertram Wilkes or Haymarket (Bristol's main shopping center) will burn." Wilkes was promptly driven back to his community where the cops let him go without charges. And Lascelles Dixon's trial was adjourned until mid-June. □

"The revolution itself must not by any means be regarded as a single act... but as a series of more or less powerful outbreaks rapidly alternating with periods of more or less intense calm," wrote Lenin in *What Is To Be Done?*, making a statement which is full of meaning for us today. The work we do now, the battles, especially the major political battles, we wage now can be crucial not only in hitting back, politically, at the enemy, and not simply as general preparation, but beyond that perhaps in deciding the outcome whenever the conditions for revolution do ripen..."

Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP Central Committee

"It Will Make a Difference . . ."

Following are excerpts from a tape sent to the RW from a Black veteran:

Well, I'd like to start off this tape with my name, my name is XX. And I am going to tell a little of my experience in Vietnam, because this is a question that people are mostly asking me about. Well it really turned me around, and I'll tell you it's really an incident that sometimes, I really don't like to talk about it, but I know that I have to talk about it in order to reflect my experience and what really turned me around and finally made me realize that I was pointing my weapon at the wrong place.

One night there was nine of us who were chosen to go out on a so-called night patrol, there were three whites and six Blacks, and our prime mission was to really scout. And so it was about an hour . . . an hour and a half we were in the jungle before we came upon a hut. The two white guys in charge were going to go and check out the hut while the rest of us gave them cover. But in the process of them crossing the field—I figure they were about half way across the field before we noticed that we were surrounded by the Vietnamese

and that they were on each side of us and behind us so there was no way possible that we could let the fellows know that we was in danger without being shot down ourselves. There wasn't really anything that we could do because the Vietnamese came out of the jungle. We were told to drop our weapons, and as we were told to drop our weapons, the two white guys was about to enter the hut, but as they went into the hut, the hut did explode because it was rigged to explode if someone went into it. So that left seven of us, one white and six black. The white guy was no more than about five or six feet away from me when one of the Vietnamese grabbed him by the collar of his jacket, pulled his neck back, took his knife and slit his throat from ear to ear and then tossed his body down to the ground. Then another Vietnamese came out and he put his foot on this fella's chest, at the same time he took a machete and decapitated his head and held it up in the air. That was when I knew that it was just a matter of time before we would all be dead. But for some reason they didn't kill us. They talked with us. There was one Vietnamese that knew a little of our

"That Made Me Mad, But It Made Me Think"

To the Revolutionary Worker:

I'm in jail because I'm a hooker. A May Day person is in here too. At first I didn't want to talk to her. Last night she offered me a piece of red material with a May Day button on it to tie to my bunk. It got me mad at first. What did I need with a white revolutionary bothering me. She got mad back. I respected that. We talked about how come so many girls are driven to make money like I do, how it's a capitalist system and about how workers are getting ready to overthrow the government and I wouldn't need to do this anymore. My momma is a junkie. I saw some people live in fancy apartment buildings with rooms and rooms of furniture. I wanted that too. But I'm no better off than my momma. I tell my little sister to stay off the streets. I've

been raped and beaten three times but the police say that because I'm a prostitute I deserve it. I'm no animal. I asked her how I would survive right now (if she were a revolutionary—RW). She asked me if what I was doing was surviving, if I didn't want to be more than a piece of meat. That made me mad, but it made me think. Another lady came in and I told her what this revolutionary said. I felt like a revolutionary too. That was nice. If I met your Revolutionary Communist Party before maybe I wouldn't be where I am now. That girl says it's not too late to change. She sang me that song, the Internationale. I'm going to learn it for the 24th and I'm going to try to change for May Day. She invited me to be in a study group and I think I'm going to do it.

A woman prisoner



"I support independence for Puerto Rico," he said (after buying one paper, then selling two to his friends) "but just for Puerto Rico is not enough—like my friends here, Mexicanos, there are plenty of people with the same problems."

"The problem isn't that people don't rise up—I rise every morning! The problem is to wake people up."

May Day

language where we could understand him. He told us that this was not our war. This was not the Black man's war, that our war was back in the states against a government that oppressed us and used us, and that really we didn't have no rights to even be out there because they had not really done nothing against us. They showed me personally that we were fighting a war that was unjust and they spared me my life. That was when we were let go, stripped of our clothing and sent back to camp. When we did return to camp, well I told my commander, my officer that was in charge, that they could do anything that they wanted to me: They could put me in jail, they could court martial me, I didn't care because the Vietnamese had gave me my life and I intended on keeping it.

Now I don't really know what the rest of the fellas did, but there was two of us that did get our discharge. We got a so-called, I guess you could call it a average good discharge. The only difference is that we got honorable, but we just didn't have no benefits, which really comparing my life to benefits, my life is more important than benefits. So I chose to accept it 'cause I didn't care

about no benefits. But it gave me a new outlook 'cause it let me really know who the real oppressor was. While I was there I did notice the attitude to the war by the soldiers was a lot different than when we first went into it. There was a lot of us who had figured out that we was wrong, that really we shouldn't have been there, even though we were in the service, we were still being abused, and I just don't mean Blacks—whites were being abused too. We were being abused by the higher ups, the authorities that was in charge over us to perform their duties.

There was a lot of fragging done in Vietnam. There was a lot of it. Now, none of it had been proven, but I do know that there was a lot of it going on. If there was a chance that a weapon could be pointed toward an officer in charge and that officer in charge was eliminated, it was happening. And this is when the officers themselves realized that they was wrong. Well really, the whole experience that I had in Vietnam gave me and I know that it gave a whole lot more folks a different outlook on what they were doing and just who really was the oppressor and who was the

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May Day Poster: "Psychic Jujitsu"

Following are excerpts from a tape about the May 1st poster by a Chicago artist.

The key point about this poster is that for once it is taking into account the viewer. It actually is talking to the public and it's talking to those who are not convinced, those who have not already progressed to the level of embracing revolutionary action. It's like drawing you out towards the revolutionary action. The poster is positioned in such a way—the color scheme, the way it moves from the background to a bright future—the way it calls out from the actual workplace and it draws you out to a stream of action—that alone is a breakthrough. . . .

For once I see an artist fuse some class consciousness into their art through working with simple materials, not materials that you can't get hold of, but things as simple as magic markers, and turning it into such a profound statement. The layout, strategically where the words are laid out, the way the colors are used, makes any gray brick industrial drab capitalist architecture—well, it just alters it. It totally creates psychic jujitsu for the viewer. It doesn't portray the workers in some stereotypes, some prototype, stereotype image, but rather this worker could be anybody, any nationality, it could be any person. We're allowed to see this worker and for once it's a refreshing way of looking at the way it's done. It's not done in some hokey one-dimensional "heroic" stance that doesn't show us anything. . . . It doesn't have to have a sickle and hammer to convince us that it's revolutionary—it's the flag, the energy of the red that's there and the social setting it's depicting that makes it revolutionary.

There are other people from other left leanings that I have spoken to, and they themselves have to concede that this poster is in fact something that has made them stop in their tracks. They're convinced that this is in fact something profoundly different for once, they can't hardly criticize it, and if they're gonna criticize it, they're gonna criticize it because they're not a member of that particular organization. Aesthetically, it's intense and they can't deny it. They do a double take and realize that art can be a lot more than just sloganeering and stereotypical images of socialist and Marxist understandings, but rather it is more—something original, like the poster. And that's what it is, it's an original damn work that addresses where people are at now and using im-

ages and colors that speak to where we're at in the 1980s. . . .

That term, "Take History Into Our Hands," has to be the crux, it's a fulcrum you can rest on. It's like something you can see for a moment; it's a touchstone for action because for a moment, all of a sudden that's where you begin to fuse thinking with action. All of a sudden we have this history that is acted out by someone taking—the word is *take, take*—taking an act—history into the hands, and that's right, it's hands that I see here, the hands of the working class, and they're the ones that are decisive and you can see that.

It's like what Chairman Mao said, that making revolutionary art prepares the ground ideologically before the revolution. It's like really preparing the ground ideologically before the general outbreak. It really shows that; it opens up people's understanding; it's plowing that field, sowing that seed so people can see that. It doesn't show us taking state power; it doesn't show the working class smashing the state, it's not so futuristic that you can't relate to it. Yes we can relate to those ideas and again that's a futuristic tense. It's actually addressing the concrete conditions—people are moving forward but it's showing that first step, that worker is like taking a step forward and that's what it's really about. You've gotta make that first step and that's what that poster is saying—take that first step and it's like drawing you out.

It's more than just speaking to the advanced. It leaves it open, because we don't see the face of the worker. It leaves us open to look at it, to look at it from a place of what's on his mind and what is he seeing, and what am I seeing when I see him seeing that. It's a work of art, there's a dialectical interchange here, you have to ask questions in this poster. It's not just telling you—it's teaching you something, but you're learning from it—there's a thing back and forth. It's not just one way either because you're looking into that picture. You can project into that picture something more than just one nationality, more than just one city. It can be any city where industry, where capital is built up like that and you can see that. . . .

I just hope that the RCP continues to have art that is effective.

I see that they are politically fusing art and culture, and that's really what has to be done. And anybody who intends to persuade people to get up off their collective asses are gonna have to use more than rhetoric. □

Movement Broadening

Difference . . .

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real enemy.

Well, I chose, as I said before, to come back home, and I got into a little organization. I joined SNCC. I protested, I marched with SNCC. I joined another revolutionary group called the Black Panthers. I fought with the Panthers. I went to jail. It was just a misdemeanor, but yet and still I fought with them, and I really believe in this theory that really the only way you can get freedom, I mean total freedom is out of the barrel of a gun. And the reason why I use this expression "the barrel of a gun"—well there is a certain thing that Malcolm X said about the ballot or the bullet. Well, I know that we have tried the ballot until we realized that the ballot is part of the system itself. That's like going up to the slavemaster and asking him for your freedom. Ain't no way he gonna give you your freedom because to keep you enslaved is how he profits. So I learned that the ballot is just really a tool of the system that works for the system and all it does is shed a few crumbs here and there but as for our major problems, the major crisis, it does not take care of it. Therefore, that leaves nothing but the bullet.

And the reason why the bullet, is because really the only way you can overthrow this system or any oppressive system is by force. And if there wasn't no bullets then it would be by manpower, but it would still be a show of force. That's when I realized that I

wanted socialism, I studied socialism. I studied Marx and Lenin. I studied Mao Tsetung and I really knew this is what had been in my mind all along. This is how I felt when I took my faith, Islam, and I put it into the perspective of Marxism and Leninism, socialism . . .

When I heard Bob Avakian's tape, well I'll tell you how I felt. I felt relief. I felt a relief 'cause for years pressure had been building in me because I felt that I was the only one that felt like this. Well I didn't know that there were so many people out there that felt the same way. The tape says everything that had been in my mind, everything that I had felt was brought out by Bob Avakian. . . I had always felt that revolution was gonna come to this system, to this country. Because if you really look at past history, even Rome itself was powerful but Rome itself fell, because you cannot as a nation continue to put your foot on the masses of the people, use them, abuse them and down them without being overthrown because they will take it for a while, but then soon they will become wise to what you're doing and they will overthrow you. But Bob Avakian's tape gave me an enlightened experience. It heightened my experience. It helped me to realize that revolution will prevail, revolution will overcome the oppressor, revolution is the only means, the only necessary tool that we can use to rid ourselves of capitalism, and rid ourselves of being oppressed. Also this tape outlined how this can be done, and I believe that it can be done, and it will be done. That's the prime reason that I

myself believe so much in May Day. May Day will show this capitalist system that we will not sit around, even though it means some of our lives will be taken away, we will not sit around and just let them fritter away. I am for one going to observe May Day, and I am going to try to get as many others as I can to observe May Day because through May Day, we can show this capitalist system that we just didn't take this day off from work or school because we were sick. We took this day off so we could march with the rest of our brothers and sisters, that we could march with the rest of the masses to show this system that we will not tolerate it, that we will not live under the conditions that they want us to live. What do I think this will accomplish? I think it will accomplish a great deal showing this country that revolution will prevail by any means necessary. No matter how many years it will take, how many of us is killed, jailed or whatever, we will overthrow this system. We will be free. We will have a system that is set up for the people and by the people.

What I myself have really tried to do, I have talked to folks, and every time I get the chance to speak to someone, I try to talk to them and let them know about May Day, what is May Day, why is May Day so important, not just to me, not just for any single person out there, but important to people as a whole, people as one. Because we are not single, we are all suffering from this system. And if you are not suffering

now, you will suffer 'cause this system is gonna let you know how does it feel about you. And every chance I can get, even though it be the younger group, when I have heard folks talk about war, I try to give them my experience about war. If you're going to fight, fight for yourself, fight for your freedom, fight for what is more important to you and that is your freedom. It don't make any sense for us to be in this so-called powerful country starving, hungry, being abused, being used by this capitalist system. Now we can all come together and I believe that in time we are going to come together because this is the only way that we are going to survive. If we ever want to see freedom, or even have our children's children to see freedom, we are going to have to come together as a whole to do it, because without this, without us coming together it cannot be done. But I do believe that it can be done, and it's going to be done.

Really, I am not much of a speaker, I got a lot of feelings within me and I try to find the words if I can to bring it out. But I know that there have been little things, little things that have made me realize that the revolution is on, the revolution has been on for years, little things like music. Take the Temptations have a new record out, I don't know the name of it, but the words speak about "all you needy and all you poor, all you're doing is giving to the greedy."

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May 1st 1980
Surge onto the Stage
of History!

Break Free and Out of Your Chains!
Turn This Whole Country
Upside Down!



Opportunists On May Day

A Pathetic But Revealing Offensive

Two recent items in the press, both recording the activities of the Revolutionary May Day Brigade in Beckley, West Virginia, are worthy of mention. The first, a news story, opens with the allegedly typical reaction of Beckley "residents" to the Brigade:

"To a lot of folks in Raleigh County, it seemed bad enough the communist demonstrators were there at all. Worse still were their red flags. But when they taunted Old Glory, the matrons could stand no more. They waded in, umbrellas flying... They were joined by old men throwing punches and young ones grabbing red flags from the badly outnumbered demonstrators..."

An essentially similiar description appears in the second article which notes that events in Beckley saw the "RCPers getting into fistfights with townspeople until 18 of them were arrested. This

move (i.e.—the arrests—*RW*) was supported by a large section of the community."

There is an explanation for both of these news items. The first, a UPI release which appeared in dozens of newspapers around the country, is a complete lie. As reported in the March 21st issue of the *RW*, the "folks in Raleigh County" who, offended at denunciations of "Old Glory" and could "stand no more", were *not* little old ladies, little old men or generally enraged typical citizens. They were, instead, an organized gang of typical reactionary dopes, KKKers and cops—the latter of which proved themselves as such when they "waded in" to a Brigade rally, flashed their badges and busted people.

But the second news item can also be explained—it is from a recent issue of

The Call, the newspaper of the Communist Party Marxist Leninist (CPML).

The Call's article, entitled "RCP antics earn them fistfights and garbage," is part of a round of puny attacks on Revolutionary May Day from quarters other than directly bourgeois (although even this could be disputed). CPML has developed an unoriginal portrayal of the activity of the Brigades and has written a faint echo of what the bourgeoisie has been saying about May Day for months. In this effort, the CPML has been joined by a whole host of groups and grouplets who have also launched an offensive in print against May Day 1980 and who, while also calling themselves communists, have on this question alone revealed that they are not only offended at the idea of revolution, but they are mortally terrified of it. Articles attacking May Day have

appeared in the newspapers of the Communist Workers Party (CWP), the Communist Party USA Marxist-Leninist (CPUSAML), the Bolshevik Union, and others. In addition, *The Guardian*, "Independent Radical Newsweekly," has enlisted in the struggle against May Day 1980, and is deserving of special attention.

Now then, space does not permit response to each and every utterance leveled against May Day from "the Left." It's not necessary anyhow, because all these articles cite similar examples and draw essentially the same conclusions—namely, that the activity of the RCP and, in particular, that of the Revolutionary May Day Brigades, is the work of a small band of maniacal "ultra-leftists" who are running around, discrediting the respectable

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Social-Chauvinists Do the Splits

How to Support/Oppose the Draft

The emergence of the widespread mass movement against the draft has sent the patriots of the Communist Party (ML) and the Menshevik Minutemen of the so-called Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (often referred to as simply "The Mensheviks"—the sniveling band of apologists for U.S. imperialism that were thrown out of the RCP for opportunist antics deserving of their namesakes in Russia in Lenin's time) scrambling into action. Their mission: to see to it that the anti-draft movement does not threaten the military and political preparations of the U.S. imperialists for the coming war with the Soviet Union.

The CP(ML) and their social-chauvinist allies have become complete apologists for the U.S. ruling class. They are naked defenders of U.S. war preparations against the Soviet Union. They make clear their bitter opposition to any movement which might weaken even in the slightest degree, U.S. preparations for the 3rd World War. And all of this is only dressed up in the thinnest and most perfunctory "left" terminology—more often, in fact, lapsing into ravings which rival the most rabid right-wing politicians and columnists.

In brief, the CP(ML) and the whole trend they represent are consciously playing the part of agents for U.S. imperialism. This is as much as admitted in the pages of *The Call* itself. Carl Davidson, one of the moldy opportunists whose retarded prose the CP(ML) tries to pass off as "theoretical" warns in a signed article in the March 24th *Call* that "the anti-draft movement could be turned into a pawn for those whose real aim is to weaken the U.S. for the sake of strengthening the Soviet military buildup." Does the CP(ML) distinguish those who "wish to weaken the U.S." in order to further the evil designs of the Kremlin from those who wish to weaken the U.S. imperialists in order to create more favorable conditions for revolutionary struggle—who not only wish to weaken them, but to overthrow them? Of course not. It no longer occurs to them that it is possible to be something other than a tool of one or another imperialist superpower.

CP(ML) Chairman Mike Klonsky, for example, explains in a signed article in the Feb. 18 issue of *The Call* that "as for China's new relationship with the U.S. (as a U.S. running dog—*RW*), it has been brought about by necessity. China is not in a position to take on both superpowers equally at the same time, nor is any one else." Klonsky clearly sees the only alternative to "taking on both superpowers at the same time" as capitulating to one or the other. This capitulation "brought about by necessity" is very convenient for the CP(ML), providing them with an excuse to seek cover under the wing of the U.S. ruling class. But the RCP, for example, has not capitulated and will not—and yet we do not "take on both superpowers equally at the same time" either. While exposing the fact that both superpowers are still equally the main enemies of the people of the world, our Party concentrates our main fire where it belongs—at the U.S. imperialists, the superpower it is our responsibility to lead the working class and the masses of people in overthrowing.

Davidson's article, at first glance, appears to be no more than a clumsy and unconvincing exposition of the most backward conceivable position on the theme of its title: "Why Oppose the

Draft? (And How to Go About It)." But a closer look reveals that the article isn't quite as clumsy as it seems—or rather, it is intentionally clumsy and unconvincing. For the fact of the matter is, the CP(ML) does not really oppose the draft at all, and the real purpose of Davidson's piece is to make people wonder if the draft should not actually be enthusiastically supported.

Indeed, in the very same issue as Davidson's article, the following letter supporting the draft appeared in *The Call's* "Letters" column:

"I have been reading your paper for some time now and have come to rely on it for solid analysis of world and national events. I am a World War II veteran and work at Boeing in Seattle.

"I do have one criticism, however, of a recent article in the February 11th issue. The column on 'Women and Revolution' by Ellen Blum seems to oppose the draft. While this position may have been good in the past, we should take the world's new reality seriously.

"Isn't there a tendency in the article

not to grasp the serious danger to peace posed by the now fascist Soviet Union? I remember in the 1940s how the hated Trotskyites took a similar position toward the Nazis and, under a sneaky 'left' cover, opposed the United Front against Hitler."

Following this letter, there's a note: "For more on this question, please see Carl Davidson's article on Page 10 in this issue." This pro-draft letter (clearly either written or commissioned by *The Call* staff) is obviously designed to encourage the reader to "keep an open mind" while reading Davidson's piece—which itself argues for the draft while keeping up a bare pretense of "opposition."

Davidson's article pretends to survey the history of the "perspective of the working class" on the draft. In particular, he singles out the American Civil War as a case in point:

"The draft instituted by Congress was blatantly discriminatory in favor of the

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International May Day Message from Jamaican Revolutionaries

When the Masses Unite, All Reactionaries Will Tremble

We came to the U.S. already hating the oppression of our people in Jamaica by U.S. imperialism. We came looking for genuine revolutionaries to unite with, in common struggle, to get rid of U.S. imperialism. We found the RCP and we found Revolutionary May Day. We were always told how strong the U.S. is supposed to be and how everybody in the U.S. loves this empire. But we have seen through building for May Day that thousands here in the U.S. are longing to do the system in. May Day 1980—millions of people around the world will march, taking history into their hands. And millions are watching to see if workers in the U.S. will now march side by side with workers of the rest of the world.

We will be marching with you and we hope to see May Day in Jamaica.

The RCP has a weapon to fight this system and that is Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. We as members of the Youth Forces for National Liberation (YFNL) are preparing for revolution in Jamaica. To win our liberation the tentacles of imperialism must be chopped off in our country. We have fought first British and now U.S. imperialism. While people all over the Caribbean are fighting now against U.S. imperialism, Soviet imperialists are peeping through the back door. We cannot trade a black dog for a monkey. We strongly support the RCP in the battle for Revolutionary May Day. We believe May Day will be a sparking light to shine the path to revolution in the U.S., which can only inspire further millions the world over in struggle for our liberation.

"In no way should the taking of 'independent historical action' by the advanced section of workers in this country, even if it is relatively small at this time, be underestimated or downgraded... With the development, and especially full ripening, of the situation, with millions awakening for the first time, the thousands who rally now around the revolutionary banner of the international proletariat become millions, ultimately tens of millions... and the thousands and tens of thousands who have been trained in 'normal' times become the leaders of millions and tens of millions."


Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP Central Committee

After Revolutionary May Day Brigade members were arrested in Atlanta, they were taken to the Atlanta City jail. The following is a letter from a woman they met there.

Some people who say they are revolutionaries have told me revolution is impossible for the foreseeable future. I've met some of these people because I've always been a person who speaks out. The government hates me but I don't love them too much either. These revolutionaries with nervous breakdowns should get out of the way and start living in the real world. The October League (CPML—*RW*), has never impressed me because I hate groups that use Black people and treat all people in a condescending way. If they don't think poor Blacks and whites are going to make revolution, why don't they come into these jails and talk to the people and learn about people's lives. Why don't they go to the projects and schools too. I was very impressed by your group, you don't water down revolution, I like that. I'm not ready to join yet but I am a supporter. I'm a rebel, maybe I'm a communist too, though I still think there is a God. In a way I'm glad you people got sent to jail—there's so many people who need to be made aware. Right on to May Day, I'll be there in or out of jail.

A woman prisoner in Atlanta City jail

P.S. Bob Avakian may just be the leader we need. I want to read his program for revolution and get more about that revolutionary science.



Kennedy: Knight of the Living Dead

Starting with this issue of the Revolutionary Worker we'll be serializing an article titled "Kennedy: Knight of the Living Dead" which appeared in the January issue of Revolution, the organ of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. The article, which will appear in four installments, is an in-depth look at the Kennedys and their particular role in U.S. imperialist politics from the exploits of Joe Kennedy to Teddy Kennedy today. It totally smashes the "Kennedy Myth" that many, at least in part, have swallowed. This first installment deals with why the Kennedy image has been kept around and carefully preserved, why Teddy Kennedy is being promoted (secretary-drowning fool that he is), and the beginning of the history of Joe Kennedy.

The Kennedys. For nearly two decades the mystique and the legend have been carefully crafted and cultivated: the champions of the underdog and the oppressed; the torch bearers for the loftiest hopes and aspirations of the people; the proponents of a strong and fearless America, a strength based not just on its military might, but on the purity of its ideals and the justice of its society. Here were men tested in the fire of personal tragedy. Here was a family that has already sacrificed three of its sons in the service of their country, now willing to offer up a fourth and last. Glamorous, athletic, handsome, wealthy and eloquent. They have been painted as America's knights in shining armor. The people of the U.S. and the world have been told to remember that "for one shining, unforgettable moment there was a place called Camelot," where dwelled the best and the brightest, King Arthur at the Round Table with his noble knights.

But the tale of King Arthur was a myth. And so is the legend of the Kennedys. The knights of the middle ages romanticized in the musical Camelot were in reality mercenary soldiers, brutal defenders of the feudal ruling class. The knights of the modern era, these Kennedys, are no less servants and standard bearers of another dying ruling class and their imperialist empire. Their noble and progressive sounding rhetoric has been completely intertwined with bourgeois counter-revolutionary violence. If anything they were characterized by a certain innovativeness in their use of the ruling class weapons of force and deception. From Cuba to Vietnam the older Kennedy brothers unleashed the military might of U.S. imperialism to maintain its domination and neo-colonial rule.

From the Green Berets to the Peace Corps they sought new ways to quell the rebellions of the masses in the underdeveloped countries. From the witch-hunting McCarthy Investigations Committee and the union busting Senate Rackets Committee to the civil rights and Black liberation movements they attacked the masses, and that which they could not stop or destroy they sought to seize and co-opt.

The hollowness of the Kennedy legend does not make it impotent. For while the mystique is now somewhat tattered and thin it still holds appeal for many. And now the last remaining Kennedy knight has ridden forth to save the realm. But what sort of a knight is this? Whose scarf does he carry tucked next to his breast as he rides into battle? And why has he come forward in 1980? Why didn't he do it in 1976? Why not 1984? It is obviously not just his personal political ambitions and those of his family that beckoned him to take on an incumbent President of his own party. That nod came from powerful forces within the U.S. ruling class. Who else would have assured him that secretary-drowning was fully passable this year? It is important to understand why and to see clearly the role that the Kennedys have played in American politics.

The Kennedys provided a certain kind of leadership on behalf of the bourgeoisie in the 1960s. In a time of mounting turmoil and upheaval throughout the world and in the U.S. they cloaked the mailed fist of capitalist reaction in the velvet glove of bourgeois reformism. Entering the 1980s, with their system wracked by severe crisis and the impending reality of world war, the bourgeoisie is looking for a leadership suitable to the tasks that confront them, leadership for the '80s. They must view the slim pickings of their candidates with some dismay. Carter was clearly not adept enough at the job. He may be a reborn Christian, but his shallow moralisms and uninspiring leadership made him seem much more a reborn Gerald Ford. In recent months he has regained some stature in their eyes by the way he created the hostage situation in Iran and has exercised "statesmanship" by contributing to the bourgeoisie's barrage of jingoist and chauvinist propaganda. But whether he can sustain this performance in the long run is open to serious question. Reagan and Connally have had a certain success aiming their pitch largely to the squeezed petty-bourgeoisie in an effort to rally and consolidate them as a reactionary social force against the working class as a whole and the minority nationalities in particular. But Reagan is justly

tainted as too much of an open reactionary to get over with most and Connally, while he has an enthusiastic following in corporate boardrooms is seen by the majority of people as someone you wouldn't want as the dealer in a game of black jack.

In this crew, Kennedy may not seem outstanding, but many among the bourgeoisie must have felt that he offered them their best shot. For what they have in mind for the masses in the 1980s is, to put it bluntly, hell. Uncontrollable inflation, disintegration of the dollar, stagnation of key sections of industry, persistently high unemployment, the "energy crisis"—the laundry list of the symptoms of the capitalist crisis is all too familiar, a familiarity which does not lessen the increasing misery it means for the masses of people, and it's just the beginning. For Blacks and other minorities the paltry gains of decades of struggle, and the constant snatching back of these gains, only serve to highlight continued oppression and exploitation and fuel a simmering rage. Looming over all is the imperialists' need to mobilize the masses of people for war—world war—the only way of dealing with the crisis of their system. "What means other than war," asked Lenin, "could there be *under capitalism* for removing the disparity between the development of productive forces and the accumulation of capital on the one side and the division of colonies and 'spheres of influence' for finance capital on the other?"

They've got to sell hell, and get people to believe they're fighting for something noble and beautiful.

Teddy Kennedy will not be able to revive the "glory" of the Camelot created by his brothers and their legion of bourgeois publicists. But he has worked hard to maintain the legend, to hold himself out as the promised savior who can lead the masses in a reactionary cause while appealing to their higher aspirations.

In the early weeks of the 1980 campaign Kennedy created a stir with a statement that would seem to cast doubt on the analysis we have just summarized. Right in the middle of the wave of reaction the bourgeoisie has been working intently to ignite around the Iranian revolution, he declared that the Shah "ran one of the most violent regimes in the history of mankind." He has stolen "umpteen billions of dollars from his country." A howl went up from the Carter camp and the criticism of Kennedy's statement was heard from virtually every section of the ruling class and their mouthpieces. The other candidates accused him of breaking the

rules by talking about the crimes of the Shah. But Kennedy persisted. America he proclaimed, has always been a home to the oppressed, an exile for the persecuted, "it has never been a dumping ground for despots and dictators." Was America's Prince Charming giving aid and comfort to the enemy? Had he blundered?

Hardly. Kennedy's statement about Iran is entirely consistent with positions he has taken for almost his entire 17 years in the Senate and the Kennedy role in U.S. politics. He has repeatedly argued that "the United States should refuse to provide other than humanitarian aid to countries whose governments are gross violators of human rights and fail to make substantial reforms." He has denounced South Korea as a "veritable police state," accused the Chilean military junta of condoning and perpetrating the most brutal forms of violence, and as early as 1977 called for a cut off of military aid to the Somoza regime in Nicaragua, which he heavily criticized.

Kennedy also has a nearly unblemished record in opposing the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the expansion of the U.S. nuclear arsenal. He opposed the building of the ABM system, he opposed the Minuteman missile, the cruise missile and the MX. He has been a strong supporter of SALT and a consistent advocate of negotiations with the Soviets.

The question is really not "did Kennedy blunder" with his statement on Iran. The question is why has he been so highly touted by the bourgeoisie at all? Why have they put him up as a candidate at a time when the key item on the imperialist agenda is tightening up their bloc and preparing for war with the Soviet Union?

I. Why Is This Man Running?

To begin with, anyone who would put so much weight, indeed any at all, on the bourgeoisie's concern with Kennedy's heresies would be quite mistaken. If they were so opposed to Kennedy's "going against the tide" of their line and interests on so many issues, they have certainly had numerous occasions to deep-six him, to pour salt into his own self-inflicted wounds, to destroy the mystique that surrounds him. Quite the opposite. They have gone to great lengths to cover up, gloss over and excuse his numerous "peccadillos."

The logical question is why there should be any aura at all around a fellow known as such a profligate and

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Kennedy

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scoundrel, a boozier and a skirt-chaser, whose most famous act was to abandon his drowning girlfriend at the bottom of a murky pond when his car went off a bridge on the way to a late night tryst on a lonely beach. (And that is the most favorable interpretation of the event.) Not that his life and times are any more degenerate and disgusting than that of any random sampling of the bourgeoisie or its political parrots. His are certainly more notorious, and few have so carelessly left a dead body laying around. But when a Wayne Hayes or a Wilbur Mills let their depravity slip too flagrantly into public view, they were quickly put out to pasture.

The answer is that the bourgeoisie has too much invested in and riding on the Kennedys, of whom Teddy is the last surviving brother, to let it all go down the tubes just because of the drowning of a young secretary, or a carelessly earned reputation for womanizing and hard drinking.

It is precisely Kennedy's "maverick" positions on so many of the policies and programs of the U.S. imperialists that make him so useful to them. And beyond that his positions are not really so "maverick" as they may seem.

His statements about the Shah were not meant to undercut the chauvinism the U.S. imperialists have been trying to stir up around the seizure of the hostages. He was simply gauging a deeper public sentiment, and a dangerous one for the ruling class. Only a few days before his statement, the press reported that Vice-President Mondale and the President's mother had been shouted down at a campaign rally in New York's Harlem by chants of, among other things, "Send the Shah back to Iran." The ruling class is concerned over the fact that, as the White House correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune* recently admitted, a lopsided majority of the American people believe that the Shah should be "booted out of the United States." Kennedy tries to make it seem like the tail is wagging the dog. It's the Shah who worked for his own "dirty interests" while the "clean" U.S. imperialists were tarnished by their association with him. He condemns the Shah in such a way to keep national chauvinism intact. Kennedy's voicing of such sentiments is supposed to take the sting out of it and serve as a pressure release on a steam valve. When the opinion of sections of the people threatens to "go out of bounds" and cut against the purposes and interests of the imperialists, Kennedy jumps out to rope it in. Having raised his objections to the Shah, he quickly moved on to promote exactly what the bourgeoisie as a whole has been trying to achieve with all this: the same unity and sense of purpose that the American people have exemplified in the face of the taking of the hostages, he said, can and must be mobilized to confront the many other serious problems we face: energy, the economy—and he might have added, war with the Soviet Union.

Nor are his other positions so outrageous or unorthodox when examined. Numerous bourgeois politicians, including Carter, are saying bad things about the fascist Chilean junta these days. Now that the U.S.-established junta in Chile has accomplished much of its work of carrying out a bloodbath against the people's movement and the opponents of U.S. interests, and now that exposures of all this have hurt the U.S. imperialists' "image," it has become official policy to put some distance between the U.S. bourgeoisie and their puppets in Chile. Kennedy's criticism of Somoza in Nicaragua can only be viewed as "far sighted" for the bourgeoisie. The fellow was obviously going down, the U.S. was not in a position to step in militarily to save his regime, so disengage, brother, disengage, and try to work out relations with his successors so that the U.S. interest can continue to operate unhindered.

And about South Korea? Look what's happened. The U.S. ruling class itself decided that General Park Chung Hee had become a liability and agreed

to have him knocked off, by the head of the South Korean CIA no less.

Of course Kennedy isn't alone in many of the positions he takes either, his legislative record is not unique in the Congress. But they haven't put up a Frank Church or a Gaylord Nelson for the presidency this year. Kennedy's usefulness for the bourgeoisie and appeal to the masses is much more encompassing than his voting record in the Senate, which is not that well known or of much interest to most. It reinforces, but is secondary to, the Kennedy legend itself.

Of vastly more significance for the bourgeoisie than the Kennedys' proclivity for jumping from bed to bed is their mastery of the fine art of trying to jump to the leadership of progressive sentiments and movements of the American people, to capture and divert them before they can become a serious threat. Their role is that of bourgeois reformism, to soft-sell reaction to the masses, to put the velvet glove on the mailed fist. This has become the essence of their role in American politics, the substance of the Kennedy mystique. They combine the hope of a better day with efforts to rouse the people to fight for a "higher purpose"—the sewer purposes of U.S. imperialism dressed up with the perfume of "noble causes."

If the vaunted Kennedy magic seems to have diminished in potency since that shimmering chimera of Camelot first rose on the horizon more than 20 years ago, the fact that it still exists at all is testimony to the bourgeoisie's need of it. In fact, dead the Kennedys are as good, or better, for the bourgeoisie than alive. And the legend's endurance is in no small measure due to the assassin's bullet ("...to think about what might have been, is to die a little bit all over again," wrote one Kennedy image maker). But it has been stroked and nourished by a veritable army of sycophants, journalists and historians. "He never had the chance to fulfill his own possibilities, which is why his memory haunts so many of us now," writes Pulitzer prize winning historian Arthur Schlesinger of Bobby Kennedy.

"Because he wanted to get things done, because he was often impatient and combative, because he felt simply and cared deeply, he made his share of mistakes, and enemies. He was a romantic and an idealist, and he was also prudent, expedient, demanding and ambitious. Yet the insights he brought to politics—insights earned in a labor of self-education that only death could stop—led him to see power not as an end in itself, but as the means of redeeming the powerless."

It could be St. John the Evangelist writing of Jesus Christ himself. A Kennedy non-believer recently described Schlesinger more aptly as "Camelot's resident groupie, a master of selective history who for a wink or a smile can justify any action, rationalize any obscenity."

V.I. Lenin, however, much more accurately and profoundly analyzed bourgeois academicians and propagandists like Schlesinger, and by extension, provides the basic standpoint from which to view the Kennedys and their role in American politics:

"Bourgeois scholars and publicists usually come out in defense of imperialism in a somewhat veiled form; they obscure its complete domination and its profound roots, strive to push into the forefront particular and secondary details and do their very best to distract attention from essentials by means of absolutely ridiculous schemes for 'reform' such as police supervision of the trusts or banks, etc. Less frequently, cynical and frank imperialists come forward who are bold enough to admit the absurdity of the idea of reforming the fundamental characteristics of imperialism."

The Kennedys are not quite a unique phenomenon in American bourgeois politics. There have been numerous prototypes for the role they have played, most notably Franklin D. Roosevelt, around whom similar myths have been woven. Not coincidentally, the major Kennedy publicists, Schlesinger and sidekick James McGregor Burns, have made major efforts to im-

mortalize FDR in history as the great hero of the common man, the fellow who saved capitalism from itself, and the man supposedly responsible for everything from industrial unions to social security and unemployment insurance.

They have tried to fashion the Kennedys' image in the same mold that the bourgeoisie poured for that of FDR. Roosevelt presided over the capitalist state for most of the Great Depression. He was a skillful demagogue, trying to make it seem that the victories won by the struggles of the masses in the midst of the misery caused by the capitalist system itself were really the results of the benevolence of the bourgeois state. The Kennedy founding father, Joe Sr., was himself much enamored of FDR and looked to him with high hopes to derail the development of any mass struggle that would threaten his millions.

"As the Depression deepened, so did his gloom. In later years, he would write, 'I am not ashamed to record that in those days, I felt and said I would be willing to part with half of what I had if I could be sure of keeping, *under law and order*, the other half. Then it seemed that I should be able to hold nothing for the protection of my family.' In such a state of mind, he looked to Franklin D. Roosevelt for salvation." [Emphasis added]

II. The Founding Father of A Reactionary Dynasty

The foundation for Kennedy political careers was the millions and millions of dollars that old Joe Kennedy, a rapacious Wall Street huckster and stock manipulator, spent to put his sons into public office. The son of a successful Boston saloonkeeper, Joe Kennedy early on established himself as a member of the bourgeoisie. Serving his apprenticeship in the Boston and New York stockbrokerage offices of Hayden-Stone, he quickly learned the tricks of the trade of parasitism. He became renowned and adept at stock pooling. A group of wealthy investors would pool their funds and invest heavily in a particular stock, driving up its price and sucking in numerous smaller investors.

When they felt they had jacked the price of the stock up enough they would quickly sell off, making handsome profits and leaving the rest of the hapless suckers holding the empty bag. Like much of the bourgeoisie, Kennedy escaped unscathed from the Great Depression. In fact, he considerably increased his wealth during these years of mass poverty and ruin through real estate deals and a plunge into Hollywood movie making. In later years, with typical haughtiness, he bragged of his financial acumen, which led him to withdraw completely from the stock market shortly before the crash of 1929:

"He liked to tell an anecdote about a shoeshine boy who had accurately predicted market fluctuations. When the time comes that a shoeshine boy knows as much as I do, there's something wrong with either me or the market, and it's time for me to get out."

But despite the fact that Kennedy eventually amassed one of the largest personal family fortunes in America, he was never really admitted to the top echelons of the U.S. bourgeoisie. Coming from a family of Boston Irish politicians (his father-in-law "Honey Fitz" Fitzgerald had been mayor of Boston and his own father was a ward boss of some citywide importance), he saw politics as an avenue to further power and influence. With this in mind he enthusiastically threw himself into the election of FDR in 1932. He fully expected to be rewarded with a big job like Secretary of the Treasury. He had to be satisfied when, to the amazement of virtually everyone, FDR appointed him head of the newly formed Securities and Exchange Commission, the federal agency charged with policing Wall Street and keeping it from engaging in the most outrageous and flagrant swindles. (Remember Lenin's jab, written in 1916, about "ridiculous schemes for 'reform,' such as police supervision of the trusts and banks.") Perhaps FDR cynically felt that a man so in fear of losing his fortune to an uprising of the angry masses would be effective in enforcing the necessary cosmetic changes in Wall Street, which had

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Teddy and Mom, Rose Kennedy—parasitism is a family affair.

Capitalist to Capitalist on May Day

Recently, the following copy of a personal memo from one major business executive to another was forwarded to the National May Day committee by a sympathetic secretary who works in the office it was sent to. We are reprinting it because we think there's a lot to be learned from what it says about May 1st.

"From the Desk of Bernard Snow
Pres., Diversified Industries, Intd."

Mr. P.C. Cozens
Pres., American Pioneer Enterprises, Inc.
Dear P.C.:

Thought you'd like to know about something that recently came to my attention--a real, honest to God, commie leaflet, about "May Day 1980." The damn thing's been passed out at our plants all over the country (yours and others, too, from what I hear, so you should be on the look-out for it). You probably know about this since their posters are everywhere, too, cluttering up the area. Generally, I leave the usual run-of-the-mill crap like this to the boys downstairs, but they thought that as CEO and MCP for the whole company I ought to see this one. If you haven't seen it, you should, it's spooky (copy enclosed). All this talk about "slaves and slavemasters," the "working class and the capitalist class," Jesus, you wouldn't believe it!

Here, in America, they're trying to destroy the free-enterprise system. They might get somewhere if they went to Iran or one of those other places like that, but here--never. "The image of the U.S. working class as contented and ignorant fools must be shattered and destroyed," the thing says. Fat chance! What are most of those clowns who shuffle in and out of the gate every day except Archie Bunkers? Most of them don't know the time of day, and don't want to know; you can get them to do anything if you promise them a little of the green stuff, and of course back it up with a firm hand. Not like those assholes in the oilfields in Iran: remember a couple of years ago when the Shah promised them a 100% wage increase (Jesus!) if they'd go back to work and stop all that political demonstrating--and they turned it down flat? Can you imagine the beer-guzzling dolts here doing something like that? No, thank God, you can buy them for a lot less than that.

And sometimes you don't even have to pay them anything. For example, after our embassy was taken over in Iran by those so-called "students." I had to laugh: sure enough I got reports that there were some guys on the assembly lines wearing "Iran sucks" shirts and even some who brought Ole Glory to work. All fired up and ready to charge over there and fight. Just like turkeys, fattening themselves and strutting around gobbling right before Thanksgiving! Well, they'll get their chance, the ladies too and their kids as well, when we finally quit letting ourselves get pushed around and not only stomp on those Iranians if they don't get in line but also deal with those Russians once and for all.

And right in the middle of all this, when we have to get people to sacrifice for the national interest and build up America's strength for the coming showdown, here come these goddamn commies calling on the American working man (and woman too, I suppose) not to work harder and be more loyal and patriotic. Oh no, of course not! They're telling people to join them in taking advantage of the trouble we're in, with inflation and the economy in general and the erosion of American power around the world. "Their crisis is our opportunity if we dare to seize it"--that's the kind of inflammatory crap that's in their leaflet. And, wouldn't you know it, they're urging people not to work on May 1, but to march in their "International Workers Day" demonstration and "unite" with the so-called "international proletariat" in the glorious fight against "the imperialist rulers of this country" (they also say the Russians are capitalists and "imperialists" too--that's a new one on me). Can you believe it?

Now we can all get a good laugh out of this kind of rhetoric, but I'm writing you because I think it would be a real mistake to just treat this whole thing as a joke. Don't get me wrong--we both know, and thank God for it, that most of our workers, though they grumble a lot and raise a little hell now and then, are really humble, decent folk who have the basic sense of American fair play that says it's wrong to bite the hand that feeds you. And besides, they understand in their own simple way that America's gotta be tough and stay number one in the world or else, before you know it, the camel jockeys and all the rest of those two-bit nations will try to take away everything you and I have worked for, and then the Russians will come right behind and grab everything we've gotten fair and square. And along with this we do have our responsible and patriotic union leaders who understand what's at stake and how necessary it is for American workers to rally around the flag.

So again, I don't think for a minute that most of our workers even listen to those commies. But, on the other hand, there are, and we might as well face it, some ungrateful bastards among them who don't seem to care at all about our way of life and our position in the world. Oh sure, it's easy for them not to give a damn--after all, they're not the ones who stand to lose billions every time some of those fanatical assholes somewhere get hold of and squeeze us by our oil wells; it's not their property that gets taken over every time those mobs have one of their revolutions in one country after another! What do they have to lose?

Then, too, as you know, those commies are experts at taking advantage of things like that--they are professional agitators and troublemakers. And they do understand one thing--and that's the fact that a small number of people, even if it's only a few thousand here and a few thousand there at first, can stir up a lot of shit. It's always been a mystery to me, but you know how the common people are--the "masses" as the commies call them. For some strange reason, people who step out of line and challenge authority become heroes to a lot of them, and those who fall in behind them like blind sheep somehow become pacesetters for a lot more. Pretty soon the whole thing's gotten out of hand. You remember, back in the 60's, when especially the *MiG* (oh, I forgot) "Blacks" and the rest, those unpatriotic veterans from the Vietnam war, a lot of those punk kids and even many of the women's libbers started getting out of hand. Well, we kept that from spreading to the rest, but are you so confident that if it gets started again this time a lot of people, even some of these Archie Bunkers, won't decide to join in? And that's why it's dangerous, especially now when we've got a rocky road and a stern test in front of us when these commies start talking about how (to quote their leaflet) "We will show, on May Day, that the U.S. working class is maturing and developing a revolutionary section." Revolutionary workers, right here in the U.S.--now it may sound silly, but it's very unsettling too. Think for a minute about what kind of influence this would have on a lot of these malcontents out there, not just here but even in other countries. And, again, the rhetoric may sound crazy and ridiculous to people like you and me, but it's also downright frightening the image these commies paint (to quote them again): "WE WILL DO IT MARCHING IN THE STREETS ON MAY 1, 1980. And we will be saying it in a way unheard before in this country. 'Capitalists, the working class--not your stable backbone of society, but your GRAVEDIGGERS--have arrived!'" Now I think you can agree that's a message we can't allow to be sent out, especially now.

Of course, as I said, we can be confident that most of our workers won't listen to this or have anything to do with it--at least not right away. But again, you understand, I'm sure, that you can't let things like this get started or pretty soon all kinds of people start getting bad ideas and acting uppity. You've got to deal firmly with something like this right off the bat--that's why, if you remember, we both agreed how important it was when Rockefeller sent the guns in after those animals at Attica a few years back. (We all regret that lives had to be taken, of course, but better a few of them sooner than many of us later, don't you agree? And, anyway, lots of lives will have to be sacrificed to make the world safe again for our free enterprise system and American democracy in the coming years, and it's just as well if people start getting used to it.)

In closing, let me call your attention to the end of this commie leaflet. "WE WILL MARCH ON MAY 1st," they proclaim, "TAKING HISTORY INTO OUR HANDS, SERVING THE HIGHEST INTERESTS OF OUR CLASS. WHERE WILL YOU BE? WHAT WILL YOU BE DOING? WHO WILL YOU BE SERVING?" they ask the rest. No I think we both know what the answer to that will be, what it must be. Because, as I said, and it can't be stressed too many times, once you let a few get out of line and start filling things up, then you're just inviting all kinds of trouble. And, especially in such critical times as these, we certainly cannot afford that. We might feel pretty safe today, but tomorrow it could mean the end of everything we hold dear, everything our families have stood for--right down to the last poor slob we draft and send charging up the hill and that last nuke we deliver (by the way, my air-raid shelter's just been completed, and it's a beaut--air-conditioning, split-level, all the comforts of home--how's your's coming along?). Anyway, you might still say "it can't happen here," but don't forget that's what Carter and the Shah said about Iran!

Regards,
B.S.

We will march on May 1,
taking history into our hands,
serving the highest interests
of our class. Where will you be?
What will you be doing?
Who will you be serving?

May Day Manifesto

Draft

Continued from page 10

rich and against the working people, and a movement developed against it. This movement was seized upon by pro-Confederate bankers in New York who instigated large anti-draft riots that also turned into pogroms against Blacks. The anti-slavery forces and socialists of the time opposed this anti-draft movement and helped recruit soldiers for the Union armies, since their main task was to smash slavery."

All this boils down to is to call on the masses to defend the U.S. imperialist system of wage slavery under these "new conditions" today, using the preposterous analogy with the Civil War against the Confederate slave owners as an "historical precedent." Davidson wishes us to swallow the analysis that the coming war between the U.S. imperialists, who have enslaved more people around the world and in the U.S. itself than any other empire in history, and the Soviet social-imperialists who are rising to seize this empire as their own, will actually be a struggle between the U.S. "anti-slavery forces" versus the Soviet "slave owners." Davidson tries the old Kautskyite (after the German Social-chauvinist Karl Kautsky who betrayed the working class with the approach of WWI) trick of making capitalism "look good" by comparing it to slavery or feudalism. "Kautsky" (in Lenin's words) "like a school master who is become as dry as dust from repeating the same old textbooks on history, persistently turns his back on the 20th century, and...incredibly tediously chews the old cud over the relation of bourgeois democracy to absolutism and medievalism." And what Davidson wishes to cover up with this historical rag-chewing is the fact that the U.S. and Soviet systems of wage slavery and imperialist exploitation are equally reactionary—they are both worse and they must both be overthrown.

And why does Davidson make a special point of saying that "the socialists of the time...helped to recruit soldiers for the Union armies, since their main task was to smash slavery"? Since elsewhere in the same article he "explains" that the main task today is to "oppose Soviet hegemonic expansionism," he is obviously clueing his readers into the fact that the time is not far off when the CP(ML) will be helping to recruit soldiers for the U.S. Army, and that the current fig-leaf "opposition" to the draft is merely a transitory tactic. (Undoubtedly, CP(ML) members have been privately briefed on this already.) This is also made clear further on in Davidson's article, where he says that "the movement must link up to the wide sections of the working class and minority youth, including those who might not oppose the draft. Many of these have rejected pacifist and anarchist arguments against the draft, but still want to fight the war danger. This would include the many young people who have been compelled to enlist in the military out of economic necessity." It is only too obvious that when Davidson speaks of GI's fighting the "war danger," he means fighting the Soviet Union—certainly not rebelling against the U.S. imperialists! If Davidson got wind of the young soldier doing revolutionary agitation in the barracks, he would certainly report him to the company commander—in the lofty interests of the "broad front against hegemonism."

The "analogy" Davidson draws of the situation prior to World War II is so thick with implication that the CP(ML)'s current "opposition" to the draft is only a very temporary tactic. On the eve of the U.S. entry into World War II...the main aspect of the conflict was seen as a just fight to defeat the fascist power. There was very little opposition to the draft and the progressive forces, including the communists, did not oppose it." Since in the next breath Davidson describes the international situation today as "especially similar" to the events leading up to World War II, the message is inescapably clear even to the dullest of

The Call's readers: we, too will soon drop our token opposition to the draft and call for all out and unqualified defense of U.S. imperialism.

The sight of these "communists" sweating and agonizing over the possibility that the masses might not march loyally into the meat grinder of the Third World War would cause hysterical laughter if it weren't so criminal and disgusting. And the clear reason for the CP(ML)'s decision not to come out publicly in support of the draft at this time—the only position which logically stems from their reactionary social-chauvinist line—is even more disgusting: to their dismay, a large mass movement against the draft has rapidly sprung up, and they fear being utterly isolated from this spontaneous movement (and therefore unable to serve the U.S. imperialists within it) if they admit their true position and the reasons for it.

Of course, the policy of actively working for the defeat of one's own ruling class in an imperialist war, the line Lenin fought for during World War I against the social-chauvinists of the Second International, isn't even mentioned in Davidson's article. Lenin, whose party alone had withstood the tide of social-chauvinism and betrayal of the working class which swept through the Second International at the outbreak of the war, led the Bolsheviks and the masses to victorious revolution in the wake of the Tsar's defeat by the Germans. This tremendous victory touched off revolutionary storms throughout Europe, including a massive revolt of millions of German soldiers against their own government in 1918 and the brief establishment of a revolutionary regime in Germany itself. But nothing could be better calculated to bring howls of anguished rage from Klonsky & Co. than to suggest that these historical lessons might be more useful to the workers as the criminal holocaust of imperialist war approaches than reminiscences of how the socialists covered themselves in glory by recruiting soldiers for the Union armies.

As for World War II, while Davidson says that "the main aspect of the conflict was seen as a just fight to defeat the fascist power," this is once again a hopeless distortion of the facts. The fact is that it was only the invasion of the Soviet Union by Germany, and the consequent necessity for the international proletariat to defend the world's first socialist state, that fundamentally altered the character of the war. In that situation, it was necessary for communists in the United States and other allied countries to make temporary adjustments in the class struggle in the interests of the alliance between the Soviet Union and the Allies against the Axis. Not in the least did the bogus issue of the "fascist powers versus the democracies" make the difference between World War I and World War II. Up until the German invasion of the Soviet Union, World War II was a war between two imperialist camps to redivide the world and that's all it was. And even after the Soviet Union was attacked, the imperialist aims of the powers who found themselves in alliance with the Soviet Union did not change into some noble "fight for democracy."

Indeed, it must be emphasized that, despite the special circumstances of World War II, the Communist Party in the United States and other western countries made the extremely serious error of totally liquidating the class interests of the proletariat and shamelessly promoting just such a bourgeois view of the character of the war—a line they gravitated towards because it would "spontaneously" go down easier with the masses and avoid trouble with the ruling class. The myth was spread far and wide that the temporary alliance between the Soviet Union and the allies would or could carry over into some sort of permanent peace time cooperation. Preparation for revolutionary struggle was completely forgotten (if it had not already been forgotten long before). Illusions of a millennial utopia of class peace between the "good imperialists" and the working class were fostered, and the proletariat was seriously weakened in its ability to wage struggle in the post-war period. The only argument that could possibly (though

not necessarily) require a tactical adjustment similar to that of World War II is one that the CP(ML) does not even dare to make: that the survival of a socialist country was threatened by attack from another imperialist power. This is revealing, because it is well known that Klonsky & Co. follow the baton of revisionist China, which still claims to be "socialist," and whose foreign policy is currently based on an alliance with the U.S. imperialists against the Soviet Union. Why don't they make loud use of this argument, false as it would be in reference to China and in a situation before the war had even begun or an attack by the Soviet Union on China had even materialized? Because basically the social-chauvinist line of the CP(ML) is not determined by "orders from China" but by their own counter-revolutionary nature. And quite simply the American people are not much interested in defending today's China so what would be the point in making a big deal about it. Klonsky likes the revisionist traitors that run China because he likes revisionism, and also because he hopes the support of a "patron power" like China will help to further his smelly little career, and aid him in ingratiating himself and his organization with the U.S. ruling class—which is his ultimate strategic objective.

The CP(ML)'s line on the draft is a gross example of slavish service to the bourgeoisie, carried out in a craven, cringing, cowardly, and sneaky way. But far from being in any way particularly atrocious, it is right in line with a whole series of equally reactionary positions on any subject, run out in exactly the same slimy way—with the convenient "Letters" column consistently serving to run out more blatant versions of the counter-revolutionary lines taken in the paper's editorials. Want to see an article (supplemented by a letter) endorsing President Carter's heroic fight to enforce a boycott of the Moscow Olympics? March 24th issue of *The Call*, page 12. How about an "interview with an Iranian Communist" which demanded the release of the hostages being held at the U.S. embassy, condemns the militants at the embassy as "acting like another government within a government" and hails the election of the pro-U.S. Bani-Sadr government as "a good step in the centralization of political power in Iran"? Same issue, page 8. Or take the most recent issues of *The Call*—which by the way, feature interesting changes in the masthead. The slogan on the masthead "People of the World Unite to Defeat Imperialism" which had already been amended from the earlier "People of the World Unite to Defeat U.S. Imperialism"—has now been dumped entirely. So has the legend, "Organ of the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist"; in its place, the words "Voice For Socialism In The United States" are inscribed on the masthead—clearly a bid to be perceived as a respectable, law-abiding, social-democratic journal of

opinion, about as dangerous as the "democratic socialists."

The April 7th issue has a great "Letters" column. One letter criticizes a recent *Call* article on the victory of the U.S. hockey team over the Soviets during the Winter Olympic games as "one-sided": "The main factor in people's excitement was that the underdog U.S. team pulled off an upset" crows L.T. of Boston. "It was something for people to be proud of, to celebrate." Another letter regarding the arrest of 48 Iranian students in Monroe, Louisiana for disrupting the speech of a representative of the Shah opposes the arrests on the basis that the students "...are guests in our country, and we must extend them every guarantee of our Bill of Rights if we are to endure as a nation under laws. Trying and jailing them is not going to bring one hostage home; rather we should extend our own precious rights and our courtesy to all Iranians in this country and thereby set the example."

What commentary can do justice to such garbage? In defense of *The Call's* reader correspondence, however, it must be said that although they all appear to be incredibly backward, at least they have the courage to flaunt their backwardness naked and unashamed, instead of running around in a G-string like Carl Davidson, Mike Klonsky and the rest of the CP(ML) social-chauvinist strip-teasers.

The social-chauvinist rationale for claiming—well in advance of the war itself—that the working class and the masses must rally behind the red, white and blue is quite simple: "the Soviets are the aggressors;" they are trying to take away the U.S. empire. Precisely what we hear and what we will be hearing in increasingly strident terms from the U.S. imperialists themselves. Precisely what the CP(ML) and their ilk hope the ruling class will like hearing from them; and they hope to be rewarded richly for services rendered as they fill a need for "progressive patriotism" with a thin "socialist" veneer.

Clearly, the CP(ML) and the Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (whose "anti-draft" leaflets call for strengthening the U.S. defense budget and sanctions against the Soviet Union to make it "a pariah in the world community of nations"), are basing all their dreams and hopes for the future on the U.S. imperialists emerging triumphant in the coming war; they expect to reap rich rewards, there is no doubt of that. No wonder they devote so much frenzied activity to trying to stomp out anything which might prove a threat to the stability of U.S. imperialist rule or—especially—to smooth buildup of its war machine, and the willingness of the masses to fight and die for the oppressor. But these imperialist apologists' view of the future is as twisted as their summation of the past; and particularly their view of who will be stomping on what in the coming crisis is completely upside down. □



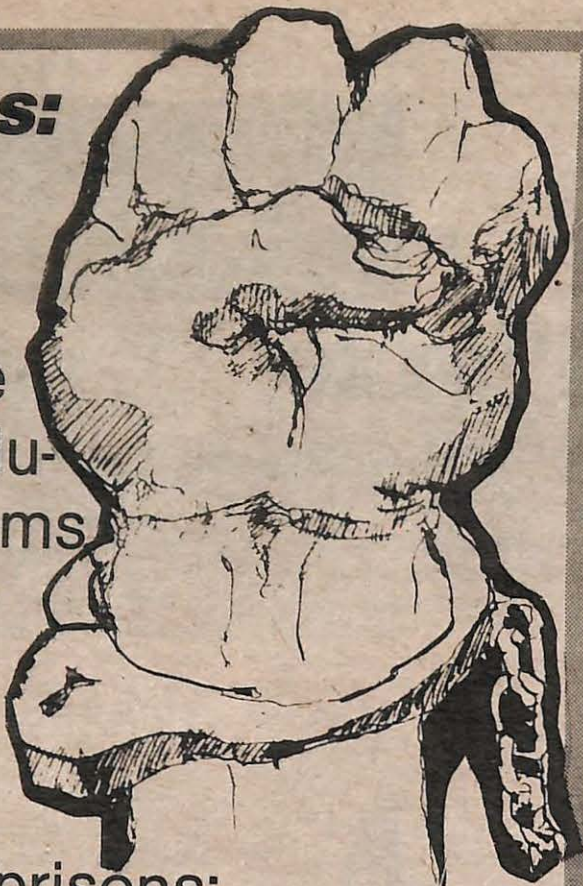
May Day Buttons

English, Spanish, Chinese

To order, contact the RW in your local area.

Prisoners: Take up May 1st

To all those whose revolutionary dreams fly out from behind the cold steel bars of the capitalists' prisons:



This May 1, the first salvos of a new decade of revolutionary upheaval will echo across this land. Thousands of the working class and other oppressed will leave their homes, their schools, their workplaces and take to the streets of this country, declaring themselves part of the international working class and demonstrating their determination to wake up their class brothers and sisters and to hurl the imperialist U.S.A. into the junkyard of pre-history.

To you on the inside—unable now to take to the streets, but inspired to act as part of this class conscious force—we call on you to find the ways to express your support, to unite that day with us in solidarity as we take history into our hands.

And beyond this, we call on you to exercise your influence on others before May 1. Your body may be imprisoned behind bars, but that doesn't mean that your power to build May 1 and educate others is held hostage as well. Make contact with your friends and relatives on the outside about May 1. In every letter you write, in every visit you receive between now and that historic day, spread the word. Make public statements. Urge all those that listen to you—and many do—to take part in opening a new chapter in the history of the working class of the world.

On to Revolutionary May 1st, 1980!

Kurdistan,

Continued from page 4

Kurdistan because of these new conditions. While the agreement did not meet the basic Kurdish demands for autonomy, still it was a major victory for them. The agreement not only beat back the government's attacks and allowed the revolutionary forces in Kurdistan to further expand their influence; it exposed to millions throughout Iran the just nature of the Kurdish cause. (Why was the government suddenly negotiating with "Satan"?)

The fighting died down, but reactionary plots against the Kurdish people didn't. During the fighting the government's Kurdish allies became totally exposed. One reactionary mullah named Moftizadeh, whose followers had won 8 of 11 city council seats in Sanandaj six months earlier in government-sponsored elections, was now forced out of Kurdistan and Iran altogether. The Provisional Ghideh, led by the sons of the infamous Gen. Barzani was also totally exposed as a Kurdish front for reaction and U.S. imperialism.

Defense Minister Mostafa Chamron, who led the government's abortive military offensive, decided that a "native presence" in Kurdistan was now needed. So in the months following the ceasefire, Chamron along with many landlords, reactionary tribal chiefs, and leftover agents of U.S. imperialism regrouped and organized their forces. The "Moslem Peshmergas of Kurdistan" was the outcome. Its declared intentions? To fight for the "Islamic revolution" and wipe out all its enemies in Kurdistan.

While the government as a whole was united in their opposition to autonomy for Kurdistan, there were differences about the tactics to be used to repress the Kurdish struggle. Chamron, who is close to the Islamic Republic Party and Ayatollah Beheshti, hoped to create an

incident in Kurdistan, and then confront the whole government with a war, fait accompli.

Kamyaran was key to this murderous plotting. To the south of Sanandaj this small city was not in the heart of rebel country. It was also the base area for the mercenary forces controlled by Sheikh Osmon, a reactionary tribal chief who had thrown in his lot with local landlords and U.S. imperialism. Only a month after the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Tehran, Sheikh Osmon's forces, "Razegari," had suddenly started appearing all over Kurdistan, armed with brand-new Kalashnikovs and plenty of freshly printed money. Coming within weeks of "anti-Khomeini" uprisings in Azerbaijan and Baluchistan, the surfacing of the "Razegari" had all the marks of a CIA "destabilizing" operation.

The military forces of the Revolutionary Organization of Toilers (widely known as "Komoleh") had attacked one of the Razegari's camps near Kamyaran in early February; and then a few days later, the day after the appearance of the leaflet announcing the formation of the Moslem Peshmergas, the reactionaries attacked Kamyaran in force. The city was taken; the reactionaries had thrown down the gauntlet. The revolutionary forces knew it and the masses of Kurds understood it. From all over the province revolutionary organizations, led by Komoleh and the Peshmergas of the Oppressed Peoples of Kurdistan rushed to enter the fighting in Kamyaran. The counter-revolution must be smashed immediately! Worria was the head of the Peshmergas' military division. Without hesitation he led his unit to Kamyaran.

"You're crazy. Don't go back there," one of the other leftists, a member of Komoleh, told Worria. "He probably escaped another way."

But Worria wouldn't be dissuaded. All of Iran would be watching the battle in Kurdistan. Wouldn't defeat em-

(The following is a response to a call put out to prisoners in a recent issue of the RW. The call is reprinted on this page.)

Per your March 21, 1980 issue of "Prisoners Take up May 1st."

We are prisoners confined in the capitalist bowels of a Kentucky State Penitentiary. We are down but not out, and we want you on the outside to know that we are declaring ourselves in solidarity and part of the international working class.

We urge you to take to the streets in mass on May Day and show your strength in grand revolutionary style. The ranks of the class struggle are growing in prisons as well as those of you confined in bondage in the good old slippery imperialist U.S.A. Wake people up, as many of us slaves in U.S.A. prisons are awakening. Onward to Revolutionary May First 1980.

In Revolutionary Struggle,
30 Prisoners in the Kentucky
State Penitentiary

People Won't Change?

Some people say, "Right, and that's why it will never happen. You'll never get that many people. You can't get people united like that." Yes, we can. And we have to understand one thing: that no matter what mistakes we might make, no matter how much it casts us into a hole and tries to keep us ignorant, no matter how much it succeeds in the short run dividing us, there is one great force out there working to unite the people every day, and it's not the force of god in heaven, and it's not the "force that will be with you," it's the force of this system itself, crushing and degrading people, banging them on the head (like somebody told me, this system is a great teacher, and if you don't learn the first time, they'll be glad to teach you a second time, a third time, a fourth time and so on until you learn.) If you bang a man on the head long enough, he's going to look up and try to figure out what's going on. He's going to try to search out answers to why is this happening and what's it part of and what the hell is going on?

Bob Avakian

Chairman of the RCP Central Committee
From May Day 1979 speech

"I used to teach my kids to have respect for the police no matter what, but after they saw me get beat I don't think they will listen. . . I used to think that Blacks got what they deserved back in the '60s, but now I realize that they were right."

A worker from Levittown, after police rioted against gas protest in this "American Dream" town

"Down here by the airport years ago they used to have a big military base. They closed it down, a lot of people were out of work; moving out, businessmen closing their doors. Then they came in and said, 'We're going to build you a big nuke. A lot of jobs, work and all that.' Did they give the people a choice? Hell no they didn't give us a choice. . . Before all this happened, I used to carry around the red, white and blue—but I burned it. It doesn't mean a thing to me now."

—A man who lives in the shadow of
Three Mile Island Nuclear Reactor

bolden the reactionaries for more intrigue and suppression? And wouldn't victory inspire the millions of oppressed all over Iran to carry through the unfinished revolutionary struggle that began when they overthrew the Shah a year ago? This communist revolutionary thought not of his organization or his nationality first, but saw the struggle in Kurdistan as one cog in the revolutionary struggle to free the workers and peasants of all nationalities throughout Iran and beyond that the world.

Yet the revolutionary ranks within Iran had been hurt by petty squabbling, sectarianism and the missing comrade was not from Worria's group. No, he must go: a fellow revolutionary couldn't be left to die at the hands of imperialism and reaction. The others' arguments were still bombarding his ears but he jumped into his Land Rover and hurried down the mountainside.

Worria stopped the truck against a stone barricade, but there was no sign of the missing revolutionary. He indeed must have escaped. But Worria wouldn't. Over 100 armed counter-revolutionaries were surrounding him, lusting for a kill. There was no way out.

Again the choice confronted him: to fight or to surrender. For the second time in less than 15 minutes with death breathing hard in his face, he saw beyond the cold and frightening fog to the revolutionary struggle for liberation. He would fight.

And fight he did. One machine gun against 100. This dauntless fighter fought bravely for seemingly endless minutes, taking as many to the grave as he could. Several reactionaries hit the ground, but in the end Worria lay dead, crouched between his Land Rover and the stone barricade in the lonely Kurdish mountains.

Later in the day his comrades retriev-

ed Worria's body and carried him to his home in Sanandaj. Word of the battle and his martyrdom spread quickly and a funeral procession was announced for the next day.

From the brick alleys in central Sanandaj, the city dwellers came; along the dirt roads from nearby villages, peasants came; and from the working class quarter with its ramshackle homes on the hillside facing Sanandaj, the workers came. A huge red star led the procession of 20,000 people, honoring the death of a communist revolutionary. His coffin followed, wrapped in red cloth, surrounded by 50 armed Peshmergas from every revolutionary organization in Kurdistan, guns held high in the air. Pictures of Worria, made the night before, bobbed throughout the crowd.

Shouts of "Down with the plots of U.S. imperialism and all reactionaries in the Kamyaran war." "U.S. imperialism and reactionaries are our main enemies!" and "Heroic Worria, we will follow your path" filled the air.

Iran, and particularly Kurdistan, had seen many martyrs fall in revolutionary battle. Each death had aroused hundreds more to join the revolutionary ranks; every martyr had set the tone and the standards for the revolutionaries that followed in their path. Yet Worria's martyrdom was more than that. He had consciously gone into battle and risked his life for a fighter from another organization.

Tens of thousands across Iran hailed Worria's martyrdom as a victory for unity and putting the interests of the whole revolution above that of any group. Some practical minded men may have thought that this action was rash and foolish, but the thousands of people who filled the streets of Sanandaj for his funeral knew full-well the value of Worria Modaresi's selfless action. □

Wrightsville

Continued from page 1

atmosphere was almost festive." Clusters of people, some armed and some not, debated the day's activities and the course of action that night. In twos and threes people had left the factories in the area that day, understanding that what was going on in the streets was more important than any daily slave. For this some had lost their jobs, but they didn't care. One woman led a walkout at the plant. "I just stood up at my machine and said I was going out and called on the others to join me; 7 left with me." Students had stayed home from school. "Some things are more important than school," grinned a group of Jr. High School students.

As youth began to shoot out street lights in preparation for armed resistance that night, SCLC "leaders" begged people to come inside the church to a meeting where the virtues of the constitution and non-violence were being extolled. There were few takers. "If we are fired upon, we will not fire back, that's our way," whined a minister from Atlanta. "Fuck that non-violent shit!" armed youth roared back, "We're gonna defend what's ours!" Some women were herded into the church but came right back out exclaiming, "We don't want to hear that non-violent stuff, it's not what we need."

A caravan of state troopers, four to a car, shotguns ready, cruised the fringes of the Black community. Vigilante types lounged by the courthouse waiting for an excuse to go into action. At about 10 p.m. the troopers swooped down in full force. The people hid behind bushes, rifles at the ready, but no shots were fired. In the face of the defiance of the Black people in Wrightsville, the troopers were content to clean away the barricades and raid a bar, arresting 9 people for carrying arms. After repeated phone calls a SCLC leader arrived only to lecture people on the principles of nonviolence. With the people's anger about to explode he timidly called the police station to find out about the 9 people arrested and reported that they were being released. Soon they were back on the streets.

"We picked up our guns because we are fighting to win, not just a few more jobs for Blacks, but everything," one youth boasted. "I'm for revolution. This time we gotta go all the way," another vowed. "Life here is hell," said one youth describing this town of 2,000. There is one sidewalk in the entire Black community, down one side of the main street, that like surrounding streets, is unpaved. Housing is mostly unpainted, lopsided wooden shacks.

The only jobs for Blacks are in the garment plants, 3 in town and others in surrounding towns. Murderous piece rates and slave-driver foremen whip them like dogs for pennies.

The town's only doctor routinely refuses to treat Blacks—"A three year old baby was cut and when his mama took him to the doctor he said he couldn't sew it up. He let that baby bleed all the way to the county hospital." Social services?—"When a federal man came to town to sign up the mothers to get milk and cheese for their children, Sheriff Attaway stuck a gun in his face and told him to get out of town."

For 20 years Sheriff Attaway has enforced the dictatorship of the ruling class in Wrightsville, backed by the town's few propertied whites and Georgia Senator Talmadge's political machine. "As long as you say yes sir and no sir to him you're okay, but as soon as you say yes or no you ain't gonna get no job and you're gonna wind up in jail."

In the late '60s, Attaway beat up a Black youth who drank out of the white only water fountain at the county courthouse. About the same time another youth walked into a local restaurant and demanded to be served, challenging the tradition of Blacks purchasing their food at the kitchen around back. In the battle that resulted a Black man was shot. "It ain't gonna happen that way this time," vowed one gun-toting youth. Hard lessons have been learned, paid for with the peoples' blood.

This outbreak in Wrightsville, like a number of other recent outbreaks of militant mass struggle among Black people, is a sign of the times—a new, bold and uncompromising kind of struggle that is coming into being as the situation in this country and around the world sharpens up. And this kind of struggle is by no means a repeat of the struggle in the 1960s. As the chapter from the soon to be released book *America in Decline* that was serialized in recent issues of the *RW* put it:

"This is not the '60s. The struggle is not on as high a level. But these ribbons of struggle, these pockets of resistance, exist within a different context. And just as the tempo of world events leading to war is rapidly accelerating, so too will there be rapid shifts in the mood of the masses and the scope of their activity. Where there is repression there is resistance. This is a basic law of history. But history does not and cannot repeat itself... (The struggle of Black people) will not assume the same forms and pass through the same stages of development as they did in the '50s and '60s. Yes, many of the same lessons have to be learned over again, it will not be a replay, i.e. first the stage of civil rights and then breaking beyond these



(Below) People of Wrightsville, Georgia march on Saturday April 12, three days after showdown with pigs and local vigilantes. Many opposed non-violent stand of SCLC leadership who called the march.

(Above) Pigs take their positions.

bounds. Experiences have been accumulated, the ruling class cannot make the same kind of concessions, and things have gotten worse for the people. "The period ahead will be punctuated by outbursts and surges of resistance. These will still be largely scattered, but they will at once meet with more repression and exert more influence over others, exactly because the stakes are higher both for the ruling class and the masses."

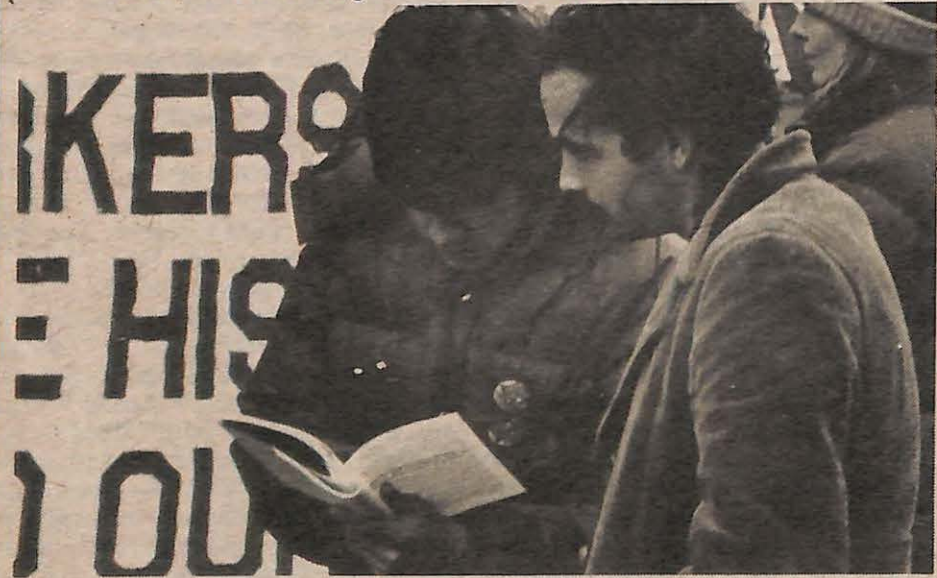
On Saturday, April 11th, SCLC called a march in Wrightsville. About 250, mostly Blacks from Wrightsville and surrounding areas, came to express their burning hatred for the way things are. Many of the youth who had taken up arms last Wednesday did not march. "We're not marching because we don't go along with this nonviolence," one explained, "but since they say it's non-

violent we're gonna be riding just to make sure it's non-violent."

Scum from across the state crawled out of their sewers and gathered at the county courthouse to meet the march. 150 helmeted state troopers lined up, billy clubs drawn and ready. 25 white robed Klansmen came from Atlanta, along with Bill Wilkenson (head of one faction of the KKK) and J.B. Stoner (currently fighting extradition to Alabama to stand trial for the '60s bombing of a Birmingham church in which 4 girls were killed). They were joined by about 75 local whites, some wearing KKK t-shirts, others waving confederate flags. Many whites in Wrightsville work in the same two-bit garment plants and live in the same run-down shacks as Wrightsville's Blacks. But more than a few of these whites have swallowed the ruling class' racist

Continued on page 26

Young man at his first demonstration, Chicago's "Long March," shows Programme to worker who joined march.



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Cuba

Continued from page 2

"Shouting 'Down with Castro!' on their arrival, the Cubans cried hysterically while telling reporters their tales of life under communism—family separations and the terrors of their departure," reported the *New York Daily News* in a typical press dispatch.

The United States has agreed to settle over 2000 of the Cubans here. Wide play has been given in the media to reactionary demonstrations of exiled Cuban "gusanos" (worms) in this country, who have been hailing the whole affair as the "beginning of the end" of the Castro regime, by which they mean the re-introduction of U.S. colonial rule of the island. (Ironically, in one radio news broadcast, the story of the Cubans fleeing the land of oppression and hunger for the "land of opportunity" was followed by an item detailing widespread layoffs in the auto industry and predictions of a sharp new economic recession.)

Undoubtedly, among those Cubans seeking emigration, there are a number of genuine gusano reactionaries. Others, misled by talk of freedom and plenty under U.S. imperialist rule, are in for a rude awakening. The bulk of them are merely desperate and seized

upon the chance of emigration, usually denied any Cuban, in the slim hope of finding a better life elsewhere. At the same time, the entire incident was at least partially instigated and encouraged by the U.S. imperialists and their Peruvian friends in order to shore up the lie that the looming confrontation between the two imperialist camps is fundamentally an ideological battle between "freedom" and "communism." In like fashion, the large demonstrations in Havana against those seeking to leave Cuba, reflect a popular sentiment that those wishing to leave are traitors and aiders of U.S. imperialism—no matter how bad things are in Cuba, there is undoubtedly a strong and genuine sentiment against the U.S. among the masses, which exists apart from "allegiance" to the opposing Soviet-led imperialist bloc; but such demonstrations were also instigated and organized by the regime, and used to get across the message throughout the hemisphere, that the regime is still strong and in control, still commands the mass base of loyalty, and will not be overthrown or shaken out of the Soviet camp. The struggle of both sides around the whole incident is a typical example of how the imperialists of one camp will attempt to use the oppression and misery of the subjects of the opposing imperialist power as a weapon in their inter-imperialist rivalry. □

Women of the Paris Commune

March 18, 1871. The people of Paris rose up in open, armed revolt against the government of France—and for 2 months the city became the Paris Commune. Two accounts from the time show the role that the 300,000 working-class women of Paris played in this first form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which one history of the Commune described as “a ‘tiger leap,’ one of those moments that jump forwards in history.”

First is an eye-witness account of an event on the first day. Under the cover of night, the French government, now centered in Versailles, had smuggled troops into Paris to retake the cannons and other artillery that the people had seized. But, as they hauled the artillery away, the troops were discovered. A crowd of people, including Paris National Guardsmen, who stood on the side of the Commune, gathered:

The women and children were swarming up the hill-side in a compact mass; the artillerymen tried in vain to fight their way through the crowd, but the waves of people engulfed everything, surging over the cannon-mounts, over the ammunition waggons, under the wheels, under the horses' feet, paralysing the action of the riders who spurred on their mounts in vain. The horses reared and lunged forward, their sudden movement clearing the crowd, but the space was filled at once by a backwash created by the surging multitude.

Like breakers, the first rows of the crowd came crashing on to the batteries, repeatedly flooding them with people.

The artillerymen and cavalrymen of the train were holding their own with brave determination. The cannons had been entrusted to them and they made it a point of honour to defend them.

At that moment the National Guard arrived; they had great difficulty in breaking through the crowd who were obstinately clinging to the wheels.

The women especially were crying out in fury: ‘Unharness the horses! Away with you! We want the cannons! We shall have the cannons!’

The artillerymen could see, beyond the ocean of people, the gleaming steel of the bayonets; in the face of such resistance all advance was impossible, but they still did not falter.

Soldiers who had deserted their

regiments shouted to them to surrender, but they stayed in the saddle and continued to spur their horses on furiously.

A National Guardsman who had managed to reach the scene of the action climbed on to a milestone and shouted: ‘Cut the traces!’

The crowd let out a great cheer. The women closest to the cannons, to which they had been clinging for half an hour, took the knives that the men passed down to them from hand to hand. They cut through the harnesses.

The same National Guardsmen now shouted: ‘Open up the ranks! Spur on the horses! Let them through!’

The manoeuvre was carried out amid joyful laughter and cheering.

The artillery men were carried off by their mounts and found themselves cut off from the guns and surrounded by groups of people inviting them to fraternize.

They were offered flasks of wine and meat rolls.

They too were hungry and thirsty. They were soon won over to the side of the rebels.

The cannons had been retaken. The cannons were in the hands of the people...

All over Paris women's political clubs were formed, with public meetings held almost daily. The newspapers of Europe were filled with accounts by shocked bourgeois reporters of meetings like this one:

The meeting began at eight with quite a good attendance and a very small minority of men. About two hundred women and girls were present; most of the latter were smoking cigarettes, and the reader will guess to what social class they belonged.

The Chairwoman, whose name we could not find out, was about twenty-five and still quite pretty; she wore a wide red belt to which two pistols were attached. The other women on the committee also sported the inevitable red belt but with only one pistol.

A Polish woman by the name of Lodoiska was the official president but she had not wanted to chair the meeting as she intended to participate actively in the debate...

The following point was on the agenda: ‘How is society to be reformed?’ Lodoiska spoke first but got a cool reception. A woman aged about thirty

(now a refugee in Switzerland) was listened to with more attention:

‘For people like us,’ she said, ‘the social disease that must be cured first is exploitation by the employers, who are made rich by the labour of the workers. Let us do away with bosses who treat the worker as a producing machine! Let the workers form co-operative associations, let them organize their labour collectively and they will live happily.’

Another evil of present-day society is the rich; all they do is drink and make merry without having to make any effort whatsoever. We must get rid of them along with the priests and the nuns. We will only be content when there are no more bosses, rich men or priests.’ (Applause, laughter and murmurs)

Next came a mattress-maker of the Rue Saint-Lazare who undertook to demonstrate that God did not exist and that the education of children should be reformed.

‘What silly women we are to send our children to catechism classes! Why bother, since religion is a comedy staged by man and God does not exist? If he did he would not let me talk like this. Either that or he's a coward!’ (Murmurs from the crowd)

The Chairwoman—Will the interrupters please be silent and let the citizeness speak.

The woman was thrown off course by the interruption and switched to a different subject, armed robbery and looting.

‘There is something I would like to deal with briefly, the question of requisitions. I do not think these are conducted often enough. We have no linen or mattresses for our ambulances, while there is plenty of that sort of thing in rich people's houses. Our husbands and brothers who are defending Paris often have to go without while others have more than they can use. Everything must be evened out by searches and requisitions—it is the only way to achieve anything. A committee should be appointed in every neighbourhood to go out and search the houses in the name of the law, and we shall see what results we get. I know some people *what* have jewels enough to fill buckets.’

A voice—But you're advocating theft! A disturbance follows with shouting and general confusion.

The Chairwoman—This is intolerable. I must have silence. If some-

one wants to refute the speaker's arguments let them step up here.

The mattress-maker left the rostrum, indicating by her gestures that the audience had not understood her.

Her place was taken by a little old woman who was always known in the neighbourhood as Mère Duchêne because of her ultra-revolutionary opinions and her irascible nature.

‘My dear children,’ she said in a wavering voice, ‘all this is so much hot air. What we need today is action. You have men—well then, make them follow the right track, get them to do their duty. What we must do is put our backs into it. We must strike mercilessly at those who are undermining the Commune. All men must be made to co-operate or be shot. Make a start and you will see! But no one wants to; they hesitate, they are afraid of a bit of blood. It makes me sad.’

‘If tomorrow we executed a hundred of those who are refusing to fight—which is not a lot—and exhibited their bodies on the boulevards with notices showing the crimes they committed, you can be sure that the day after tomorrow crowds of people would come forward to serve the Commune. What the Hell! The ends justify the means. But our leaders want to make omelettes without breaking the eggs and that cannot be done; on the contrary, you need to break lots of eggs. What are the lives of a few unworthy citizens when our future liberty is at stake? That's my opinion. We must frighten the reactionaries and the Versaillesis by showing them that we are capable of punishing the guilty ones.’ Applause breaks out but one or two derogatory whistles can be heard.

The Chairwoman (very irritated)—Would the Citizen Stewards please usher out the persons causing the disturbance. This is disgraceful!

The stewards looked round but could not spot any trouble-makers. Eventually the hubbub subsided and the debate was resumed.

A woman by the name of Nathalie Duval, wife of Lemel, was the next to speak. She was well known in the revolutionary party and in 1870 had founded, along with Varlin, an association called *The Soup Cauldron* which was apparently intended to provide the working class with cheap food but was in fact a secret society with entirely political aims.

Mrs. Lemel did not make a long speech. She urged the women to take up arms in defence of the Commune and to fight to the last drop of their blood. ‘The decisive moment is coming,’ she cried, ‘when we must be prepared to die for our country. No more weakness, no more hesitation! To arms, all of you! Let every woman do her duty! We must stamp out the Versaillesis!’ (Lengthy applause)

15 Years After U.S. Invasion The Story of the Dominican Insurrection

At 1:00 a.m., April 25, 1965 in the Dominican Republic, a radio broadcast the announcement, ‘It's revolution time.’ The proud uprising of the Dominican people against U.S. imperialism and its puppet government was on.

The uprising was triggered by a CIA-staged coup against a popularly elected Dominican regime of Juan Bosch, who came to power following the death of the bloody U.S.-backed dictator Trujillo. Although the U.S. had engineered the assassination of Trujillo, whose regime was exposed around the world for being outrageously corrupt and oppressive, and had initially backed Bosch's national-bourgeois government, when Bosch started making some reforms like taking away the landholdings of large landowners and refused to bow to U.S. imperialist demands to persecute the Left, the CIA organized a coup to overthrow him, and replaced him with a Trujillo-clone.

This was the last straw for the Dominican people. Life under Trujillo had been intolerable. The Dominican people, mostly peasants, were little more than serfs, making 50¢ a day and paying it to the landlords for use of the tools. People lived on what they could grow in small gardens, often no more

than plantains and root-like vegetables. Trujillo, the U.S. man for 30 years, and his family lived a life of jet-set luxury not unlike the Shah of Iran. The political repression was so bad that almost every Dominican family was in mourning for someone who had been killed by the Trujillo regime.

While Bosch's regime was a bourgeois government, it had given the people a little breathing room in which to organize themselves, and had only whetted people's desires to be rid of the hell of imperialist domination.

When the call for the insurrection went out over the airwaves (from a well known broadcaster who was a member of a revolutionary organization), thousands responded to it right away, filling the streets of Santo Domingo, the capital, for mass demonstrations in the middle of the night. Still that first day many watched and waited. But by the next day, thousands more had joined the guerrilla units called Commandos, led in most cases by rebellious army officers loyal to Juan Bosch. Workers, students, the urban petty bourgeoisie—people from all strata joined the insurrection. Someone remembering the insurrection described it: ‘Sure, some of us were afraid, but people had just gotten to the point

where they couldn't take it anymore.’

Commando units were anywhere from 100 to a few hundred people organized by neighborhoods. They not only fought but ran clinics and hospitals and distributed food and clothing in the neighborhoods and dealt with criminals.

People who had never used arms before learned how to use them real fast. In some cases the commando leaders taught people and some just taught themselves. ‘The first tank we took, no one knew how to use,’ one Dominican told the *RW*, ‘but we figured it out.’ More and more trained soldiers came over to the side of the insurrection, bringing their weapons with them. A combined assault of troops and civilian commandos took over a police fortress and seized more weapons.

The Air Force was against the insurrection and was bombing the cities. People had no anti-aircraft weapons but they put mirrors on their roofs to blind the pilots. ‘After the planes had gone, people would stand up and curse the airplanes and their own insufficient weapons,’ one veteran said.

Even with their inadequate weapons and training, the force of the people was irresistible and the U.S. puppet was

forced to resign.

A few days later, the U.S. sent in 40,000 troops to crush the insurrection. Even so, the people wanted to keep fighting. In one battle commandos were about to seize the main police fort but were attacked by U.S. troops from the rear. ‘We would have won except for the damn Yankees,’ one fighter said. It was not until the pro-Bosch forces leading the commandos capitulated to a UN and OAS truce that the fighting finally stopped. The more revolutionary forces had not been prepared for an actual insurrection, and in fact lagged behind the enthusiasm of the masses of people for revolution. There was no leadership able to continue the fighting.

The occupying U.S. troops were forced to conduct a massive search for weapons because people didn't surrender them. People's outrage at the Yankee invasion was so great that they cut off the hair and in some cases the ears of prostitutes who serviced Yankee soldiers. The U.S. was forced to pull out its troops after 17 months for fear of more insurrections. But the Dominican people had paid a dear price for the fact that, when the moment had ripened, there was no force organized and capable of fully seizing the opportunity. □

Washington, D.C. "No work, no school, let's put an end to the rich man's rule! May Day 1980!" rings out over the bullhorn. The May Day team moves through the buildings of the housing project in a Black neighborhood. Dozens of little kids run out. One girl takes a red flag to carry, while other kids begin handing out May Day Manifestos. The teenagers make a point of not joining in, but hang around to see what's going to come down.

Soon, a teenager with his own bullhorn suddenly appears: "Revolutionaries go home! Revolutionaries go home!" An older man stands with him holding a section of pipe. Someone from the team goes right up to them and starts explaining what May Day is about. The teenager puts down his bullhorn. The man says he's ready to go down, but *not* with the May Day team. More people gather.

Suddenly, two, three, squad cars in the narrow street. A paddy wagon. Detectives. "They're gonna bust you," a kid warns. But the cops hang back, uncertain about the mood of the crowd. The agitator from the team turns her fire on the police, who they represent and why they are here.

Moving on to two more courtyards, the cops follow, looking for a chance, an opening. Then several of the little kids begin to tear up May Day Manifestos and throw them at the agitator on the bullhorn. A ball hits the speaker and rocks begin to fly. But sharp eyes in the crowd quickly spot the source of the trouble. A sneering detective nattily attired in styled hair, a dress shirt and suit vest was giving out bubble gum to the little kids to throw things at the May Day team! People are outraged as the speaker exposes this slimy trick. But the little kids chant, "Boo, boo" at

the agitator.

As the kids gather around the detective to get their "reward," several young men go right up in the cop's face, exposing to the kids what the cop is trying to get them to do; what the cops stand for and what May Day is about. One older girl goes into the fray and whacks her little brother upside the head, "cut that shit out!" Another young man standing with the May Day team points out the detective, "That pig beat me just last week. Listen, don't you all *ever* give up. Don't *ever* give up."

As the team gets ready to leave, a number of people come up. The first young man who had stepped out of the crowd to set the kids straight and who stood with the team through the projects has read the *RW* before. He and others know the cops will jump the team as soon as it gets clear of the

ject. "Come on in to our house, we can outlast them. They gotta go home sometime."

"Thanks, but we have to be somewhere else soon."

"Listen, you guys get out of the van, and cut down over this hill. We'll drive your van out, and when the pigs stop us, they'll find us instead of you!"

Some of the little kids have already tipped off the cops. So the team decides to drive straight out. Sure enough, two blocks from the project, the police pull over the van. But the pigs' glee is quickly dampened as they look up and see dozens of people from the project swarming down the street in close pursuit. The driver is arrested on a traffic charge, but the van is quickly let go. The following night several people from the project attend their first May Day Committee meeting. □

War Machine

Continued from page 7

He went on to explain, "There is a mood in the plant of where do we go? There is outright hostility in there—you can feel it. We're hip to the program that this country can't survive without a war." But people's sentiment is not "now my job is secure." An older white worker put it more bluntly. "They're not prepared for World War 3 yet and if they keep me in here they'll never be prepared." One 20-year-old, speaking for many others, had this to say. "I used to think I was lucky but not any more. I don't even think about the fact that I'm making missiles—I think about parts for jet transports. I know it's a cop-out but I'm in a rut. I feel like the guy on this poster (the May Day poster), wanting to step outside," he said, a smile widening across his face. "But what can one person do?"

And this is the question that is being focused up for the advanced workers around the May Day marches. What good will it do if 10,000 plus people march on May 1st? What difference will it make if a significant section of the demonstrations are made up of class-conscious workers? "I'm anxious to find out if May Day will have repercussions in Iran," the 20-year-old mused. Then he answered his own question. "Now that I think about it, I'm sure it makes a great impression on people who are oppressed by America when they see people rebelling here." "Everything in the U.S. is watched closely," a Chicano worker explained. "In Mexico they always watch for changes. They will take nourishment from these demonstrations to organize themselves."

In an industry that relies on intimidation when the star-spangled chains fail to hold the workers in check, the fact that there is a small class-conscious section of the workers is very significant. In an industry that has penalties of up to 20 years in Leavenworth for sabotage; that has trenchcoat harassment and FBI interrogators, that fires workers for talking to any revolutionaries, that even attempted to set-up one of the revolutionaries for sabotage

charges by having a spy destroy some of the parts they were tooling—in an industry like this, it is very significant to see red flags being aimed at the tender underbelly of the imperialists—their defense industry.

As we talked, it became clear that there was widespread knowledge of Thursday, May 1st. "Everyone in the plant knows about May Day," one worker told us. "They're wondering what will happen. If you say you're not coming to work that day, for any reason, then everyone says, 'we know where you'll be!'" "People are looking to May Day as our hope," another worker added. "They are being torn about being there... I think it will have a great impact. When people see thousands, they will say, 'wait a minute!' I will be there on May 1st," he finished proudly. "May Day is one of the hills going up. It will put us on higher ground to continue the fight," a Chicano worker emphasized. "People say revolution is impossible. But when they see this light coming out of the forest, they will say it's possible. For me," he added, "the word impossible only exists in the dictionary of fools."

It is no surprise that the majority of workers we've talked to who are seriously talking about taking to the streets on May 1st were regular readers of the *Revolutionary Worker*, or had heard Bob Avakian on t.v. or radio or on his tour. It is no surprise that they see their hopes for revolution bound up with a successful revolutionary May Day. Even some who were sucked in by the starry lies of our rulers have made drastic changes when they found out the truth of U.S. imperialism. One worker who had worn a sequin type t-shirt with an American flag that read, "Piss on Iran," no longer wears it. Through sharp struggle over the U.S. involvement in Iran, who the Shah was and why U.S. workers had a common interest with the Iranian revolution, and through the dragging on of the crisis, he has taken off his reactionary t-shirt and put on a May Day button.

A Black worker, a man who had been through the upheavals of the '60s and who greeted us with a volume of Marx's *Capital*, put it this way. "The mood of the working people I talk to is this—they are in a quagmire. Within

that, there is a quandry. What other thing offers any way out?" He told us quite positively that everyone in his department would be at May Day except for five. "They believe in the lord too much for that." When he first went to work in this industry, no one was discussing May Day or the RCP. People are doing so now. "No other group has put forward such a concentrated effort as the May Day brigade. It has been effective," he told us, explaining that he first heard of May Day when the brigade was at his plant. "We working people need a reference point. That reference point is definitely May Day at this time."

Things are heating up as the capitalists are beginning to try to head off May 1st and crush it. At one defense plant where 30 buttons were sold and many worn at different times on the job, security and harassment have stepped up. Rules and regulations are being strictly enforced, like being in your work area exactly two minutes before the whistle blows. A whole influx of people wearing "visitor's badges" have been noticed stalking around. Passes are now required from supervisors to make phone calls or go to the bathroom. And seven stories up, catwalk cameramen with telephoto lenses are recording all that transpires among the slaves below. At another plant, red paper, small replicas of red flags, appeared on the tool boxes. "Paraphenalia," memos are now being circulated to counter the specter of revolutionary sentiment by declaring anything on the outside of tool boxes a rule infraction.

"In times like these, I always pull out this book by Frederick Douglass called *Out of Bondage*," a Black worker began, relating a story from the book that holds valuable lessons for revolutionaries today. It goes like this. The slavemaster's wife bought Douglass as a child slave for her son. She thought it would be cute if he learned his ABCs, which she thought was impossible for a Black. And learn them he did. The husband, upon hearing Douglass reading, flew into a rage at his wife. "Don't you know that you have fixed it so that this nigger won't be no good slave. He knows what's happening now." Douglass was beaten every day just in

case he was sneaking a glance at a printed page. All newspapers were burned instead of thrown away. He was thrown out of the house and made to work in the fields. But it was too late. He had the tools that could never be taken away.

The impact of these defense workers coming out on May 1st would be a tremendous inspiration, something that the rulers of this country would hate, and will attempt to stop. And as things sharpen up with Red Flag-Internationale Day approaching and especially as May 1st arrives, the analysis made by Bob Avakian in his talk, "Is Revolution Really Possible This Decade and What Does May 1st Have to Do With It?" must be grasped:

"We have to arm ourselves and the advanced outside the Party with a deeper understanding of our Party's analysis of the objective situation and what role the action of the class-conscious forces can and must play in rallying the oppressed at this point, even if it only numbers in the thousands right now, on May First itself. And on that basis we have to put the challenge squarely to the advanced, to those who *do* hate this shit: if you say it can't happen and don't act then you are working to make it not happen; don't say "it's a good idea but it won't happen"—it *can* (and ultimately *will*) *happen*, but you have a role to play, a crucial role, in *making* it happen."

"So, in conclusion, the essential question around May Day, and its relation to revolution, is this: can we draw forward those who hate this shit, can we build on their hatred for oppression, but more than that can we arm them with the understanding of how the class-conscious proletariat has to act and what an impact that will have on the development of a very tumultuous period ahead—one that holds at least the real possibility of a revolutionary situation. It is by doing this that we can and will make a great leap forward on May First 1980."

Armed with the analysis of the Party, these class-conscious workers will truly have a set of tools that can't be taken away. □

Big Jolt

Continued from page 5

voluted—and precarious, with loan activity growing at a 25% annual rate. The U.S. imperialists have put the stabilization of the dollar and the associated curbing of inflation at the center of their financial strategy in order to stave off more rapid disintegration of this order. This monetary instability limits the degree to which the U.S. can weld together its bloc politically and square off militarily against the Soviets. It also, paradoxically, makes such a showdown more urgent. The Fed's moves to tighten credit and push up interest rates were not simply—or even mainly—responses to an "overheated" economy, but critically linked with these broader considerations, although the behavior of the U.S. economy interpenetrates with the overall condition of the U.S. bloc. By raising inflation rates, more foreign funds will be attracted into U.S. securities and the dollar will strengthen—but at the price of a weakening

economy, since credit will become more expensive.

This, then, is the particularity of the current situation: a slowdown set against the backdrop of monetary instability and intensifying superpower rivalry. The U.S. imperialists are caught on the horns of a dilemma. If they resort to inflationary measures to limit the scope and duration of this decline, this may further unsettle the dollar internationally. But if they let this recession run its "natural course," not only will political problems mount in the country, what with unemployment rapidly growing, but the threat of a global slowdown may lead to even greater monetary disturbances. Clearly, the U.S. imperialist bloc is headed into more serious crisis and the maneuvering room of the U.S. imperialists diminishes.

No doubt the politicians, who are like blind men describing an elephant when it comes to explaining the causes of this crisis, will make political capital out of the situation. Kennedy, Carter, Reagan—all will try to make hay from slightly different angles. All will offer

up bromides while agreeing upon the need for national sacrifice and belt-tightening. The real options available are, as has been stressed, quite limited. A new stream of deficit spending to restimulate could only have the most short-term effects before it would destabilize the international credit markets. Wage and price controls as a means to curb inflation would serve only as a temporary stop-gap to a problem which has much deeper causes (see *RW*, March 28). Controls, or some variation thereof, would be invoked more to get people conditioned (as the gas shortage did) to the discipline of national mobilization (read: war). A major tax cut to stimulate capital investment or even, more dramatically, a long-term investment program to re-tool and re-fashion the U.S. economy à la the New Deal (or what it was supposed to be) just doesn't tally with the international position of the U.S. imperialists. This is not a situation of a 10-year decline or depression in which the United States is relatively isolated from the rest of the world. The U.S. is very much on the front lines of intensifying contention

with its imperialist rival, the Soviet Union. The defense and extension of its empire is not a distant question in time and space.

The U.S. imperialists are not helpless. Attempts will be made to deal with this downturn. But it is important to grasp two things. Even if this turns out to be a "moderate" recession, the overall direction of this crisis is downward—and at an accelerating pace. And, exactly because of this, the counter-measures are extremely contradictory and limited. That there is one question there is absolute unanimity among the politicians—the need for expanded military expenditure—says something about the kind of counter-measures required by imperialism in the throes of crisis and rivalry. □

With this major wave of shutdowns and layoffs, still more workers, independently of their conscious actions, will be putting into practice the May First slogan, "We won't work that day." The question, however, that they and others must consciously answer that day, is still—who will they be serving?

The Internationale

On Thursday April 24, one week before May 1st, a mighty force will rip across this country. On that day, in factories, schools, housing projects, buses, everywhere the masses of people live and gather, red flags will fly—50,000 Red Flags! A wild and lofty sign of strength and determination for May 1st itself.

And that same day, at 1:55 Eastern time, 12:55 Central, 10:55 in the West and all the way to Hawaii at 8:55 AM—all at once the class conscious forces will rise together and, in straight up defiance of all the shit of this society, sing strong and loud and in dozens of languages, the Internationale, the anthem of the international working class. Throughout that day, and in the week to come, it will be as if a powerful bugle has sounded, signalling the charge toward May 1st.

Original French text by Eugene Pottier

THE INTERNATIONALE

Music by Pierre Degeyter

f A - rise, you pris - ners of star - va - tion! A - rise, you wretch - ed of the earth. For jus - tice thun - ders con - dem - na - tion. A bet - ter world's in birth. No more tra - di - tion's chain shall bind us. A - rise, you slaves, no more in thrall! The earth shall rise on new foun -

da - tions, We have been naught; we shall be all. 'Tis the fi - nal con - flict, Let each stand in his place: The In - ter - na - tio - nale Shall be the hu - man race! 'Tis the fi - nal con - flict, Let each stand in his place: The In - ter - na - tio - nale shall be the hu - man race!

See centerfold for words to Internationale translated into many languages.

The Internationale

Red Flag

Continued from page 1

them, together with them—right in the gut of the “land of opportunity”—will be emerging a class-conscious section of the working class. As their many languages blend into one voice, these workers will be giving new punch to the powerful anthem, the *Internationale*, “a better world’s in birth.”

To those who do often feel like they’ve had all they can take of this system, to those who sometimes get a rush of feeling—“I’ve had all I can take of this shit,” May First, together with Red Flag-Internationale Day, is directly addressed to you. If you understand that more is needed than a moment’s satisfaction; if you sense that more is possible than the constant nausea of having to stomach this crap—then it is

necessary to join those who are consciously preparing to put an end to it. It is *necessary* to join those who are picking up the Red Flag today; it is *possible* to carry it through to victory in the next years ahead.

There is a means and a method, there is a leadership and a path that points out of this madness—a road being forged today with the guidance of the line of Chairman Bob Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party. This system is more than an outrage, it is historically reactionary and obsolete; abolishing it is something that must be fought for, but it is also possible. The force that will carry this through in this country is the force that in embryo will be in the streets on May First; the force that will be declaring its existence and its joyous determination with Red Flags and a unified anthem on April 24.

Our rulers package every conceivable horror under the label “our country.”

And some fools, drugged by the crumbs they have received, fail to see beneath the packaging. But there are more than a few who look at those who see the murdering dogs in blue roaming the ghettos and barrios and say “This shit’s not *ours*.” There are those who look at the flag-waving cave man AMERICAN frenzy about Iran, who see the mounting preparations for mass destruction in World War 3 against the U.S.’s rival gangsters, the Soviets, and say “This shit’s not *ours*.” 50,000 is only a tiny section of the workers in this country, but the other side of this is that this section can today be welded together, it *must* be welded together to prepare for the future—a time when everything goes up for grabs.

How could everything remain unchanged in the face of the forces of war and of deepening crisis that this system is at this very moment giving rise to? By the end of the decade, the whole world

as we know it will be radically different. But as it all goes up for grabs, as it may well, the preparation, the actions today, of an advanced section—even if only thousands strong—will have been decisive. Thousands can become the leadership of millions and these actions today can make the differences about whether the working class succeeds in *winning* in a revolutionary war—in burying these dinosaurs that rule us.

On April 24th millions will see the May Day poster begin to come alive. Doors all over the country will open on the sight of Red Flags. Before their eyes will be that class-conscious, revolutionary section forming ranks, beckoning to others to pick up the Red Flag and join their voices in singing the *Internationale*. Can you let anything hold you back from breaking out April 24th, grabbing hold of the future and bringing it to the streets on May 1st? Dare to pick up the Red Flag!

April 24

Red Flag—Inte

國際歌

起來，飢寒交迫的奴隸！
 起來，全世界受苦的人！
 滿腔的熱血已經沸騰，
 要為真理而鬥爭！
 舊世界打個落花流水，
 奴隸們，起來，起來！
 不要說我們一無所有，
 我們要做天下的主人！

副歌：

這是最後的鬥爭，
 團結起來，到明天，
 英特納雄耐爾
 就一定要實現。

從來就沒有什麼救世主，
 也不靠神仙皇帝。
 要創造人類的幸福，
 全靠我們自己。
 我們要奪回勞動果實，
 讓思想衝破牢籠。
 快把那爐火燒得通紅，
 趁熱打鐵才能成功！

Chinese

La Internacional
 ¡Arriba, parias de la tierra!
 ¡En pie, famélica legión!
 Atruená la razón en marcha,
 Es el fin de la opresión
 El pasado hay que hacer añicos,
 ¡Legión esclava, en pie, a vencer!
 El mundo va a cambiar de base,
 Los nada de hoy han de ser.
 Agrupémonos todos
 En la lucha final,
 El género Humano
 Es la Internacional.

Ni en dioses, reyes ni tribunos
 Está el supremo salvador.
 Nosotros mismos realicemos
 El esfuerzo redentor.
 Para hacer que el tirano caiga
 Y el mundo siervo liberar,
 Soplemos la potente fragua
 Que al hombre libre ha de forjar.

Spanish

Ang Internasyonal

Bangon sa pagkakabusabos
 Bangon allipin ng gutom
 Katarunga'y bulkang sasabog
 Sa huling paghuhukom.
 Gapos ng kahapo'y lagutin
 Tayong api ay magbalikwas
 Tayo ngayo'y inaallipin
 Subalit atin ang bukas.

Ito'y huling paglataban
 Magkaisa't nang masaklaw
 Ng Internasyonal
 Ang sangkatauhan.

Wala tayong maaasahang
 Bathala o manunubos,
 Kaya ang ating kaligtasa'y
 Nasa ating pagkilos.
 Manggagawa bawlin ang yaman,
 Kaisipa'y palayain.
 Ang maso ay ating hawakan,
 Kinabukasa'y pandayin.

Tagalog

Die Internationale

Wacht auf, Verdammte dieser Erde,
 die stets man noch zum Hungern zwingt!
 Das Recht wie Glut im Kraterherde
 nun mit Macht zum Durchbruch dringt.
 Reinen Tisch macht mit dem Bedränger!
 Heer der Sklaven, wache auf!
 Ein Nichts zu sein, tragt es nicht länger,
 alles zu werden, strömt zuhauf!

1: Völker, hört die Signale!
 Auf, zum letzten Gefecht!
 Die Internationale
 erkämpft das Menschenrecht! :|

Es rettet uns kein höh'eres Wesen,
 kein Gott, kein Kaiser, noch Tribun.
 Uns aus dem Elend zu erlösen,
 können wir nur selber tun!
 Leeres Wort: des Armen Rechte!
 Leeres Wort: des Reichen Pflicht!
 Unmündig nennt man uns und Knechte,
 duldet die Schmach nun länger nicht!

German

Η ΔΙΕΘΝΗΣ.

Ἐμπρός τῆς γῆς οἱ κορασμένοι
 τῆς πείνας ἐκράβοι ἔμπρός-ἔμπρός.
 Τό δικνο ἀπ' τὸ κρατήρα θγαίνει
 εἰς βροντῆ, εἰς κεραυνός.

Φτάσουν πιά τῆς ἐκράβιας τὰ χρόνια
 τώρα ἔγεις οἱ ταπεινοὶ τῆς γῆς
 ποὺ ζούσαμε ἐπὶ καταφρόνια
 θά χίτουμε τὸ πᾶν ἔγεις!

Στὸν ἀγῶνα ἐνωμένοι
 καὶ ἄς γῆ γείψει κανεῖς!
 Ἴθι κατὰ γῆς προσμένει
 ἐπὶ κόρυο ἡ Διεθνῆς.

Greek

ИНТЕРНАЦИОНАЛ

Вставай, проклятым заклейменный,
 Весь мир голодных и рабов!
 Кипит наш разум возмущенный
 И в смертный бой вести готов.
 Весь мир насилья мы разрушим
 До основания, а затем
 Мы наш, мы новый мир построим,
 Кто был ничем, тот станет всем.

Принес. Это есть наш последний
 И решительный бой,
 С Интернационалом
 Воспрянет род людской!

Никто не даст нам избавленья
 Ни бог, ни царь и не герой.
 Добьемся мы освобожденья
 Своєю собственной рукой.
 Чтоб свергнуть гнет рукой умелой,
 Отваживать свое добро.

Russian

Attention RW readers: Report on Red Flag-Internationale Day and Roll them tapes!

We know that there are many who will be taking up Red Flag Internationale Day that we might not hear about right away, so the *Revolutionary Worker* is calling for people who do not have regular contact with the local RW bureaus to write in and report on their actions. Send pictures and reports to the *Revolutionary Worker*, Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654. The RW would also like to put together a tape on the sounds of revolution which would be made up of different people from all over the country singing The Internationale on the 24th. SO ROLL THEM TAPES and send them in with a description of what went down, and how the Red Flag went up!

Internationale Day

The Internationale

L'INTERNAZIONALE

L'INTERNAZIONALE
COMPAGNI, AVANTI! IL GRAN PARTITO
NOI SIAMO DEI LAVORATORI,
ROSSO UN FIOR C'E' IN PEITO FIORITO
UNA FEDE C'E' NATA IN COR,
NOI NON SIAMO PIU' NELL' OFFICINA,
ENTRO TERRA, PEI CAMPI, IN MAR
LA PLEBE SEMPRE ALL'OPRA CHINA
SENZA IDEALE IN CUI SPERAR

SU LOTTIAMO L'IDEALE
NOSTRO ALFINE SARA,
L'INTERNAZIONALE
FUTURA UMANITA

UN GRAN STENDARDO AL SOL FIAMMANTE
INNANZI A NOI GLORIOSO VA,
NOI VOGLIAMO PER ESSO GIU' INFRANTE
LE CATENE ALLA LIBERTA,
CHE GIUSTIZIA VENGA CHIEDIAMO
NON PIU' SERVI, NON PIU' SIGNOR,
FRATELLI TUTTI ESSER VOGLIAMO
NELLA FAMIGLIA DEL LAVOR.

Italian

L'Internationale

Debout les damnés de la terre,
Debout les forçats de la faim,
La raison tonne en son cratère
C'est l'éruption de la fin,
Du passé faisons table rase,
Debout l'esclave, debout, debout,
Le monde va changer de base,
Nous ne sommes rien
Soyons tout!

C'est la lutte finale,
Groupons nous et demain,
L'Internationale
Sera le genre humain (bis)

Il n'est pas de sauveurs suprêmes:
Ni Dieu, ni César, ni Tribun:
Producteurs sauvons nous nous mêmes!
Décrétons le salut commun—
Pour que le voleur rende gorge
Pour tirer l'esprit du cachot,
Soufflons nous—mêmes notre forge,
Battons le fer quand il est chaud!

French

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves; no more in thrall
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.

Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The international
Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviours,
To rule us from a judgment hall,
We workers ask not for their favours,
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief discharge his booty,
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.

انترناسیونال

بر خیزای داغ لعنت خورده دنیا ی فقر و بندگی
جوشیده خاطر مارا برده به جنگ مرگ و زندگی
باید از ریشه براندازیم کهنه جهان جور و ستم
و آنکه نوین جهانی سازیم هیچ سودگان هر چیز کردند
روز قطعی جدا است آخرین رژیم

انترناسیونالست نجات انسانها (۲)
بر ما بخشید فتح و شادی خدا نه شه نه قهرمان
با دست خود گیریم آزادی در بینکارهای امسان
تا ظلم را از عالم بر روییم نعمت خود داریم به دست
دم آتش را و بگوئیم تا وقتی که آهن گرم است
(روز قطعی

انسانها (۲)
تنها ما توده جهانیم اردوی پیشمار کسار
داریم حقوق جهانیانی نه که خونخواران قسار
گرد و قتی برق مرگ آسا بسور هژنانو درخیمان
در این عالم بر ما سراسر تابید خورشید نور آفتابان
(روز قطعی

انسانها
Farsi

Internacionala
Vi suznji koje mori glad.
Ustajte vi zemaljsko roblje,
Za pravdu ljubav i slobodu.
Za bolji svet za sve nas,
Neće nas vezat teški lanci.

Ustajte roblje, ne više u bedi.
Svet će se diti na novim osnovama.
Bili smo nista, a bićemo sve.

To će biti poslenji i odlučni teški boj,
Nek svako stoji na svom mestu,
Sa internacionalom
Za bolji ljudski rod.

Serbian

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there ain't no unemployment line in the ranks of the revolution!

This is the kind of system we're dealing with. I know there are some people here who work for Ford, and they know what I'm saying is true and so does everybody else: Ford Motor Company put out the Pinto and a couple of years ago people made a fuss because people were getting blown up. The gas tank was situated so that when it was hit it would explode and burn people alive. And the Ford Motor Company in response to people's outcries made a study and they decided not to change the gas tank, not to recall the cars because they made a cold, calculating study that told them that they wouldn't have to pay out as much money in lawsuits for people that got killed or burned as they would to call all the cars back and remake them: "So to hell with you, burn up in your own car!"

This is the nature of the system that we're dealing with, and its nature will never change because we saw it operating right there—the law of profit above everything else. We're dealing with a system where they nearly snuffed out a million people perhaps in a so-called nuclear disaster resulting from the fact that they wouldn't take the precautions that should have been taken, that they can't and won't use nuclear power safely because it gets in the way of their profits and their mad-dog, anarchistic, everybody chase after the biggest buck and screw everybody else kind of society.

And there's another thing they had on their minds. They're trying to condition us, not only to accept things like that, but more than that to accept the idea that as things sharpen up between them and their rival mad dogs in the Soviet Union, who are nothing but carbon copies of them, that as this rivalry grows sharper and sharper, as has been pointed out here, when they can no longer deal with each other through diplomatic means or political means or economic means in a world that's already carved up by them and their fellow gangsters, they're getting us prepared for the very idea not only that we have to put on uniforms, that young people and even older people have to go off and fight and die to see which one of these dogs is going to have the biggest empire and the most loot from robbing people all over the world. Not only do we have to put up with that, but more than that we have to get used to the idea that it's proper and right and necessary for them to shoot nuclear weapons across the oceans at each other. That nuclear war, which they used to say (to try to lull us to sleep) was "unthinkable," is now becoming thinkable, and in fact it may well be necessary for them to preserve their great American Way and its blood-soaked empire.

They're talking more and more straight up about this. You don't believe it? Then tell me why are they talking about reinstating the draft if they're not getting ready to go to war—world war? Why did ABC TV have 10 days talking about how the American military is no way prepared to fight a world war? Why do GIs write us and write the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and say "Yes, they're telling us in the military that we can expect to be fighting in World War III in the early 1980's"?

See, our Party made this analysis that these two rival gangsters had to push each other out of the way and could do it only by one means in the future—and that was by war. We said world war was coming within the next 5 or 10 years, and a lot of people said we were crazy. We didn't know what we're talking about. After all, we don't get on Walter Cronkite, we aren't interviewed on the *Today* show, how can we know anything about politics and what's going on in the world? Well there's only one thing, we've got Marxism, and none of them have got any of it. And that's how we know.

But now because the world is divided up and each of them still needs more, because their various other forms of fighting are not getting the job done for them, our rulers are gearing up and trying to brainwash and prepare us for the idea that even nuclear disasters are thinkable and acceptable in order for them to try to beat out their Russian counterparts. Not only must we go along when they send us off to die and to kill other people like us, but more than that, when they incinerate tens, maybe hundreds of millions of people for the grand, glorious cause to see which capitalist can suck the most blood out of the people of the world.

And we're not going for it. We're not going to do it. The time has come when we're going to put an end to this, and we're not fighting for them any longer. Oh, you want to draft some of us into your imperialist army? Some will go. You want to put us in your uniforms and give us military training? Many will take it. You want to hand us guns? We'll take 'em all!

But we're going to be politically organized and getting educated and getting united right underneath, see, where they don't look. We're everywhere, and we'll be in your army, too. And I'm telling you straight up, do what you can about it, because we're going to be among the soldiers. I ain't telling you how, but we're going to be among the soldiers, agitating, exposing you, educating the people to their real interests, and when the time comes, we'll see, we'll see where they'll aim those guns. But we already know. Because we're going to do the work necessary to divide up the ranks of your army, to disintegrate it from within at the

same time as we're building up for the time when we can take up arms on the outside among the masses of people as a whole.

This is serious business. Look what they're talking about. O.K., I know what they're going to say. All I did was get up here and talk about guns and bloodshed. The newsmen will go home now. See, they heard all the talk about guns and bloodshed, and they're gonna go home. "We went down there and we heard them talk about guns and bloodshed." Alright, we're talking about guns and bloodshed. What are you talking about when you're talking about shooting missiles across the sea and over the oceans? What are you talking about when you're talking about bringing back the draft and gearing up for war? You're talking about bloodshed. You think it's *legitimate* because you sit in those marble buildings, drunk and reeling from the last pornography that you've been seeing and the last whore that you've been with. You think it's legitimate. But we've seen through you. We know what you are, and our guns are just as good as your god-damned guns! So write it all down and take it back to your masters (I'm talking to the pigs, the spies, now) because this is for real, and we're not bullshitting.

But we're not just talking about guns. We're talking about people being educated to fight consciously and with a heroism their army can never have, as was proved in Indochina, because we'll be fighting consciously for a time when we can put an *end* to bloodshed. That's our desire; that's our objective, and that's what we'll realize in the future. After we bury this system of imperialism and every form of exploitation, we'll bury the guns along with it, but not one day before, not one day before that.

So this is the situation we face, and you tell me how many Terrence Johnson's are there and have there been in this country? How many Joe Torres's and Moody Park's? How many old people going through garbage cans in their last years, having worked like a dog, been treated like a dog and then fed dog food, if they can get that, in their old age? How many wars are going to go on? How much discrimination has to pile up? How much grinding exploitation, degradation and humiliation every day? How much of that has to go on until we say we've had enough and we rise up and make revolution and say we don't give a damn whether you like it, in fact we hope you don't because we're rolling on over you anyway.

How much more has to go on and how much longer will it go on? You tell me. I want someone to tell me out of the bourgeoisie. They tell us every day, but they're lying, and we're going to expose them. It's the nature of your system to do these things, and you tell me what other way than revolution is there to solve these problems, and I'll give you the answer in advance—NONE! Revolution is the only way to eliminate the piling-up evils of this society and this system and to sweep them away and to bring a new future, a bright future for the youth and for the people as a whole. That's the only way. We *need* revolution. Yes, we *want* revolution. We're gonna fight and die for revolution and we're gonna make revolution, and nothing you can do can stop us, that's all!

Don't talk to me about freedom and democracy. Don't tell our Party—don't tell the people that are waking up in this country and becoming conscious of what class they are in and what their class's role in history is—don't tell us about your freedom and democracy because we know it's nothing but modern-day slavery. It's a new form of slavery which offers us the additional degradation that we've got to go out and find the god-damned slavemaster and stand in his unemployment line and beg him to exploit us. This is the kind of slavery we've got now. And if they can't make money off of us, they'll throw us out in the street. It's a wage slavery.

People here that go to work: you know why you're going to work on Monday. It's not because you love U.S. Steel, or Ford Motor Co., or a little garment cockroach capitalist you're working for. That's not why. You go to work for one reason, because if you don't, you'll starve, and that's the kind of system and the kind of freedom that we have in this society. It's wage slavery.

I was talking to this dude in my home town, Chicago, the other day. And he said, "You know, they told me when I started working in this plant (he's been working there 13 years) that if I worked hard I could have a lot of good things. Like they always tell us: 'This is the land of opportunity.' Even for the working people. Where else but in America could working people have all these good things—nice car, maybe even a boat, maybe a house." Shit, the American Dream is to own your own home, and then what? Sit behind locked doors trembling, afraid to go outside your own home for what's out in the street. That's the American Dream. I'd rather live in a society where the dream wasn't to have your own home, but where people could go out in the streets together and change the world, and carry forward the revolution and advance mankind. I'd much rather have a society like that.

And we can see what the American Dream means right around us: fallen down, rat-infested buildings not fit for the shelter of human beings. That's the real situation for the masses and growing numbers of people in this country. And even those that supposedly own their own home—the bank really owns it. Everybody knows that—miss a payment or two and see who owns it. That's the reality in this country. Pay three times what it's supposed to be worth, which is inflated to begin with, in interest to the bank.

But this worker in Chicago was saying, "They told me if I really worked hard and put my nose to the grindstone, I could get somewhere." He said, "I did, I worked hard, I worked overtime, I got me a Lincoln Continental. Now, of course, I can't afford the gas for it, but I got me a Lincoln Continental." "But," he said, "that's nothing but my slave chains. The only thing it does is keep me coming back here every day and slaving for them some more so they can pile up the riches and get ahead."

That's our real condition, and we know it. We're the proletariat. The proletariat is nothing but a word that means propertyless. It means, not that we don't own anything like clothes or toothbrushes, but that we don't own the means to make life; we're deprived of that and robbed of that. We don't own the factories and machines and the land they sit on. We don't own the shipyards and the ships. They are owned by people that have stolen them from us. We have worked to build them up, and they've taken them away, each of them scrambling to outdo the other and forcing us—whipping us like dogs, the assembly line going 40 cars, 50 cars, 60 cars, 100 cars sometimes, an hour at the Chevy Vega plant or where have you—whipping us to produce more and more until all of a sudden the parking lot is full of cars and nobody can afford to buy them, and they can't sell them overseas, or their plants overseas are in the same situation. So we find, as people found in Detroit a few years back when 200,000 were thrown out of work overnight, we find ourselves working ourselves right out of a job in this great land of opportunity.

Don't *tell* us about what this country is about; we know what it's about. We're the proletariat. They laugh, and they mock, and they say, "There is no proletariat in this country." And they put it mockingly in their little cartoons, "Workers of the World Unite, Proletarians Unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains." "How funny and silly," they say, "in the Land of Opportunity, America." Well, what do *you* think? Have we got anything to lose but our chains? What do we have but god-damned chains? Even the things, like that Lincoln Continental, that we work for and maybe get, are nothing but chains on us bringing us back, forcing us to work for this man again, to pile up more wealth. And that's all we do have—our chains. And go ahead and laugh, bourgeoisie, until we take those chains and rap them up upside your head, and then you won't laugh any longer.

We don't want anything to do with your so-called "Land of Opportunity" and "Greatest of all Countries." It stinks, it's filthy, it's rotten, it's decaying, and it's on its way to the dustbin of history, and that's where we're going to move it. Every day this system crushes and degrades more and more people. Every day, even among those who yesterday had a little bit, it ruins or threatens to ruin and pushes them down, making it more and more impossible for them to hang on to what they have. But on the other hand, making it more and more possible for those of us on whose backs this system rests, this system that makes Jaws look like a guppy, this system that crushes and degrades more and more people, makes it possible for us more and more to unite broader and broader ranks of people who are crushed down and degraded and begin to raise their head up as it's knocked over and over again by this system and say "There must be a better way, there must be a way out of this madness." Because this is a system that drives us half mad every day, just trying to survive and get by under it. A system that crushes and degrades and spits out people, chews them up worse than Jaws, like I said. But, then, as it does that more and more, it provides us more and more basis to ally with, to bring into the ranks of revolution and to unite against this enemy more and more people.

This system is doomed. Let's face it. Look at it from an historical standpoint. In every previous period in history, every previous form of society, when the people were suffering, when there was a crisis, when people went without, when they were hungry, when they were cold, when they couldn't keep body and soul together, why was it? Because there was scarcity of the things that people needed to live and to have warmth and health. Because there wasn't enough products that could be produced, with the instruments and tools that society had, to meet the needs of the people, and also, of course, because of the crushing and exploiting system. But still, even under those previous systems, when there was a hardship for the people, it could be attributed to the fact that the instruments and tools that society had as a whole were not yet enough to produce abundance for people.

And look at this capitalist system that they tell us is the highest pinnacle that mankind can achieve, the greatest form of society that has been and will be developed. Look at this capitalist system where people are hungry, cold, going without, more and more, can't keep body and soul together, and why? Because society can't produce enough? Because we don't have the instruments and tools to do that? Because there's too much scarcity? NO! Because there's too much abundance. Because our labor produces too many things, not for us, not for what the people need. They need housing, while you've got unemployed kids standing on the streets and the housing is falling around them; people need food that they can't afford; people need shoes for their kids that they can't buy this year; they need all these things, and why can't they have them? Because there's too much of them. Not too much for

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us, for what we need, but too much for them to be able to sell at a profit, so they'd rather destroy them than undermine their system and let us have even a few of those things.

That's the nature of an irrational, outdated system that once made some contribution to developing the things that people had in society but has long since passed the day that it can make any contribution. A system like that, that puts people through hardship and suffering while all around them is the wealth and the means to a good life that they have produced, staring them in the face and mocking them, a system like that is a doomed system. It's a system that has to be put into its grave, and yes, that's right, it will not die of its own accord, but must be killed by the revolutionary action of the masses of people.

This is what we're talking about. We're talking about revolution. We're talking about what this means and what it will accomplish. We're talking about taking up the gun—yes, the gun—to overthrow this capitalist blood-sucking system that has long since fallen into decadence and decay and is on its deathbed, and needs to be put out of its misery once and for all.

We were having a philosophical argument with some people one time out of the middle classes. They were telling us, "Oh, even the capitalists, you know, suffer from capitalism. Even they are degraded by this system. I agree with you, it's corrupt, but even they suffer from it. You should have some pity on them." We don't have no pity on people that are murdering us and brutalizing us every day! People that are holding back the forward march of history and can only play a positive role by standing in the way of some bullet. We've got no sympathy for them whatsoever.

And I've said this before, and I'll say it again, the stand of our Party is that we won't get into a philosophical argument, because it's not philosophy. We believe in philosophy, Marxist philosophy, revolutionary philosophy. And we've got to take up this theory. But feeling sorry for the capitalists is not philosophy, it's just bourgeois attempts to apologize for the system. And we can see it because we understand real philosophy, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought, so we can see what it is. So we'll give them a philosophical answer: If the bourgeoisie is miserable, we'll be glad to put them out of their misery!

So we're talking about what revolution means and what it is, and what it will do. We're talking about taking up arms and overthrowing capitalism, overthrowing the rule of these bloodsuckers that's enforced by those kind of pigs that are out there with their guns, who do what they do to us every day, and their army officers and others who are loyal enforcers of this degradation and oppression and exploitation. We're talking about sweeping that away and establishing the rule of the working class, building a new socialist system where we can take the things that we've built up with our hands and backs and minds and use them cooperatively to push society forward, meet the needs of the people and provide a future, while we go on to conquer nature and master the world and understand its laws and emancipate all of mankind.

In other words, as we move on to communism. Now these are two words that are supposed to be scary: socialism and communism. Communism, especially, is supposed to be scary. Socialism is the first and lower stage of communism, and it's a transition from capitalism to full communism, which will be a classless society. Socialism is a system that corresponds to the social way in which we work, which is together and cooperatively, not each person tinkering out a Ford or Lincoln Continental all by himself with his own little tools, but people working together cooperatively, people who maybe have never seen each other before but all contribute through their labor to the development of society, only to see it stolen and corrupted by the predatory beast of capitalism, in its imperialistic stage most of all. Socialism means bringing the ownership of those things and the running of society into correspondence with the social way that we carry out our life's activity and especially our labor, which is the foundation of any society, because if there ain't labor there ain't nothing.

And we're talking about moving on to complete communism, which just comes from a Latin word meaning "in common"—us, the common people, running society in common and in the common interest for the common good, and moving on in common to a whole new world. That's all it means, and it isn't a bit scary to us, but it's damn sure scary to them because they know it means the end of everything that they stand for and the end of everything that they thrive on and the end of their ability to suck the blood of the people, kick us in the face, ask us how we like it and then give us a sermon on Sunday about how we should wait for justice in the other world.

That's why they hate communism. Because it stands up in the face of all that and says there is another way. We don't want to live this way, we refuse to live this way, we don't have to live this way, and we will not live this way, we're going on to the future. And starting with socialism, once the working people come to power and take ownership of the means to live and develop things in a way that corresponds to how we live and carry out our life's activity and how we

work, we can solve these problems.

When you leave, look at this housing out here and think about it; old men drunk on wine, young kids shooting dope in their veins or sniffing something into their nostrils, all around them garbage piling up, things falling down. This is not an exception, this is the future under capitalism and the present for millions of people who hate this system. Under socialism, we'll deal with that problem. I'm telling you right now we're going to deal with it, and we can deal with it because we're going to sweep this capitalist god of profit out of the way and its rule out of the way. There's no reason why those kids can't be put to work and the old men can't be put to work, not only tearing down those slums and building decent housing for the people, but also learning the laws of society, taking up politics, lifting their heads and together with the rest of the people in this country and around the world, ruling, transforming and conquering the world and storming the heavens, and changing themselves in the process. There's no reason except for capitalism.

Because if we, the working class of people, ran this society, we would take the materials that we build in the steel mills and the cement factories, the plastic factories, and we'd bring it down here and put it together with those young people, with no profit to stand in our way, and we'd say: "Let's get to work, let's make this a decent place for people to live, and let's get the neighborhood committees together and run this place. Let's link up with our class of people and oppressed people around the world and use all the minerals, and use all the oil, and use all the materials that are there for the common good of the common people throughout the world, and move on to a whole new future."

That's exactly what we're going to do. That and all the other problems that are bred and feed on this capitalist system are going to be attacked and rooted out, and we can do it. There's no reason why we can't do it except capitalism stands in the way. You see, when we talk about taking up guns, when we're talking about waging armed struggle and making armed revolution, we're not talking about it just to shed blood. True, the taste of the enemy's blood is sweet to the oppressed whose blood has been spilled, and that's why our flag is red, but we're talking about understanding, political consciousness, knowing why we're fighting, not only where to aim the guns, but for what purpose—in order to sweep them out of the way to be able to do these things, in order to be able to do the things that people have only dreamed about, or maybe they've taken dope or gotten drunk to try to hide the reality because they didn't think they could do anything about these things, but we can. We can get united, we can make revolution.

That's the purpose of taking up guns. That's the purpose of waging armed struggle. That's the purpose of building a revolutionary war in this country of the masses of people, not a handful of people, no matter how heroic. As I say, we uphold and say "Right on" to Terrence Johnson, but we need a mass struggle, an armed struggle of politically conscious masses, millions of people to sweep the capitalists out of the way and attack these problems and root them out.

Things don't have to be this way, and they won't always be this way. No matter what they say. Won't there always be bigshots and people underneath them? Won't there always be a handful on the top and the rest on the bottom groaning under them, forced to carry them on their backs every day? No, there will not! Inevitably, sooner or later in the course of history and the development of society, this capitalist society which has only been around a couple of hundred years, and the division of society into exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed, that division which has only been around for a few thousand years, all this will be swept out of the way and there will dawn millions of years of advancing mankind, and a whole new system and a whole new society will be brought about.

But we have to bring it about—through our conscious struggle and our determined revolutionary actions. What kind of guarantee do we have that the Party won't turn revisionist or be taken over by revisionists (revisers of Marxism and revolution who pervert it to serve a narrow clique) like it was in China, that new bigshots won't arise even from within the ranks of the revolution and steal back what the people have shed their blood to win? What guarantee do we have of that? None. There's only one way to deal with that problem and to prevent that, and that's for the Party members as a whole and the masses of people to become conscious of their revolutionary interests, to grasp hold of this revolutionary science and this theory that shows us the way forward out of our misery and enables us to distinguish the interests of a handful of exploiters from the interests of the masses of people rising up to rid themselves and the whole world of exploitation and enables them to see beyond the appearance of things to their essence.

For example, you can't see germs, but you can catch them. And if you just go by what you can see with your naked eye, you're in trouble. You've gotta have a microscope. And you can't see stars way far away, but you can see them with a telescope. And we've gotta have a telescope and a microscope, and that's the revolutionary science of our class, the Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought we've been talking about, that enables us to see down to the essence of things and to the farthest and broadest horizons, and on that basis to distinguish the real from

the phony, the true from the false, the forward from the reactionary.

That's the only way to keep going forward and keep from being dragged back—that more and more people take up, become politically conscious and scientifically approach this question of revolution, and themselves through their own revolutionary actions, just as we rise up (and we will) to overthrow this system, continue to rise up and strike down and drag away out of the scene and out of the way and into the ground those who would try to take us back to the old way. Only the conscious struggle and the determined revolutionary action of the masses of people can overthrow this system, and that same struggle must continue, and only by continuing it can we prevent this society from being dragged back. But it is possible. If it is possible to overthrow them, it is also possible to go on and finally bury them and their system once and for all, despite what setbacks and what twists and turns there might be.

Many people say, "Well, maybe we'll have a revolution and it will be one group still on top but different faces. Maybe the United States of America will still ride over people's backs all over the world, but they'll just say it's a socialist America doing it. Like the Soviet Union does. Or maybe the whites will just stay on top and keep down the Blacks and the Mexicans, the Puerto Ricans and the Indians and so on, and say it's 'white socialism,' and that's better." NO! There are people out there like that. We've seen them, but we can study their nature, too, and we can learn about them, we can learn to recognize them, and we can learn to defeat them.

Because this revolution that we're talking about is different than any previous revolution in history. In all previous revolutions in history, because there still was scarcity and the means were not at hand to abolish all forms of suffering of the people and all forms of one group riding the backs of another, all previous revolutions were, in fact, only the replacement of one set of exploiters by another, and one system of oppression by another. But, we're on a whole different level of society and a whole new era now. We're at the stage where the means are at hand to build a whole new world—look around you and you can see them and what they can produce. You can see those tall buildings and the factories and the mines, that have been built out of the hands and the backs of the laboring people.

The means are at hand for a completely different kind of society and a completely different kind of revolution—one that sweeps away all exploiters and oppressors. Our revolution, the revolution of our class, the international working class or proletarian people, cannot succeed, cannot go forward and accomplish its ends by bringing to power a new set of exploiters. It can only go forward and accomplish its ends and carry out its mission, and our class can only free itself, if it smashes to smithereens and abolishes forever every form of inequality, every form of exploitation and oppression, every form of domination by one group or one country over another. That's the only way the interests of our class, the great majority of mankind representing the future of mankind, the only way our interests can be served.

How can we talk about having a revolution to establish communism—to abolish class distinctions, to do away with the difference between people who sit in offices and write orders and those who work in the factories and the shipyards and everywhere else, or in the armed forces, and have to carry them out—how can we talk about abolishing all those things and say but we still are going to have discrimination, we still are going to say men are better than women and deserve a better place in society, and a woman's place is under the domination of men? How can we say that whites should be over non-whites or Americans should be over other countries and talk about eliminating every form of exploitation and oppression? We cannot, we do not, we will not. That's not the revolution of the proletariat. The revolution of the proletariat is to go forward and eliminate every form of exploitation, every form of oppression, every form of inequality, and we will not stop until that great goal has been accomplished in the whole world!

But it's got to be the conscious struggle of the masses. It's got to be people who've seen the need for revolution stepping forward and working and fighting for revolution. Like the song we're going to sing later, *The Internationale*, the anthem of our class, the international proletariat says, "We want no condescending saviors." Ain't nobody going to come down out of heaven and change this shit for us, and Teddy Kennedy, decrepit old reactionary decadent secretary-drowning fool that he is, ain't gonna do it for us either. We're gonna have to do it for ourselves. And that's the only way it can be done anyway.

So revolution, communist revolution, is a struggle, an ongoing struggle to root out all the basis and all the soil that gives rise to these things and go on and continue to struggle, to learn about and to master and to transform the world. Some people say, "You can't do this. It may be a good idea, but it ain't possible. You're talking about dealing with a man that's got nuclear weapons like you said. He's got the Navy, the Army, he's even got the 'Village People' singing about the Navy. How are you going to deal with this man? He's got tanks, he's got airplanes, he's got everything. How are you going to deal with him?"

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Well, I'll tell you, he's got all that, but he got his ass whipped in Vietnam, didn't he? He's got all that, but he's got a bigger problem—the people that gotta wield those things. You see, planes don't fly themselves, and even if the pilots, those lieutenants and captains, want to stay with the Man, somebody's got to do maintenance on their planes and put fuel in them or they run out and crash into the ocean. And we can learn how to shoot the guns to bring them down, too. Because we can learn from Vietnam; some of those soldiers began to learn where was the only good place to turn the muzzle of that gun. Somebody's got to fly those planes, somebody's got to drive those tanks.

And look at Iran. The Shah started out with all that shit, too, didn't he? And where is he now? See. And even sections of the Army and the Air Force in Iran, the highly trained corps, even some of them (although there were the hard core reactionaries, and there still are, and they have to be crushed and broken up and replaced by a people's army) but the people rose up in arms.

People didn't have arms—and you see that's something else people say, "Where are you going to get the guns, where are you going to get your army?" I'll tell you where we're going to get our army. We're going to get our army from among the masses of people in this country, just like they did when they made revolution in Russia (before it was betrayed by Khrushchev and those fools) just like they did in China and just like they did in Iran. Nobody had guns; they were going out unarmed in Iran for weeks, and then all of a sudden you turned on your television. (And I know Gil Scott-Heron wrote a song saying that the revolution will not be televised; I think that's true, when it finally gets around to this country, but even a little bit of it in Iran was televised; alright, well we'll learn a few things then.) And all of a sudden overnight on your television you saw millions of people coming out holding guns. And now we saw, as was reported earlier in this rally, that they are marching through the streets in Iran on May Day refusing to relinquish those guns.

Where are we going to get our army from? Our army is going to come from the masses of politically educated and conscious people who are sick and tired and growing more and more sick and tired of this system. We're not giving exact timetables, we can't predict that, we're not fortune tellers, but we know where this system is going. We know it's going into deeper crisis. We know it's heading toward world war. And just as they did in Iran, people in this country will go from small outbreaks of resistance, like are already happening in this country, to more massive rebellions, to rebellions of one or two days, until more sustained political struggle develops, strikes of workers (like they did in Iran) turning into political strikes, until from thousands there will be millions in the streets, people learning and developing and coming into action in a very quick period, once the crisis comes to the boiling point. And after weeks and months of going out (as they did in Iran) unarmed, not yet convinced of the need or the possibility of rising up in arms, with the Party in their midst and revolutionaries working among them, they will come to see the need to rise up, take guns in hand and make the revolution and carry it through. That's where our army is going to come from.

Don't go looking around (I'm telling the pigs in the audience), don't go looking around trying to see where our army is. Don't look in dark corners, don't look under your bed, don't look in your closet. Look out here on the streets where the people are, that's where our army is. And some of your army is coming over to us. Oh, yes it is. Some of your army is coming over to us, and more and more as the thing sharpens up, and we're going to take the guns out of your hands and put them in the hands of the people.

That's where our guns are coming from. So don't look under our beds, don't come kicking down our doors, don't try to do all your nasty shit, because our guns are in your hands, and when we get ready, we'll take them!

They say, "Well, you don't know anything about warfare. You haven't been to West Point. How do you know how to beat these guys?" Listen, these fools up here, we've seen what they are politically and we know what they are militarily, and we can ask the people of Indochina how all their military doctrine worked out. You can ask the American soldiers who had to take the brunt of that shit how all of that sophisticated technology and so-called brilliant military doctrine worked out. Napoleon in his time was a great general, and he didn't develop into one at a fancy military academy. And even today, up in West Point, they have to study the experience and military leadership of a guy named Chief Joseph, who wasn't educated in all their ways but was a leader of the Indian people who ran these capitalist thieves and their cavalry around raggedy waging warfare against them for years and years.

Or Mao Tsetung. He taught us how to do it: "Learn how to make warfare by making warfare." Mao Tsetung studied the laws of warfare, but he wasn't a military expert in their eyes. Yet today they all have to say, "What a military genius. He's got to be a military genius because his troops kicked our ass from one end to the other." And reality is hard to deny, much as they want to deny it. Mao Tsetung, he was no

military expert, in their sense, but he kicked their ass.

We can learn about this universe, we can learn about this world, we can master politics, we can master economics and we can master the laws of warfare. And we've got one thing going that they never can and they never will, and that's that the people are going to support us. The people, not us by ourselves, are going to rise up, under the leadership of the Party, and make revolution. And the people, when the time comes, are going to give shelter and comfort to us and misinformation to them. They're going to look right up in your face and tell you, "He went that-a-way." So don't tell us that we can't learn warfare, because we're going to learn warfare by studying and by doing, like we learn everything else.

Some people question, "How are you going to run society?—how are we going to do that, the proletariat? We don't know about all of these things. We don't know about transporting goods from one place to another, and computers and planning and all." Well, we can learn it. They tell us that we don't know, but we can learn it. Hell, we had an article in our weekly paper, the *Revolutionary Worker* (and in the monthly magazine of our Party, *Revolution*) about Einstein. Now the bourgeoisie says there are only 13 people in the world that can understand Einstein's theories, and he wasn't one of them. See, they try to make it mysterious, and all this science and other things are things they say we're too dumb to understand. We ran an article on Einstein, and we not only understood and evaluated his contributions, we also pointed out what his mistakes and errors were, because we have Marxism and Marxism can enable us to comprehend everything if we study it and learn its laws.

And that's what we're going to do. We can not only write articles about Einstein, we can learn all these things and master all these things, including warfare and including rebuilding, and more than that transforming, the country and running it in the interests of the people. And we will do it. These winos out here that they have turned into the miserable people that they are—you may say, "Don't tell me those winos are going to be sitting up discussing and debating how to run this society and how to transport steel down here to run this economy." You don't believe it? Wait and see. Because we know we can master all this and we will master all this. Many great inventions and discoveries throughout the history of the world have been made from among the ranks of the laboring people and the enslaved classes down through the ages. And how much more will we be able to do once we've freed ourselves up from this exploitation and enslavement and degradation and a system that does its damndest to keep us ignorant and down in a hole and unable to see anything. How much more will the laboring classes and the people that are enslaved be able to contribute to the running of society and the development of mankind once we've freed ourselves from these modern-day slave chains.

And as for the intellectuals, many of them are our friends today and more will be as this system slaps them in the face and crushes them down. They'll have their vacillating tendencies, we know that. But they work today, and they are forced to work today, for the capitalists, and they'll work that much better for us in the future when we have control of society in our hands, and when we're mastering the laws and we can tell them, "Uh-uh. I don't care what it says on the computer, the masses of people and Marxism combined tell us to do it this way, and the computer has got to obey the command of Marxism and the masses armed with Marxism." The intellectuals will learn to work for us until the time when we've overcome the difference between intellectuals and manual workers, and everybody in society can both work with their hands and master computers and physics and all that other stuff that we can master, and until there's no longer any basis for people to turn knowledge into private property, into a way of capitalizing on it and dominating others.

This is where we're going. We can learn these things. We have a Party to lead us. But we can't sit back and say, "Let the Party do the thinking. That's too hard; it gives me a headache." No, we've got to take up this science, become conscious, and ourselves get into the ranks of the revolution in a conscious way. More and more people must step forward to do this.

Some people say, "Well, how are you going to do this? This all sounds good. I can agree with you, man, this system is no god-damned good. I don't want to live another day under it. It drives me, if not completely mad, half mad, all the time. I don't want to live under it any longer, any more, but how are you going to do this? How are you going to get the people organized? How are you going to get the people united? How are you going to overcome these petty divisions and differences that the enemy sows in our ranks? How are you going to get the people to see where the enemy is and sustain the struggle necessary to make revolution?" Now we know we've been talking about how our first great task, and in that sense our central task and the highest form of our struggle, has got to be to rise up in arms and make revolution. And we've talked about where the army is going to come from, and we've talked about where the guns are going to come from. But we've also mentioned and stressed (and we must come back to it and stress again) the fact that we cannot do this through a little coup. We don't sit in the palace, so we can't make a palace coup. And even if we could, it wouldn't be nothing but another group of exploiters replacing another like goes

on, for example, in Latin America. Then, of course, they hold that up and say, "See, that's your revolution. A bunch of clowns change places every few years."

But in Latin America and other parts of the world there is a real revolution—people rising up in the streets and the factories and the farmlands throughout the country rising up to make revolution, and that's what we've got to do. We've got to organize and bring to bear the force of millions of people on this situation. We cannot overthrow this system and build a whole new and higher form of society without the conscious action and the dedicated determination of millions and millions of people.

Some people say, "Right, and that's why it will never happen. You'll never get that many people. You can't get people united like that." Yes, we can. And we have to understand one thing: That no matter what mistakes we might make, no matter in what ways the system might keep us ignorant for a time, no matter how much it casts us into a hole and tries to keep us ignorant, no matter how much it succeeds in the short run in dividing us, there is one great force out there working to unite the people every day, and it's not the force of god in heaven, and it's not the "force that will be with you," it's the force of this system itself, crushing and degrading people, banging them on the head (like somebody told me, this system is a great teacher, and if you don't learn the first time, they'll be glad to teach you a second time, a third time, a fourth time and so on until you learn).

If you bang a man on the head long enough, he's going to look up and try to figure out what's going on. He's going to try to search out answers to why is this happening and what's it part of, and what the hell is going on? And that's what this system does and has to do to people, more and more. And especially now, with its inflation, its growing unemployment, its bloated credit and all these other ways that they mumbo-jumbo about but come down to the fact that this system is falling in crisis and they're scrambling to try to keep it together and can't do it. They're like a juggler that's losing his grip, they might throw one or two more up, but each time it's clearer and clearer that the whole thing is going to come crashing down. And along with that their solution to the incurable evils and sickness of this system is to go to war. This is already jolting more and more people awake, just as on a small scale this nuclear accident (or "near accident" or "disaster" as they call it) did in Pennsylvania.

This system is working by its very laws every day to wake people up, laying the basis for them to understand the nature of the beast that's preying on them. But we have work to do. The Party and those who want revolution and those who are dedicated to revolution have to go out exposing this system, ripping away the mask off its ugly face, exposing it for all to see its real nature, showing its octopus-like tentacles, crushing and squeezing the life out of people in all parts of this country and throughout the world, and show how it's all linked to that one nerve center, that one profit-driven, profit-grabbing, profit-thirsting system of capitalism and its laws.

This is what we have to do. We know that this country and the rulers of this country emerged after WW 2 in a powerful position. Hell, they sat back and let the people in the Soviet Union and the people in China, and people in other countries, get killed by the tens of millions, and then they stepped in, opened a second front when the war was less than a year from being over and reached in and grabbed everything in the world they could. Everywhere that England couldn't hold its colonies, everywhere that France couldn't hold its colonies, everywhere that Germany couldn't hold on to its colonies, or Belgium, in came the U.S. to grab it up and declare it was bringing freedom to the people.

And we've seen a mighty storm of revolution throughout the world—a storm that began with the words "Yankee, Go Home" and resounded brilliantly with the staccato of guns and armed struggle in various parts of the world to drive the Yankee out. And this top-of-the-heap position that our rulers have had is crumbling, due to the struggle of the people of the world and due to the nature of its own system—that they can never have enough and they have to keep piling more and more on this unstable and long since rotted foundation—and that's why the whole thing is threatening to come down and will come down. All this is undermining their position in the world. This is why they are screaming bloody murder and why *Business Week* is crying crocodile tears—it has a gleaming tear running down the face of the Statue of Liberty, that ugly, hag, reactionary bitch, with her message from the rulers of America, "Send Me Your Huddled Masses..."—send me all those live warm bodies that I can chew up and spit out and make more money from. And they've got a tear coming down her cheek, talking about the "decline of American power." They aren't talking about you and me, because we've got no power. They're talking about them, and that's all right. Let their power decline more and more and more until we strike it down once and for all.

So this is what's bringing people more and more to question this system. Already their rotten decay and the crushing degradation of this system all around us has produced millions of people who hate it to their guts and who burn with a rage at it—a cold rage in their hearts every day that we see and feel every day, a

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Bob Avakian

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rage that will burn white hot and explode as this crisis and decline and the decay of this system come to the boiling point, as their reactionary nature, their predatory beast character becomes more and more clear and as they more and more openly talk about the things that they will try to do to save this long since dying system. The things that they will do, like crushing the people under their heel if possible, and sending people off to war, and even (as I said) incinerating tens or hundreds of millions of people.

So this is going to bring first thousands and then millions of people into motion against this system, in the years ahead, in the storms and upheavals that will gather. But there must be leadership. People say, "Hey, man, I can dig it but you need leadership. You can't go out and make revolution without leadership." That's right. That's one of the lessons we've learned. That's the lesson that was spoken about in that statement of solidarity from the Union of Iranian Communists read here today—we've got to have leadership, and not just any old kind of leadership. We've got to have the leadership of the working class. We've got to have the leadership of the class that has the ability to grasp the potential to remake this society and to use the things that labor has built up to transform it in the interests of the people. We have to have a Party based on the science that we've been talking about, representing the outlook and higher interests of that class.

And we have such a Party! It's a Party that was born in struggle, forged in the fiery years of upheaval

of the '60s and into the '70s. This Party has continued to carry forward the revolutionary banner going ahead into the '80s. It's the Revolutionary Communist Party. We have a leadership. We have a leadership that can unite the broad masses of people, that can make clear to them their real interests, that can help them see beyond the narrow and petty divisions and obstacles that are put in their way by the system and the things that are drummed into their brains to get them to shoot themselves up with dope or get themselves shot up in a war to preserve this system of capitalism. We've got a Party that can go out and bring about and organize the uprising of the people. We've got a Party that can bring to people the consciousness of the revolutionary mission of our class, the international proletariat.

We can see that potential of the working class. We can see it today in a certain negative way. Because, while people are angry, while there's unrest, while millions of people hate this system, while millions more have questions, as yet the basic backbone of this society, the working people in the plants and the mills and the mines and so on, have not yet moved in a decisive political way and have not become politically consciousness of the need to rise up, to place their millions-strong force at the head of the revolutionary masses and to carry the struggle forward to revolution. But that day will come. It will come because of the ripening of the situation that we've talked about, and it will come through the conscious, never-ceasing, untiring work of the Party and all revolutionary-minded people carrying the Party's line into the depths of every factory and into the mines and into everybody's home, into these housing projects, until the flames

begin to burn into a very bright fire.

And we can see the potential for this also in the recent experience in Iran (as has been pointed out here today), where the working class was not the first force to move, was not that part of society that went into motion the earliest or most quickly took up the banner of all-out struggle against the Shah, but was the force which, when it did become conscious and get more leadership and begin to move in a class-conscious way, moved in millions-strong from the oil fields to the factories and begin to put its imprint, began to put its stamp, on the revolutionary struggle and to transform it into a still more powerful struggle (although it is yet to be realized in its full potential).

So we can see that in this country, much as they talk about how the workers are satisfied, are we satisfied? Hell, no! Is the proletariat satisfied to live under this exploitation and oppression? Do we love the way that they force us to live and work and be treated like a dog? Oh, there might be a few fools who are getting a few crumbs off the table, maybe they even get to sit down once in a while at the master's table and have a meal (while he's eating steak, maybe they can have a few beans.) There's a few fools sitting in union office, a few fools making money hand over fist, there's a few fools out there like that, but they are not the working class. But we'll say to you, bourgeoisie, keep on thinking that's your working class, keep on thinking that's the proletariat, keep on thinking that's the way the masses of people feel, until one day you wake up and your windows are rattling and your house is burning down!

(To be concluded next week).

"It Will Make a Difference . . ."

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Well this is true, because the greedy is the capitalist, and this is all we are doing is benefitting their pocket, benefitting them, and when we can't benefit them anymore, well then we are put out. Then we have this tune by Gil Scott-Heron. (This brother recorded his tape with the new album 1980 by Gil Scott-Heron and Brian Jackson playing in the background—RW.) Songs like this, these are songs that have a meaning, these are songs that know what time it is. Whenever I am out there on the street, I can see it. I went to Detroit for this past week, I was there for one week. And while I was down there, I have seen the conditions that the people was living under. I see the conditions that big business has brought there, what the government has done to them. Chrysler Corp., even though they have borrowed six billion dollars they are about to go out of business. Dodge Main has already closed down and now they are talking about putting out 7500 building trades people because the prime-rate interest is so high that people can't afford to buy homes anymore, so they can't build no homes. . .

There is one thing I can say and that is this: I hate to see people living in bad conditions and I hate to see people lose their jobs, but if losing our jobs will bring us together to overthrow this form of a system then I thank the capitalist pig for doing this because he is going to bring us together. 'Cause some of us might not be together out there now, but we will all be together fighting for the same cause, to overthrow the capitalist system and to form a government that will benefit the people, benefit the masses as a whole. Now to me myself, I am going to try to make May Day the biggest event that I can make it. Even this alone, one day will make a difference, it will make a difference to this capitalist system and it will show them that we will not tolerate any longer being used and abused. We will not go over there in Iran and fight their war, I have fought one and it was an unjust one. And I will not pick my gun up to war another group of people that are trying to eliminate the capitalist system themselves. I will join that group and fight this system. And this is what I feel that as a whole we should all do.

This System Is Doomed Let's Finish It Off!

Speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party at May Day rally, May 5, 1979 in Washington D.C. Includes historic call for revolutionary May Day demonstrations on May 1st, 1980.

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Next week: *The Kennedys and Joe McCarthy and the JFK presidency and Civil Rights Movement.*

Footnotes

1. V.I. Lenin, *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, p. 118.
2. See Joshua Muravchik, "Kennedy's Foreign Policy: What the Record Shows," *Commentary*, December, 1979, pp. 31-42.
3. Michael Coakly, *Chicago Tribune*, December 9, 1979.
4. Kennedy speech in Iowa, December, 1979.
5. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, Ballantine Books, N.Y., 1978, p. xiii.
6. John Gregory Dunne, "On the Matter of Chappaquiddick," *New West*, Dec. 3, 1979, p. 49.
7. Lenin, *Imperialism*, p. 132.
8. *Triumph and Tragedy, The Story of the Kennedys*, by the writers, photographers and editors of the Associated Press, William Morrow, 1968, p. 43.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
10. Richard J. Whalen, *Founding Father*, New American Library, 1964, p. 248.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 249.
12. *Triumph and Tragedy*, p. 125.

Kennedy

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become, in the depths of the Depression, the hated symbol of capitalism to millions of people.

The senior Kennedy's next advancement in politics and prestige came when FDR appointed him ambassador to Britain in 1937. Here he became most noted for his wholehearted endorsement of British attempts to turn Hitler towards an attack on the Soviet Union. Unfortunately for Kennedy's career, he clung to this strategy too long after it had been countered by Stalin in the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. He had strongly identified with and supported the efforts of Neville Chamberlain to find some common ground with Hitler. "It has long been a theory of mine," Kennedy said at a speech to the British Navy League, "that it is unproductive for both the democratic and dictator countries to widen the division now existing between them by emphasizing the differences, which are now self-apparent. Instead of hammering away at what are regarded as irreconcilables, they could advantageously bend their energies toward solving their common problems by an attempt to re-establish good relations on a world basis."¹⁰ Son John F. Kennedy, who had just returned to finish his undergraduate courses at Harvard, wrote his father approvingly about the speech: "While it seemed to be unpopular with the Jews

etc. was considered to be very good by everyone who wasn't bitterly anti-fascist."¹¹ When Germany invaded Poland and England was forced to declare war, Kennedy phoned Roosevelt, emotionally overwrought. "It's the end of the world, the end of everything," he repeated over and over. Perhaps it was out of some sympathy for Hitler's ruthless efficiency in guaranteeing the fortunes of the German bourgeoisie "under law and order," but for whatever reason, Kennedy continued association with the "pacifists" in the British ruling circles (who for the most part were Nazi sympathizers), arguing that FDR should keep the U.S. out of the war. At one point he proposed that the President act as intermediary to halt the war.

Out of favor with Roosevelt because he failed to see where U.S. strategic interest lay, Kennedy retired to private life before the 1940 elections, his public career at an end. His service in Britain was given one more accolade by his son Jack, however. Kennedy's senior thesis at Harvard, "Appeasement at Munich," was a defense of Chamberlain's negotiations at Munich and his father's position. Chamberlain had no other choice but to conciliate with Hitler, JFK argued, because England was not prepared for war. The elder Kennedy thought so much of the book that he got journalist Arthur Krock to polish it up, *Time* magazine publisher Henry Luce to write an introduction, and had it published under the title of *Why England Slept?* The

book was a mild best seller, over 80,000 copies sold in the U.S. and Britain, and established for young Kennedy something of a reputation of his own.

Although his official career in politics was now terminated, Joe Kennedy was yet to make his greatest contributions to U.S. imperialism. When Joe Jr., by all accounts a real comer, was killed in a bombing raid over the English Channel in 1944, the Kennedy patriarch decreed that the next son, John, pick up the baton. Bushels of Kennedy money and organizational help from Joe's professional political pals sent JFK to Congress in 1947. Six years later he defeated the Boston blue blood Henry Cabot Lodge for a Senate seat. An incident from that 1952 campaign indicates the harmonious relationship between John Kennedy's evolving style and his old man's bank accounts. While the younger Kennedy worked the Irish and Italian working class neighborhoods of Boston for votes and blitzed the outlying towns with a well oiled army of campaigners, old Joe took care of some of the opposition's heavier guns. After the election it came out that the owner of the conservative Republican Boston *Post* had switched its support from Lodge to John Kennedy shortly after Joe had lent him half a million dollars.¹² Such is the cash nexus to which capitalism reduces every sphere of society—most especially bourgeois politics.

Opportunists

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"communists." May Day activists, the line goes, are isolated from the masses of people and have "substituted the revolutionary consciousness of communists for consistent mass work," as *The Guardian* recently put it. According to *The Call*, "to the RCP leaders, the masses of Americans are beyond hope. Acting out of their own despair to organize the U.S. working class, the RCP has resorted to isolated acts, with the leaders using the rank and file supporters as cannon fodder," etc., etc.

For anyone who knows what the CPML wants to "organize the U.S. working class" to do in the coming war, *The Call's* new definition of the term "cannon fodder" is particularly hilarious. But beyond this, *The Call*, *The Guardian*, et. al., have revealed something more. While attacks on revolution in general from these and other groups are nothing new, what is new is the inadvertent concession to revolutionary May Day contained especially within the lightweight diatribes of both *The Call* and *The Guardian*. For instance, the *Call* article concludes:

"The topper to all this madness should be May 1, when the RCP will try to divert attention from the May Day

programs going on around the country by staging their own 'general strike'." A thousand comedians out of work and the CPML is cracking jokes. It has apparently escaped the brains of *The Call's* editors that in order for attention to be diverted from the "May Day programs going on around the country" (presumably a euphemism for the presently unannounced CPML May 1st events), attention must first be called to such events. In any case, *The Call's* reference to a "general strike" reminds us of something Lenin once noted. He pointed out that attributing an obviously stupid argument to one's opponent is a method used by none to clever people—and none to Marxist either. Such a shoe easily fits on the foot of the CPML, but nevertheless, this "general strike" remark reveals a clue for us.

Anyone who bothers to read anything the RCP has said about May Day 1980 knows that the point of this historic occasion is to rally an advanced section of the working class under an openly revolutionary banner. We have said time and again that thousands, not millions, but thousands of workers will be out on May Day and that this will have a decisive impact on the political complexion and the class struggle of this country. May Day is not intended to be a "general strike," and the CPML knows it. And since we can safely assume that the contradiction lies not in the CPML mastery of basic arithmetic,

it is clear that they have invented this "general strike" business for a reason.

First of all, it is a rather transparent attempt to set up a straw dog. On May 2nd, when no such "general strike" has materialized, it's not hard to imagine what the *Call* will print. But more importantly, that the CPML would raise such a ridiculous point, indicates that its opportunist weather vane is in good working condition. Despite protestations to the opposite, the CPML is well aware—in fact gravely concerned—exactly that Revolutionary May Day is having a profound impact on many workers—some of whom have undoubtedly laid into CPML members on the question—and more, that May Day is having a heavy impact throughout society in general.

Not to be outdone, *The Guardian* makes a similar concession: "In some cases, workers respond positively to the RCP actions. But in the absence of previous educational work, in most cases, they do not." While we hope to god that this is not a signal of the *Guardian* staff's intention to launch a campaign to "educate" the workers with the economist and reformist drivel of their "radical newsweekly", something we wouldn't even wish on the backward, this comment indicates that *The Guardian* too has been forced to admit that May Day has already had a significant impact.

The word is out, and increasing

numbers of revolutionary-minded and progressive people, individuals and organizations which *The Guardian* attempts to influence, have already indicated their support for May Day. *The Guardian* knows that even among its own readers, there are many people who "hate this shit" and are refusing to be dragged backward, but instead have, or will, cast their lot with the working class and its Party, possibly beginning on May 1st, 1980. And for those who wish to squeeze into the vanishing niche with *The Guardian*, a practical alternative has been offered—such people can attend the recently announced May Day cocktail party sponsored by the *Guardian* staff. If *The Guardian's* advertising is truthful, attendance at this event includes the chance to shake hands with *Guardian* staff members—but at least the sponsors have had the foresight to recognize the rather dubious nature of such a privilege, and have thus also advertised an open bar beginning at 6:00 p.m.

The CPML, *The Guardian* and others have thrown a pebble at May Day in the pages of their newspapers. And like the regular bourgeois press, what lies behind their rantings—however pathetic—is not the failure of May Day 1980, but its already realized successes and more, its revolutionary potential. □

Iran

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Carter." Well, this "nation of zealots"—that is, millions upon millions of politically aroused people who are determined to uproot imperialism, especially the American variety, from their country for good—do seem to understand a bit about imperialist "statecraft" after all....

In the White House and the marble halls of Congress, the gloom was over more than just Iran. They were worried about the future of their whole worldwide empire and their ability in the years ahead to defend and expand the "free world" (as they love to call the countries that are the preserves of the Western imperialists). Over the last month, their hopes of resolving the "hostage crisis" with the aid of pro-U.S. members of the Iranian government like Bani-Sadr and Ghotbzadeh have met with failure due to the uncompromising stand of the Iranian masses. When their attempts to make a deal that would leave the Shah resting comfortably under U.S. protection in Egypt failed, the U.S. pulled out a double-barreled shotgun, aimed at both Iran and their own allies.

Over the last week, their efforts were mainly concentrated on leaning on their allies in Western Europe and Japan, on getting them to back up the U.S.'s economic sanctions against Iran. On top of this, the U.S. made a new call for them to step up their military spending; new pressures were exerted to get them to go along with the U.S.-led boycott of the Summer Olympics in Moscow; and a new and serious round of U.S.-orchestrated negotiations between Israel and Egypt, aimed at shoring up that shaky alliance, were in progress. From all this it is clear that the events unfolding in Iran and elsewhere in the world today can only be understood in the light of how they mainly fit into the overall preparations for the approaching showdown, between the equally imperialist rivals in the U.S. and the Soviet Union—not as isolated incidents in and of themselves.

The Chancellor of West Germany, Helmut Schmidt, compared the present international situation to that in 1914, when the assassination of an Austrian prince triggered a world war between rival imperialist blocs. And none other than that never-say-die champion of imperialism and reaction, Richard M. Nixon, claimed that the U.S. was "already" involved in World War 3 in his newly published book, *The Real War*.

Whipping U.S. Allies Into Line

And what do these international thieves place at the top of their list in preparing for war? At this point, tightening up the bloc of imperialist and

reactionary countries led by the U.S. and drumming up public opinion in these countries to "defend" the bloc's interests militarily. *Business Week* made no bones about how the bourgeoisie views the situation today, and while referring to Afghanistan, the points made here clearly apply to any "trouble spot" for the U.S. in the world: "There is a lull before the storm in the U.S.-Soviet confrontation over Afghanistan... Washington's strategy is much less neat (than the Soviets'). In fact President Carter faces the possible collapse of his basic initiatives in answering Russian aggression if they do not fall into place soon. There is an even grimmer threat; a failure to achieve an effective strategy could harm the Atlantic alliance.... The Soviet moves into Afghanistan and the initiatives already taken by Carter have put powerful forces into motion. It is unlikely that the two superpowers can go back to their earlier relationship of detente."

The response of the allies to the U.S. call to back up their trade embargo and reduce their diplomatic staffs in Tehran has been disappointing to their big brother imperialists. Some commentators have described the situation as "a crisis... the gulf that is open between the U.S. and its principal allies over the best way to deal with the turmoil in the Middle East." All the U.S. allies initially did was simply recall their ambassadors from Tehran for "consultation."

While issuing statements of general agreement with the U.S. position, Japan (which imports 10% of its oil from Iran and did \$6.9 billion in trade with Iran last year) and most of the Western European countries, particularly France (which itself is hoping to swing some big economic deals with the Iranian government) are complaining that removing Western presence and escalating pressure on Iran could only push it closer to the Soviet Union; and that overall, the U.S. measures would do little to resolve the crisis, but would send new jolts through their economies. But the U.S. bourgeoisie's response was typical of their "broader" outlook. "Look, you fools," you could almost hear them saying, "the whole world is up for grabs, not just Iran. And if you're worried about losing 10% of your oil that comes from Iran, why don't you worry instead about what happens if the U.S. military machine, which protects your worldwide investments, can no longer do so, or—horror of horrors—if we lose these areas to the Russians? And besides," they add, "if you don't fall into line now, we will cut off your oil with a naval blockade anyway."

To drive the point home, the U.S. unveiled a plan that called for the allies to increase their military spending by at least 3% a year; to stockpile enough

weaponry to fight a 30-day conventional war with the Soviet Union; to plan to call up reserves to replace U.S. soldiers in Europe who might be called to fight in the Middle East; to use Western European commercial aircraft to ferry American troops to the Middle East; and to expand their naval forces to reinforce the thinly stretched U.S. navy.

Overall, the imperialist rulers of the Western European countries and Japan do benefit from the division of spheres of influence in the world that was the result of the U.S.'s emergence as top-dog imperialist power after World War 2, and are fundamentally dependent on the military protection of U.S. imperialism. It is within this framework that these lesser powers pursue their own independent imperialist aims. They also are forced to deal with the sentiments of the masses of people in their countries that are increasingly opposed to imperialist war preparations. This makes it necessary for the governments of these countries to at least make a show of opposition to recent U.S. moves. But the fact that these countries are basically dependent on the U.S. provides the basis for the U.S. imperialists, despite temporary difficulties and conflicts, to pull these countries more tightly into its bloc, and it is this which is increasingly shaping events.

Last week, the U.S. Olympic Committee, with no less than Vice President Mondale in attendance, voted to support the call for a boycott of the Moscow Summer Olympics. Soon thereafter, the governments of Japan and West Germany announced that they too would ask the Olympic Committees in their countries to follow suit. And after the U.S. announced a mid-May deadline for positive action from Iran, after which it would face a naval blockade, West Germany announced that it was preparing to follow the U.S. lead and invoke trade sanctions, and would ask the other Western European countries to do the same at the Common Market meeting scheduled for April 21.

Wrightsville

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poison, joining in or at least not opposing the actions of the Sheriff and his thugs. The town is sharply divided between white and Black.

But the racist neanderthals dared not make a move on the march. The people had come prepared and the reactionaries were well aware of it. There are great storms gathering for the '80s across this country, even already reaching into remote corners like Wrightsville, Ga. "Wednesday night was beautiful," a young man proudly

recalled. In the barricades built across unpaved streets can be seen the dim outlines of the rebellions that will rock this country to its rotten foundation in the coming decade and the opportunity we may have to blast this decaying monster into history's trashbin. And even in this tiny rural town, agitation building for a major battle on the road to this—Revolutionary May Day 1980 is being carried out. May Day Buttons and Red Flags dotted the Saturday march in the town and afterwards a number of people gathered in a local bar to hear a tape of Bob Avakian's speech delivered on May Day last year, occasionally breaking in to cheers. □