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Real Bourgeois Equality Bared

ABORTIONS FOR POOR STOPPED

When the U.S. Supreme Court handed down their reactionary ruling against the Hyde Amendment, they dished out a little taste of what they have in store for the masses of women in the 1980s—further degradation and oppression—and gave a little object lesson in the class content of the so-called "equality" for women that the bourgeoisie is touting so highly in the recent moves to draft women into the armed forces. The Hyde Amendment states that no federal funds will be used to fund abortions "except where the life of the mother would be endangered if the fetus were carried to term; or except for such medical procedures necessary for the victims of rape or incest reported promptly to a law enforcement agency or public health service;" and as a result of the court ruling reinstating this amendment, federal funds will be cut off for abortions, affecting between 250,000 and all existing records for bourgeois hypocrisy. Justice Potter Stewart stated that the Hyde Amendment represented "the government's legitimate interests in protecting the potential life of the fetus." And even before the ink was dry on the legal documents, the mouthpieces for the reactionary social base for the Amendment was designed to lick the infamous "right-to-lifers"—were hailing the decision and calling for more, including a constitutional amendment to push for a prohibition on all abortions. Typical of the creeps thrown out by these comments was a statement from Cardinal Cooke of the Catholic Archdiocese of New York: "I am grateful that millions of Americans who oppose the abortions, and whose hard-earned tax monies contribute to Medi-aid, will no longer have to pay for the destruction of human life, and their generous expenditures to the interest of preserving human life in such humanitarian projects as the neutron bomb, Three Mile Island, Love Canal, and massive forced sterilization programs like the one that has resulted in over 1/3 of the women in the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico being sterilized. It is well documented, and except to point out in passing that the Nazi concentration camp experiments really couldn't hold a candle to the atrocities committed by the U.S. imperialists in the name of preserving human life, we won't dwell on the point. In its wisdom the "highest moral authority" of the land has simply doled out a piece of bourgeois morality, and "established incentives that make childbirth a more attractive alternative than abortion for persons eligible for Medicaid," in other words: you lower class women stay in your place, as the old saying has it, barefoot, pregnant and chained to your stove (if you can afford the

(Continued on page 14)

CRISIS IN REVISIONIST SATELLITES

This is the second of two articles on the economic crisis in the revisionist satellites of the Soviet Union. The first article (RW No. 59) examined the results of 20 years of the Castro regime in Cuba.

Part 2—Vietnam

Vietnam. The name was once a battle cry rallying millions of revolutionary-minded people, inspiring colonial and oppressed people everywhere. The image of this heroic people who dealt a stunning defeat to the most powerful imperialist power in the world was burned into the hearts and sparked the imagination of those fighting for freedom everywhere.

Vietnam today stands as a cruel and sick mockery of that once proud pic-

ture. The country is wracked by severe economic crisis. Vietnam's powerful army, built in the course of 30 years of anti-imperialist struggle against France and the U.S., is now an army of occupation, plundering its way across neighboring Kampuchea, poking into Thailand in an effort to crush the still strong resistance of the Khmer Rouge. Tens of thousands of Vietnamese troops are stationed along the country's northern border against further

A Strange Nazi-Pig Tale

In a fantasy with all the markings of COINTELPRO-police plotting, the Nazis (Harold Covington/CIA brand) have recently made loud public charges that the Revolutionary Communist Party was planning to carry out a mass armed assault on a Nazi-Klan motorcade last April 19 in North Carolina. Although this little fiction of theirs had the immediate virtue of providing them an excuse for canceling the motorcade and a story to explain why only 50 or so supporters attended a major national rally of theirs to "honor" the 14 Klan and Nazi hit-men who murdered 5 people at an anti-Klan rally in Greensboro last November, much more is involved here than this. It is another government effort to point some of their trained dogs squarely at the Party and to create some public opinion so that "the communists themselves are to blame" for every form of government attack against the Party, up to and including murder.

It is hard to tell what stands out as more ridiculous and reactionary in this episode—the little-Hitler goosestepping and cross-burning that marked the rally "honoring" these murdering dogs or the screeching ravings of Harold Covington as he spun his fantasies about "armed attack." The front page of the May-June issue of the Nazi paper "New Order"—right below a picture featuring appropriately intermingled Klan, Nazi and American flags—spells out the pig-tale.

"The occasion was a White Power rally in rural Johnston County, N.C., some 30 miles outside Raleigh. Originally a parade down Hillsborough Street in Raleigh had been scheduled to show support for the defendants, but information from the Party Security Division indicated that members of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP)

were planning an armed attack on the motorcade." Then Covington is quoted, adding some reactionary pathos to the concoction: "It was simply a no-win situation. Had we obeyed the law and gone on the motorcade unarmed, we would have been simply setting ourselves up like clay pigeons to be shot down... I got together with Grand Dragon Pierce and Mr. Poole (National States' Rights Party leader) and in the end we agreed there was nothing we could do except by chance. "... Taking a risk is one thing," Covington is quoted as saying. "But a dead certainty is another." With the information I had before me, I simply could not make the decision to lead unarmed men and women straight into a massacre... While we suffered a certain unavoidable loss of face, we leaders would far rather have egg on our faces than the blood of our people on the street, shot down by the Reds without the opportunity to strike a single blow to defend themselves."

On the surface of it, this is a self-serving little ploy by the Nazis, both to excuse their low turnout (Covington claimed later in a Greensboro paper on April 20, that "rumors of violence with an armed communist group" had caused low attendance. Of course, Covington himself had been the one quoted spreading these rumors in the paper two weeks earlier).

The hand of the police in all this is obvious enough. First of all there is the Nazi "Security Division" which Covington credits with the "discovery" of this non-existent plot. And in a feature article on these undercover Nazis in the same issue of the paper, the Nazis brag about how the just listed duty of this squad is co-operating with local police departments in keeping track of "various Communist groups." Seems

that they may have been more than a little co-operation in fabricating this tale about the RCP. In this article the Nazis claim they cooperate "only rarely" with state police and only once have worked with the feds. Perhaps that "once" was when they selected Harold CIA Covington—who brags about his international service to reaction from Asia to Africa. And Harold himself may be the real police connection here—bypassing all the little-league local cop stuff.

All these stories were given wide publicity by the North Carolina press, who spread accounts of Covington's charges to a wide audience, mentioning the "plot" and—in at least one case—the RCP. All this publicity, a continuation of past help given the Nazis and Klan, is just one symptom of the type of support Covington is given by the bourgeoisie—support which helped him get 46% of the Republican vote (56,000) in a recent primary race for State Attorney General.

There can be no doubt that this strange story has its purpose. One such potential purpose became clear when, a few weeks later, the Klan had a rally in support of these same hit men which was supposedly "fired at." Police first announced they were dropping the investigation of this "shooting"; now they have announced they are "opening the case again."

But we are not naive enough to limit the potential use of these lies to just this

"investigation." When the Nazis spin their tales, the power looms of the bourgeoisie can be heard in the background. □

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Revolutionary Worker

Trial of Four to Begin

Mao Tsetung Indicted By Chinese Revisionists

On June 21, Hu Yao-pang, Chinese "Communist" Party's General Secretary and chief revisionist Teng Hsiao-ping's right-hand man, gave an interview to reporters from the Yugoslavian News Agency in which he revealed that the Chinese revisionists are shifting to a new, higher gear in their attack on Mao Tsetung and his revolutionary line. First, he announced that the so-called "gang of four"—close comrades of Mao who were arrested at the time of the 1976 revisionist coup—will be tried in a closed trial by China's highest court no later than September.

Then, in the first public statement by a high official attacking Mao by name, Hu said that "the late Chairman Mao made contributions to the Chinese revolution and the Party, but he made mistakes, especially in his later years, bringing great calamity to the CCP and the people."

That this is no isolated outburst but rather a big shot in a concentrated political offensive is made clear by Hu's announcement of a document now in preparation by the Central Committee on "Mao's role in the Cultural Revolution." "His (Mao's—RW) responsibility must be made clear," Hu declared. "His mistakes have always been the cause of great calamity for the Party and the Chinese people." It's fitting that Hu let the Yugoslavians get the scoop on this story, since Yugoslavia, the new-found cousin of the Chinese revisionists, was thoroughly exposed by Mao in the '60s as a capitalist country with a thin socialist veneer. This

"Yugoslav news leak" is a sort of symbolic twist, a little knife in the back of Mao.

Hu's blast marks a major event in the third phase of the revisionist assault on Mao and his legacy. Immediately following the 1976 coup, the revisionists began a campaign of vicious personal slander against the Four, as they tried to win people over by claiming the Four had opposed Mao and that they were the genuine successors of Mao. In the second phase, the revisionists attacked everything Mao stood for in theory and practice, while still giving lip service to upholding Mao. In this latest phase, Mao and the Four are being linked directly together and dumped overboard.

That the announcement of the date of the trial of the Four is coupled with the opening of direct attacks on Mao by name confirms the analysis made by the RW last October (No. 23) when Hua Kuo-feng first announced that the trial would take place some time in 1980: "The defendants named by Hua are the so-called 'gang of four'—Wang Hung-wen, Chang Chun-chiao, Chiang Ching and Yao Wen-yuan. But in fact everyone with a clear head knows the name of the real defendant being brought up on charges by China's new rulers: it is none other than Mao Tsetung, the great leader of the Chinese people and of the world revolution for many years, who died in 1976. His legacy is what they are still trying to convict and bury."

How deep this latest attack will cut is revealed by another announcement

made by Hu: Volume 5 of Mao's *Selected Works*, already edited by Hua right after the coup, will be withdrawn and further revised. You can bet that this will be no mere retouching of grammar and punctuation. Volume 5, published after the 1976 coup, contains Mao's works written between 1949 and 1957. This was before the struggle of the revolutionary Left, led by Mao, against the capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-chi burst to the surface. The revisionists found it useful to take credit for Volume 5 while they were still trying to cash in on Mao's name. But now with the expanded attack on Mao, the revisionists find that even this they must revise. And it's highly unlikely that they will ever publish Mao's later works dealing with his more fully developed ideas on continuing the revolution under socialism and targeting the bourgeoisie in the high ranks of the Party—they can go only so far in "editing" his works. This kind of thing is not without precedent—when Khrushchev led the revisionist takeover in Russia, one of his attacks on the revolution was to discontinue the publication of Stalin's *Collected Works*.

But wait—don't the Chinese still talk about following Mao Tsetung Thought? Most likely the ruling clique will keep up some pretense, at least for a period of time, of upholding Mao Tsetung Thought. After all, it would be rather embarrassing, to say the least, to drop Mao Tsetung Thought like a hot potato only a few months after Teng declared in the eulogy to the revisionist idol Liu

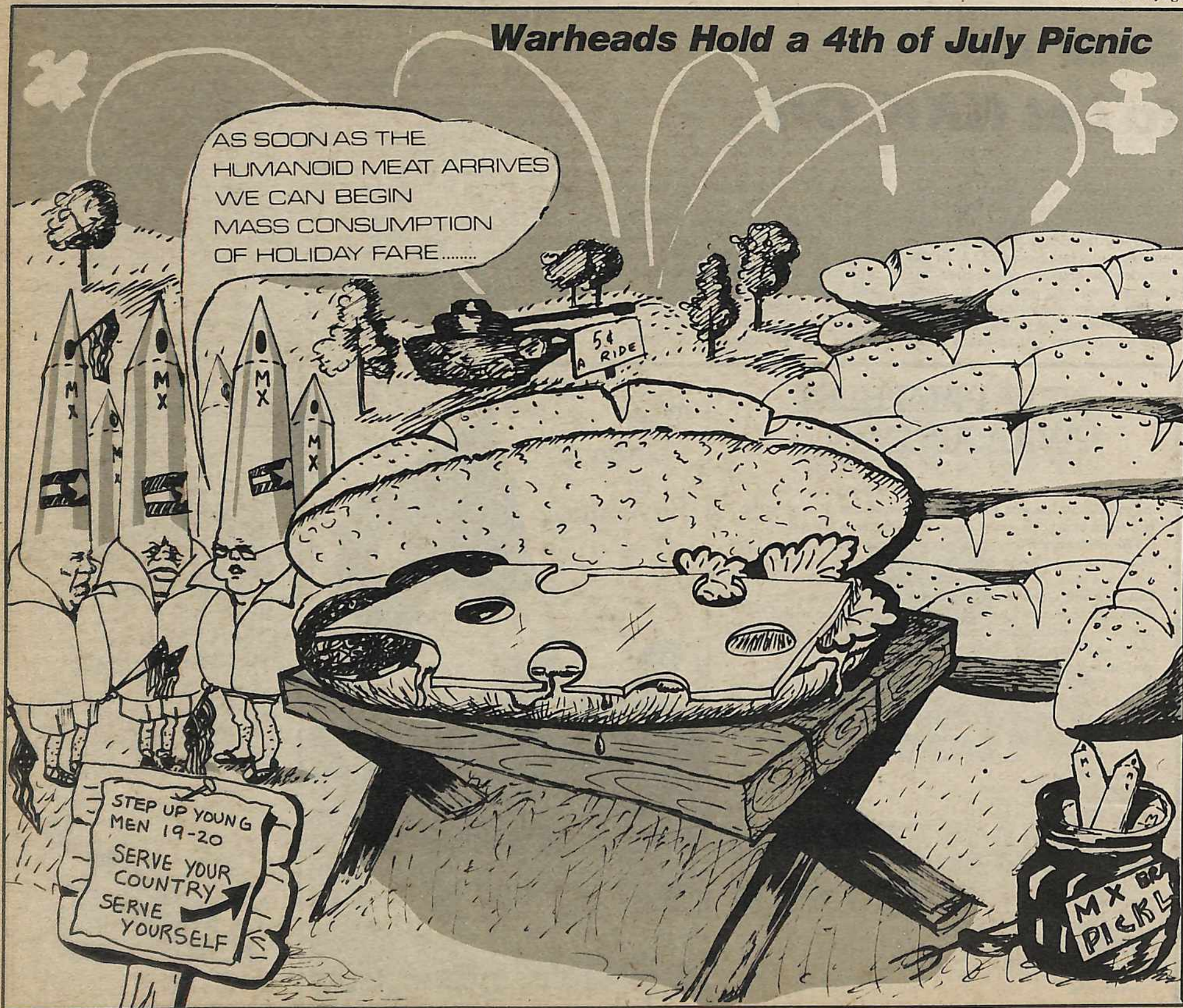
Shao-chi that Liu's ideas "were a component of the scientific system of Mao Tsetung Thought" and that Liu was the "first to advance the concept of Mao Tsetung Thought." But as adept at being two-faced as these revisionists are, they will find it increasingly difficult to keep up this charade as it becomes more and more exposed that this "redefining" of Mao Tsetung Thought is nothing but a feeble attempt to make Mao Tsetung Thought mean everything Mao fought against.

The very fact that the revisionists were forced to wait till four years after the coup to actually hold the trial of the Four is a testimony to the tremendous prestige of Mao and his line. Teng, Hua and their gang have had to tread very carefully and travel a crooked path to reach these new lows. It's clear that the trial and the all-out assault on Mao is a meticulously planned and orchestrated affair. Actually the biggest groundwork to prepare public opinion was laid with the rehabilitation of Mao's mortal enemy Liu, which culminated in the May 17 memorial meeting broadcast live over national TV.

On another front, recently there has been a lot of fanfare over the campaign to eliminate the "life-long tenure" system for officials. Teng's hope is to have a bourgeois-style retirement system for an "orderly transition" of revisionists. In his interview, Hu said, "China is now developing a system of collective leadership, so that future leaders can not exercise so much power like the late Chairman Mao... these reforms are meant to prevent 'excessive power' from falling into the hands of a few and to avoid 'a hall where one man's word rules.'" (!!) Some nerve—coming from a clique one of whose biggest grudges against Mao is that under his revolutionary line, the masses just wouldn't be docile slaves bowing to their words. And one of the arguments for ending the "life-long

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Warheads Hold a 4th of July Picnic



Black Hills Bribe

Native Americans Sneer at Government Trinkets

"The majority of the people do not even recognize the federal government's illegal presence. By any means necessary, we are not giving up our land." Madonna Thunderhawk, a member of Women of All Red Nations (WARN) in response to the U.S. Supreme Court's announcement June 30 that it was "ordering" the federal government to pay \$122.5 million in compensation for breaking the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 and with the same stroke of the pen attempting to legitimize the ripoff and rape of the Indian land in the uranium rich Black Hills area of South Dakota by the bourgeoisie. The Treaty had supposedly guaranteed that 7 million acres of what was then the Great Sioux Reservation would be "set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indian people."

This "agreement" succumbed in less than ten years to gold fever, as the treaty lands, previously considered by the government to be worthless, were overrun by miners, settlers, and prospectors like George Hearst, sire of the Hearst newspaper chain. Mercenary General George Custer also made his much ballyhooed "Last Stand" there. For the Sioux people, the Black Hills are sacred

lands whose sale was and is emphatically not negotiable.

It is indeed coincidental that the Supreme Court would make a ruling in this case at this particular time when there has been a growing tide of struggle among the Lakota Sioux of the Black Hills area and many others in opposition to the bourgeoisie's theft of the land and brutal oppression of the Lakota Sioux. The lawsuit has been pending for 56 years. It was originally filed in 1924. Lakota Sioux representatives to the 6th International Indian Treaty Conferences at Fort Belknap, Montana immediately and unanimously condemned this obvious attempt at a cheap bribe to cool out the opposition to the gobbling up of the Black Hills.

As Madonna Thunderhawk told the *RW*, "the U.S. and their court system want to make it seem like the Indians wanted money! The federal government held claims hearings over the heads of the people. They put a lot of pressure on the tribal governments (set up and run by the Dept. of Interior—*RW*) to accept this, but most of them voted against it because the Indian people refuse to be bribed. The government says, 'Oh yes, we're so sorry for all the bloodshed but golly, that was 150 years

ago.' They really want to sweep the treaty issue out of the way for the multinational corporations to come in."

The Black Hills have become the focus of a bitter struggle in recent years as some of the biggest capitalist enterprises anywhere chomp at the bit to begin mining the area's huge reserves of uranium that set aglow the dollar bill signs in their eyes and moreover are a crucial component in the imperialists' expanding war machine. Kerr-McGee, Gulf Oil, Conoco, and United Nuclear-Homestake (a descendant of Hearst's gold prospecting claim) all are exploring the area for uranium deposits, and the actual mining is scheduled to begin soon. The area has already been contaminated from past uranium mining operations by the TVA in an area near the Black Hills.

At the same time, these salivating vultures have met fierce resistance from the masses all over the country, including a growing alliance of the Native American people and white ranchers in the Black Hills area. Last July, 6500 people rallied in Rapid City, South Dakota to protest the planned dismemberment of the Black Hills, and at least as many are expected to attend demonstrations this month.

In their efforts to get over with this last "reparations" sop, the ruling class as usual is relying on their bogus tribal councils and flunkies like Clarence Skye, Director of the United Sioux Tribes of So. Dakota (who immediately announced he was pleased with the offer) to persuade the Sioux people to support accepting the blood-money settlement. They have also used certain added inducements, like cutting back on the already miniscule domestic programs they have forced the Indian people into economic dependence on. The Lakota Sioux, however, are quite clear on where they stand on both the Supreme Court ruling and Skye:

"Clarence Skye is a puppet, an extension of the government bureaucracy. The federal government says, 'we'll pay you whether you want it or not', but we never wanted the money we want the land back. They badgered, pressured and tried to buy us off. But I'll tell you this—last year we ran Sanowski (an attorney who was prosecuting the lawsuit supposedly on behalf of the Sioux Nation—*RW*) off the Pine Ridge Reservation... This was never a decision of the Indian people... This is another tactic of the federal government to take our land." □

Klan Trial Jury Selection

Greensboro Court Sets Up to Let KKK Off

Greensboro, N.C.—Jury selection continued this week in the trial of six members of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis—the murderers of five anti-Klan demonstrators last November 3. In this charade, the defense, prosecution and judge are working together to create opinion among the prospective jurors for a verdict of not guilty, setting the stage for the trial and revealing much

about what path it will take as well as its inevitable outcome.

The prosecution is doing a commendable job of weeding out jurors who would be bad—for the killers. Jurors who have any feelings against the Klan and Nazis, or who even simply state that they believe the Klan is opposed to Blacks and for white supremacy, are excused. The prosecution's questions to

the jury panel have been aimed at setting the terms for the trial as much as for selecting jurors. The prosecution even introduced the idea that perhaps some of its witnesses will not be so honest because they are members of the Communist Workers Party (the group whose five members were killed). Among the four jurors passed by the prosecution and eagerly accepted by the defense is an ex-military man who is married to a woman whose family was in Hitler's Nazi party.

Also revealing has been the role of Judge James Long. Long has openly informed potential jurors, especially those who find it hard to shake the conviction that the six are guilty, that this could very well be a case of self-defense. Anyone who flinches at this potential line of defense is dismissed. One woman, outraged at the very idea, announced that even if the prosecution failed to prove anything, she would vote for a guilty verdict.

By now it is fairly clear that "self-

defense" will indeed be the line when the formality of jury selection is finished and the "defendants" finally go to trial. The idea has been spread far and wide in various ways. The *Greensboro Record*, for example, ran a long interview a few months ago with Nazi Roland Wood, a close associate of Klan leader John O'Grady, which made this obvious. Wood's story was that the Klan and Nazis simply went down to the anti-Klan rally to heckle the demonstrators and generally stand up for America. And stand up for America they did, when, according to Wood, they were forced into opening fire after the demonstrators came after them with picket signs. He further remarked that the arsenal of handguns, rifles and shotguns used to murder the five were "mistakenly" brought to the site of the massacre!

The entire stage that's being set in Greensboro is one on which a final act of vindication of the Klan and Nazis and endorsement of the killings of their victims will be played. This was the whole point of Grand Jury indictments in early May. Indicted on riot charges were CWP members as well as KKK members. The rather transparent intention of this was to make the issue not one of murder but instead of a "fight between extremist groups." More, just which side will be held responsible for starting this "fight" is indicated by another indictment which also came down at the same time—that of an anti-Klan demonstrator who was indicted for inciting to riot.

Jury selection has been a lengthy process and is not yet over. Obviously difficult is the task of selecting the appropriate combination of jurors who will "impartially" evaluate all the evidence and produce a not guilty verdict—hundreds have already been disqualified from the trial. The whole charade is bound to grow even more disgusting, ridiculous and revealing in the coming weeks. □

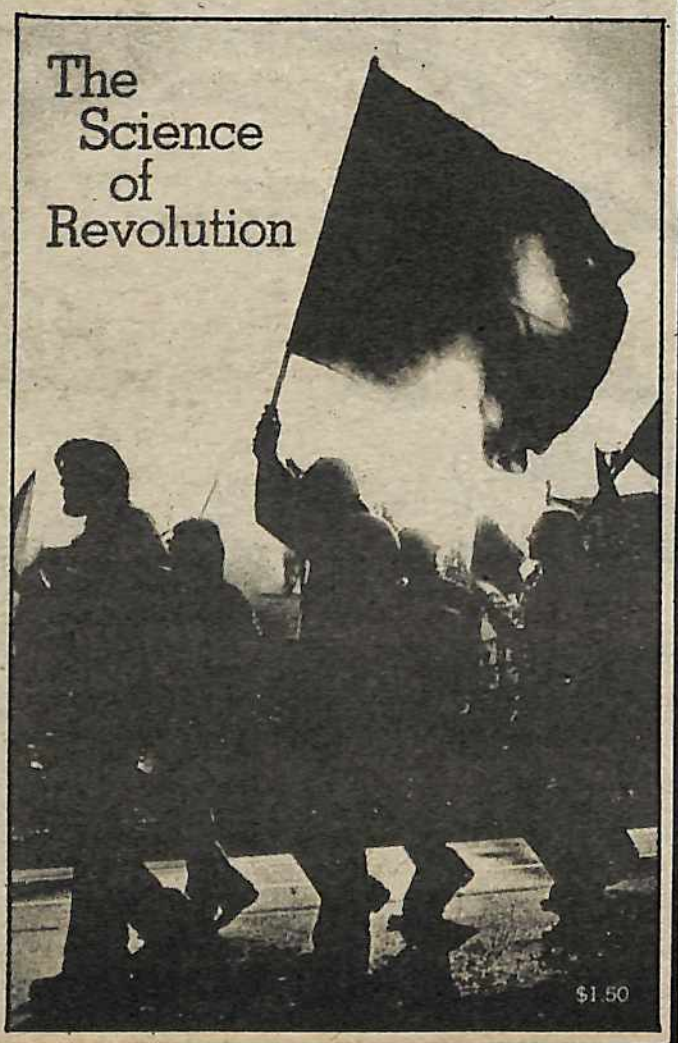
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This pamphlet has been written to arm millions now awakening to political life with this science of revolution. It is a reprint of a series of articles which appeared recently in the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, a series which summed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

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Fighting for Imperialism Everywhere

The Bloody Work of the AFL-CIO CIA

Ever since the seizure of the American embassy by heroic Iranian students last fall and the subsequent invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviet Union, top trade union hacks across the country have been roused from their normal routine of golf games and sipping scotch. With a gusto not seen since the days of the Vietnam War, they have leaped into the political arena brandishing the American flag and calling on workers to rally 'round. Dockworkers on the east and west coasts were organized to boycott Iranian and Soviet goods and Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, undertook a petition campaign for the release of the hostages. Kirkland's petition read, "We must do everything we can to convince the terrorists in Iran and the rest of the world that American workers fully support their government in this crisis. The hostages must be freed."

This is one of the most valuable services these "labor leaders" have performed for the ruling class; to preach jingoism and "Keep America Number One" chauvinism to workers especially during times of political crisis for the imperialists. While this patriotic activity has cooled down somewhat as the "Iran Crisis" stretches into Day 200-plus, it is bound to intensify. As the Soviet Union and the U.S. move closer to a showdown over which superpower will emerge as the number one exploiter and oppressor of the world's people, you can bet that all the George Meany clones will really be pouring it on with the lie that the workers have no other choice but to fight and die for "their own" slavemaster.

The New Draft Programme and Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA notes:

"Also within the enemy camp and part of the target of the proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship are the loyal political agents and enforcers of the bourgeoisie and its dictatorship: (including)...the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class at the heads of the unions, whose positions and generally high salaries--and not insignificant investment opportunities--are the direct product of the exploitation of the mass of workers in this country and still more so the superexploitation and plunder in other countries, especially the colonial countries and the oppressed nations..." (p. 22)

This describes the material basis for the political role played by these leaders of labor who have a direct stake in maintaining the profits and superprofits of U.S. imperialism. And further, they rely heavily on a social base of a few better paid workers who get extra--if diminishing--crumbs off the imperialist's table, workers so ridiculously bound to the ideology of the exploiters and oppressors that they themselves have become a political appendage of the enemy.

There is a particular feature of the last 30 years of "American trade unionism" which is unknown to many. It is also a fitting tribute to the "labor lieutenants" and those workers on whom they politically rely. We're talking about the relationship between the AFL-CIO and the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) which developed after World War 2 and continues to this day.

The AFL-CIO worked hand in glove with the U.S. ruling class to pave the way for fascist dictatorships in Chile, Guyana, Ecuador, Guatemala,

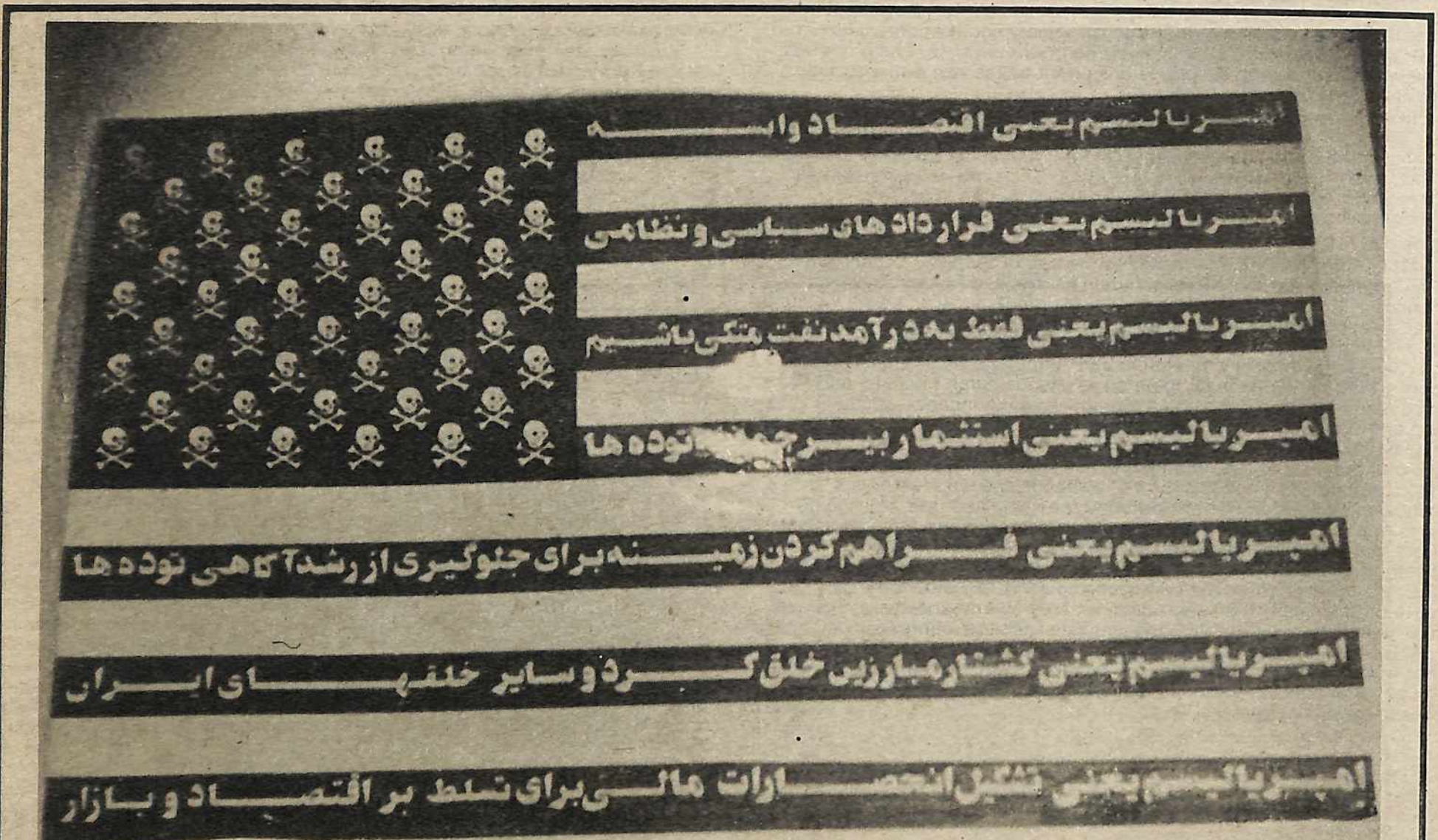
Cuba, Brazil, South Vietnam, South Korea (and more) and in supporting every imperialist military adventure the U.S. has undertaken since World War 2. The AFL-CIO spends a sizeable chunk of its budget in Asia, Africa and Latin America to cooperate closely with the CIA. Many of the AFL-CIO's international trade secretariats and all three of its international labor institutes are nothing but instruments and tools bought and paid for by the CIA. According to Meany, however, the humanitarian AFL-CIO has really just been helping the poor, down-trodden workers of these countries. In a 1965 speech he stated,

"The representatives of American labor are at this moment lending their support to the advancement of the workers' freedom in Latin America, Asia and Africa. To give you an idea of the scope of our involvement in this work, more than 24% of the income of the national AFL-CIO is spent outside the country--though we do not ever expect to ever be repaid or to collect any dues money in these faraway places."

Meany failed to mention the AFL-CIO's other source of funds for this activity--the CIA.

In the mid-40s the CIA began to employ its dirty work of spying, bribery and murder in the international labor arena. The U.S. emerged from World War 2 head and shoulders over its imperialist rivals, providing unprecedented opportunities for the expansion of U.S. capital. The ruling class sought to restructure the imperialist system worldwide along the lines of U.S. domination, and the labor bureaucrats were enlisted to accomplish this goal. Despite its po-

Continued on page 11



Poster from Iran. Farsi Lettering on Stripes Says:

- Imperialism means economic dependency
- Imperialism means political and military lackeys
- Imperialism means "depend solely on oil revenue"
- Imperialism means unbridled exploitation of the masses
- Imperialism means preventing the masses from being politically conscious
- Imperialism means the slaughter of fighting Kurds and other peoples of Iran
- Imperialism means the formation of finance capital to dominate over the economy and market

Step Up the Struggle to Free the UN 2

Statement from ex-prisoner of fascist regime in Chile.

As an ex-political prisoner of the military regime of General Pinochet in Chile, I am in solidarity with, and totally agree with, my *compañeros* in struggle, Steve Yip and Glenn Gan in their act of protest against the top ambassadors of world imperialism.

The Damian García Brigade here in San Antonio, demand the immediate release of the United Nations 2. Their action drenching the representatives of the United States and Soviet Union with red paint was done in behalf of the working class and oppressed peoples not only in the United States, but the whole world. It was a powerful statement declaring that the interests of the people do not lie in fighting and dying for either superpower in World War 3, when they duke it out to see who will be the top exploiter in the world, but in actually working for the defeat and overthrow of these empires.

The UN 2 have deeply hurt our rulers and those of the Russian people, who have dragged the red flag through the mud, by thoroughly ex-

posing what their true nature is. The red paint thrown by Glenn Gan and Steven Yip symbolized where the blood of millions lie—on the hands of the U.S. and Soviet imperialists.

Now in the 1980s their entire imperialist system faces a crisis like it has never known. Each superpower must expand its empire. Each must grab at the territory of the other. We are aware of their plans to murder millions in World War 3 to resolve this crisis. At the same time the possibility of revolution in the United States has never been so great. While the ruling class is working frantically to rally the American people behind them, thousands took to the streets on May Day 1980 in direct opposition to this. Indeed, they were inspired by the action taken that night before the UN 2. The attacks and jailing of the UN 2 will not go on in silence and darkness.

Free the UN 2!
Down With U.S. and Soviet War Moves!
Long Live the Spirit of Damian García!
Pick Up the Red Flag!

Send telegrams to Judge Ward, 40 Center Street, Foley Square, New York, New York

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

To Judge Robert Ward,

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

Signed,
John T. Egan

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

Your dishonor:

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

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

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

Signed:
Florence Unger

Dear Sir:

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

Signed,
David Lahir
Attorney, Morgantown, West Virginia

To Mr. Ward:

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

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

Sincerely,
D.J.

From Chicago Muralists:

Red paint at UN inspiration to millions worldwide. Chicago mural artists to use international incident at UN as theme for mural this summer. Thousands more will be inspired. Down with U.S./Soviet war moves. Keep your bloody hands off UN 2. Our flag is red, not red, white and blue. Long Live May Day.

Signed,
A group of Chicago mural artists

From Oakland:

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

Signed,
7 Vietnam veterans and 10 active-duty GI's



Revolutionary Worker

Statement from the UN 2

The trial of the UN 2 has concluded—a battle in the war that is by no means over. The desperate antics of the bourgeoisie and its legal system uncovered their weakness and fears. The UN incident was a sharp and stunning exposure of the two superpowers and their drive towards war. The bright red banner of the proletariat unfurled in their midst struck terror in the bourgeoisie's heart, like the vampire who fears the dawning of a new day.

The conviction of the UN 2 was directed not just at the two of us, but at the politically awakening masses of people in this country and around the world. This is what's behind their frenzied attacks: their fear of the politically aroused masses, the "genie" they are forced to release from its bottle and into political life under their banner, and as Bob Avakian stated, "Once this genie of the masses of people and most especially the working class is roused up everything can be thrown up for grabs, and just who is going to stuff who into what bottle."

Comrades and friends,

The situation is excellent. Tremendous opportunities lie ahead of us. The future is ours if we dare to take it.

Signed,
Glenn Gan and Steven Yip, UN 2

July 15th—the date has been set and the intentions of the ruling class are quite clear. On that day Judge Robert Ward will pass sentence on the UN 2, Steven Yip and Glenn Gan, convicted of 2 felonies each carrying possible sentences of 8 years and \$15,000 for splattering red paint on the Soviet and U.S. imperialists' mouthpieces at the UN. This action sharply exposed the war moves of these bloodthirsty superpowers to the world, stinging them good while pointing to the revolutionary path going smack up against these imperialist warmongers. The trial was a straight-up political railroad from the beginning as the judge openly stated in advance when he said he wanted the UN 2 in jail for many years. Immediately following the conviction, bail already posted was revoked and the UN 2 were thrown in jail for refusing to grovel before the court and compromise their principles by agreeing to remove and have their supporters remove "Free the UN 2!" in red paint from the courthouse walls.

Politically exposed and wounded, the bourgeoisie has lashed back at the UN 2 in order to communicate the message that they will not tolerate such opposition. "Look out! We're serious," is their point. But we are serious too and the more they strike out wildly the more we will step up our struggle against them. Their very viciousness stands as a further exposure of their real weakness and desperation and shows just how sensitive the nerve that the UN 2 hit was. Their frantic lashing out has only drawn more into the battle. Broad forces including anti-nuke and anti-draft groups, lawyers and other professionals, workers, foreign-born, members of the clergy and from within the military itself have shown their support for the UN 2 and their actions and condemned the recent conviction.

As we go to press the UN 2 are just about to be released from federal prison, barring any new attempts to keep these revolutionaries off the streets. On top of the battle to raise the bail money, it was still another battle with the enemy to get them out. Money sent from across the country was withheld by Western Union for one and half days. For a whole night 5 different unbelievable excuses were given for not releasing the money from "one person can't pick up the money" to "the money was sent on bad credit cards." Only when they realized, as lawyers and supporters protested, that this ploy was going to explode in their faces did they release the funds. Then no less than the Western Union Missouri headquarters

called to claim that it was all a "mistake" and all the admitted lies had nothing to do with politics.

This July 15th sentencing will be taking place in the midst of the U.S. bourgeoisie's corralling of fresh bodies for their war machine with the reinstatement of the draft and other continuing stepped-up war moves. In this highly charged atmosphere where many will have their eyes opened even wider to just how swiftly the imperialists are moving toward world war, the UN 2's action will stand out even more significantly. And the judge's sentence, as well as the action taken to oppose this railroad, will weigh even heavier. The bourgeoisie will be made to pay a heavy political price for their efforts to lock up the UN 2.

The following are plans that must be boldly taken up in the next two weeks.

- The statement in support of the UN 2 must be circulated even more intensely. Many more of the striking and inspiring statements and letters of protest sent in by individuals and groups will be collected. On July 15, in a prominent national newspaper, a number of these statements will be published together with the number of people who have signed the national statement of support.

- And on this same day when Judge Ward enters his rigged court, broad forces will be amassed on the courthouse steps in a militant demonstration. Simultaneously across the country, red armbands will be worn in factories, schools, communities, courtrooms. Telegrams of protest will be stacked on the judge's desk, which is sure to cause him great displeasure as he has already indicated with his courtroom comments: "I've seen these people in person with their t-shirts and their banners and ridiculous telegrams that keep coming into my office every half hour." Together this will be a sharp visual statement exposing this railroad and their attempts to lock up those determined to forge a road in opposition to their war moves.

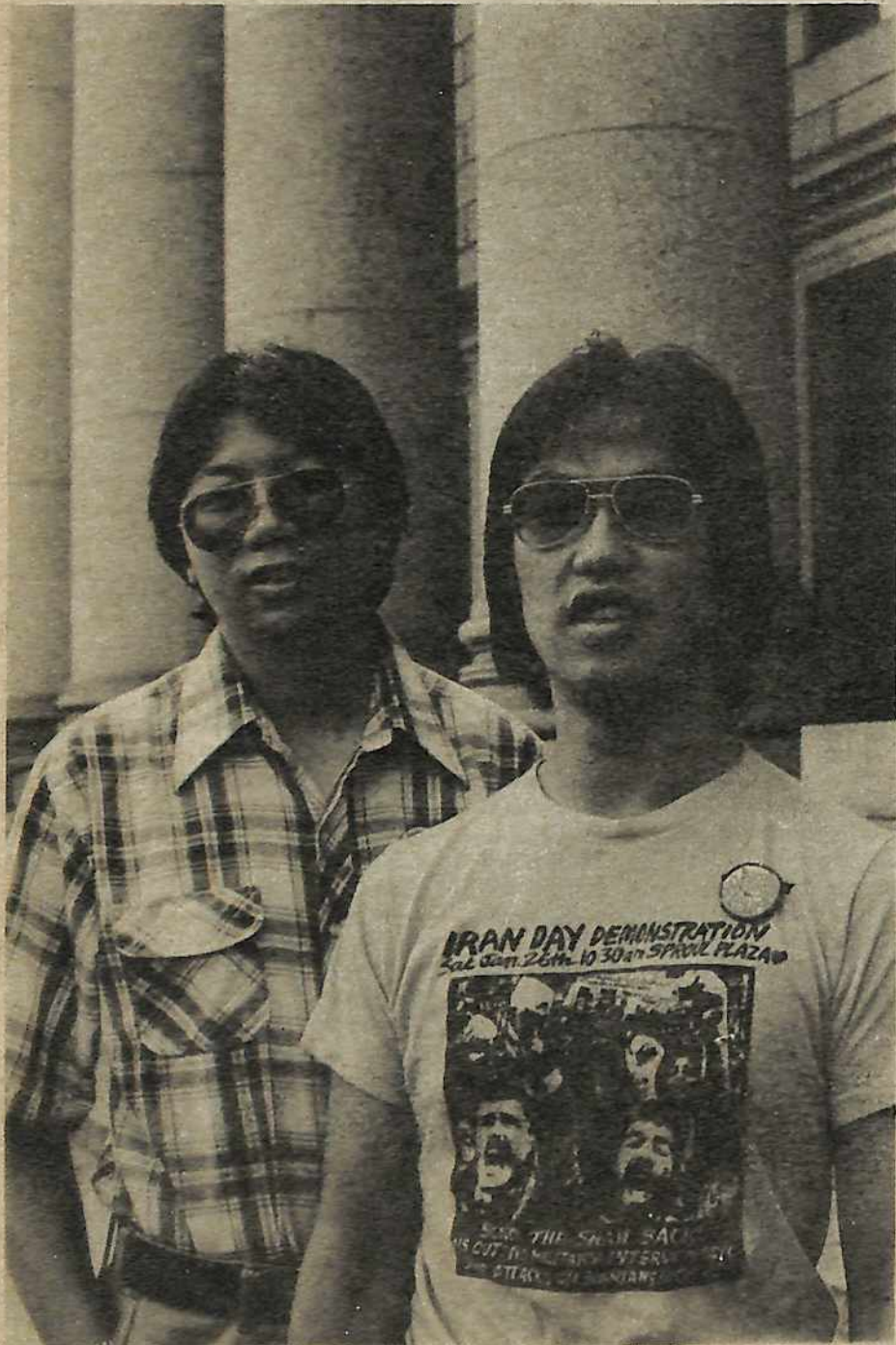
Money is urgently needed—for legal expenses, the newspaper ad, setting up a speaking tour for the UN 2.

Bombard the judge with telegrams and send statements and contributions to: *The Committee to Free the UN 2*, c/o Revolution Books, 16 E. 18th St., New York, NY 10003.

Telegrams and letters should be addressed to: Judge Ward, U.S. Court, 40 Center Street, Foley Square, NY, NY.

On July 15, join in condemning this outrageous railroad.

Free the UN 2!
Down with U.S.-Soviet War Moves!



Steven Yip and Glenn Gan, the UN 2.

Revolutionary Worker

DEMONSTRATE!
July 15, U.S. Federal Court
40 Center St.
Foley Sq., Times Sq.
New York City
(time to be announced)

Interview With Mao Tsetung Kredsen

The following is an interview the RW conducted with a member of the Danish revolutionary organization, Mao Tsetung Kredsen (the Mao Tsetung Circle).

Their activities to disseminate Mao Tsetung Thought and a scientific analysis of the coup in China take place in the middle of a decisive political crisis that is unfolding throughout the "welfare-states" of Scandinavia.

For two generations, reformist social-democratic parties have held the allegiance of the masses in these countries based on a promise of peacefully legislating away the evils of capitalism, gradually and within the framework of the western imperialist alliance, including NATO. The result has been bankruptcy, both politically and economically. The highly touted social services of Denmark (and the other Scandinavian countries) are rapidly decaying as a result of the general economic crisis gripping western Europe—taxes, wage freezes and slashes in services are making it clear that the laws of capitalist relations reassert themselves regardless of superficial structural reforms, like nationalization. In addition the visibly mounting tensions between NATO and the Warsaw Pact in Europe are bringing home again that no solutions can be found by focusing on petty domestic illusions of cleaning up one little corner of the world. Denmark is being dragged into a new questioning of social-democracy for the first time in decades. And the situation is excellent for revolutionaries, even if presently small in number, to have a pivotal influence in the inevitable struggles that will emerge in the days ahead:

RW: Could you speak for a moment on the origins and activities of your group? Why have you concentrated on distributing the writings of Mao?

Mao Tsetung Kredsen: As members of the organization then called Society for Cultural Relations with China (since 1972 the Denmark/China Friendship Association) we wanted the Society to take a stand on actual events in China, the Cultural Revolution and the two-line struggle. Just some kind of a standpoint, whether for or against or in-between. But all in vain. So we proposed that we translate some works of Mao Tsetung and his followers and we also consulted the Chinese Embassy on this but found only empty pretexts. Then we started translating and publishing and found it necessary to found our own group outside the old Society, so as to be free to make the Mao Tsetung ideas and the Cultural

Revolution and the two-line struggle known to our people.

RW: How did you come to the conclusion that a revisionist coup had taken place in China in 1976?

Mao Tsetung Kredsen: Before the coup in 1976 and the death of Mao Tsetung we were aware of the possibility of a reversal, but we did not really believe it a reality until we saw how the four and other followers of Mao Tsetung were treated. We saw no political or ideological arguments but only personal slanders. So that was how we realized that a reversal had taken place.

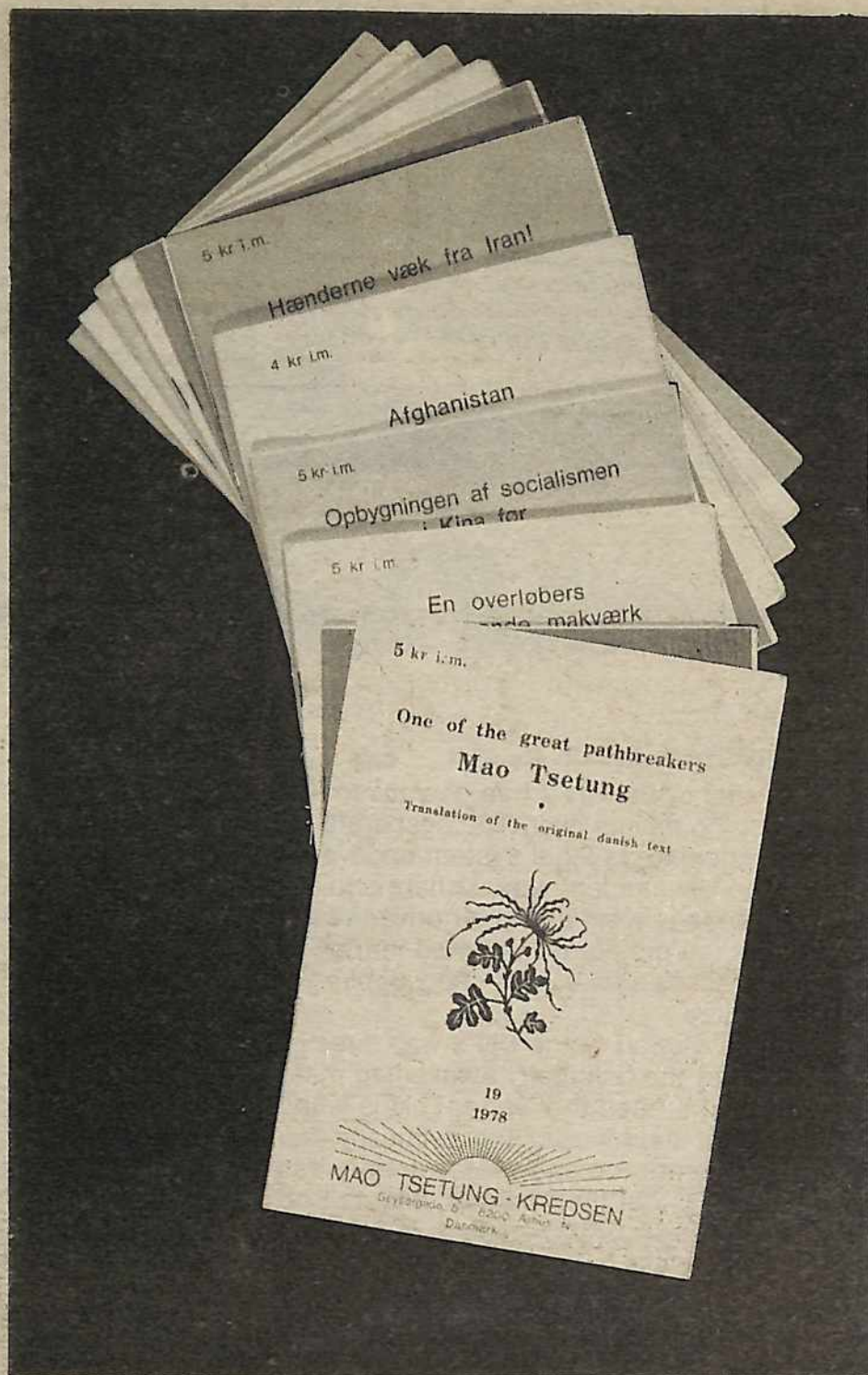
RW: From your many years of experience in the communist movement, what do you see as the main questions of political line which have blocked the development of a real revolutionary movement in Denmark? During World War II, there was a strong resistance movement that developed in Denmark and other European countries under German occupation. Why didn't this movement lead to socialist revolution?

Mao Tsetung Kredsen: This might be quite a long story. But to put it shortly: We think that the old Communist Party, like some other parties, was captured and overwhelmed by the alliance with bourgeois national forces during World War II. We also are of the opinion that the youth rebellion in 1968 had the effect in Denmark of spreading confusion instead of clarity. Khrushchev revisionism and the later coup in China, of course, were main sources of the still growing confusion.

RW: How does social-democracy effect the workers' movement at the present time? Why does it exert such a strong influence?

Mao Tsetung Kredsen: Social-democracy and reformist trade unions have been almost monopolizing the workers' movement in this country. They took credit for the relative progression during the good years. After the decline has begun, people are not attracted by the social-democrats, they have been losing votes at elections for some years. The inertia of traditions is hard to overcome. There are lots of resistance, strikes, conflicts of different kinds. But the reformist leaders have so far succeeded in leading all conflicts into moving in a "closed circle," so the movements are getting nowhere and each time have to start all over again, and with the same result. No other political force exists in this country, chiefly because the great number of "m-l" groups and other "left" groupings are only spreading confusion and disgust among people.

RW: How does your group view the international communist movement at the



present time? How do you feel about efforts to fight for the unity of Marxist-Leninists?

Mao Tsetung Kredsen: As we see it, the situation in our country in many ways is similar to that in many other countries. The so-called "left" in our country consists mainly either of groups and parties dominated by reformist illusions, or of groups linked with Russian, Chinese or Albanian revisionism and counter-revolution. So we think that the struggling for unity among real Marxist-Leninist groupings is the most urgent task for the international movement.

As for our own group, we intend to continue in this situation the work we began in 1971, of making clear the causes of the present economic crisis and the fast growing war breath, and

explaining the possibilities that, despite all this turmoil, exist for changing the direction of history.

In addition to Mao's works and other materials, Mao Tsetung Kredsen has translated into Danish The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung and parts of Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions by Bob Avakian, and "Beat Back the Dogmato-Revisionist Attack on Mao Tsetung Thought," an article from The Communist. To obtain these and other pamphlets and books from Mao Tsetung Kredsen, write them at Geyergade 5, 8200 Arhus N. Denmark. Their pamphlet Mao Tsetung: One of the Great Pathbreakers is available in English from Revolution Bookstores as well as by mail from Mao Tsetung Kredsen.

Vietnam Vets

"We'll Serve Again... But We Won't Be Serving You!"

As the assembled dignitaries gathered at the White House to hear the announcement of a new bill to build a special \$2.5 million memorial to veterans of the Vietnam War, Jimmy Carter piously intoned: "A long and painful process has brought us to this moment today. Our nation was divided by this war." Rep. Charles Mathias of Maryland quickly seconded the motion, calling the bill "an outward sign of reconciliation in this country, a sign that we now have a perspective about Vietnam, which makes it possible for us to resolve the differences that divided us during the war." But while the bourgeoisie was rushing to proclaim the wounds "healed" and heralding the latest Harris poll as proof that Vietnam veterans would "serve again," it was clear that they were not particularly confident about just what this new "perspective" was or in exactly whose army these veterans would actually be serving.

It seems that just a few days earlier, Miami police officials made the announcement that during last month's

rebellion in Miami, organized Black veterans trained in the jungles of Vietnam applied their expertise during the upheaval in Liberty City and played a big role in fighting against the pigs and in the destruction of buildings. While much of the actual content of this so-called report is undoubtedly exaggerated and/or invented for the purpose of creating reactionary hysteria and also reflects the uptightness of the Miami pigs themselves over the powerful blows they received from the masses of people during the Miami Rebellion, in addition to their fear of vets in general, it serves as an indication of the fact that large numbers of vets have learned a lot about U.S. imperialism from seeing it in action around the world as well as at home, and hate it with a passion, forming a dangerous political force. Many are revolutionary-minded and ready to go up directly against the rulers of this country and their lackeys and flunkies.

Thus a jumpy Miami police department offers as evidence of the dangerous role of vets in the rebellion

the following examples, among others:

- "Urban guerrillas," squads of Black vets, are a new and possibly national phenomenon.

- Unlike the '60s, when fires were started at random, this time government offices such as the Miami Justice Building, police cars, and capitalist businesses were selectively and professionally destroyed. Major Clarence Dickson, a commander of the Miami police said the fires were obviously not started by amateurs using matches or Molotov cocktails, but rather by people using sophisticated explosives. He said many of the buildings singled out exploded and collapsed in minutes.

- According to the cops, they were baffled by "hit-and-run teams using the military element of surprise who looted, firebombed and then disappeared," pouring motor oil on the streets to cause pursuing police vehicles to skid out of control.

- Just before the rebellion, several gun shops were broken into and a large cache of M-16 automatic rifles was

stolen.

- On the first night of the rebellion when police units and SWAT teams tried to enter the community, in many cases they were expertly pinned down by automatic weapons fire and forced to retreat. In addition, several were wounded.

One reporter said he had met with several Black men in a Liberty City bar who identified themselves as Vietnam and Korean War veterans. They reportedly told him they had been prepared for the verdict in the McDuffie case and said they had "generals, captains, and warriors on hand who can turn this damn city into an ash tray any time they want to."

William Perry, director of the local NAACP, indicated the sentiments of this type of righteously unpatriotic veteran with whom Carter and the capitalists are suddenly so anxious to "resolve their differences": "They would rather die in the streets of Miami than in the Persian Gulf fighting for Exxon. They feel the real war is here."

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Atlanta Student Writes:

"It Can Be As Dangerous As We Make It"



Revolutionary Worker

At an Atlanta "career college," May Day 1980 was a burning question, even though none of the students had had any direct contact with either the Revolutionary Worker or the May Day Committee. The following is an account by one of the students of the battle that has raged at this "high school with ash trays" both before and after May 1st. Part of this struggle centered around the defense of Jimmy Sabel, a May Day activist who in late March was arrested and charged with spray painting "May Day, We Won't Work That Day" 37 times on the Georgia state capitol and surrounding complex.

May Day symbolized what the future holds—that the lower class of people will rise up. Me and a bunch of other students had talked about May Day, what it symbolized and the spray painting of the capitol. Like me, the students had mostly seen the spray painting "May Day, We Won't Work That Day" and the posters "Take History Into Our Hands" and had familiarized ourselves with the slogans and what they meant. I didn't go because I had a test that day and my teacher said that if I missed the test I would be terminated from school. But at least 12 students from the school went to May Day.

After May Day I connected with the Revolutionary Worker and started bringing the paper to school. I brought a Jimmy Sabel petition to school and another student took it around the classroom. Every one of the students signed it. My teacher called one of the students a dummy for signing the petition. He said they didn't need any evidence, Jimmy should be behind bars.

A couple of weeks later, some people from the Revolutionary Worker planned to come out to the school. My teacher threatened that if they came, he would call the police to have them busted. I told him, "They are coming out here and you can't do anything about it." The other students didn't back down. They said they were all with me, to go ahead and bring them out there, they would be outside to meet them. And they were out there when the Revolutionary Worker people came—about 30 of them. The students told the Revolutionary Worker that they realized what was happening but wanted to know what they could do about it. They talked about what had happened in Miami and about this war because most of them fear they're going to be in it. My teacher was in the hall, which is dark, peeping to see exactly who was in the crowd and went off to the dean's office to report who was out there. But the threat that they would call the police didn't get over. Nobody fell for it.

After that I had an even bigger conference with my instructor. He said he would put in my file that I was con-

nected with the RCP and said that if any of the students wanted to be involved with this group they shouldn't even come to school because he didn't want to see their faces. Head macho dean came to my class and told the students that if they were seen participating in a "certain thing" they would be terminated. She called my momma and told her if I keep hanging out with this group they would have to terminate me because they didn't want any of this stuff going on at the school.

I don't care if they throw me out of school because I know it's a waste of time. School just informs you of the stuff that society wants you to know. I'd get thrown out of school again and again if it's necessary because this is something I believe in. They want to get rid of me but they realize that if they do it will just make the students mad and get them protesting. Most of the students are saying they want revolution, they want to fight, they want this stuff changed. They are getting tired of going out every day, looking for a job and not getting anything or just getting minimum wage.

The students care about what the Revolutionary Worker is saying. They say a lot of the stuff they read in the paper shocks them. Like the thing about the Pope—they usually see that man on TV praying and they never knew he was that low. They realize just what the world is about by reading different articles, what's going on and how it's going on. Like when I read the paper I connect all the Miami and Wrightsville stuff. It's different places but it's the same—oppressed people going to struggle. After reading the paper I realize all the stuff that's going on and if we don't do anything about it, it's just going to get worse. The paper arms you as to what's going on, what you must do and how you should do it. It tells people to get ready.

The ruling class will do anything to tell people revolution is just a waste of time and impossible, that they can do anything they want and if you get out of line they'll just throw you in jail. They want us to believe their lies and they've got some people believing them. So when just a few people stand up against them that shakes them because they realize that if a few people do this, other people will listen. People realize what is happening but they need somebody to lead them to confront the higher class. The Revolutionary Worker is pointing out that revolution can be done, like in Iran. May Day was a day to tell you that something that's bound to happen is going to happen. It informed the people that it's about time for them to wake up and start getting up their strength. Revolution is not a plaything. It can be as dangerous as we make it. □

MAO

Continued from page 3

tenure" system—that officials get senile in old age—fits in conveniently with Hu's remark that "Mao made mistakes, especially in his later years."

On the theoretical front, leading Party theoreticians met in Peking last May to further deepen the "practice is the sole criterion of truth" theory. This "theory," which the revisionists try to hustle off as materialism, is naked pragmatism—whatever's good for the revisionists is true. It was used last September to attack the Cultural Revolution as well as Mao, although Mao's name was not brought out at that time. Now the hack theoreticians are attempting to fine tune this "theoretical weapon" as a basis for the direct attack on Mao.

The trial of the Four and the settling of the question of Mao is an absolutely necessary step for the revisionists in order to carry through their program of capitalist restoration. They need to remove every "legitimate" basis for the

people to oppose their program. But by no means will all this be smooth sailing. Already, there are signs of a falling out among thieves. Yeh Chien-ying, head of the National People's Congress, is rumored to be a footdragger on the question of dumping Mao completely. Another is Hsu Shih-yu, former military commander of the Kuangchou region. Neither attended the memorial meeting for Liu. Both these men played prominent roles on the side of the revisionists in the 1976 coup, and there is no way they can be considered pro-Mao revolutionaries. But they do represent a certain force within the ruling circles who fear that the present speed of attacking Mao will rock the revisionist boat and create difficulties. These internal squabbles are bound to intensify as the attack on Mao steps up.

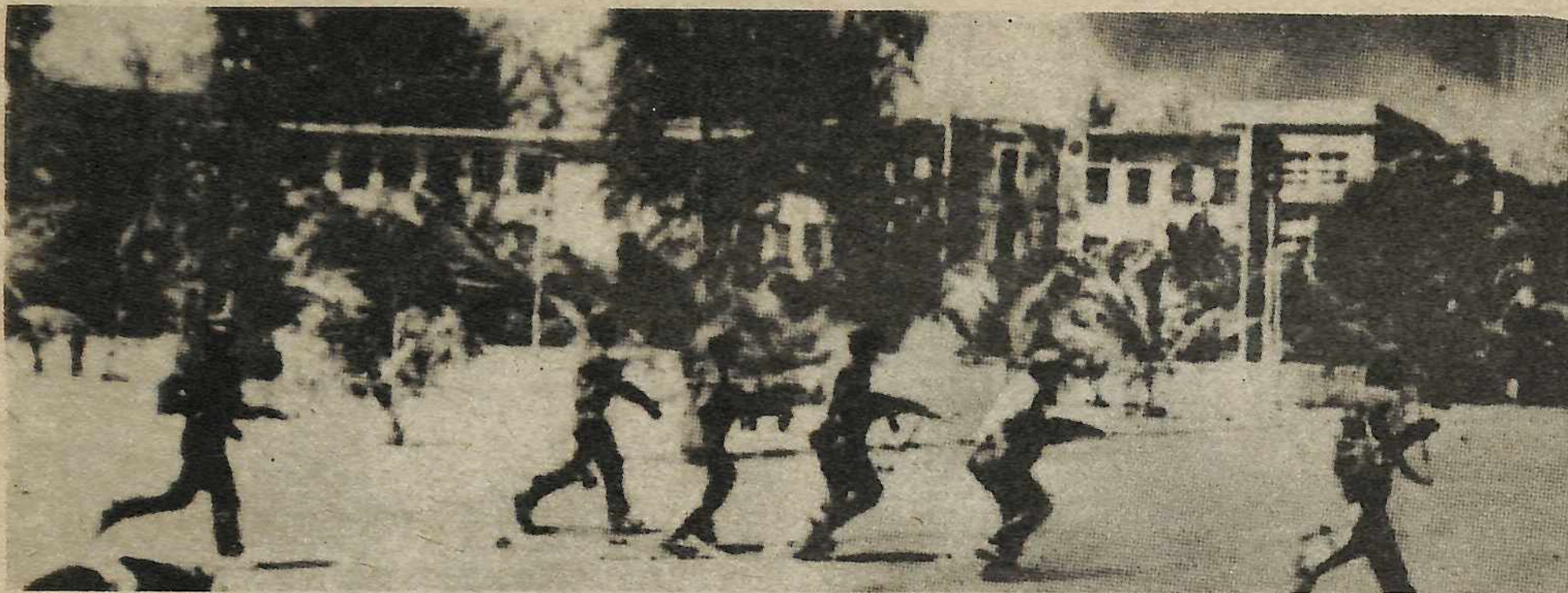
As for the opposition from the masses and genuine revolutionaries, information on this is very scant. Obviously the revisionists are very tight-lipped about such things. But there definitely is opposition. Even Teng admits to this in an important internal speech made in January on the "present situation and tasks": "At present there

are still elements of instability. The 'Gang of Four' remnants still exist organizationally and ideologically. We can not underestimate the capacity of these remnants otherwise we would be making a mistake." Furthermore, Hu Chiao-mu, a leading theoretician in Teng's camp, admitted in a February speech to the existence of "terrorist organizations" who are not remnants of the Four but who still put forward "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." These secret organizations, according to Hu, have their "programs" and "theory," and "they are an important ideological trend which creates instability and disunity." (This information is from *The Trend*, a Hong Kong magazine, June issue.) Yes, the revisionists are very worried about the repercussions of the trial of the Four and the direct attack on Mao. They are so worried that they will hold the trial behind closed doors, and the details of the proceedings will be kept secret even to the Chinese people. They are concerned about being exposed before the Chinese people, and are concerned that many of their "state secrets" about caving in to

imperialism—U.S. or Soviet variety—might get out and create diplomatic trouble.

The revisionists have every reason to squirm and sweat, for they are caught between a rock and a hard place. The quickening pace of world events toward war is forcing them to get their act together by crushing any remnants of Mao's legacy. But as they do this, their counter-revolutionary crimes will become even more blatant and exposed. Genuine revolutionaries welcome this development, because those who are confused or claim "neutrality" will be forced to choose sides, and the opportunists will be deprived of their last fig leaf for covering up their own revisionism. □

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Vietnamese troops invade Cambodia.

VIETNAM

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maraudings of its revisionist rival China. And each day it is more firmly locked in the debilitating embrace of the Soviet imperialists. Hundreds of thousands have risked death to flee the country for an uncertain future in the refugee camps of the U.S. and Asia.

The imperialist rulers of the U.S. take great delight in Vietnam's troubles, attempting to use the abortion of the Vietnamese revolution as justification for their 15-year effort to force Indochina into submission. In their perverted logic, the fact that Vietnam, like Cuba, shares much in common with other imperialist-dominated, underdeveloped countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America—skyrocketing inflation, dramatic declines in agricultural and industrial output, growing unemployment, persistent shortages in consumer goods, widening imbalances of exports and imports, deepening foreign debt and greater dependence on their imperialist patrons—this is supposed to prove the inherent superiority of capitalism over socialism. Like the flow of refugees from Vietnam, this allegedly demonstrates how much better life under the domination of U.S. imperialism is than under the domination of Soviet imperialism.

It is ridiculous. For what the sorry plight of Vietnam demonstrates is that imperialist domination, whether of the U.S. or Soviet variety, means economic strangulation and dependency, political repression and the misery of the masses.

Vietnam faced a massive job of economic reconstruction at the end of the war. The country, both north and south, had been ravaged by the U.S. war machine. Economic development in the north had been geared to the war effort. The rich agricultural area of the south, which had once been a rice-exporting region, was turned into a rice importer through decades of imperialist plunder. Saigon, like the Kampuchean capital Phnom Penh, had become parasitic, bloated with refugees driven from the countryside and dependent for survival on U.S. aid. The end of the war and the immediate cut-off of the U.S. support which had kept it afloat put heavy strains on the whole country. The U.S. had poured over \$15 billion in economic aid into south Vietnam, underwriting everything from the salaries of the army, police and civil service to the imports of raw materials and the luxury consumer goods that were enjoyed by the rich and traded on the open black market. The collapse of the Thieu regime left 3 million unemployed.

But what do we see in Vietnam today? A country valiantly and successfully struggling to overcome tremendous difficulties? On the contrary. The ugly picture presented by Vietnam is of a cesspool of revisionism, spewing forth the foul spray of the bourgeois and nationalistic ambitions of its leaders and their pathetic willingness to serve as pawns in Moscow's global contention with the U.S. in hopes of getting a slice of the pie of conquest for themselves. This is what

they are doing in Kampuchea. This is why Vietnam's leaders have dragged that country into a proxy war with China that is being fought on behalf of the interests of the two superpowers. Despite the intensification of its own internal economic woes caused by the huge military expenditures needed for the Kampuchea operation and its border war with China, Hanoi has its eyes fixed on some big booty ahead. They see a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow of military force they are now extending across Indochina. They have their own regional ambitions of becoming the "guardian" power in Southeast Asia, and perhaps even the whole Pacific region—as well as the *de facto* if not *de jure* absorption of Laos and Kampuchea.

Recently Vietnamese spokesmen have taken to talking openly on behalf of the three countries of Indochina as a political and military unit. And they have given clear indications that they also have designs on making them a single economic unit as well. A top Vietnamese economic planner recently wrote that "... Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea are interdependent... it is necessary to combine the disposition of strategic regions with economic regions and to regulate and distribute the workforce and the population for building grain production, bases, industrial zones, infrastructures." In an even blunter statement of its ambitions, a monthly review published by the Vietnamese army quoted Ho Chi Minh as once having said, "To help our friends means to help ourselves." Help ourselves... to our friends, should be the unfinished phrase in that sentence.

Of course, the willingness of the Vietnamese leaders to play the role of lackeys for the Soviets in Southeast Asia at tremendous cost to their own economy, albeit with hopes of great remuneration, is no longer just a matter of choice for them. Having bartered their country away to Soviet imperialism, they now face a situation in which Moscow is calling the shots. An article in *Revolution* magazine last year (Vol. 4, No. 7-8) examined in detail the roots and development of revisionism in Vietnam and showed how the course they are now forced to follow was determined long before Saigon fell in the spring of 1975.

Shortcut to Revisionism

Like many revolutionaries from the oppressed colonial countries, the leaders of Vietnam embraced Marxism-Leninism because it was the one ideology and political movement that stood uncompromisingly for the liberation of the colonies from imperialism. But they never went beyond that. Marxism became the means to their own nationalist goals for an independent and prosperous Vietnam. Because they recognized the difficulty, in fact impossibility, for a colonial country to successfully go through the same process of capitalist accumulation and development in the second half of the century that the imperialist powers went through earlier, they seized on the external forms of socialism, state ownership of the means of production and

centralized planning, as the way to accomplish their national aims. What they rejected, found repugnant, was the heart of socialism: the control of all aspects of society by the working class, won only through fierce and protracted class struggle. Like the bourgeoisie everywhere, they didn't see the creative power of the working class and the masses as being fundamental to the development of society on an entirely new basis, the only basis on which real liberation from imperialism can be won. Theirs was not the communist goal of the transformation of all the social relations in society and through this the step by step development of the material and productive resources of the country. Rather, their dream was of the rapid transformation of Vietnam into a modern and powerful Asian country.

During the war against French and U.S. imperialism this took the form of seeing mobilization and reliance on the masses as a means to an end, more a matter of rallying them to perform the assigned tasks. All the while the leadership looked for shortcuts to victory, through increasing reliance on Soviet weapons and battlefield tactics. When it came to the economic construction and reconstruction of the country, they saw the development of technology and modern industry as the fundamental factor and embraced capitalist methods and principles (which have been shown time and again to be compatible with the form of state ownership) for obtaining this technological and industrial base. They rejected the path of development through self-reliance and building on the country's agricultural base and moving from this basis to further develop industrial and raw material production. Instead they grubbed for the get-rich-quick scheme of mortgaging the country in order to buy industrial and technological wherewithall from the Soviet bloc and, where they could get it, from the West. This fit in very nicely with the Soviet Union's "internationalist" line that only through reliance on Moscow can the colonial and neo-colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America win political and economic independence—i.e., neodependence equals independence.

Instead of the fundamental socialist principle that the proletariat must take control of the organization of production, the Vietnamese leadership very openly pushed the principle of control by experts and technocrats. And while they spoke at length about "collective mastery" by the working class in all areas of society, the real role allotted to the masses was that of producers, heads down and noses to the grindstone. As Le Duan, General Secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party, put it in a report to the Fourth Party Congress in 1976, "In the final analysis the decisive factor for the success of the process of advancing to large scale socialist production is the constant increase of the social labor productivity, economic efficiency and the quality of production."

All of this was to be orchestrated by the great plan. Again from Le Duan's report: "Large scale socialist production (in their view, large-scale produc-

tion under the form of state ownership equals socialism—RW) can only take shape through conscious and planned construction. Therefore the plan is the main instrument to manage and direct the process of advancing from small scale production to large scale socialist production."

Swallowed in the Vortex of Imperialism

Vietnam's failure to even approximate the goals of its Second Five Year Plan launched in 1977 is not only a measure of its crumbling economy. It is testimony to how the vortex of imperialist domination and superpower contention into which their revisionist dreams have sucked them has blown all their plans to hell.

Economic statistics only indicate part of the story, but they are significant. The Second Five Year Plan projected an annual economic growth rate of about 15%. Instead, the rate of growth has contracted each year, from 9% in 1976 to barely 2% in 1978 and almost zero in 1979. At the same time, the country's population has increased by almost 1 million a year, i.e. more mouths to feed and less to feed them with. Afflicted with four consecutive seasons of bad weather, the country's agricultural production has continued to slide. Foodgrain production in 1978 fell 5 million tons short of the goal of 16 million tons, and was actually 2 million tons below the 1977 level. The 1979 foodgrain deficit is estimated to be close to 4 million tons, and again short of even lowered production targets. This shortfall was not just due to the political and social turmoil in the post-war southern part of the country. A government report stated that 63% of the agricultural cooperatives in the north also failed to achieve their production targets.

A major innovation on which the Vietnamese leaders staked high hopes for increasing agricultural production was the New Economic Zones in the south, which Hanoi also hoped would play a big role in alleviating the unemployment in the cities. People have been offered incentives to move into these zones, and although some half million are estimated to have moved from Ho Chi Minh City and another 1.3 million from heavily populated provinces in the north, these zones have not to date proved all that successful. Many, discouraged by the difficult labor and the lack of tools and facilities, have returned to the cities. And while the Vietnamese authorities initially saw these zones as primarily increasing food production, the pressure to increase exports has tended to push them toward the farming of cash crops for export.

Industrial and raw materials production did not fare any better. Industrial production had been targeted for a 21% increase in 1978. It grew by only 7%. The 1979 increase was reset at 12%, but this was not met either. Coal production, which contributes about 5% of Vietnam's Gross National Product, plummeted from 1977 on. The 1978 production fell to 6 million tons,

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AFL-CIO CIA

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sition as the uncontested victor, the U.S. had plenty to worry about. The war had opened the floodgates of revolution in many countries and led to a tremendous growth in revolutionary struggles elsewhere. The U.S. was extremely concerned over the situation in Europe, the bastion of the capitalist world. In France and Italy, for example, there was tremendous ferment among the masses, who had participated in the resistance movements against Germany in their countries. This was true despite the influence of communist parties which had abandoned any pretense of a revolutionary stand. The U.S. recognized and feared the potential of these struggles to take on a political character that would threaten the ability of the bourgeois governments to rule.

The U.S. didn't wait until the conclusion of the war to infiltrate and undermine various trade union struggles in Europe, but began in 1943 with the formation of the Free Trade Union Committee (FTUC). (As we shall see, the AFL-CIA agents continuously attempt to camouflage their dirty work by prefacing everything with the magic word "free." Any murderous plot or U.S. war of aggression, no matter how foul, is justified under the banner of "preserving freedom.") The FTUC, with modest beginnings within the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, became a powerhouse within the AFL funded with ample amounts of money from the newly-formed CIA by 1947. At the helm was none other than Jay Lovestone, expelled in 1929 from the Communist Party, USA. His right arm was Irving Brown, the FTUC's trusted representative in Europe. The two were the CIA's top hired guns in Europe who executed the two-fold task set for them by the ruling class: to divide and weaken the European workers by setting up pro-U.S. labor unions designed to put a leash on the struggle; and to undercut the influence of the Soviet Union, still a socialist state at that time enjoying much prestige among the masses.

During the war Brown worked closely with the Office of Strategic Services, a forerunner of the CIA, in carrying out the work of the FTUC. He proceeded to make contacts in the underground resistance movements among Catholic trade unionists, thoroughly opportunist Social Democrats, anti-communists and other conservatives, winning friends and influencing people with "gifts" and payoffs. As World War 2 drew to a close, the Free Trade Union Committee had staked out the battlefield and was ready for action.

In his 1965 acceptance speech for the "Freedom Award," George Meany asked the question,

"Why were we active in rebuilding free trade unions in France, Germany, Italy and Japan in the crucial years immediately following World War 2?"... "The answer is really very simple--we are interested in the preservation of free societies..."

More to the point here is Meany's (and friend's) interest in the preservation of societies free for the exploitation of U.S. capital. Immediately following the war, this meant among other things, the success of the Marshall Plan. Proposed in 1947, its purpose was to rebuild the post-war economies of Western Europe, to establish Japan as an American outpost in Asia, and to bring these countries under the heel of American economic and military control. As a precondition for receiving Marshall Plan aid, was an austerity program by the French government to hold down the wages and living standards and "stabilize"

its economy. This plan met strong resistance from the workers of France (and similarly Italy), still suffering from the hardships of the war. In the context of a huge strike called by the French Confederation of Workers (CGT) in 1947, involving three million workers and nearly paralyzing the economy, the dockworkers of Marseilles refused to unload American supplies. This obstruction standing in the path of the advance of U.S. imperialism had to be removed immediately, and free, CIA-sponsored "trade unionist" Irving Brown was the hatchetman called in to do the job.

FTUC organized Force Ouvriere (Workers Force), a small, anti-communist union composed primarily of white collar workers, to split off from the CGT. The allies Brown enlisted in this sabotage from within were some Catholic trade union leaders and Len Jouhaux, then co-secretary of the CGT and a member of the thoroughly opportunist Socialist Party. In exchange for its cooperation, Force Ouvriere was paid off with a \$25,000 "loan," as well as other "gifts." To regain control over the vitally important Marseilles docks, Brown hired Sicilian Mafia thugs who succeeded in breaking the strike, murdering some dockworkers in the process. The situation in Marseilles became so intense that the mayor of the city appealed for help from the national government, protesting the work of Brown and his thugs!

Hot on the heels of this effort in France, Brown was sent to Italy to deal with a wave of strikes sweeping the country in 1948. Once again similar tactics were applied to the Italian workers. An operation to build some reactionary pro-U.S. trade unions in opposition to the General Confederation of Italian Labor was brazenly supervised by Irving Brown and the CIA.

This activity was not the end of what George Meany called "rebuilding

free trade unions." Another obstacle to the American plan of imperialist expansion and conquest remained, and that was the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), formed in 1945. When the WFTU refused to give a specific endorsement to the Marshall Plan the U.S. immediately condemned it as an arm of the Soviet government. Within a year the U.S. had engineered the formation of a new international body, the International Confederation of (you guessed it!) Free Trade Unions (including such CIA-created unions as Force Ouvriere and the Italian CISL and UIL) which immediately endorsed the Marshall Plan. For years the ICFTU was nothing but a slavish extension of the U.S. State Department. It backed the formation of NATO, the Korean War, the French war in Indochina, the American occupation of Taiwan, the atom bomb, and practically every other ramification of U.S. foreign policy. (Later, in the late 60s, when the U.S. could no longer manipulate the ICFTU to get overwhelming support for the Vietnam War, it withdrew from the organization.)

The Free Trade Union Committee, the motive force behind these U.S.-engineered trade unions, was openly identified as a CIA front by Thomas Braden, the CIA's former head of the International Organizations Division, in 1967. A number of ex-CIA agents have identified Irving Brown's relationship to the CIA, including Philip Agee. In his book *Inside the Company, A CIA Diary*, Agee identifies Brown as the "principal agent for control of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions." The amount of money lavished on bribes, payoffs and palm greasings necessary for "rebuilding the free trade unions" is not known, however, columnist Drew Pearson put the minimal figure at \$100 million per year in a 1967 article.

In the oppressed nations of Asia,

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SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by Bob Avakian

"... in the final analysis, the reason for the destruction of the Black Panther Party as a revolutionary organization did not lie outside of it but inside of it. It lay not in the policies and vicious acts of repression that the government carried out—murder, harassment, jailing, hounding people out of the country—not in all that, though that played a crucial role, a vicious, crippling role—but fundamentally in the ideology and philosophy of the Black Panther Party, which ultimately determined how they responded to not only that repression, but how they responded to events in society as a whole." (from the pamphlet)

(Excerpts from a speech given in Cleveland, 1979, as part of a nationwide speaking tour.)

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New Draft Programme and Draft Constitution

Letters on the Battle Plan for Revolution

"Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution!" was the call issued by the Revolutionary Communist Party some weeks ago. This was a call to take up, discuss and criticize drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, USA which were published in early March.

The drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution are truly profound and pathbreaking documents. They are a battle plan for proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism—the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat—in this country. The documents are drafts, weapons in preparation. They represent a concentration of the science of revolution—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought—and the application of this science to the specific conditions we face in this country. The real possibility for revolution in the next decade demands that those who burn with the desire for such change seriously throw themselves into the struggle over the draft New Programme and New Constitution.

We have solicited comments, questions, agreements and disagreements over the new documents, and encourage the submitting of letters for publication in the Revolutionary Worker. Groups and individuals are urged to contact the Party with their ideas and to set up discussions.

Any topic covered in the drafts will be open to discussion. The publication of letters does not indicate that the Party necessarily agrees with the position stated in them. Others are free to respond to the points raised in any letter.

The Revolutionary Worker will on occasion respond directly to points raised, but as a rule we will not. This is because this process is not a series of questions and answers, but a process of discussion, struggle and sharpening of the drafts which will culminate in the final version of these documents. This process will last for a couple of months and will conclude with an even higher concentration of a correct proletarian revolutionary line by the leadership of the RCP. The final New Programme and New Constitution will be published shortly thereafter. The result of this process directly involving thousands will not only be deeper unity over the political line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, but a deepening of the line itself. And the proletariat will have an even sharper weapon in its revolutionary struggle for political power.

Strengthen Proletarian Internationalism in the new draft Programme

At the beginning of the chapter on the United Front in the new draft Programme there is a sentence which reads: "On a world scale, the proletariat in the U.S. has as its closest allies the workers of all countries and the revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples and nations—and it is of decisive importance for the proletariat, especially in an imperialist country, to firmly unite and fight side by side with these allies." (p. 20) This sentence is entirely correct and of overwhelming and critical import; yet the very fact that it is but a sentence and, moreover, that it is followed by a crucial "but," cuts against its correct internationalist thrust.

Lenin once noted that "...proletarian internationalism demands, first, that the interests of the proletarian struggle in any one country

should be subordinated to the interests of that struggle on a world-wide scale, and, second, that a nation which is achieving victory over the bourgeoisie should be able and willing to make the greatest national sacrifices for the overthrow of international capital." ("Preliminary Draft Theses on the National and Colonial Questions," *Selected Works*, Vol. 3, pp. 425-6). The section on "International Relations" in the new draft Programme speaks powerfully to the second point raised by Lenin here, but, although there is a correct internationalist tone throughout the document and a special and necessary emphasis on the threat of inter-imperialist world war, only the sentence quoted above speaks directly to Lenin's first point. Nowhere else does the new draft Programme present to the class-conscious workers a fuller analysis of the various class (and national) forces at work in the world today and how, in an overall sense, the U.S. working class must relate to them.

This, I believe, is a serious weakness which needs to be corrected. Not only does the omission of such an analysis leave the door open to abandoning the stand of proletarian internationalism for national chauvinism (the "but" which begins the next sentence could certainly be used in this way by opportunist elements), perhaps of more immediate concern is that it leaves the advanced unarmed, without even a sketchy and rudimentary grasp of the basic scientific Marxist principles of internationalism which communists strive to use to determine friends and enemies on a world scale. These principles include, at the least, the points mentioned by Lenin when he declared (with specific reference to the national-colonial question): "In conformity with its fundamental task of combating bourgeois

democracy and exposing its falseness and hypocrisy, the Communist Party, as the avowed champion of the proletarian struggle to overthrow the bourgeois yoke, must base its policy, in the national question too, not on abstract and formal principles but, first, on a precise appraisal of the specific historical situation and, primarily, of economic conditions; second, on a clear distinction between the interests of the oppressed classes, of working and exploited people, and the general concept of national interests as a whole, which implies the interests of the ruling class; third, on an equally clear distinction between the oppressed, dependent and subject nations and the oppressing, exploiting and sovereign nations, in order to counter the bourgeois-democratic lies that play down this colonial and financial enslavement of the vast majority of the world's population by an insignificant minority of the richest and advanced capitalist countries, a feature characteristic of the era of finance capital and imperialism." (*Ibid.*, p. 423)

Let me stress, however, that in making this suggestion I do not advocate a return to the section of the old Party Programme on the "World-Wide United Front." While that section was written at the time in conscious opposition to the revisionist "three worlds theory" of Teng, Hua and Co. (and echoed at the time by our own Mensheviks), it still reflected much of that incorrect and chauvinist line. Moreover, the world has changed quite a bit since the old Programme was written and the strategy outlined then—even if it had been free of revisionist influence—is now very much out of date.

But beyond this it is impossible to return to that section or even to rewrite it for a more fundamental

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Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution!

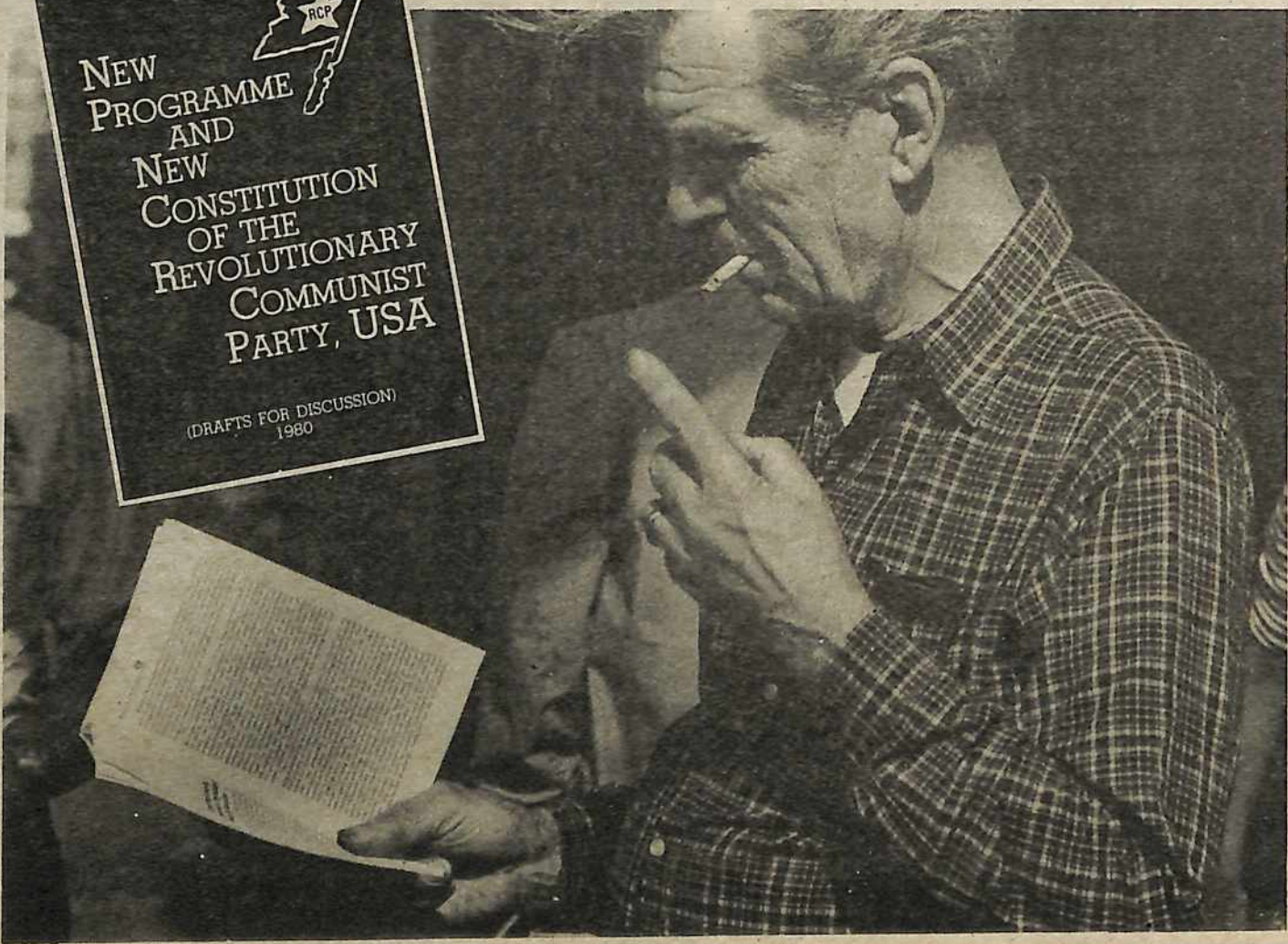
In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity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

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

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

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"We'll Serve Again... But We Won't Be Serving You!"

Continued from page 8

This is not exactly the sweet and pretty picture Carter was trying to paint at the White House ceremony. "A nation healing is a good sight to behold from the Presidency... Over the last two and a half years I have encouraged and I have been heartened to witness an enormous change in attitude of Americans toward those who served in Vietnam," monotoned Jimmy Carter. The Vietnam memorial is supposed to serve as "a symbol of national unity and reconciliation." But only hours before, there was more bad news—the Veterans Administration had released the findings of a Lou Harris poll of nearly 2500

Vietnam-era veterans (paid for by the VA to the tune of \$485,000), supposedly the most comprehensive survey ever made of Vietnam vets. And, the dubious nature of such polls commissioned by the capitalists notwithstanding, the results could hardly have been said to be "heartening" to Carter and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

While the bourgeois press attempted to stand reality on its head by running the survey's conclusions under headlines like "Viet Vets: We'd Serve Again," the picture that actually emerged was not nearly so rosy as the White House garden where Carter, 150 Congressmen, and various veterans' "representatives" were assembled. Ap-

proximately half the veterans surveyed agreed with the statement, "If I were asked to serve again, I would refuse." This is no idle statement, since there are plans afoot to draft vets. Vets polled also thought the U.S. should have stayed the hell out of Vietnam. This is not exactly a shining ray of hope for the U.S. imperialist war planners who are counting on calling up "seasoned Vietnam veterans" to lead the more inexperienced cannonfodder in the charge against their Soviet rivals in World War 3. And while the AP press reports were quick to point out that 60% disagreed with the statement, "The United States took unfair advantage of me," they were not so swift to point out that the

other 40% obviously felt they had been given a royal screw job.

But even more depressing to Carter and these ruling class purveyors of "national unity and reconciliation" were the indications in their own survey that large numbers of Vietnam vets were jolted and sickened by their experience in witnessing the U.S. imperialists plunder and murder first-hand. A full one-third of the veterans said to this bourgeois poller that they agreed with the statement, "It is shameful what my country did to the Vietnamese people."

ABORTION

Continued from page 1

gas). Now, on the question of morality, Lenin had a few things to say in "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," where he points out: "We reject any morality based on extra-human and extra-class concepts. We say that this is deception, dupery, stultification of the workers and peasants in the interests of the landowners and capitalists.

"We say that our morality is entirely subordinated to the interests of the proletariat's class struggle. Our morality stems from the interests of the class struggle of the proletariat." And on the question of abortion, the revolutionary interests and morality of the proletariat are clear. The denial of women's right to abortion is part and parcel of the general oppression of women. This is because emancipating women from their position as being tied to the role of child-bearer, raiser and housekeeper is a central question in fighting the oppression of women. The inability to get an abortion is another link on the chain binding women in this role. And the condescending offer to be barefoot and pregnant in the interest of the morality of the imperialist state has about as much going for it as the position of the women slaves that were used as breeders by the slavemasters on the plantations. So much for bourgeois morality.

But, drone the judges, in their most cynical double-speak, this ruling doesn't really deny the women the right to have an abortion, it only denies them the means to pay for it, or as they put it "freedom of choice... does not confer an entitlement to such funds as may be necessary to realize all the advantages of that freedom... The financial constraints that restrict an indigent woman's ability to enjoy the full range of constitutionally protected freedom of choice are the product not of governmental restrictions on access to abortions but rather of her indigency." In other words, these women have committed two crimes—first they are women and on top of that they are poor, and that of course has nothing to do with the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie which they politely call their "government;" no it has everything to do with it. This ruling is clearly a class action by the bourgeoisie, aimed at the urban and rural poor, including a large number of oppressed nationality women, to further degrade them. It will clearly result in increased suffering for the masses of women putting the seal of approval on reactionary moves to take away the right to abortion which have been hatching ever since abortions were legalized after the upsurge of the women's movement in the '60s and early '70s.

The ruling will also make a lot of people very angry. Ahh, there's the rub for the bourgeoisie. And while it is quite clear to anyone with a progressive

bone in their head that this ruling is thoroughly reactionary, what is not perhaps so transparent is the outcry of opposition coming from bourgeois quarters—major newspaper editorials like the *New York Times* (which always scatters little slogans at the end of their columns saying "Remember the Neediest") and others, criticizing the ruling and upholding the dissenting judges on the Supreme Court like Justice Blackmun as men of compassion, reason and saviors of the poor. And already the cry has begun, as in the *Chicago Sun Times* for the states to foot the bill for the abortions.

Clearly sections of the bourgeoisie are jumping to the fore to head off what they know will be a major protest from varied quarters, and channel that anger into reformist fighting for state legislation. Insidious, but that goes without saying. However, their real underlying concern has nothing to do with compassion for the poor, or a desire to head the masses off at the pass in the abstract. Their chief worry is even more insidious—in fact, they haven't even mentioned it—and that's a dead give away right there.

What these "liberals" are most concerned about is that this ruling has let a little too much slip out about the real content of equality in this "best of all possible systems." It has put into law a screaming inequity at the very time when they are attempting to rally women to become equal cannon fodder in their plans for World War 3 and are

drumming up support for drafting women into the armed forces. And while the conservative thinking reinforced by the Supreme Court ruling is not in contradiction to their overall plans, they cannot afford to let it sit there unopposed. They are not concerned about babies interfering with their draft plans. When they want women in the army, they'll get rid of the babies: abortions, sterilizations, etc. will be a dime a dozen. What they are concerned about is the apparent double standard which riddles the court ruling. This double standard is consistent with bourgeois legality, which is merely an expression of what class rules the roost. What bothers them is that it is transparent. They must pose as the defenders of equality in order to "keep the ladies' faith." This is much the same as the way they use both Phyllis Schlafly, "Yes, we want war—but don't let the women fight it," and the bourgeois feminists, "We don't want war, but dammit, women will fight in it equally," as two sides of a coin that comes up helmets and combat boots for the imperialists every time they flip it.

A revealing ruling, indeed. What the action of the high court has demonstrated is exactly what the moribund imperialist system has in store for the masses of women in the years ahead, especially as it heads toward war. The "equality" of fighting and dying for the imperialists and increased oppression and degradation of every sort, from coathangers to pornography. □

AFL-CIO CIA

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Africa and Latin America, the direct hand of the AFL-CIO labor lieutenants in bloody political intrigue, murder, torture, bribery, treachery and deception makes them indistinguishable from their imperialist masters.

After World War 2, as part of its efforts to politically stabilize the world situation, the U.S. paid special attention to Latin America. Known as "the great hinterland of U.S. imperialism" and subjected to grueling exploitation by U.S. corporations for decades, Latin America was a tinderbox of revolt. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, expressed the fear that "Latin America may go the way of China." The potential danger of the mass struggle to the U.S. was very great because of the deep poverty of the masses and hatred of U.S. imperialist domination.

Immediately after the war, the AFL sent its agent Serafino Romualdi to do the same kind of work in Latin America that Irving Brown was doing in Europe. Romualdi was directly under the tutelage of Jay Lovestone, now head of the AFL's (and later the AFL-CIO's) International Affairs Dept., the successor of the "Free Trade Union Committee." U.S. strategy and tactics in Latin America followed the same tried and true methods as it had in Europe—and forming pro-U.S. opposition trade unions in attempts to control the workers. During the late 1940s, Romualdi worked through the U.S.-sponsored International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to accomplish this goal. After several failures, the Inter-American Organization of Workers (ORIT) was set up in 1948. The problem, as the Senate

Subcommittee on Foreign Relations was forced to admit, was that ORIT became so identified with U.S. policy that it outlived its usefulness within the decade:

"...there seems to be a decline in ORIT prestige in Latin America. More fundamental, perhaps, has been the tendency of ORIT to support U.S. government policy in Latin America. ORIT endorsed the overthrow of the Arbenz regime (in 1954) in Guatemala and of the Goulart regime (in 1964) in Brazil. It supported Burnham over Cheddi Jagan in Guyana, it approved the intervention in the Dominican Republic. To many Latin Americans it looks like ORIT is an instrument of the U.S. State Dept..."

The case of Guatemala shows that not only did ORIT "endorse" the overthrow of the Arbenz regime, but Serafino Romualdi was an active participant in it. Guatemala was known as "the Banana Republic" in the early 1950s because 92% of its foreign investment was controlled by the United Fruit Company. The people, with an average per capita income of \$200 per year, toiled in utter misery, enslaved either to the big landlord or to United Fruit, which together owned 98% of the land. When Jacobo Arbenz was elected in 1952, he instituted a mild land reform program to buy some of United Fruit's idle land, but it wasn't mild enough for Romualdi. He tried to intervene by forming a new union federation to split off the support Arbenz enjoyed, but he failed. His proteges then organized a CIA army led by General Carlos Castillo Armas who organized a coup and overthrew the Arbenz government. The new regime murdered hundreds, perhaps thousands of peasants and workers in a wave of revenge on the part of the landlords

and capitalists. George Meany announced that "the AFL rejoices in the downfall of the Communist-controlled regime." Romualdi returned to Guatemala to "re-organize" the labor movement and United Fruit Company kept its plantations.

In 1962, the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)—the oldest, largest and wealthiest of the three international labor organizations founded by the AFL-CIO—was established to pick up the ball where the badly exposed ORIT had fumbled it. AIFLD is co-sponsored by the AFL-CIO, government officials and 95 U.S. multi-national corporations that do business in Latin America. Its purpose was spelled out bluntly by J. Peter Grace, chairman of the board of AIFLD and the WR Grace Co. AIFLD urges "co-operation between labor and management and an end to class struggle," he said, and seeks "to prevent communist infiltration, and where it exists... get rid of it." Every corporation that has a major interest in Latin America, including ITT, Kennecott and Anaconda Copper, Standard Oil, Shell Petroleum, etc., is on AIFLD's list. Just in case the masses are unimpressed with the virtues of collaborating with these rapacious giants, and rise up in revolt, the AIFLD has more direct methods of dealing with them—such as participating in the CIA-sponsored coup in Chile.

"I have observed over the years," noted George Meany, "a growing appreciation, by thoughtful leaders of industry, of the vital part that strong and responsible trade unions play in our system and in the defense of our free, democratic way of life. An

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BUILD THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, USA!

If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs.

—"Revolutionary Forces of the World Unite, Fight Against Imperialist Aggression"
Mao Tsetung

What the CWP is Copying and What It Is Not

Imitation, goes the old saying, is the highest form of flattery. Aping, on the other hand, is a different matter. And the recent splurge of mimicry of the RCP by the Communist Workers Party (CWP) only leads to suspicions about what these folks are up to. At the very least, these are none too creative people. Coinciding with their efforts to reflect a fun house mirror-distorted image of the RCP are numerous, and quite obviously intentional, instances of the bourgeois media confusing the two.

Now the RCP has no objection to copying, if they are really trying to copy our revolutionary line and practice. If someone were honestly trying to do this—no problem—we'd seek to unite. But unfortunately that is not the case with the CWP. Their persistent reformism and flights of obstreperous dogmatism have nothing in common with the line of the Party. All that they imitate are particular phrases and bits and pieces of analyses, which are torn out of their context. So one is led to speculate on what other purpose motivates their little burlesque. For instance:

Over the past year the RCP has begun to emphasize the leadership role and contributions of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Party's Central Committee, as a representative and concentration of the Party's revolutionary line and leadership. Comrade Avakian's picture has appeared in numerous Party publications and on a nationally distributed poster around the government's legal attacks focused on him.

This May the CWP began advertising the General Secretary of its group, a Mr. Jerry Tung, well known for representing and concentrating many things, but not a revolutionary political line. Quotations from Mr. Tung on important matters featured in their newspaper, and his picture adorns the fly leaf of their rebaptized theoretical journal.

March 1980: the RCP issued a new draft *Programme* and draft *Constitution*. They are made necessary by the changing situation and reflect the understanding that revolution in the U.S. is a real possibility in the 1980s. Thus, the draft *Programme* contains a concrete summation of what such a revolution will mean, a description of how socialism will resolve the burning contradictions of imperialism.

May 1980: A prominent part of the CWP's poster, under the heading of "Revolutionary Socialism is the Only Solution," is a description of how socialism will provide jobs for all, universal education up to college, equal pay for equal jobs for women, the strengthening of marriage and home life, and give every family its own home. (They forget to mention a chicken in every pot and two cars in every garage. They deny the poster was copied from a recipe for goulash.)

In January 1979 the RCP began to stress the crucial importance of the decade of the '80s, with its prospects for war and revolution. "If you liked the '60s, you'll love the '80s," we said. At the beginning of 1980 the *RW* printed an important statement by Bob Avakian entitled: "1980: A Year, A Decade of Historic Importance." (This was reprinted as a pamphlet.)

At the end of January 1980 the CWP began to talk about the 1980s as a decade of fascism, war and revolution. In May the CWP renamed its theoretical journal *The 80s*. In June the CWP announced a special forum with Jerry Tung on the topic, "Which Way Forward for the '80s?"

Thursday, May 1, 1980: Militant demonstrations erupt in cities across the country, fighting their way through attacks by police and cop-organized reactionaries, as thousands of workers and other advanced forces, as a core of the class-conscious proletariat, leap onto the stage of history. In building for May Day, 800 revolutionaries are arrested in cities all over the country. The eyes of millions are focused on this historic event. On several occasions the press identifies actions by the RCP and the May Day Brigades as CWP demonstrations.

June 9, 1980: The CWP, which had done nothing on May 1st (declaring afterwards that May Day has been "a solemn occasion to review our forces"), features a letter in the centerfold of their newspaper from a reader who talks of having just become acquainted with the CWP and then asks: "Did you happen to see the picture in the *L.A. Times* covering the May Day rally? Those two fucking guys that looked like marines with T-shirts on that said "Commie Killers"? The CWP does nothing to correct the impression that May Day demonstrations had something to do with them.

Early January 1980. In articles in the *RW* (No. 35) and *Revolution* on the CWP, the RCP noted (among other things) their virtually complete failure to include the prospect of inter-imperialist world war in their analysis of the coming period. We pointed out that only a new redivision of the world following the winning of such a war (or from the opposite side, successful revolution) could resolve the present imperialist crisis, and not a new New Deal, as the CWP was putting forward.

January 21, 1980: A front page editorial in the CWP newspaper puts forward their new line: The U.S. can only escape from economic crisis through war.

In late 1979, building for the historic actions of May Day 1980, the RCP put forward the statements and questions of the advanced section of the working class: "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 1980: The CWP issued a poster, the importance of which was stressed in their newspaper. The first slogan featured on the poster: "What will you do and which side are you on?" The same slogan is frequently featured in their articles.

Of course, such instances of political pickpocketry are nothing new for the CWP. In October 1978, after waging a massive campaign throughout the country in defense of Mao Tsetung and the Four, the RCP announced a "Mao Tsetung Enrollment" for revolutionary fighters to step forward and apply for membership in the Party. Months later, after keeping their line on Mao and the revisionist coup in China secret for as long as possible, the CWP announced its own "Mao Tsetung Enrollment." And when the RCP issued the call to "Turn D.C. Upside Down" in the battle to stop the railroad of Bob Avakian and to free the Mao Tsetung Defendants, the CWP followed a little while later with their slogan, "Turn the Country Upside Down."

At the very least you can fairly draw the conclusion that this group is consciously trying to confuse the masses of people about themselves and the RCP. What else they have in mind will bear careful watching. □

RENAISSANCE CITY CRUMBLES



Just blocks away from the Detroit Renaissance Center, showcase for "urban rehabilitation," a man was seriously injured recently by a piece of cast iron molding which fell off a vacant building.



The Fight for at San Francisco MUNI

The call for revolutionary May Day 1980 was rooted in the Party's analysis of the crisis, the developments towards World War, and the real possibility of revolution in the next decade; from this came the urgent necessity as well as possibility to weld the advanced workers into a class conscious force to take independent historical action, upholding the interests of the international proletariat, influencing the broader masses and making crucial preparations for revolution.

In the wake of the overall success and impact of revolutionary May Day it is important to take part in making the deeper summation called for by the Party. This summation is necessary so that the advances can be maximized and gains consolidated. This article is an attempt to contribute to this process by summing up the battle for May First among the Muni drivers—municipal transit—in the San Francisco Bay Area where there are indeed workers who have a burning desire for basic change. Due to the high concentration of Black workers (64% of the work force) and the history of the effects of the Black liberation struggle of the '60s at Muni, there was at that time an active Black caucus influenced by revolutionary politics and several revolutionary and so-called "communist" organizations, organizing on "the property," as it's called. There is, down to today, a high degree of political sophistication among these workers. At the Muni there is a high degree of literacy and a large number of working class and especially Black intellectuals on the job. Many of the workers are also vets, with a couple of years of college on the GI Bill. In the past this education has served to strengthen reformism but the crisis has dashed many dreams of using education to escape the working class, and this training has become a more revolutionary factor in this situation, aiding these workers in actively taking up Marxism and spreading these revolutionary ideas broader.

The *Revolutionary Worker* has had a large circulation with a sizeable number of consistent readers over the last year. Generally, the atmosphere is such that one would be hard pressed to find anyone who doesn't know about the *RW* or Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP Central Committee.

The battle for May Day struck a chord among the Muni drivers far beyond anything that had happened there ever before. This was clear in how it was received by the workers there very broadly even before the battle reached its peak in the weeks before May First. One worker who marched in May Day put it this way, "The posters and whatever you put around the barn—usually they disappear within a day, but the May Day posters stayed. *RWs* stayed in the gilley room (dispatch room—*RW*)...there's quite a few things that were done that were new. Like the May Day Brigade taking over the street cars and the buses in the streets. Drivers allowing the May Day Brigades to do agitation on the streetcars and the buses. In the past drivers would stop the buses and call the cops saying, 'Hey, get them out of here.' I think that is very significant."

Red Flag Day

On Red Flag Day—a week before May 1st—something even more significant happened. About two dozen drivers flew red flags on their buses and streetcars, and many more bought red flags. This was a very conscious and powerful act on the part of the drivers who put up flags right in front of supervisors who were trying to tear them off

the buses. One driver put it this way, "Raising this red flag is a conspiracy. They want us to be dog-eat-dog and they got us running around trying to cut each other's throats. The red flag is in complete opposition to that...when Iran broke out, there was a lot of confusion in my mind. When the U.S. was cornered, they tried to create a lot of confusion—the students are terrorists and all that. The *RW* changed my thinking—the whole thing from beginning to end...what business do we have to stand with our oppressors? Raising the red flag is standing with our brothers and sisters in Iran—we have more in common with them than our rulers here."

Muni management in an unprecedented action, announced that the red flag and the bullhorn were in opposition to the interests of the city of San Francisco, and announced over the radio to all the buses and streetcars that anyone caught flying the red flag would be subject to disciplinary action. A team of inspectors were sent out to drive around and catch drivers flying the red flag. One driver was brought up on dismissal charges as a result of Red Flag Day, and others were cited for flying the red flag, some more than once. As May Day approached, Muni announced that a team of inspectors was going to go visit the home of everyone who didn't show up for work on May First.

Muni management was jumping out in response to the political threat May Day represented in the response to the internationalist stand the revolutionary workers had taken on Red Flag Day, and was openly trying to stomp out May Day. This was something they had never done before—in the past they had never taken disciplinary action on openly political grounds. But what they did to raise the stakes was already overshadowed by what the bourgeoisie as a whole did, when the U.S. government responded to the political threat May Day represented by planning and carrying out the murder of Party member Damian Garcia. The "Great Leap" article in the May 5 *RW* characterized the overall situation, "Simply put, the bourgeoisie realized the potential impact of May Day in the present situation of crisis and war. It turned out that the stakes were a lot higher than even we recognized and only a relatively smaller number were willing to pay that price right now. Of course, all along we knew and we said that there would be repression even murder, but even still, we underestimated the degree to which the bourgeoisie would sum up the May Day threat and act—upping the ante. Even under these circumstances the goals were not unattainable, but to achieve them would have meant doing things extremely well—both tactically and politically."

In order to realize the potential revealed by the broad response to May First in the Muni, and even more by the advanced stand taken on Red Flag Day, we had to recognize the real terms of the battle, the impact of the raising of the stakes, and operate at a very high political level.

The period between the murder of Damian Garcia and May Day itself was a concentrated battle. In a way it was like what Lenin called the "fight for the troops"—over who and how many were going to step forward. In summing up the lessons of the Moscow Uprising in 1905 he said, "The wavering of the troops, which is inevitable in every truly popular movement, leads to a real fight for the troops whenever the revolutionary struggle becomes acute. The Moscow Uprising was precisely an example of the desperate, frantic struggle for the troops that takes place between the reaction and the revolution...and we must have the courage to confess openly and unreservedly, that in this respect we lagged behind the government. We failed to utilize the forces at our disposal for such active, bold, resourceful and aggressive fight for the troops as that which the government waged and won." Of course the analogy is limited, because Lenin was talking about the physical struggle for the military troops in the Tsar's army, while we are talking about a political battle for the active participation on May First of the "troops" of class-conscious workers. But many of Lenin's political points apply.

At Muni the bourgeoisie couldn't mobilize more than a few wretched flag wavers, genuinely isolated from most of the drivers. These generally were met with ridicule and as an opportunity to think up and try out new put-down jokes on the American flag. But what the bourgeoisie couldn't mobilize for their side, they could try to rob from the other side—the murder of Damian Garcia unleashed social forces at the Muni to seize the opportunity to preach cynicism and spread demoralization. "See—every time you step out, look what happens. You can't take on the system. Every time you put your head up, you get it shot off."

The murder of Damian raised the stakes of May Day, and actually presented tremendous opportunities to the proletariat. Some of the advanced workers recognized this more than us in some ways. One worker who had experience with the Panthers in the '60s told a May Day organizer that we should have waged a campaign at Muni around the murder of Damian from the day he was murdered. He felt that the Party failed to really unleash the anger of the other workers around this vicious attack, that there was tremendous potential to do this. In the "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising," Lenin writes of

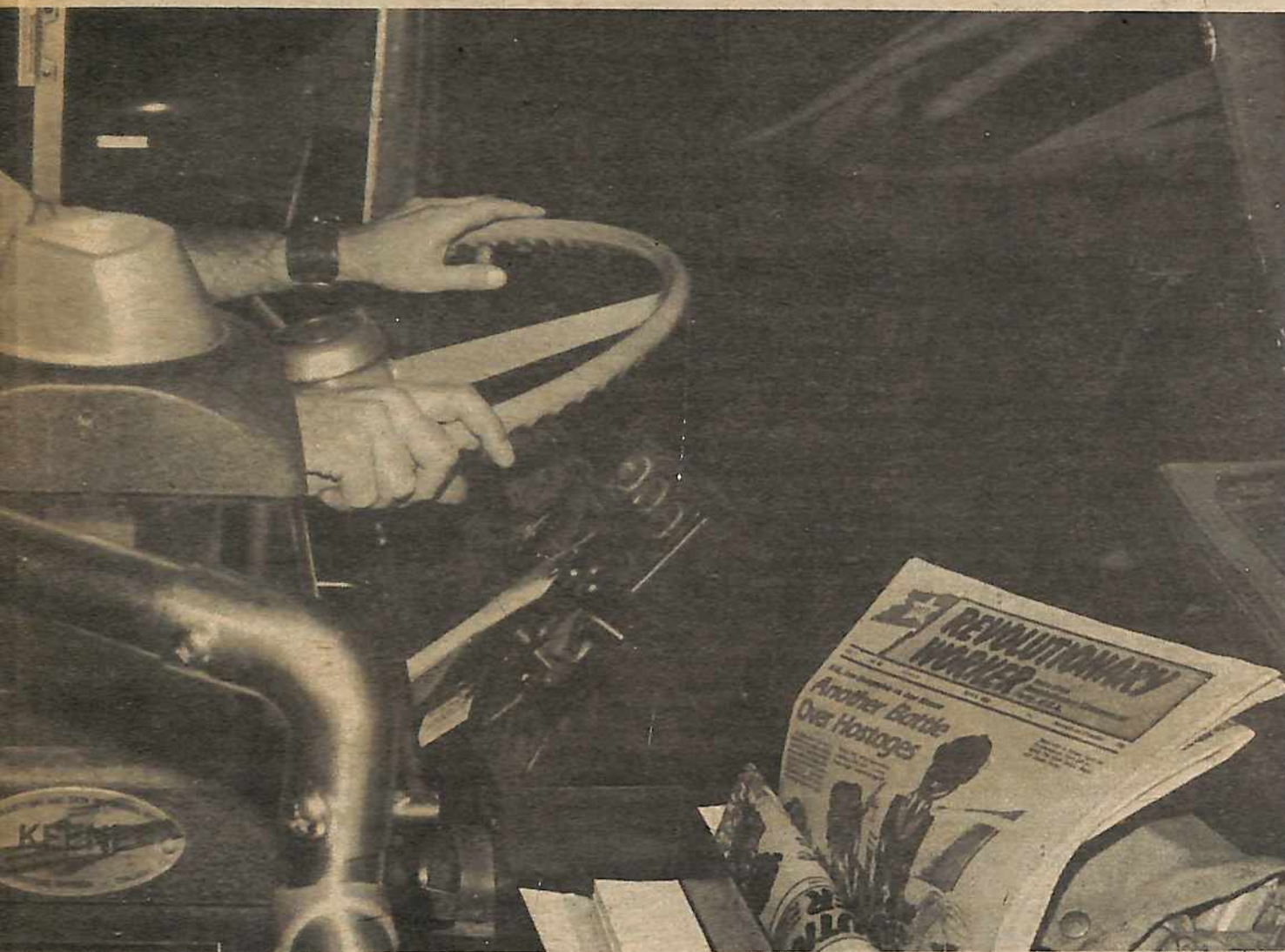


"one of Marx's profound propositions...that insurrection is an art, and that the principal rule of this art is the waging of the desperately bold and unrevocably determined *offensive*." May Day was overall a bold and determined proletarian offensive—the murder called for raising the level of that offensive—at the Muni the Party had to lead a broad and sharp campaign around how the murder of Damian showed a desperate and defensive bourgeoisie, that had a tremendous amount to lose on May First. We had to do this broadly and we basically failed to do it at all; beyond that, we had to go deeply into the overall questions of the advanced that were raised to a higher level with Damian's execution.

Role of Propaganda

The particular question that came to the fore was the question, "why run the risk?" Why take this very advanced action in the face of such high stakes? This question was a serious one, and required a serious answer—a deep answer to how May First would actually put us in a qualitatively better position to make revolution. The paper "Is Revolution Really Possible in This Decade and What Does May First Have to Do With It?" by Bob Avakian concentrated in a powerful and scientific way the answer to this question. The paper should have been used to wage the battle for the troops in a sweeping way, consciously using the weapon of propaganda as a vital part of the proletariat's offensive. This wasn't done. The issue of the *RW* (No. 49) containing this "Talk" had been sold, it is true, to the Muni drivers when it came out but it was never used beyond that in

For the Troops San Francisco's



systematic discussion to get down with the advanced the final week when the questions were really sharp. As the "Talk" paper said, "Many people, especially among the more advanced, have been through a lot of struggle, and they have a lot of deep questions. They are not just going to come out and struggle, no matter what their sentiments might be, they're not going to come out in large numbers in any kind of sustained way unless and until they see the possibility to make a real difference, to have a real effect on society, to actually contribute something important toward basic change, toward revolution."

One Muni driver who did come to May Day explained why he came in the face of the high stakes, "The probability—not even the possibility—that world war will be coming. The analysis of *America in Decline*... hey, bombs could be falling right in your backyard. A lot of people might not believe that, but I think if you look at the analysis of the Party, understand the analysis of the Party itself, it is possible, it is *probable* that bombs could be falling in your backyard. How do you stop that? We've got answers to that too. Now the people who did not come to May Day... the people who are saying 'when the shooting comes, give me a call'—I think we should give them a call even *before* the shooting comes... you might call them when the shooting starts and they might shoot the other way. But even before you point the gun you've got to have a political understanding of why you pull the trigger. People can be made to pull the trigger at the wrong target at the wrong time. Those are the things we should be telling them."

About five days before May First, the *Oakland Tribune* came out with an article that raised the stakes of the battle even more. It was a long front-page attack on the RCP, including a short history going back 10 years. Its main point was that the Party was crazy, isolated from the masses and isolated from the "left." At this point with the backward jumping out and roaring about how crazy May Day was, with Muni management threatening firings, with the U.S. government unleashing hired killers and on down the line, the different faces of the bourgeoisie jumping out either with the gun or a chorus of how crazy and suicidal the RCP was with this May Day, many advanced at Muni rejected the view put out in this article and saw it for what it was—a conscious political attack on the RCP, aimed at preparing public opinion for further police attacks on the Party and especially on May Day. Many drew the connection between this article and the way the bourgeoisie used the media to go after the Panthers. At the same time, most of these people felt intimidated to one extent or another by what one worker labelled a "set-up." And the May Day organizers took this intimidation as the main thing going on, and failed to wage sharp political struggle with these vacillating troops over how the further raising of the stakes showed how much the bourgeoisie feared May First, how deep their underlying weakness was, and how much we stood to win. The fact that at this point significant numbers of advanced were still thinking very seriously about coming to May Day, had great respect for the Party, and had enough political experience to see through the bourgeoisie's game was actually a tremen-

dous basis to wage an offensive battle and to win significant numbers of people over. But again we didn't fully recognize, or wage, this battle.

History of Panthers

Damian's murder and the *Oakland Tribune* article, brought to the surface a lot of memories and deep feelings about the Black Panther Party. Closely related to waging the battle around these new and higher stakes was a battle in the realm of propaganda over how to sum up the defeat of the Black Panther Party. A lot of very conscious people at the Muni burn with hatred of this system over what happened to the Panthers, but have various unscientific summations of what happened to them. One said the Panthers were "too advanced," they should have tried to organize demonstrations of millions, more like Martin Luther King. Another line said the Panthers were shot down because the masses failed to come forward to defend them. These lines stood as an obstacle to May First and more fundamentally to making revolution. The *RW* had printed Bob Avakian's summation of the Panthers: while they had been hit hard by the bourgeoisie, it was not this, but their internal political weakness that had destroyed the Panthers. Fundamentally it was not that they were "too advanced," but, in fact, though many Panthers were heroic, the Panther Party didn't really take up the advanced revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and resorted instead to short-term and narrow "whatever seems to work" pragmatism. This was a key summation, but this weapon was not used to wage the battle for these

troops, again part of the failure to recognize what the "Talk" paper said that we could, and had to, change conditions especially among the advanced by wielding the weapon of revolutionary, scientific understanding.

An important and sizeable section of the revolutionary-minded workers at Muni, people with whom it was absolutely necessary to unite with and struggle with to broaden their understanding, were workers who have a pretty consciously defined revolutionary nationalist position. Many of these are relatively young (late 20s, early 30s) Black workers who burn with intense hatred for the system. One of these workers, when asked what he thought about the possibility of revolution in the '80s responded, "I can't wait that long." He basically said, if the masses aren't ready for revolution, too bad. We've got to do it anyway, and that it's not the working class, but the most oppressed, especially the Black masses, who will make revolution. Because of that view and because some of these workers thought May Day was a "white" thing we didn't seek and find ways to unite politically and mobilize these forces around May First—even though some of these forces had played an active role in the battle to free Bob Avakian. In this campaign 50 drivers wore buttons and passed out leaflets, making a wide impact on the public, the day the trial was supposed to start.

The May Day organizers did not themselves grasp firmly enough, and did not arm these revolutionary nationalists with the line of the "Talk" paper, "I think a lot of what the advanced section of the proletariat is now are people who for reasons other than simply being members of the proletariat are somewhat more politically advanced. People who went through the experience of the '60s in one way or another; people from the oppressed nationalities, people who were veterans of the Vietnam war; women who don't accept 'being in their place' some immigrants, especially those from countries where there is a relatively strong anti-imperialist struggle, etc. And a crucial question for the Party is how to give all this class conscious expression and help spread it to broader sections of the working class as well as exerting an influence on other forces in society, broader sections of the people. I'm not saying we should make that an absolute and go along looking for different strata within the working class and make them into separate compartments, just the opposite—we have to look for those ways that different streams of political and social expression and movements are an influence within the working class that can be a big lever to move a class conscious section forward, that can influence much broader masses." This understanding of the key role of certain advanced sections as "roads to the proletariat" had to be taken to these workers themselves in order to enable them to have the consciousness necessary to play an advanced role around May First.

If we had grasped the dialectical view here, and broken with the *mechanical* view of the working class even at the very end, more forces could have been brought into the battle. These revolutionary nationalists, not pulled down by economism in the same way as many of the other workers, could have been a powerful force at the Muni, inspiring and moving others.

Was it possible to weld together the advanced politically in the face of murder and the threat of firing and the howling and moaning of the backward? Could we actually have broken through

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VIETNAM

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200,000 tons lower than 1977 production. Anthracite exports to Japan, Vietnam's largest trading partner next to the Soviet Union and an important source of Vietnam's much needed foreign exchange, were off 42% in 1978 from 1977 and seem to have taken a similar drop again in 1979.

As Nayan Chanda, a journalist for the *Far Eastern Economic Review*, pointed out, "since 60% of Vietnam's electricity comes from burning coal, the fall in production in this sector has also adversely affected power supplies to factories and to the pumping stations of agricultural co-operatives."

The fall in production and the diversion of funds for military expenditures to finance the occupation of Kampuchea and the border war with China have meant stringent rationing of food and other basic items and a severe shortage of consumer goods at home, along with a rapid increase in the country's indebtedness to both the Soviet bloc and the West, since Vietnam has had to borrow heavily to cover its import bills. The Vietnamese rulers' dreams of importing producer goods and technology have gone up in smoke as they have been forced to spend their meager export earnings plus everything they can borrow to cover their food bills and military needs and to service their earlier debts. It is the classic pattern of the "Less Developed Countries" (LDC's), as Western bankers euphemistically refer to the plundered colonial and neo-colonial countries of the world.

A study of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) showed that by the end of 1978 Vietnam's outstanding debt to the Western nations and Japan was over 1 billion dollars, a debt which has to be repaid in hard currency or gold. 40% of this was in short-term loans from commercial banks. According to the IMF, the medium-term loans contracted in 1975-77 coming due are "causing a sharp increase in the debt service payments; already in 1978, the service of the debt in convertible currencies (\$150 million) has exceeded Vietnam's export receipts in those currencies." In other words, Vietnam was not even able to keep up on the interest and principal due on loans already contracted, and like many imperialist-dominated countries, had to borrow more just to pay off old loans. In Vietnam, hocking your country up to its ears must be a new "socialist" principle.

Most of Vietnam's debt to the Soviet bloc has been covered by long-term loans, but not without a significant effect on the structure of the economy. A high-ranking member of the economic ministry alluded to this in a recent interview with journalists. "...one of our present difficulties, after the disappearance of United States financial assistance to the south, is that the aid of socialist (Soviet bloc—RW) countries, \$700-800 million per year, is no longer in grants since 1975, but is payable in the form of products." While the post-war withdrawal of U.S. aid that had previously kept the south afloat is an important factor, Tran Phuong obviously raises it to make the overall situation less odious. Further, IMF sources believe that Soviet loans and the aid pumping up the faltering Vietnamese economy now total closer to \$3 million a day, a large chunk of it for fuel and military hardware.

In order to pay for their growing import bills, the Vietnamese began to orient production toward export goods to the Soviet bloc, mainly coal, fruits and vegetables, and cash crops like cotton, coffee and rubber. They have tried to justify this sinking into the traditional export pattern of imperialist-dominated countries by expressing the hope that the relationship with COMECON (Council for Mutual Economic Aid—the Soviet economic set-up for its satellites) "will help in better exploitation of natural resources" and "speed up socialist industrialization." At the same time they bow to the Soviets' "international division of labor" line, i.e., that everyone should become satellite production units for the benefit of the

Soviets.

Economic Crisis Blamed on Masses

A further indication of the capitalist nature of Vietnamese society is the way that the Vietnamese leaders have attempted to deal internally with their economic crisis.

Although they tie their economic woes to the country's increased military spending, the Vietnamese leaders, like their counterpart Castro in Cuba, do admit that they face grave problems. At a recent meeting in Hanoi, Le Duan said that "these difficulties have become increasingly bitter." And the September 1979 issue of the party's theoretical review, *Tap Chi Cong San*, stated that the economy would be facing even greater setbacks and that "it would not be possible to avoid difficulties and shortages, especially in the cities and especially in industry." In assessing blame for these "difficulties," however, they point the spearhead down at the masses and lower-level party cadre, attacking their inefficiency, corruption, lack of zeal and bureaucratism. A party magazine charged recently that "the vestiges of open corruption left over by neo-colonialism have spread northward." In a directive issued on January 15, 1979, Vietnamese Prime Minister Pham Van Dong called on the people "to fight bureaucratism, conservatism, authoritarianism, waste, misappropriation, inertia, irresponsibility and indiscipline." And in August last year the party politbureau announced that it was necessary "to purge from the party all unqualified persons and elements, whose militant spirit has degenerated, as well as corrupt and degenerate cadres who have seriously violated the people's right to collective mastery."

Peasants in the south have come in for particularly sharp criticism. In March 1979, *Tap Chi Cong San* pointed out that in some localities peasants were putting in only 180-200 days of work a year, and in some places in the Mekong Delta just 100 days—when they should work 250 days a year. A September 1979 article in the party newspaper *Nhan Dan* complained that peasants left the rice fields uncultivated and "wasted rice by using it to distill alcohol or to feed pigs and ducks, while rice is in short supply in a number of cities."

These diatribes against the masses and cadre, and the complete lack of any effort to politically educate and unleash the masses to overcome difficulties beyond criticizing and cajoling them, correspond to the Vietnamese leadership's longstanding outlook on the role of the party and the masses and on the qualities that make the best leaders—qualities that could come right out of a National Association of Manufacturers' management training manual. As Le Duan put it several years ago, "The best organizer, one with a mastery of sciences and art of organization, is one who goes about his organizational work in a flexible way and responds to new happenings with timely changes in his own system of organization and mode of action." In other words, those who are thoroughly pragmatic and skillful at manipulating the people to fulfill their assigned quotas. What the party lacks most, he asserted, is "knowledge in economics, science and technique and organizational and managerial abilities."

Like the chairman of the board of any failing capitalist enterprise, Le Duan bemoans the miserable effectiveness of his managers and the labor indiscipline of his workforce.

This effort to tighten up discipline is the flip side of their attempts to spark some sort of economic revival by further unleashing the anarchic forces of capitalist production throughout the country. Once again the great "plan" gets shoved aside and they more openly put larger sections of the economy on an individual profit-motivated basis. As a prelude, an editorial in *Nhan Dan* admitted to "unreasonable points in the existing policies." The editor of *Vietnam Courier* and *Vietnamese Studies* told a journalist that "We had to start fighting against the tendency to bring all sectors of the economy under state control, irrespective of profitability. Norms of work, as well as scales of

salaries and bonuses, were unadapted and we resorted more to political mobilization (sic) than to calculation of profit." In an attempt to redress the growing export/import imbalance, a key aspect of these new economic policies gives priority and advantages to enterprises producing export goods. They are to be insured an adequate supply of raw materials, and their workers are to get special food allotments and bonuses. Farmers and craftsmen are now encouraged to begin utilizing their land and skills to produce for an open market. Restrictions on private trade are being lifted. The pace of agricultural collectivization in the south has been slowed.

Deeper Into the Web

Perhaps as ominous for the Vietnamese economy as all the internal signs of crisis that have been described above is the threat of cutbacks in Soviet aid. With the Soviets facing their own economic necessities imposed by their preparations for war with the U.S., they have not been as forthcoming with vital foodgrain shipments to overcome Vietnamese deficits as the leaders in Hanoi had hoped. It also seems unlikely that the Soviets will be able to supply the heavy industrial equipment for plant construction and oil exploitation that originally was part of the deals struck between the two countries. In addition, the COMECON countries of Eastern Europe have shown more than a little reluctance to shoulder the burden of underwriting the Vietnamese economy.

The Soviets are not about to cut Vietnam loose, however. While they are likely to cut back on grain shipments and other consumer and industrial production items, they are maintaining their supply of military hardware and fuel. Overall it is true that at the present time the Soviets' economic exploitation of Vietnam is not their principal concern. Vietnam has much more strategic than economic importance for the Soviets at the moment. This does not mean, of course, that Vietnam does not suffer severely from its economic relationship with them. As we have already seen, this relationship has accelerated the deforming of Vietnam's economy and reinforced the country's turn away from a path of development that could enable it to utilize its own abundant resources to supply the food and productive needs of its people, forcing them, for example, into the disproportionate production of exports that can be utilized in the Soviet Union.

But it is precisely because the Soviets are locked in a worldwide struggle with the U.S. and its bloc to control and more thoroughly exploit greater sections of the globe that they need Vietnam and are willing to pay a price to keep it in action. Through Vietnam's military, the Soviets now control most of Indochina and are posing a serious threat to the U.S. in other parts of Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese military and its control of Laos and parts of Kampuchea also give the Soviets considerable leverage over China, which for the moment at least sees its own national interest to lie in an alliance with the U.S. Whatever it costs the Soviets to keep Vietnam afloat and armed to the teeth is a small price to pay for the greater rewards they see ahead. The price that Vietnam is forced to pay for this arrangement is of little concern

to the Soviets. The day is fast fading when the two superpowers pretend to play at beauty contests: my colony is more prosperous and content than yours. "The name of the game now is raw power and control. So the U.S. doesn't care if South Korea is exposed as the most miserable and vicious dictatorship in Asia, as long as their petty fascist allies stay in power, and in line. Nor do the Soviets really care that the Vietnamese economy is on the rocks, as long as they can maintain them as the most powerful army in Southeast Asia and use that army for their own purposes.

And there is no question that Vietnam's efforts to grab hold of all of Indochina have been very costly. Similarly with the proxy war they fought with China. In their thrust into northern Vietnam the Chinese consciously destroyed important economic targets, including Vietnam's main fertilizer plant, which has had an effect on its most recent dismal agricultural performance, and has seriously damaged Vietnamese coal production. The cut-off of Chinese aid in 1978 also left incomplete a number of economic projects that the Vietnamese considered vital. It is still questionable whether the Soviet-bloc countries will be able to substitute for all these projects.

In many ways the China-Vietnam rivalry concentrates the thoroughly reactionary political character of both countries and illustrates the rapid degeneration that the revisionist leaders of both have foisted on their respective countries. Vietnam's rabid, racist and chauvinist attacks on ethnic Chinese living in Vietnam are a particularly sharp example. Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese citizens of Chinese origin were driven from the country as a result of Hanoi's campaign to rev up anti-Chinese sentiments and insure that they would not be subject to any Chinese "fifth column" inside the country. Although the vast majority of those who left from the south were capitalists, merchants or petty traders, the 250,000 who were driven out of the north were largely coal miners, fishermen, dock workers, government workers and skilled tradesmen. Their departure seriously affected activity in these sectors of the economy. With the Chinese cut-off of the rail link between Russia and Vietnam, a tremendous load has been put on Haiphong harbor. But after driving out the Chinese dock workers the Vietnamese didn't have the skilled workers needed to handle the traffic. So now they've got workers from Eastern Europe unloading cargo and trying to train new Vietnamese longshoremen, harbor pilots, etc. The spectacle created by these two countries hitched to their rival imperialist superpowers evokes the image of a sort of self-destructive cannibalism.

Despite their dreams of once again fighting their way through the darkness of difficulty to the bright side of history, the Vietnamese leaders continue to push the people of their country deeper into the suffocating swamp of political and economic dependency. Like their counterparts in Cuba, they lurch from one illusory solution to another, all the while becoming more deeply enmeshed in the web of Soviet imperialism, forced to serve as pathetic pawns in the bloody and ruthless superpower contention for domination of the world. □

Pamphlet from the Revolutionary Worker

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



AFL-CIO CIA

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outstanding example of this is the American Institute for Free Labor Development which was established in Washington by the AFL-CIO to train young Latin American workers in the fundamentals of trade unionism as it is practised in this country."

92% of AIFLD's budget comes from the U.S. government's Agency for International Development (AID), a notorious CIA front. The "training" Meany referred to has been a very important function carried out by the AIFLD. This "labor organization" has taken promising young bureaucratic types and convinced them that they should be grateful for the presence of U.S. capital in their country because it is providing jobs for the people, etc. The AIFLD sponsors "educational" seminars in such things as "Political Systems: Democracy and Totalitarianism." Since 1962, AIFLD has carried out a massive program, training more than 240,000 workers and reaching far more people than any program by the U.S. military or any government agency. This program is invaluable in setting up a whole network of agents in the rank-and-file and among the trade union leadership which takes suggestions, orders, and often pay from the CIA. This network can leap into action where needed against those workers who aren't convinced of the virtues of U.S. imperialist domination, stabilizing and pacifying rebel workers organizations or preparing to overthrow a popularly elected regime like the Allende government.

Of the hundreds of thousands that pass through education programs, a handful are picked for special training in the U.S. About 150 a year are chosen and sent to the AIFLD's training center in Front Royal, Virginia. From here come the hard core cutthroats, hit men and traitors for the imperialists. This was exactly the kind of backbone force recruited for the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile.

CHILE: AIFLD IN ACTION

AIFLD had been working in Chile since 1962 under the auspices of "AFL-CIO representative" Morris Paladino (identified as a CIA agent by Philip Agee) to disrupt the Chilean Central Confederation of Workers (CUT). It failed to do this, but through the 1960s continued working with small unions such as the National Confederation of Unions (CNT) and its largest member COMACH (the Maritime Confederation of Chile). When Salvador Allende was elected president in 1970, he began a program of nationalizing U.S. companies such as the copper giants. Under the direction of Secretary of State Kissinger, a program of destabilization of the Allende regime was undertaken including establishment of right-wing paramilitary gangs, cultivation of military leadership, and sinister labor activity. AIFLD co-ordinated this end of the plan.

While the U.S. government insured that virtually all economic aid and loans to the Chileans were cut off, including those backed by the International Monetary Fund, two programs increased: military training for Chilean officers and AIFLD for Chilean "workers." In 1972, the AIFLD report stated that COMACH was "the major labor organization with which AIFLD co-operates." COMACH's membership were mainly naval officers who, with some exceptions, were among the first to move against Allende on the day of the coup. Another professional association, CUPROCH, sponsored by AIFLD, played a prominent role during the period of destabilization when one

of its affiliates among the independent truck drivers staged one of many strikes extremely disruptive to the Allende regime in 1972. (While an analysis of the Allende government is beyond the scope of this article, it must be noted that the Allende Popular Unity strategy was based on serious illusions centering on the so-called "peaceful road to socialism," illusions which disarmed the Chilean people in the face of U.S. plotting.)

The three years of de-stabilization culminated in September, 1973 with a well co-ordinated right-wing coup that massacred 30,000 Chileans, imprisoned additional thousands and tortured many of them. Today the CUT has been outlawed and its unions shut down while the AIFLD-backed National Confederation of Unions is the Chilean labor movement--with the blessings of the junta. Its president is Eduardo Rojas, former president of the Maritime Federation. Another "victory" for "free trade unionism," brought to you by U.S. imperialism and its hired hit men, the AFL-CIA labor lieutenants.

AFL-CIA IN ASIA AND AFRICA

Not as vast but still significant has been the AFL-CIA presence in Asia and Africa. The African-American Labor Center (AALC) was founded in 1965 after more than a decade of struggle between the AFL-CIO and TCFTU over what to do in Africa, which stemmed from conflicting interests of the U.S. and other imperialists, Britain, France, Portugal, etc. whom the U.S. was trying to displace as the neo-colonial master. The U.S., for example, wanted to go along with the decolonization of France's former possessions in North Africa, but Irving Brown's own Force Ouvriere opposed it.

Like a bad penny, Irving Brown turns up again here as the first director of AALC, serving from 1965-68. Its work has consisted largely of seeking out "moderate," pro-U.S. trade unionists who can be groomed to keep a lid on the mass struggle in countries like South Africa. There are reports of millions of dollars in bribes being paid out to these "labor leaders" for making decisions favorable to U.S. interests.

While there is certainly more to be said about the AFL-CIA in Africa, even more illuminating was the co-operation between "international labor" and the international interests of U.S. imperialism at the time of the Vietnam war. Said Meany in 1966:

"The U.S. is determined to help Vietnam preserve its independence, protect its people against communist assassins, and build a better life through economic growth...All the world knows that our country does not seek an inch of territory or even the smallest military base."

But since the U.S. was busy bombing the hell out of Vietnam and murdering the Vietnamese people, building military bases right and left, other credible voices besides Meany were needed to join in this ridiculous chorus. This was precisely the purpose of establishing the third of the AFL-CIO's international CIA fronts, the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI). The organization was founded in 1968 as the result of the U.S. being more and more isolated on the international scene. AAFLI's headquarters were established in Saigon so the CIA could directly supervise South Vietnam's "free" labor movement. Under the leadership of executive director Morris Paladino--who, it will be remembered, got his start as a CIA agent doing dirty work in Chile--AAFLI "educated" (read: indoctrinated) a massive number of Vietnamese workers, 8,000 in all, in an attempt to mold them into a valuable base of support for the U.S.-puppet Thieu regime.

AAFLI worked closely with Tran Quoc

Buu, head of the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor (CVT), and a hard-core supporter of the Thieu regime. Buu was one of the main people trotted out by the AFL-CIO leadership to justify continued support of the war. He pushed the hysteria about the "Communist bloodbath" that would result if the U.S. withdrew from Vietnam. Meany constantly heaped praise on Buu, as in the following telegram:

"I pledge in behalf of AFL-CIO active support to free and independent workers organized in the Vietnamese Confederation of Labor under your leadership...Your active involvement in this struggle will assure mobilization of workers for active participation in leadership and responsibility in democratic society. Such participation provides best guarantee for eventual victory over Communist aggressors."

In the book *Decent Interval* by Frank Snepp, the CIA's chief strategy analyst in Vietnam until the fall of Saigon in 1975, Buu is exposed as something quite different from the upholder of freedom and democracy that Meany makes him out to be. He is, in fact, described as nothing but a man on the CIA payroll and a mouthpiece for the U.S. ruling class:

"Station personnel had succeeded in turning Buu into a 'collaborator,' and since then we had been able to use him quite profitably as an instrument for keeping the unions loyal to Thieu and for channelling pro-government propaganda for labor organizations around the world. From time to time station personnel had even helped Buu draft letters to labor leaders in the United States, soliciting their support. No one in the station's front office seemed bothered by the fact that this was a violation of the CIA charter, which prohibits the agency from dabbling in U.S. domestic politics."

When Buu died in 1976 in exile, the AFL-CIO mourned his passing. The African-American Labor Center's newsletter, the *Reporter*, eulogized Buu as one of the leaders of the Vietnamese independence movement and the founder of its labor movement. It failed to mention his other employer, the CIA.

The politics and policies of the U.S. government over the last 35 years have been aimed at defending and extending the empire won by the U.S. as spoils in the last world war. Millions have been murdered at the hands of these barbarous imperialists for this one goal. In the 1980s, the rulers of this country will come face to face with the gravest crisis in their history. World war is again on the horizon--this time with the imperialist rivals of the U.S. in the Soviet Union. And also on the horizon is the real possibility of revolution in this country and others.

While George Meany is no longer around to spearhead the patriotic ideological campaign under these new conditions among the workers, there are certainly others who have stepped forward to fill his shoes. Such a campaign is already evident and will become more and more necessary to the U.S. rulers. As noted, the social base of the labor lieutenants was unleashed around Iran and again around Afghanistan. It was also conjured up to consciously attack Revolutionary May Day this year and the clear and sharp proletarian internationalist stand of these actions--a stand which burst through the clouds of chauvinism like a ray of sunlight.

Meany's clones and company will certainly be an increasingly visible force in the 80s: the tighter a rat is cornered, the more he strikes out. But what can be learned about the bloody history of the AFL-CIA can also be applied by the class-conscious workers in the '80s to cut these motherfuckers to shreds. Their politics are those of exploitation and oppression, their stand is that of the enemy.

Battle Plan

Continued from page 12

reason. It is, indeed, questionable at best whether it is still possible today to even formulate—and certainly it is impossible to implement—a single world-wide united front strategy. For such a world-wide united front, a single battle plan for the international proletariat, to exist, it seems to me there would have to be major socialist country or, at the least, a broadly based Revolutionary Communist International. The working out of such a united front strategy can only be the product of the collective effort of revolutionary communists in many countries and unfortunately the conditions do not now exist for this to take place on an adequate scale. Moreover, even were it possible to develop such a strategy, without a powerful socialist country or a politically influential international organization of some sort, its implementation would seem highly problematic at best.

Thus, I understand why the authors of the new draft *Programme* did not simply rewrite the old world-wide united front and I agree with this decision. However, the fact that such a single international united front strategy is not possible at this time cannot be taken to mean that the principles upon which such strategies have been formulated and implemented in the past (and will be again in the future) no longer apply or are no longer of importance to the working class in this country. Precisely the opposite! If only because there is no major socialist country functioning as an international beacon to the oppressed, if only because there is as yet no international general staff of the proletarian revolution, it is that much more important for the party of the revolutionary proletariat in the United States to educate the class-conscious workers in not only the spirit of internationalism but in its principles and concrete practice as well. This is not to say that the RCP does not do this now, nor that the new draft *Programme* is in any fundamental sense a chauvinist one—that would be absurd slander. However, the point is that a more thorough definition of friends and enemies on a world scale and of the principles of proletarian internationalism and their application in the coming decade of turmoil and revolt is possible and needed in the new *Programme*.

What then must be covered and how? I, for one, do not feel capable of writing the kind of concentrated few

paragraphs that I think are needed and will thus limit myself here to presenting some general ideas. Clearly a full description of the various economic and political forces operative in today's world is impossible, not only for reasons of space but more importantly for the reasons mentioned above with reference to the concept "world-wide united front." However, two fundamental points should be further stressed and "fleshed out" more. These are: (1) the fundamental unity of the proletariat and working masses of all countries; and (2) the distinction between oppressor and oppressed nations and the support of the proletariat for the revolutionary struggles of the masses of people in the latter against the former. Both these principles are in essence contained in the current single sentence on international unity, but they need to be more adequately explained.

The first point, the unity of the workers of all countries, is, it might seem to some, an obvious one. But precisely because it is so often taken for granted or rendered mere lip service it needs greater stress and more prominent emphasis in the *Programme*. A paragraph or several sentences on this, perhaps making the meaning of such unity more concrete with examples, would be important and very useful.

The second point is currently encapsulated in the phrase which declares that the second "closest ally" of the U.S. workers is "the revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples and nations." But this limited formulation is inadequate given, first, the tremendous weight of traditional prejudices, national chauvinism and reactionary patriotism on the U.S. working class (and on all the oppressed in this country) and, second, the likelihood that the coming period will see a highly complex intensification of both the national liberation struggles and the counteracting tendency of the imperialist bourgeoisie to line up bourgeois nationalist forces in the oppressed nations into the respective war blocs. The *Programme* has to define more clearly exactly what is an oppressed nation in today's world, show how these nations and peoples relate to imperialism and how the revolutionary proletariat in the U.S. must support their revolutionary struggles, while giving its most fundamental support at all times to its class brothers and sisters in all countries. In just a few sentences, of course, the *Programme* must indicate how, while the situation is in great flux and unprecedented developments are

likely, fundamentally the distinction between oppressor and oppressed nation remains valid and of cardinal importance and that the policy of the international proletariat, including and especially the proletariat in the U.S., must, to again quote Lenin, "...rest primarily on a closer union of the proletarians and the working masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle to overthrow the landowners and the bourgeoisie. This union alone will guarantee victory over capitalism, without which the abolition of national oppression and inequality is impossible." (Ibid., p. 423.) The new *Programme* should further explain how in the oppressed nations the masses of peasants are the closest allies of the workers and how the petty and national bourgeoisies play vacillating roles.

Further, it is essential to emphasize in this section the importance for revolution here in the U.S. of combating all traces of national chauvinism toward the oppressed nations. As Lenin stressed, "The age-old oppression of colonial and weak nationalities by the imperialist powers has not only filled the working masses of the oppressed countries with animosity towards the oppressor nations, but has also aroused distrust in these nations in general, even in their proletariat... These prejudices are bound to die out very slowly, for they can disappear only after imperialism and capitalism have disappeared in the advanced countries, and after the entire foundation of the backward countries' economic life has radically changed. It is therefore the duty of the class-conscious communist proletariat of all countries to regard with particular caution and attention the survivals of national sentiments in the countries and among nationalities which have been oppressed the longest; it is equally necessary to make certain concessions with a view to more rapidly overcoming this distrust and these prejudices. Complete victory over capitalism cannot be won unless the proletariat and, following it, the mass of working people in all countries and nations throughout the world voluntarily strive for alliance and unity." (Ibid., p. 427)

To be sure, the section on "International Relations" does speak somewhat to this last point of Lenin's but the *Programme* would be considerably strengthened if this was addressed directly as well in the context of the united front, since this is not just a matter to be taken up after the seizure of power. This whole point is especially key in light of the bourgeoisie's current attempts to

whip up chauvinism against the Iranian and Arab peoples as a special part of their war preparations. (Indeed, I, for one, would not at all oppose restoring a reworked version of the passage about anti-Arab hysteria, etc., from the old *Programme*, since this particular question seems unlikely to disappear for quite some time.)

Certainly it is neither possible nor desirable for the new *Programme* to offer specific analyses of all—or even many—international questions, nor can or should it provide a Marxist primer on the national-colonial question. But class-conscious workers are asking important questions about our internationalist strategy. Why did we so enthusiastically greet the Sandinista rebellion when its leadership was so obviously not Marxist? Why do we defend Khomeini in one situation and criticize him in another? Why (and to what extent) do we support bourgeois national movements in various neo-colonies while correctly branding any attempt to create a French, Japanese or even Canadian national movement thoroughly reactionary? A Party *Programme* is not designed to fully answer such questions but especially insofar as these questions do have broad programmatic implications, the *Programme* must lay out in concise form the basic principles to be applied in answering them.

To sum up then, the basic argument of this letter is that the current single sentence on the international unity of the U.S. working class is inadequate and leaves the door open—even if only a crack—to abandoning proletarian internationalism. While it is correct and proper at this time to avoid the formulation of any kind of single international strategy for the revolutionary working class of all countries—another world-wide united front—the principles of proletarian internationalism, particularly the most fundamental unity of the workers of all countries and the distinction between oppressed and oppressor nations and the support rendered by the working class to the latter need to be explicitly incorporated in the *Programme* and explained in a brief and lively manner. Without such a section the chapter on the united front leads spontaneously to national particularism and, ultimately, chauvinism. It must be stressed and made explicit that the united front for revolution in the U.S. can succeed only in the context of the broadest unity of the working class and oppressed peoples of the entire world in revolutionary struggle against imperialism and all reaction. □

Fight for the Troops at MUNI

Continued from page 17

with a significant number of advanced, and turned that into a social force that could inspire and unleash others? The events themselves say we could have—the fact that the advanced workers were telling us we should have taken up the murder of Damian in a bigger way; the real respect the advanced hold for the Party and the fact that this respect remained even when the bourgeoisie tried hard to shake it; the untapped reservoir of revolutionary sentiment and consciousness that the revolutionary nationalists represented. To actually make this breakthrough would have required as the "great leap" article says, operating at a very high level. We would have had to grasp the stakes of the battle and the full potential of the workers to rise to the occasion. And especially we would have had to grasp the possibility of creating new conditions among the advanced by using the weapons the Party has placed at our disposal—such as the *RW* as a whole, the "Talk" paper, "America in Decline," Bob Avakian's speech on the Black Panther Party, etc.—and waging

sharp and deep struggle over the very sweeping questions the advanced were asking and even taking on and defeating some fairly developed political lines. Our shortcomings in this work, especially in the heat of battle with new questions—or old questions in new forms—being posed daily was the main factor in limiting the possibility of a breakout on May First:

Then when it came right down to the day of the First itself, the feeling that this political battle would continue to the last minute was largely missing. Instead what tended to take over was the very one-sided view that "everyone must have made up their mind one way or another by now" and that the battle on the morning of the First among those who showed up for work wouldn't be worth it. As a result only one organizer showed up to carry out this important last minute battle—letting the enemy get away, as Lenin put it in the Moscow Uprising, with "surrounding" the vacillating troops. So only a relative handful of the Muni drivers actually marched on May First.

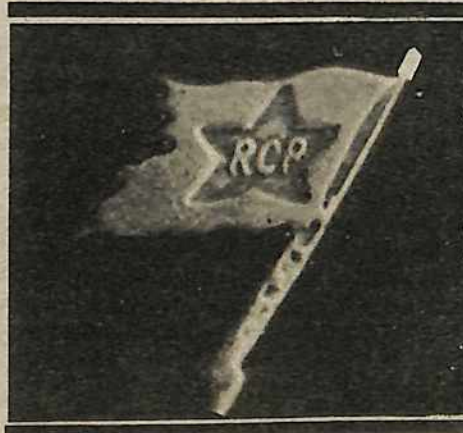
But even though in the face of this difficult and complicated situation we failed to lead a breakout or stretch the limits of the potential that existed at the Muni, May Day still had a very profound effect. The day the *Revolutionary Worker* came out with the supplement summing up May Day, one organizer went out to the Muni and sold 75 copies in about 20 minutes. The fact that so many workers from the area as a

whole came forward in the face of such high stakes, and the multinational character of the march itself had profound effect on the advanced and even the intermediate at Muni.

As Bob Avakian's May 23 statement in the *RW* put it, "...this great leap is precisely the conquering of a new position from which to carry forward and accelerate the class struggle. The declared and demonstrated determination of these class-conscious workers to mount and remain on the political stage must now be given sustained and growing expression."

Probably the most significant indication of the potential for May First in the Muni and also a sign of the impact May Day itself had is the fact that since May First over 105 Draft Programmes have been sold to Muni drivers. One May

Day organizer put it this way, "I think that the people are buying the Programme and beginning to look at the line of the Party in a serious way because they are beginning to see the Party for what it really represents. This Party goes right up in the face of the bourgeoisie. Seeing this Party as being the type of vanguard that they can gravitate to and look to for the type of leadership that is really going to lead... I think that around May Day itself, they saw that as being a very profound event took place and now they are becoming more attracted to the Party because of this role its playing, because of its line, its whole revolutionary line that's out there... People are becoming more and more conscious of it, looking to it, and the word is spreading around." □



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