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Imperialist Economy Takes New Dive

"Coming On Fast: The Slump of 1980 Will Be Severe" and similar headlines have covered the front pages of newspapers across the country in the past few weeks as the bourgeoisie has finally realized and could no longer deny that the quick and painless and very mild recession they had been predicting will in fact be very severe and serious. Gone is most of the talk about quick turnarounds, as forecasts of 10% unemployment and a recession as bad as and quite possibly worse than that of

1974-75 pour forth from the surprised and utterly helpless ruling class economists. Unemployment in Chicago, which fared relatively well in '74-'75, for example, is now over 11%, with only a worsening situation in sight. Among Detroit's auto workers, Depression-level 25% unemployment exists. And the real effects of the recession are just beginning to be felt as the leading economic indicators take a nosedive and the three pillars of the economy—auto, construction and steel—

continue to tumble downward.

Since the last article on the economy in the *Revolutionary Worker* ("Big Jolt Downward in America's Decline," *RW*, #50, April 18, 1980), the basic analysis it made has been borne out by actual developments. The very means that the imperialists used to establish the brief and tenuous recovery from 1974-75—the tremendous expansion of credit and government spending—have now been major factors in causing the latest downturn. And while

there are some measures they may take that could stave off the inevitable for a short time, basically any economic measures they take are bound to actually make things worse. With a deep and thoroughgoing economic crisis on the horizon, the bourgeoisie is gearing up for and trying to prepare the masses of American people for their only solution to this crisis—a new major redivision of the world in their favor, which can only come about by winning World War 3.

In fact, it has only been because the U.S. arose as the #1 exploiter and oppressor of the people of the world, feasting on their blood and bones coming out of World War 2, that it has been able to temporarily avoid a serious economic crisis. The U.S. imperialists have been able to shove off

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Trial to Start June 17

Remember Comrade García Remember the Alamo Takeover

SEE PAGE 16



Comrade Damian Garcia flies the Red Flag over the Alamo. March 20th 1980.

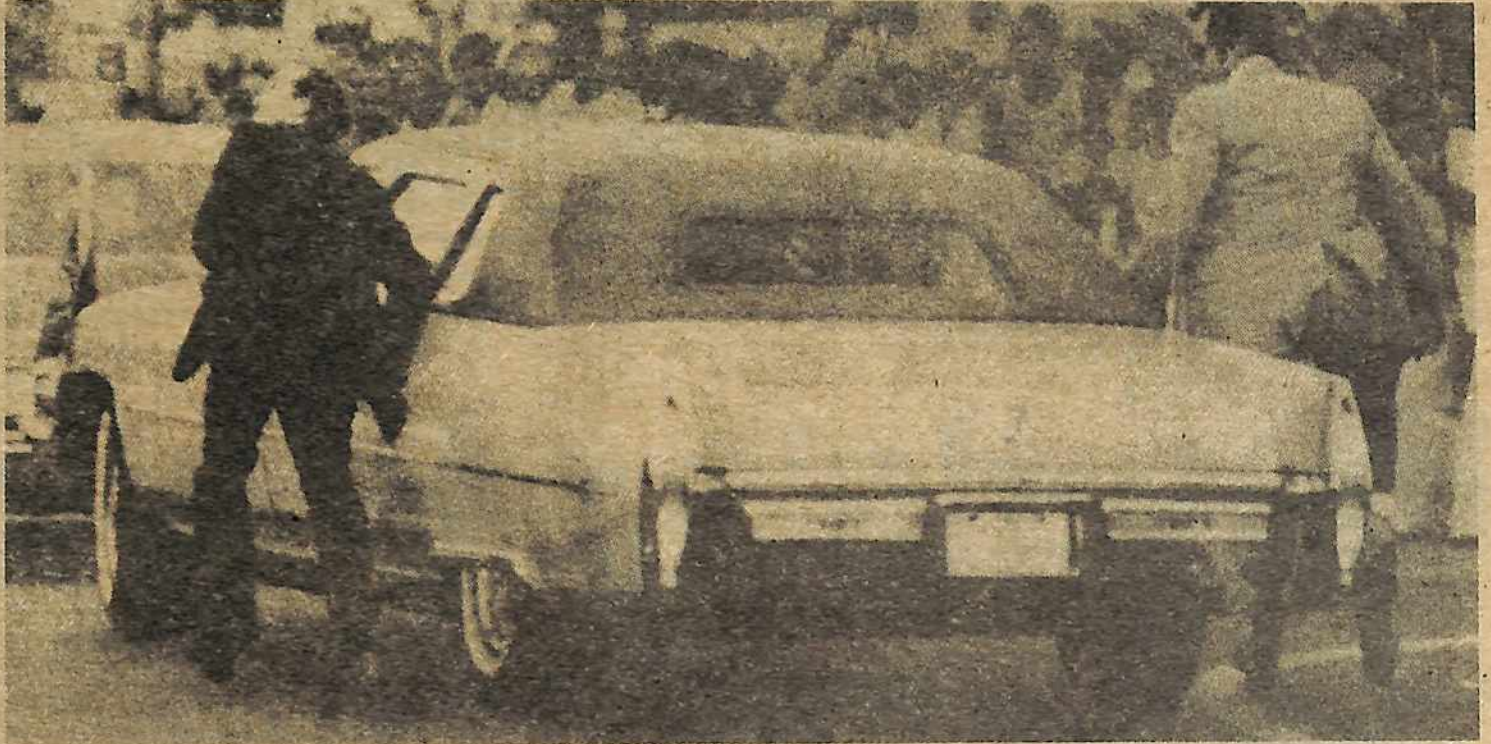
Miami Anthem: "Hail On The Chief"

"I call on you today to keep the faith" was the message Jimmy Carter flashed from his pearly whites on a whirlwind four-hour dash through Miami on Monday, June 9. But he arrived in Liberty City to a fitting welcome of boos and jeers, and left with an equally fitting send-off of a hail of rocks and bottles.

The bourgeoisie waited three weeks before their standard bearer dared to step foot in Liberty City, hoping things would cool down. While the situation had ebbed since the three days of rebellion, things were still volatile, and Carter & Co. were careful not to overstay their "welcome."

Before Carter arrived, the scene in front of the James P. Scott community organization was a political powderkeg, in spite of all the authorities had done to prevent the masses from confronting Carter directly. The local media played down his visit until it was over, routinely publicizing his Miami Beach speech to the OIC (Opportunities Industrialization Center) at its 16th annual conference, but keeping a tight lid on the location of his meeting with local bourgeois reps and lackeys in Liberty City. Most of the crowd of nearly 1000 people at the community center were from the neighborhood, but there were those who had bent every effort to find out just where Carter would dare to show his toothy grin. One man said he had found out about the location from a friend who has chauffeuring some rich bigshot in Miami Beach. Also on hand were hacks from Operation PUSH, the NAACP, etc. whose mission was to make sure the masses' anger didn't boil over as it had during the rebellion, their "keep the peace" jive fitting hand in glove with Carter's "keep the faith."

As the time grew near for Carter's motorcade to arrive from the downtown Fountainbleu Hilton Hotel, cops cleared the growing number of people back across the street. City



trucks drove up, loaded with barricades. Meanwhile, dignitaries were deposited from a chartered bus and limousine under the eyes of Secret Service and riot-equipped city and county cops in bullet-proof vests. In addition to the blue and brown cop uniforms, a green-clad SWAT team strutted with high-powered rifles on top of the roof of the community center, while two police helicopters circled overhead. Media hacks from all over the world followed close on the heels of presidential aides like trained circus animals—focusing on the masses while they were waiting and didn't have anything else to do.

The message was clear and unmistakable—the masses were not to get anywhere near Carter and his entourage, and this just heated up an already simmering climate. As the barricades went up, so did peoples' temperatures. Even those who had come out of curiosity had been suspicious about the lack of publicity, and

were getting a lesson in "democracy" by the wall of barricades and cops keeping them away from "our commander in chief," as notorious Black "leader" Athalie Range called

Carter.

The crowd was diverse, Black people of all ages, mostly working people but some students and middle

Continued on page 12

Revolution By Cassette

We received this letter from comrades in Portland.

Recently, while selling the *Revolutionary Worker* at the unemployment office, we ran into an older Black worker. He said he'd been buying the paper at a store near his place for quite a while. We struggled with him to get a bundle and sell papers to his friends. No, he said, he shared his single newspaper with all of his friends. Then he explained how he did this. Since most of his friends found reading difficult, he and a friend would read the paper out loud and record it on tape. Then, when the guys got together, or when friends

came by, they'd play the tape and sit around and discuss it. He explained that people should devise every form to spread the paper, and that he and his friends had come up with a tape so their friends who had trouble reading could also learn about this system and how to make revolution. A network of fighters was being trained in a way which was new to us. "On May Day," he said, "we did it. We showed the possibility. But not enough people know about this. We've got to reach them." Then laughing, he pulled out more quarters for papers for friends who didn't always come by.



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UN 2 Hounded with a Vengeance

On June 23 the trial of the UN 2, Stephen Yip and Glenn Gan, who were arrested after red paint was splashed on the American and Soviet representatives at the UN Security Council on April 30, is slated to start. On that day the red flag of revolution was raised and shouts of "Down with the U.S. and Soviet War Moves! Our Flag is Red, Not Red, White and Blue! On to May Day!" filled the hallowed halls of the UN chambers where international scheming and maneuvering is going on in preparation for World War 3. A powerful and unforgettable political blow was dealt that day on behalf of the people of the world.

The UN 2 trial will be an extremely important political trial. U.S. envoy vandenHeuvel has already indicated through government attorneys that he will testify. Surely this is not a personal decision of vandenHeuvel's but one coming from the top circles of the U.S. government. It indicates just how much necessity the U.S. has to put a lot of weight behind this trial. They will find that the more weight they put behind it, the more they will be weighted down. Already it has become crystal clear that the incredible charges of 2 counts of felony conspiracy and a felony assault charge with bails of \$50,000 and \$100,000 have nothing to do with any physical harm to Messrs. Oleg Troyanovsky and William vandenHeuvel (the red paint itself was harmless even according to FBI lab tests), but have everything to do with the fact that both the superpowers were politically cut to the quick, their rotting insides exposed to all by this action.

Trial Judge Robert Ward has admitted as much in court. At a pre-trial hearing he revealed, "We've got enough problems in Iran, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union... this case has to be handled in the context of what is going on in the world." What is going on is that the U.S. and Soviet Union are trying in every way possible to suck people into buying their patriotic appeals to go to war for their side against the other. When the action at the UN occurred, it politically blew a hole right through this. There was nowhere to run, nowhere to hide. The "peace-loving defender of democracy," the USA, was exposed as a bloodthirsty imperialist power heading for war. And the Soviet Union's claim to the red flag, a veil it uses to cloak its own imperialist aims, was politically stripped out of its hands and reclaimed for the working class and oppressed people of the world.

Judge Ward's insistence that the



The UN 2, Glenn Gan (left) and Stephen Yip.

trial start on June 23, two times refusing to grant defense motions for the trial's continuance, indicates how itchy the U.S. government is to get on with the railroading of the UN 2. The judge's own words indicated what the

imperialists are afraid of when he said, "I'm not going to give you time to conduct an opinion poll among the community," recognizing the tremendous support and vast potential support that this action has had and will have

among the masses of people.

Judge Ward is quite fond of referring to this trial as a "simple case" which is quickly becoming a code word for "guilty as charged." Lest anyone

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Police Raid RW Writer's N.Y. Apt.

On Tuesday afternoon, June 10, Jim Ransom, a member of the RCP, came home to find three cops rummaging through his apartment. They threw him up against the wall, handcuffed him, ran him down to the police station on a weapons charge and then subjected him to intensive political interrogation. He was right in the middle of another escalation of the government's attacks on the RCP, its press, and its supporters, and in particular the efforts to convict the UN 2 on heavy felony charges.

The cops claimed they were carrying out a routine eviction, but this claim is a thin one indeed. In Brooklyn, where Ransom lives, tenants must be served with summonses before being evicted, and are allowed to appeal their evictions in court. If such a notice cannot be served, it must be—and routinely is—taped to the tenant's door. But no such notice was ever served Ransom.

The real aim of the cops became clear down at the station. About two hours after he was arrested, Ransom

was questioned by a professional political interrogator. Claiming to be working off of notebooks confiscated in the eviction (read: raid), this interrogator pointed to the letters "FALN" which had "mysteriously" appeared scrawled in yellow marking pen inside these notebooks. Questions were asked about the FALN and about the RCP. After this, Ransom was taken to a cell where his cellmate said, "Gee, what a coincidence. I did time with that guy who had his hands blown off." Ransom asked in return, "You mean William Morales, the FALN supporter?" His "coincidental" cellmate answered, "Yes, and these cops are really going after you." After being held overnight without bail, Ransom was arraigned and released the following day.

Jim Ransom has a press pass for the *Revolutionary Worker* issued by the New York Police Department and has at times covered the UN over the last year, using his pass. Press passes are part of the government's "evidence" of conspiracy

against the UN 2. Combine that with the government's efforts to create public opinion to the effect that the UN 2 are terrorists (they are prosecuted under an anti-terrorist statute, there has been media coverage lumping them in with a Cuban paramilitary right-wing organization, etc.), and the point of all this becomes quite clear. The government is, on the one hand, attempting to buttress their political and legal campaign against the UN 2 just a scant week and a half before the trial, while on the other, attacking the Party, particularly its press, generally. This tactic, using "non-political" charges in an effort to suppress a revolutionary newspaper, is transparent. This raid, a tactical escalation, reveals both their seriousness in going after the UN 2 and their desperation in the face of the support for the UN action against the superpowers. It should be added encouragement to step up the efforts to free the UN 2. □

Statement in Support of the UN 2

We, the undersigned, demand that the charges against the UN 2—Stephen Yip and Glenn Gan—be immediately dropped! After red paint was tossed at the American and Soviet ambassadors at the United Nations on April 30th, Yip and Gan were arrested and charged with assault. A week later a grand jury upped the charges to: one count of felony conspiracy to assault internationally protected persons; one count of felony conspiracy to impede or injure an officer of the U.S.; and one felony count of assault on internationally protected persons (Title 18, U.S. Code). The UN 2 are being charged three times for the same "crime" against each ambassador. Outrageous bails were set at \$50,000 and \$100,000. The UN 2 face possible fourteen-year prison terms, a fact already alluded to by trial judge Robert Ward when he exclaimed in court that he could impose a term of several years—a statement made two weeks before the trial has even begun.

Several factors point to why this case is being pursued with such a vengeance:

1. Judge Ward stated in court, "We've got enough problems in Iran, Afghanistan and the Soviet Union... this case has to be handled in the context of what is going on in the world." Press accounts of the UN incident reported the slogans, "Down with the U.S./Soviet War Moves, Our Flag is Red, Not Red, White and Blue, On to May Day," shouted while a red flag was raised in the Security Council chambers. Clearly the outrageous charges against the UN 2 stem not from any criminal act but because this action politically stung both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.
2. Due to the nature of the conspiracy charges against the UN 2 and as the indictments put it, "and others to the grand jury unknown," and due to references included in the indictment to *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper press passes, the political nature of this attack is revealed more so with the government's seeking a fishing license to further investigate and repress revolutionary activities, including the *Revolutionary Worker*.
3. Twice Judge Ward has refused defense motions for a trial postpone-

ment. When one defense lawyer requested time to study press coverage for possible pre-trial prejudice, the judge denied it, saying, "I'm not going to give you time to conduct a public opinion poll among the community." When a second request was denied, it became all the more apparent how speedily the government is proceeding to railroad the UN 2. The judge blurted out in court, "I can't imagine what legal defense you could possibly have."

4. The U.S. has made deliberate attempts to create their own public opinion by making moves to slap a label of terrorism on the UN action.
 - a) A New York TV reporter said that the FBI told her, outside hearings on terrorism, that because of the paint throwing incident at the UN, an investigation is underway;
 - b) The same station featured footage of the UN action following a scene of a right-wing terrorist bombing;
 - c) One of the federal statutes the UN 2 are charged under was written to deal with acts of terrorism.

Quite obviously the action at the UN was not an isolated, terrorist act, but a political statement indicting the U.S. and the Soviet Union alike as imperialist powers heading for world war and that the red flag belongs, not to the U.S.S.R., but to the people of the world struggling against the superpowers.

The government's intentions in the case of the UN 2 are clear and cannot be allowed to go unanswered! Send this statement demanding the charges against the UN 2 be dropped immediately to:

Judge Robert Ward
U.S. Court
40 Centre Street
Foley Square
New York, N.Y.

and a copy to the National May Day Committee, P.O. Box 12039, Detroit, MI. 48212.

RICHARD PRYOR: HUMOR OF THE OPPRESSED

Richard Pryor, extraordinarily and widely loved comic, actor, mime and writer, is battling for his life at a Sherman Oaks, California hospital, with 2nd and 3rd degree burns over 50% of his body.

That Pryor might die is tragic to the millions of people reached by his humor. This humor, marked by a warmth and concern for the masses of people, an understanding of their hopes and dreams, is combined with bitter anger at the hypocrisy of American society, particularly the brutalization and oppression of Black people. With a sharp sense of contradiction, he shreds the racist lies that American society uses to justify injustice, allowing no warped sense of "propriety" to stand in his way. The tears of laughter he can bring to your eyes one minute serve to enhance rather than replace tears of rage that may flow the next.

Pryor has long been a progressive and controversial figure in show business. His personal problems, his own rage, sometimes vented upon himself rather than the society that causes it, are well documented. And of course, "polite society" points to this and croaks out hypocritical clichés about how "he is his own worst enemy" and how he "has never realized his full potential." But no matter how thick they try to lay on this garbage, there's no mistaking how many "establishment" figures would find it easier to sing his praises were he not around to keep rubbing their noses in the shit that coats the world they live in.

To the people, Richard Pryor is a *motherfucker*. To the guardians of "truth," the preservers of the social order in this upside down country, he is also a *motherfucker*; but as Pryor himself would explain, we're talking about two entirely different kinds of *motherfuckers*. His television show was canceled when he refused to produce the inferior watered-down pap that was demanded of him. He outraged Hollywood when he criticized the fashionable homosexuals at a gala benefit for them for caring about themselves while not giving a damn about what happens to Black people. (His exact words at the Hollywood Bowl benefit were: "This is an evening about human rights, and I wanted to test you to your *motherfucking* soul... When the niggers were burning down Watts, you *motherfuckers* was doing what you wanted to do on Hollywood Boulevard... didn't give a shit about it.")

A lasting effect of the reputation he has accumulated was shown beautifully on an episode of "Tonight" that you may be lucky enough to catch as a rerun sometime. Appearing along with Carson, Pryor, and Bill Cosby was the ultimate zero, Bobby Goldsboro, who has actually written songs like "Honey" and

"Watching Scotty Grow" that are so bad that they are in fact worth remembering.

Goldsboro, in his best down-home Las Vegas style, was telling Carson about his country home when he got to the part about all the trouble they were having with the coons, how they just couldn't get rid of the coons, when suddenly Pryor leapt to his feet and shouted "What you say?!" Goldsboro froze, his face went pale, he stuttered, he couldn't speak, this was unreasonable, the man couldn't be serious, but then again... *end of discussion*. Goldsboro, visibly shaken, got up, sang a song and lit out for safety.

Richard Pryor's portrayal of the national contradictions of American society is scathing. Most often his characters are basic Black masses and (reflecting much of the daily experiences of many Black people) the whites they encounter are of the uptight upper petty-bourgeois variety. Out of these skits comes not only a sharp sense of racism and the oppression of Black people, but also, through Pryor's knowledge and feeling toward the basic masses of Black people, a sense of the qualities of the working-class people as a whole.

In the past several years, through records and numerous movies, including *Blue Collar* and *Silver Streak*, as well as the short-lived television show, Pryor's popularity has soared. In 1976 he recorded an LP called "Bicentennial Nigger." While the material was uneven, at times he stuck his knife right in the heart of the bourgeoisie. The Black preacher, one of his best characters, gives a sermon on "bicentenniality" intoning "how long must this bullshit go on!" Later he closes the show with a bitter monologue by a slave brought to America and used to promote their Bicentennial. It's phrased with the chuckling "Steppin Fetchit" laugh as the putrid strains of "Glory, glory, hallelujah" build in the background. "They're having a bicentennial, 200 years. Gonna have a bicentennial nigger, they will, they'll have some nigger 200 years old wearin' a Black face with the stars and stripes on his forehead... and he'll have the lovely white folks' expression on his face, but he's happy [the slave begins to talk], he's happy because he's been here 200 years. 'I'm just so thrilled to be here... I'm so happy he took me out of Dahomey. I used to could live to be 150, now I die of the high blood pressure by the time I'm 52, that thrills me to death... they brought me over here on a boat, there was 400 of us come over here, 360 of us died on the way over... I love that, that just thrills me so, I don't know how, but you white folks are just so good to us... Got here and another 20 of us died of disease, ah but you didn't have no doctors to take care of us, I'm so

sorry you didn't... then you split us all up... I'm just so happy, I don't know what to do if I don't get 200 more years of this... Lord have mercy, yessiree, I don't know where my old Mama is now... You probably done forgot about her." Song and monologue and show end here, and Pryor says, "But I ain't gonna never forget it." Nobody was laughing at that point.

However, seeing him act in a movie or listening to a recording brings across only a small part of his genius. He has to be seen to really appreciate what he does. Every moment, every expression is used to put across his message and make you laugh. The winter of 1979 release of "Richard Pryor Live in Concert," a full-length film of the performance, allowed millions to do just that.

Pryor opens by talking about the highly publicized fight with his wife (when he destroyed a car with a .357 magnum to keep her from leaving him... "and that vodka I was drinking say 'go ahead, shoot something else.' I shot the motor; the motor fell out of the *motherfucker*, right? The motor say 'Fuck it!'"), and uses the incident to talk about the cops. "When the police come I went into the house, 'cause they got magnums too, and they don't kill cars, they kill *nig-gars*." L.A. pigs are well known killers, and Pryor continues, "Police in L.A. Man, they got a choke hold

called 'use on *motherfuckers*.' Do they do it here, do they choke you to death? [Crowd answers, Yeah!] That's some weird shit, 'cause I didn't know it was the death penalty to have a parking ticket [crowd and Pryor both laughing]. They'll choke a *motherfucker* away. That means you'll be dead... two grab your legs, one grab your head [suddenly he's a red-neck cop]. 'Aw shit, he broke [more laughter]. Can you break him? Does it say so in the manual? Let's check it, yep, page 8, 'You can break a nigger.' See? Good work, good work, men!...' [Everyone's laughing. Pryor returns] I always wish niggers would have something like electric dog collars on or something... *motherfucker* grab you around the neck, you may die, but he be following your ass shortly." (Crowd roars)

Anyone who has seen Richard Pryor, or this movie, knows his great talents as a mime as well. His animals become people: a deer stalked in the forest, a young Black ever wary, ever alert of the cops' prowl nearby. The German shepherd that tried to bite him through the fence opens up for a moment to console him on the death of his pet monkey and provides some basic Pryor philosophy on the subject of death: "Don't linger on that shit too long, you know, it'll fuck with ya." □

This System Is Doomed Let's Finish It Off!

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

"I've heard them all—I've even heard Malcolm X—but I've never heard anything like this!"

—A Black worker from Detroit

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Attempted Murder Of Seabrook Activist

On Friday night, June 6th, Shirley Story, a member of the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook (CDAS) was critically injured when she was hit by a car only a few hundred yards from the Seabrook New Hampshire Clamshell Alliance office as she walked home from a meeting at the office. Police are calling this a hit-and-run "accident" while all evidence points to the fact that it was a planned murder attempt designed to intimidate anti-nuke activists like Shirley Story and the anti-nuke movement as a whole. This cold-blooded murder attempt reveals once again the depths to which the ruling class will go in order to protect their precious nukes as they prepare for the mass slaughter of

world war.

Shirley was one of the activists for the May 24th occupation and blockade at the Seabrook nuclear plant who was "digging in"—staying in the town to continue to fight the Seabrook nuke. She was looking into the landholding patterns and other questions about how the utility companies acquired the land for the nuke. Two days before the "accident" Shirley and some friends who had been labeled leaders by various media forces, had been run off the road. One activist explained, "the whole week preceding the thing that happened to Shirley had been a continuous and concerted campaign of psychological terrorism."

Five minutes after this so-called ac-

cident a police photographer, the same photographer who earlier in the week had followed a group of anti-nuke activists, including Shirley, arrived on the scene. Conveniently he hadn't been around to witness the accident. The cops also arrived on the scene within 5 to 10 minutes. As they trampled around destroying the tire tracks they were quick to assure there is "no connection between the anti-nuclear work of Shirley and the accident." There can be little doubt just what class was responsible for this murder attempt. The effect of this attack on the anti-nuke movement is bound to be just the opposite of what the bourgeoisie intended. Two members of CDAS, returning

from Bon Secours Hospital where Shirley was still in critical condition, said, "It's clear that Seabrook is an important focal point to what's happening. They're teetering on the brink and they can't afford to lose a major battle and they're throwing everything into it they can. We're not afraid. At this point in history there's only one thing to do and that's to stand up... There's gonna be a war and so it's just better at this point to stand up and do something than to die, in holes like dogs cowering. That's what they want us to do cower and be afraid. The most important thing for people to do is to realize it's an act of desperation. But we're not afraid..." □

Cannonfodder Sign-up Slated

On June 12, 1980 the marble-lined halls of the U.S. Senate rang with the frantic war cries of its wizened lords and ladies. The bill reinstating draft registration was basically put into law.

Amidst much pomp and high-sounding verbiage, labeled in the media as "stiff debate," came the real message and purpose of the registration bill: war against the Russians is coming, there's no two ways about this, and the key responsibility of the political representatives of the ruling class at this time is to get the country prepared for this imperialist showdown politically and militarily.

Our rulers plan to register 4 million young men over a two-week period in mid-summer. This is part of their actual war preparations for the showdown they know is on the horizon with the imperialist Soviet Union. They want things in place (in particular, they want names and addresses of potential draftees) for the time in the not too distant future when the actual necessity for massive troop mobilization will arise.

They are also testing the waters to some extent by making registration law at this time. A draft is not the most popular idea these days among large numbers of youth and others. And this fact was at the heart of the so-called opposition to the registration bill. The transparent terms of the "debate" were clearly illustrated



Not that many people actually believe claims that a draft registration is all that's being contemplated, after all, history disproves it. (Above) the first "peacetime" draft in U.S. history, a lottery drawing conducted (appropriately enough) by the Secretary of War in 1940. And then came 1941...

by Senator Roth of Delaware, an opponent of the bill: "I do not think that the groundwork has been laid to gain the support of our young people, and if they do not respond to this registration call, then we would have exactly the opposite kind of signal than we are trying to give to the Soviet Union. For that reason I fear that it is wrong at this particular juncture." According to official U.S. government minimum estimates, at least 2% of the 4 million youth they will seek to register this summer won't go for it. This amounts to some

80,000 people, and there are even higher estimates.

Roth, and particularly Hatfield of Oregon (who filibustered for five hours against the bill), as well as others, seem to think that now's just not the time to clue the people of this country into the fact that as far as the U.S. rulers are concerned, the only future for America's youth is on the battlefield.

But despite such less than formidable opposition to the bill, it passed hands down and had already gone through the House of Represent-

tatives. Only a few formalities remain. The penalty simply for not registering is a maximum of 5 years in jail and a \$10,000 fine. (And, for the anticipated numbers of youth who may resist, some Selective Service studies have even raised the suggestion of setting up prison camps in the West—much like the "internment" camps used against Japanese-Americans in World War 2.)

In a very much related incident only days earlier, the Senate voted down amendments to include the registration of women in this bill. This does not mean that they have abandoned the idea of drafting women—far from it. The nature of the war they must fight will require unprecedented numbers of troops and support personnel. The vote only means a slight delay in this process—perhaps until after the first round of men are registered. They are obviously testing the waters on this count as well.

Registration is now a fact. The draft is soon to follow, because the imperialist system is headed toward world war. But there remains a question that will be on the minds of these noble politicians in the future if it is not on their minds right now: once several million men and women from the working class and oppressed nationalities are drafted for war, thrown into uniform and given military training—in which direction will they point the gun? □

6 STILL CAPTIVE IN GARY JAIL

As we go to press, six supporters and members of the RCP are still stuck in jail after more than a week in Gary, Indiana, on bail totaling more than \$30,000. The six were arrested along with four others released on bail earlier in the week at the city unemployment office when police attacked them as they were selling the *Revolutionary Worker*. Bail on the 10, who were charged with misdemeanors, was originally set at over \$85,000! Gary Judge Douglas Grimes has demanded surety bonds on those arrested—10% of the bail which is paid to a bondsman and is not refunded. The masses of Black people in the Gary projects told the *RW* that this judge is infamous for setting high bails for Black youth and then looking on in approval while the youth are threatened with either taking the rap or joining the army. This way, Grimes kills two birds with one stone—press-ganging youth to be cannonfodder and dealing with the unemployment problem at the same time.

Acting Police Chief Virgil Motley, speaking to the local press, put the purpose of the exorbitant bail straight out. Reporting that he has had "no trouble" since the arrests, he stated, "I think it has a lot to do with the court here. The bonds were high enough to discourage anyone from causing any real problems." This is standard practice in Gary—outrageous bails and hanging company-town judges—a tactic to keep the masses in line. In this steel town, where thousands of workers, mostly Black, have been laid off from the mills in the area—Inland, Bethlehem, U.S. Steel Gary Works—unemployment is almost 14% by "official" figures. In this situation, the *Revolutionary Worker* definitely spells trouble for the bourgeoisie.

They have been running a line to the Black workers of Gary that "you get laid off while the white workers from the suburbs stay on, so what you should be concerned about is jobs and keeping your nose in Gary, Indiana—these 'outsiders' don't concern you." To keep the workers from recognizing their revolutionary in-

terests, they promote narrowness on the one hand, and—just in case anybody gets any funny ideas—on the other hand, there's always the sheriff, the judge, the jail, a bail bond you can't pay, a beating... and bullets. At the unemployment office, on the morning of June 3, there was sharp struggle in the line, with some vocal backward elements mouthing

the words of the oppressor—"We don't need this in Gary." (Like hell!) But as police moved in, the tide turned. Many people hollered at the cops to keep their hands off the *RW* sellers. One Vietnam vet shouted out, "I didn't fight in Vietnam so that this shit would go on—these people should be able to stand on the roof tops and say what they have to say."

The local press has been running a campaign of slander against the revolutionaries, including an editorial in the local paper five days after the arrests which was aimed at discouraging the revolutionary-minded masses in Gary from checking out the *RW* and puffing up the

Continued on page 18

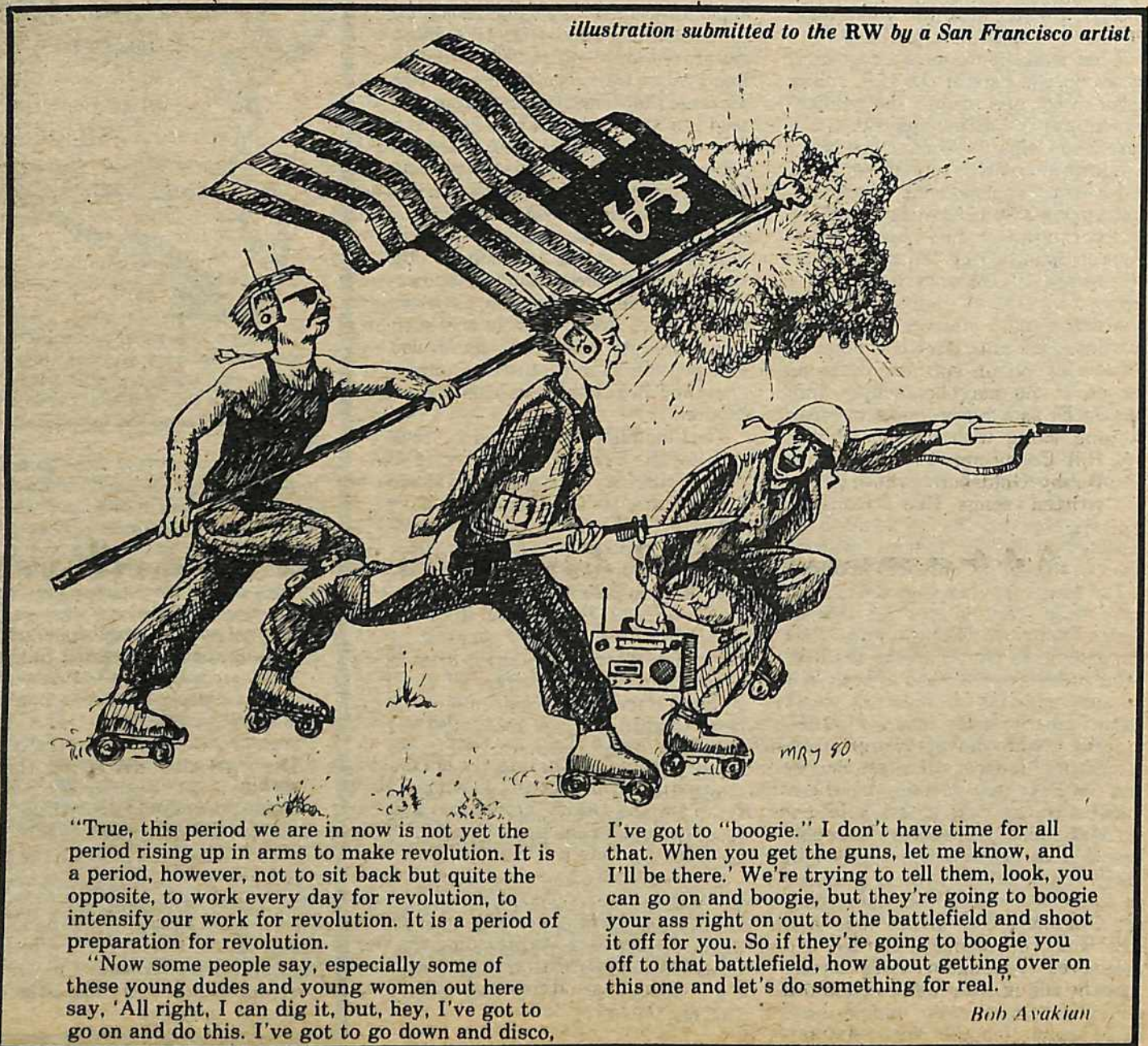


illustration submitted to the *RW* by a San Francisco artist

"True, this period we are in now is not yet the period rising up in arms to make revolution. It is a period, however, not to sit back but quite the opposite, to work every day for revolution, to intensify our work for revolution. It is a period of preparation for revolution.

"Now some people say, especially some of these young dudes and young women out here say, 'All right, I can dig it, but, hey, I've got to go on and do this. I've got to go down and disco,

I've got to 'boogie.' I don't have time for all that. When you get the guns, let me know, and I'll be there.' We're trying to tell them, look, you can go on and boogie, but they're going to boogie your ass right on out to the battlefield and shoot it off for you. So if they're going to boogie you off to that battlefield, how about getting over on this one and let's do something for real."

Bob Avakian

LETTERS FROM INDIA

The RW has recently received the following correspondence from a revolutionary political prisoner in Calcutta, India.

Dear Comrades,

You may be surprised to receive this letter from so far geographically apart. And it is needless to say where it is from, a prison cell! Let me introduce myself first. I am an active member of the Communist Party of India (ML) and since 1970 I am languishing in this inferno along with my other comrades for revolutionary activities.

I happened to note the advertisement of *The Communist* No. 5. We consider it as a "divine light" when we are in such a situation in which we are searching round for more truth on the counter-revolution that took place in China. We are sure that despite revisionism in different shades, the revolution will triumph. It is certain the working class, the Marxist-Leninists all over the world will arise to challenge the revisionism of Hua-Teng clique. Mao Tsetung and other Marxist-Leninists all over the world arose to challenge the revisionism of Khrushchev. In the challenge many Marxist-Leninist parties emerged in the world. Now the Chinese revisionists also pose a challenge. I hope in the challenge Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought will get enriched still further and genuine Marxist-Leninist parties will come up. I like to welcome *The Communist* No. 5. Red Salute to the RCP...

Expecting your early mail
With revolutionary greetings,
XX

5th May 1980

Dear Comrades,

Let me extend our Fraternal May Day Greetings to you all first. And hope your May Day celebrations were militant. . . . Two days before in an Indian newspaper we noted a news item in which it was said that "two persons of the RCP of America entered the meeting hall of the UN and bathed the Soviet representative with red paint." Why the red paint was chosen? Was it not better to be black? Nonetheless it deserves our militant congratulations.

With red greetings,
XX

LETTER FROM CANADA

The heat is being turned on the American imperialists: blows given across the world by revolutionary people, the heroic actions of the revolutionary brigades and the American 1st of May, the three day riot in Miami.

I can't afford to miss any more issues of the RW—the paper which gives a first-hand account on the class struggle in the States.
Keep up the good work, Comrades!

XX,
a Canadian Marxist-Leninist

The Other Olympics "Lose, Team, Lose"

June — , Berkeley, Calif. It was announced today that the United States will host an alternative Olympics at the University of California at Berkeley beginning July 7 one day prior to the opening of the "official" games in Moscow. Already West Germany, Canada and Kenya have officially accepted, with Japan and China rumored to be next to announce their intentions.

According to Dave Maggard, UC Athletic Director, Cal offered its facilities shortly after the boycott was announced, and planning had

been underway since. Meet organizers have yet to decide on a name, steering clear of any mention of the Olympics to avoid angering IOC officials who opposed the boycott. The U.S. Olympic boycott is already a debacle, with the U.S. reduced to covetously counting the support for the boycott from second-string canoe coaches. Now it appears that the U.S. imperialists' debacle is about to become a double debacle with the choice of Berkeley, which Washington apparently considers a "neutral country."

UN 2 Hounded with a Vengeance

Continued from page 3

think this is putting words in the judge's mouth, we will let him speak for himself. In another remark in court that he could impose a "term of several years" on the UN 2—a statement which brought one of the defense lawyers to his feet asking the judge if he hadn't already contemplated jailtime two weeks before trial has even begun. Ward has also said in court, "I can't imagine what legal defense you could possibly have."

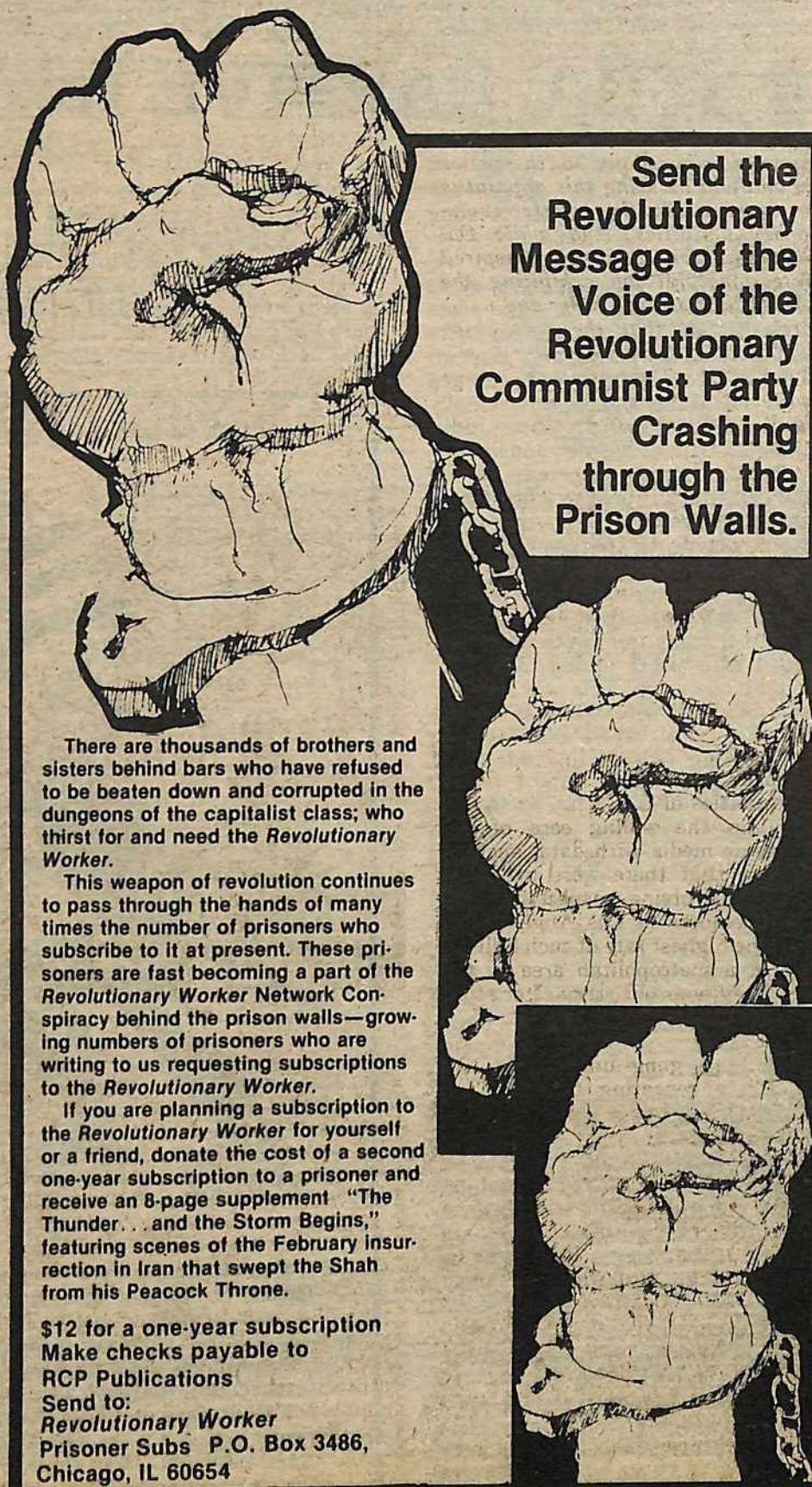
What is in the works is a concerted effort on the part of the U.S. ruling class to try and squash the political impact the UN action has had. If the case is so simple as Ward says it is, we would question why the FBI has found it necessary to conduct an investigation among 12 alleged witnesses to the action (known at this time to have gone on up until May 23), including interviewing UN security guards, UN press officers, a photographer, a translator and a member of the U.S. mission, even after the UN conducted its own investigation among the same people. If the case is so simple, why has the FBI found it necessary to leak statements to the media, with the press willingly cooperating, trying to brand the political action at the UN as a "terrorist deed"? This goes along with the fact that the UN 2 have been indicted under a federal statute enacted to deal with acts of terrorism.

The courtroom hearings held so far have been very interesting indeed. Judge Ward, who has a natural flair for gab, gave the following sermon: "Our judicial system has been looked at and criticized around the world because of the delay inherent in due process. Now, in many countries something happens in the morning and the next day a firing squad terminates the matter. That is not how we do things in this country. But this case will be presented promptly and fairly. If it is not we will bring discredit on ourselves." Aside from the blatant lies contained here about "due process" and other bullshit about our "democratic" judicial system which shoots, jails and torments thousands daily (and incidentally, judge, most likely those countries with next-day

firing squads are U.S.-controlled dictatorships), this statement betrays a lot of just how the bourgeoisie sees this case. It is a recognition of how badly stung they were by the UN action and how it was an international event embraced by people around the world. Politically exposing them and raising the spectre of revolution right in their eyes, right at a time when the superpowers are psyching people up for something else—war. It is these revolutionary politics that the bourgeoisie wants to terminate. The message they want coming out of this trial is, "Don't think about opposing this war, don't think about rising up against us or we will deal with you and deal with you promptly." They're caught in a bind, however, trying to figure out how to undo the political damage done at the UN only to find themselves raveled up in further exposures of their own system, as people are outraged and recognize why such severe charges and bails were leveled and possible heavy jail terms and a short and swift trial have been set into motion.

The Committee to Demand Freedom for the UN 2 has been formed in New York City. Several individuals from different organizations have come forward amidst sharp political debate to protest the charges against the UN 2, including members of the Coordinating Committee of the Clamshell Alliance and people from the Coalition for Direct Action at Seabrook (both anti-nuke organizations), the Buffalo Chapter of Rock Against Racism, the Convention Protest Coalition, and over 100 individuals. One brother, seeing the historic significance of the UN action, is planning to write a song about the UN 2 and has offered his band to help raise the thousands of dollars needed for this case.

People are urged to sign and distribute widely the statement demanding the immediate dropping of the charges against the UN 2 and to send financial contributions to the National May Day Committee, P.O. Box 12039, Detroit, MI 48212. □



Send the Revolutionary Message of the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party Crashing through the Prison Walls.

There are thousands of brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class; who thirst for and need the *Revolutionary Worker*.

This weapon of revolution continues to pass through the hands of many times the number of prisoners who subscribe to it at present. These prisoners are fast becoming a part of the *Revolutionary Worker* Network Conspiracy behind the prison walls—growing numbers of prisoners who are writing to us requesting subscriptions to the *Revolutionary Worker*.

If you are planning a subscription to the *Revolutionary Worker* for yourself or a friend, donate the cost of a second one-year subscription to a prisoner and receive an 8-page supplement "The Thunder . . . and the Storm Begins," featuring scenes of the February insurrection in Iran that swept the Shah from his Peacock Throne.

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LAPD and the Gangs

The April 22 police murder of Damian Garcia (a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party) and attempt on the life of Hayden Fisher in an East L.A. housing project was accompanied by vigorous "explanations" from the Los Angeles Police Department, echoed by the capitalist news media, that Comrade Garcia had been a "victim of gang violence." But as the facts of the matter have been brought to light (in fact, many people have been sent to prison for life and even executed on far less evidence than the RW has already published against the police in this case), and as the ruling class has seen the exposure of this planned political execution turn the name Damian Garcia into a battle cry, the press has seen fit to black out any further mention of this murder. Meanwhile, the police roam the streets of the barrio, continuing to terrorize the residents, even periodically using the "investigation" of their own crime as a pretext for jacking up the youth of the area, including many who supported May Day and the Alamo takeover. (Comrade Garcia, Hayden Fisher and Gail Bayer raised the red flag over the Alamo on March 20.)

An RW investigation in Los Angeles into police methods and gangs has uncovered a sophisticated police apparatus designed to utilize certain gang-related elements in the community for police purposes. Of course, most gang members hate the pigs, but still, the pigs view the gang scene as yet another place to slurp around. In the past, this has meant fomenting rivalries between gangs, provoking fights and other incidents, recruiting police agents and informants by any means necessary—all with the purpose of keeping a tense situation even tenser and keeping the people at each other's throats. But now and increasingly so, the police are and will be using this apparatus for more explicitly counterrevolutionary activities. And while Damian's murder was a police-inspired professional hit job exhibiting the features of a trained killer and not a barrio youth, that the authorities would use the flimsy cover of "gang violence" to cover nothing but their own bloody crimes is hardly surprising. We focus on Los Angeles in this feature because both the Los Angeles Police Department and the L.A. County Sheriff's Department are considered by police officials to be textbook models for the entire nation in this work. They have a whole range of not so visible activities in their professional trick bag.

* * * * *

Various police spokesmen are quite fond of quoting mounds of statistics on the rising rate of "gang-related violence" in the Chicano and Black communities of L.A. They are quick to pump the willing ears of the bourgeois media with data, such as the fact that there were over 250 murders involving suspected street gang members in Los Angeles last year, the highest rate of such killings ever in a metropolitan area in the U.S. They pour out story after story for publication, crying that East L.A. is a "war zone," as the Sheriff's Department gang unit spokesman put it, or repeating the crocodile tears of a Sergeant in the LAPD's infamous Community Resources Against Street Hoodlums (CRASH) program—"You get tired of looking at a 14-year-old kid with half his head blown off and then finding the kid who did it didn't even know who he was shooting." But while the much publicized hand-wringing and calls for more police "protection" escalate, the real story behind the police role in all this never seems to make it to the pages of their respectable journals.

For one thing, the police have gone to great pains to set up and maintain

a highly developed "information" network within the gangs—a network designed to keep the specialists in the upper echelons of the police department aware of all present and future activities on the street. Recently, the ACLU (American Civil Liberties Union) filed a lawsuit against the LAPD, seeking to stop them from photographing suspected gang members on the street against their will. In the course of the suit, several members of the police department's gang activities section filed depositions which stated that they had grown up in the barrios, used to be in gangs themselves and had used their experience to set up and maintain contact with informants in the gangs to "secure their cooperation with the Los Angeles Police Department." One of these experts admitted that he was so close to a certain gang leader that he had been invited to his birthday party. Another admitted that he had been sent to Oaxaca, Mexico by the LAPD to learn Spanish so as to be able to communicate better with his informants.

The methods used to obtain this "cooperation" range from blackmail to kidnapping to threats of murder. A poverty program administrator told the RW that in one recent case, for example, when the girlfriend of a gang leader became pregnant, two CRASH cops arranged and paid for an abortion for the girl, supposedly in order to keep the whole thing quiet, especially from the girl's parents. A couple of months later, the same cops picked up the gang leader, took him for a ride downtown to police headquarters, and threatened to blow the whole story to his girlfriend's parents unless he wrote a "confession" implicating other gang members in a number of robberies that had taken place in the area. He was told that he would not go to jail if he cooperated.

Another very popular method used by the LAPD is to pick up a gang member near his home on some pretext and take him for a ride to an area where a rival gang lives, particularly one that his gang is warring with; unless he agrees to "cooper-

ate," he will be handcuffed and let out of the car to fend for himself. A number of youth told us that this had either happened to them or their friends. And most everyone familiar with the gangs said that the popular game of arrest followed by "let's make a deal" is standard operating procedure for the LAPD. In fact, one source told us that the prisons that are euphemistically called "county youth camps" are mainly populated by those who refused to "cooperate"—although even then, the system doesn't give up trying, with California Youth Authority officers making periodic offers of early release and even a job, possibly with the police department, for those who agree to play ball.

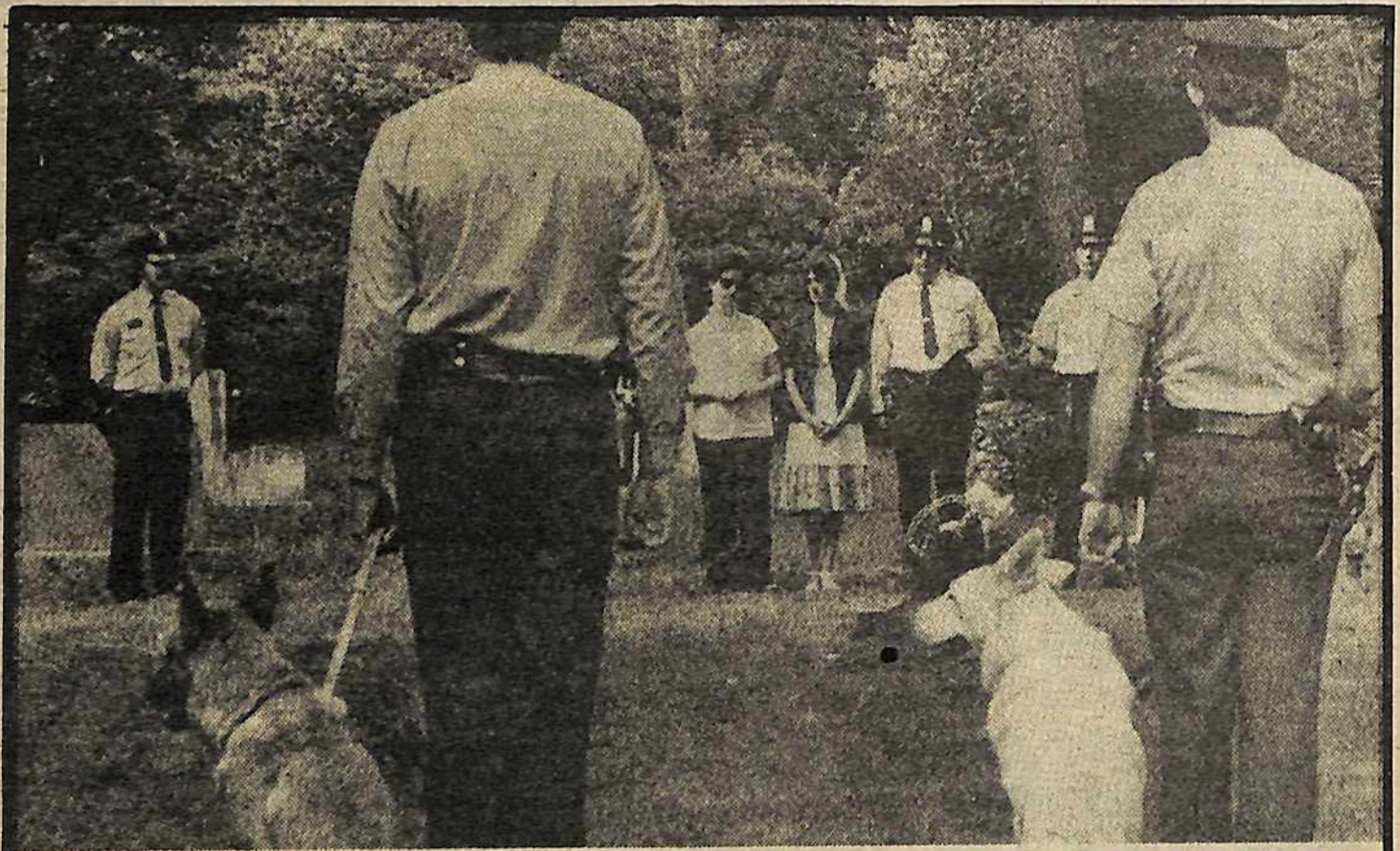
Of course, there are those who would claim that the purpose of all this "cooperation" is to help prevent or lessen the wholesale killings of each other that undeniably go on among street gangs. On that basis, the police are sometimes successful for a time, in gaining the help of parents in some communities—parents who, for one reason or another, have swallowed the bait the police have set with their honeyed claims of being "concerned" about the situation in the barrios and ghettos. However, in most such cases, it isn't too long before the same parents are gagging on the worms they have been thrown. In one L.A. neighborhood, over 80 of the parents have recently signed a petition demanding the ouster of CRASH pigs from their neighborhood, and many of the signers had originally cooperated with the police, even holding meetings in their houses with CRASH officers. The truth is that the purpose of the police in the barrios and ghettos, including in the work against gangs, is dedicated to something far different from stopping the violence in the community—at least as long as the youth direct the violence at each other. With their networks of informants spread about, it's clear that they often know what is going to happen before it does. In fact, the police often set up the confrontation between the different gangs. CRASH

officers are notorious for spreading rumors from one gang to the other telling one gang that a rival is planning to move in on their neighborhood or is going after their girl friends. They have also been seen sprayspaining a "declaration of war" from one gang to another on a wall in the barrio. And, as a 19-year-old in the barrio told us, "If there's a gang fight, and everyone knows it's coming... they [the police] come when everything's over, when somebody's lying there dead..."

Many people think that the police are privately supplying drugs and weapons to various gangs to help perpetuate the "war zone" they publicly decry. One resident of south central Los Angeles told us: "I've seen the police allow a van full of weapons—not M-16's or anything that might be used effectively against them, but sawed-off shotguns, zip guns, knives, stuff like that—I've seen them leave that van sit in... [a housing project in Watts—RW] all night long. They'll drive by it maybe four or five times, get out and shine their flashlights inside, look in it, and then get back in their car and drive off. And they know, everyone knows damned well what's in it."

An important part of police operations has been to make sure that any attempt to cool out the fighting between gangs initiated by the youth themselves is met with provocation and sabotage. Obviously, potential unity between the people poses the threat of struggle against the oppressor. Some youth told us that every time they try to get two gangs together for a football or baseball game as a beginning step in breaking down hostilities, the police come and break up the game, harassing, beating, and often arresting the participants. One East L.A. gang member said, "One time we tried to get people together from the different barrios. We set up a place where people could hang out... we called it Carnalis [Brotherhood—RW]. Then some other guys from some other part of town came over

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Members of the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Police Department recently buried one of their "finest." Members of other police departments from as far away as Prince William County attended the service in suburban Wheaton, Maryland. Yet it was difficult to maintain order among the assembled police officers. As some stood at attention, others sniffed each others' rear ends while yet others simply sat around with their tongues hanging out.

"Char," as he was affectionately

known to his fellow officers, was assigned to the department's canine corps, where he achieved the highest performance scores in the history of the unit and had a reputation for being one of the most intelligent members of the Washington police department. During his 2 1/2 years on the force, Char became exceptionally close to his partner, Officer Theodore C. Beagle. Officer Beagle was presented with a plaque inscribed to "Char and Teddy Beagle".

Alas, Char's aggressive police work

proved to be his undoing. Setting the pace for other members of the force, Char just loved to put the bite on suspected demonstrators, suspected violators, and suspected suspects. One night, Char was searching a wooded area by the Suitland Parkway. Mistaking a plain clothes officer for a normal person, Char's police instincts welled up inside him and he lunged. Shot three times, Char was pronounced D.O.A. at a local medical facility. □



The march swings into view in front of the gate of U.S. 7th Army, Europe.

Heidelberg, West Germany

DEMONSTRATION HITS U.S. 7TH ARMY H.Q.

Heidelberg, West Germany—the nerve center of the American military forces in Europe. It is the headquarters of the U.S. Seventh Army-Europe, responsible for confronting Warsaw Pact troops along a major stretch of West Germany's eastern border. In Heidelberg the reality of two superpowers squaring off cannot be hidden. Over the years, this quiet university town on the Neckar River, filled with cobblestone streets and dominated by a medieval castle on the mountainside, has been transformed into a Little America crowded with GIs and military brass, surrounded by American housing projects. The streets and highways are constantly flooded with military hardware, tanks and personnel carriers, on the alert, moving to maneuvers and war games in the German countryside. Heidelberg is a key part of the U.S. war machine. It is on the front lines of World War 3—and the fact is obvious to everyone.

Saturday May 3, 1980—one glance at the mammoth gate of the Army headquarters and you could tell everything was not going on as normal. A contingent of Military Police and Army Intelligence agents massed nervously around the gate. In front of them, West German police erected special anti-riot fences around the American base. Down the streets, chants rang out—in German and English, followed by stanzas of revolutionary songs from Turkey. Right in the face of the U.S. military war machine, the gravediggers of imperialism were making an internationalist statement that could not be ignored.

Few demonstrations have said so much simply by their composition. Here was a powerful contingent of workers from Turkey drawn to this imperialist center by the hope of a better life, and sparked to revolutionary activity by the reality of exploitation and by the rising storm of struggle in their own country. Here were members of Fight Back (revolutionary voice of GIs in Europe)—representing the millions that the American imperialists rely on to be cannon fodder in the coming confrontation. And there were students and workers from West Germany, the U.S., Iran, Ireland and other countries, raising their voices against this imperialist system and its interna-

tional moves toward war. In all, 250 people marching up against U.S. Army Headquarters. In the front of the march, written in English and German were two large banners saying "U.S. Imperialists: Hands Off Iran, Send Back the Shah." Following it, leading the contingent of workers from Turkey, flew the banner of *Partizan*, their revolutionary newspaper.

Here was a vivid picture of how imperialism brings the people of the world together through its international web of economic, political and military connections, and a clear demonstration of how the revolutionary aspirations of people can turn this into a basis to forge an international army aiming straight at the system itself.

The march had been organized by a coalition of Fight Back, Youth Center Initiative (Heidelberg Region), and the Irish Committee in Heidelberg. The

West German Federation of Workers from Turkey (ATIF) also mobilized locally. Leaflets were handed out by the Iranian Islamic Students Association, whose members also joined the march. The main slogans had been agreed upon: U.S. Imperialism—Hands Off Iran! Send the Shah Back to the Iranian People! Down with the War Moves of ALL Imperialists!"

Gathering in the heart of town, the marchers were determined to carry their message throughout the area despite the restriction of police permits. Red flags flying, they took off through a student and working class neighborhood and then defiantly marched through the living quarters of the U.S. Army brass and lifers. "Death to the Shah! Death to U.S. Imperialism! Death to West German Imperialism! Down with Imperialism, Social-Imperialism and all World Reaction!" The result was electric as the chants echoed off the yellow housing units. The chant "USA—SA—SS!", a traditional one in the German anti-imperialist movement, linked the U.S. monopoly capitalists with Hitler's S.A. goon squad and S.S. shock troops.

For the GIs watching on the street corners there was no way to avoid a reaction. This march addressed the

very issues that had their guts churning. War in Iran, war with Russia—this is what they were stationed thousands of miles from home waiting for. Some reacted bitterly, tossing the leaflets away. Some listened eagerly. And after intense hurried raps by Fight Back members in the march, some went back and picked up the leaflets they had just thrown down.

Needless to say the majority of the brass and lifers were driven to a frenzy by this internationalism thrown straight in their faces. As the Fight Back leaflet put it, "Stars and Stripes may not want to tell about the GIs who cheered when the mod squad tripped over their own feet (in the aborted invasion of Iran—RW). But we are out here, yes today, we are in the minority, but we are determined to stand up and support the Iranian people in their struggle. We will never unite with the brass—no matter how many red-white-and-blue flags they wave in our faces. We unite with all those who are struggling to be free from their dictatorship. And we got one last word to say to the brass. Don't go down to Iran and get your ass caught 'cause we won't risk a hang-nail to save you!" The scattered John Wayne fanatics stepped out to provoke fights. And others gathered around to check out what was being said.

The march rallied in front of the iron gate of the American Army. Speeches rang out in English, German and Turkish—addressing not only the marchers themselves but the growing crowd of GIs, lifers and dependents gathering to hear what the march was about. Here, it was said, you see the future before you, the true internationalism in the face of what the imperialists have in store for us all. Again and again the speeches pointed out that the march itself was a sign that there are two roads opening up: the road of marching off to die for the capitalists of Washington or Moscow—and the road of revolution.

Filled with the success of the day, aware of the tremendous interest shown throughout the town, the marchers couldn't simply disband after the rally as planned. To the dismay of the local pigs, the march formed up again—and headed back into town spending hours spread throughout the area discussing the future with groups of Heidelberg residents. In the face of the tremendous propaganda around Iran, in the face of the American army and the mobilized police—a powerful message has been sent and heard by thousands here in West Germany. □



This Iranian woman proudly drove her baby carriage right to the front of the march—covered with pictures of the masses strangling U.S. imperialism.

Part 1: Cuba

Crisis in Revisionist Satellites

This is the first in a series on the economic crisis of the revisionist countries of Cuba and Vietnam.

Boat people. Along with the Star Wars characters, they became new celebrities in the late 1970s. Only they were real. Hundreds of thousands of refugees streaming across dangerous waters in vessels of dubious seaworthiness. Their plight seemed pathetic. People so eager to leave their home that they risked possible death for an uncertain future. What they were fleeing must have been bad indeed. Indeed! Indeed! says the U.S. bourgeoisie, taking great delight in the fact that the two greatest exoduses were from Cuba and Vietnam, two of its arch nemeses in the last 20 years. In the headlines of these great humanitarians of Wall Street and the White House, the refugees are only confirmation that they were right all along: right to try to up-end Castro at the Bay of Pigs and through numerous CIA plots; right to rain death from the skies and cause the destruction of millions of lives in Indochina. For they were only trying to free the people of Cuba and Vietnam from a fate worse than death—godless communism and a life of misery from which they flee as from the plague at the first chance.

These attempts by the U.S. to reverse the verdicts of history and in the process prepare for new crusades to defend its empire are insidious nonsense. The heroic struggles of the people of Cuba and Vietnam to get out from under the boot of colonialism and U.S. imperialism were tremendous victories, advances that have had their reverberation and parallels in the national liberation struggles of oppressed people throughout the world. What happened afterwards, however, is another story, although one that has its beginnings in the initial liberation struggles. It is this story that we need to focus on and understand in greater detail now. In his book *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions*, Bob Avakian made a point that is useful to recall in this context. The experience of the anti-imperialist liberation movements that have swept the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America since World War 2 "has clearly demonstrated that, while it is an arduous task to win victory in the struggle to end colonial (including neo-colonial) domination, it is far more difficult to carry forward the struggle to establish socialism and then continue to advance in the socialist stage. . . . The greatest number of these movements, even where led by organizations declaring themselves Marxist-Leninist, have not gone forward to socialism and therefore have, in fact, failed to even win complete liberation from imperialism, falling instead under the sway of one or another imperialist power—generally one or the other superpower in this period."

The political and economic systems that have been established in Cuba, Vietnam, and for that matter North Korea, are socialist in name only. As we shall see, the economic crises that are wracking these countries right now are in substance little different from the crisis affecting other colonial or neo-colonial countries throughout the world, and neither is the response of their leaders in attempting to deal with these crises. They do, of course, have their particularities, since what exists there is predominantly state ownership of the factories and fields as opposed to private ownership by a handful of immensely wealthy admitted capitalists in league with feudal landlords (and foreign imperialists), as is the case in Peru, El Salvador or Thailand. There are also the trappings of popular control of the socie-

ty, a pretense which is not even made in Chile or Malaysia. And the measure of economic dependency cannot be made in terms of standard direct foreign investment and control, as can be done in the colonies and neo-colonies of the Western imperialist powers, since Soviet control and dependency on Soviet imperialism take a somewhat different form.

Finally, while the flight of the Cuban and Vietnamese boat people serves to focus attention on the economic crisis in these countries, too much should not be made out of this in differentiating Cuba or Vietnam from other underdeveloped, neo-colonial countries. As one Peruvian diplomat cynically commented of the rush of people into the Venezuelan and Peruvian embassies in Havana that started the recent refugee flow, "If tomorrow the U.S. embassy in Lima were to say that all those who wanted to emigrate would be accepted as political refugees, I'm afraid half the country would get out." And there is also another particularity to the flight of the refugees from Cuba and Vietnam that sheds light on both the nature of their crises and how they are attempting to deal with them. These refugees can hardly be said to be "escaping" from their countries, since the Cuban and Vietnamese authorities have acted as virtual travel agents in booking passage for them. This has been very clear in Cuba, where Castro announced that anyone who wanted to leave the country merely had to get themselves down to Mariel harbor to board a boat. What better way to get rid of the "malcontents" and disrupters and even smooth over some of the unemployment problems on the island. "Good riddance to bad rubbish," as the official line in Cuba goes these days.

The Cuban Economic Crisis

There is little debate that Cuba today, 21 years after the revolution that drove out the U.S. puppet Batista, is facing severe economic crisis. In a speech on November 30, 1979 in Santiago de Cuba, the country's second largest city, Fidel's brother Raul Castro raised the spectre of economic calamity, stating that "it is only because of the existence of a socialist regime here and our close economic relations with the socialist world, particularly with the Soviet Union, that the effects of the present world economic crisis have not led us into economic disaster and bankruptcy, with its sequel of starving people and hundreds of thousands of unemployed." Fidel himself, in a secret speech in Havana to party officials on December 27, 1979, underscored the depths of the crisis. "Some have said that we are experiencing difficulties. It would be better to say that we are sailing on a sea of difficulties. We have been in this sea for some time and we will continue in this sea . . . the shore is far away."

The U.S. bourgeoisie, echoing these admissions by the Castro brothers, Cuba's top leaders, joyfully proclaim the severity and intensity of this crisis. But while the Castros assert that it is Cuba's "socialist regime" and Soviet aid that have warded off catastrophic consequences of this crisis, the U.S. officials claim that the problems in fact flow directly from Cuba's "socialist system" and dependency on the Soviet Union. Oddly enough, there are elements of truth in what both sides say, but only elements.

It is a fact that Soviet infusions of aid into Cuba, to the tune of about 9 million dollars per day, keep the country afloat. But it is precisely their overall neo-colonial relationship to the Soviets and the regime's inability to develop an independent economy that are at the heart of their

current problems. These problems, as the U.S. says, are systemic, but they do not flow from a socialist system, since that is not what exists in Cuba, but rather from Cuba's system of state capitalism, and the bourgeois outlook and politics of its leadership.

Cuba, like virtually all of the world's underdeveloped colonial and neo-colonial countries, has a raw materials export economy. That is, they export a few agricultural products and import virtually all of their finished manufactured goods as well as a large percentage of the raw materials and agricultural products they need for domestic consumption, i.e., food and energy. Further, two decades after the revolution, Cuba, an agricultural country, remains as much a one-crop economy as it was in the days when the U.S. imperialists controlled the country. That one crop is sugar, which accounts for about \$2.5 billion of Cuba's foreign earnings each year. In addition, Cuba has had a secondary export, tobacco, which accounts for about \$100 million of its annual foreign earnings.

Cuba's need for petroleum imports each year alone more than outstrips its earnings from sugar exports. The difference, i.e. their increasing debt, is made up for by the fact that the Soviet Union has been selling oil to Cuba at about half the world market price and purchases the bulk of its sugar at well above the world market price. While the vast majority of Cuba's trade is with the Soviets and their Eastern European allies in COMECON (Committee of Mutual Economic Assistance), Cuba does

engage in small amounts of trade and borrowing from the West. But here too, their balance of trade and payments are in deficit. All told, the Cubans are over \$6 billion in debt to the Soviets and the COMECON countries, and about \$1 billion in debt to the West.

As the RCP pointed out in its 1976 pamphlet on Cuba, "Sugar has been a curse on Cuba. The U.S. had used its control of the sugar market to control Cuba. The American and Cuban sugar lords had tried to keep the people from growing food on the unused land in order to keep them impoverished and without property, with no choice but to work in the sugar. . . . In the early '60s the U.S. . . . closed off Cuba's former sugar market, so the purchases by the USSR and China helped Cuba out of a jam. In early 1963, as the economy's advance began to falter and shortages appeared, Castro went to the Soviet Union for talks with Khrushchev and other Soviet leaders. When he came back, he had a new plan. *Instead of diversifying agriculture, Cuba would produce more sugar.*" (*Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth—From Anti-Imperialist Revolution to Pawn of Social-Imperialism*, p. 15)

The extent of Cuba's continued enslavement to sugar production and dependency on its new overlord, the Soviet Union, is readily seen. While the economic statistics indicate that Cuba's overall trade has fallen since the revolution from 30% to about 20% of its gross national product (the total of goods and services pro-

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Cuba: The Evaporation of a Myth

Cuba, home of the first successful revolution against Yankee imperialism in Latin America, a country which as a result became a symbol for revolution for a great many people opposing imperialism around the world.

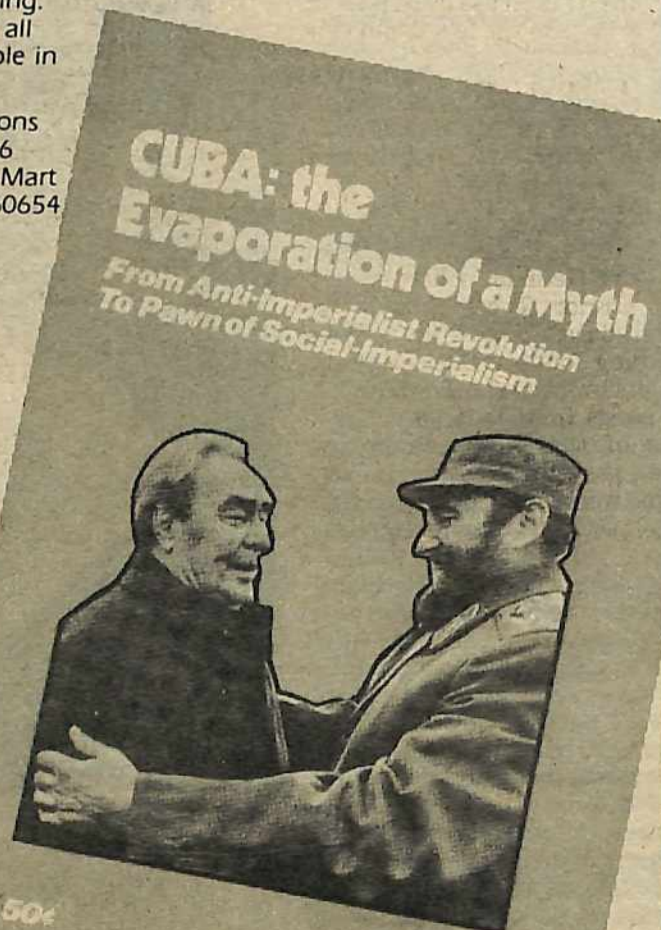
Cuba, which despite all this has become a pawn of Soviet social-imperialism, a breeding farm for cannon fodder for the expansionist ambitions of the revisionist superpower.

This pamphlet contains a critical analysis of the development of the Cuban revolution and the nature of its phony "socialism." Drawing the lessons of this negative experience is necessary to make clear the real road to liberation and socialism.

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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. Already, there are over 20,000 copies of this document in circulation and already, significant discussion has begun.

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.

On a number of occasions, we have solicited comments, questions, agreements and disagreements over the new documents. Groups and individuals are urged to contact the Party with their ideas and to set up discussions. We have to date received a number of letters, and starting this week we are opening the pages of the Revolutionary Worker to public discussion and struggle over the drafts.

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 versions 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.

The "International Relations" section of the Draft Programme says that the working class, upon victory, would need to keep many of the already existing weapons in the U.S. armed forces, including nuclear weapons. Given that these weapons are qualitatively more destructive than conventional weapons, a thorough and scientific discussion of this question is needed. Why "qualitatively more destructive"? Because, aside from the larger explosive power, nuclear explosions have a long-lingering after effect that TNT does not. Once you have nuked a place, the people and property that are burned at the time are really only a small part of the problem. Birth defects, cancer, mutations occurring among pests and bacteria which may enable them to multiply and more effectively attack man, and food supplies, even soil, being rendered poisonous for many generations—this is the price of H-bombs. This has already happened to the Marshall

Islanders in the South Pacific, and in Hiroshima and Nagasaki. How can there be a justification for use of such weapons under any circumstances?

One argument that I've heard why socialist America would and should have nukes is that nukes would deter an imperialist country from attacking (and possibly nuking) the proletarian state which would be a grave threat to them. I agree, nukes would lend weight to counter-moves we might make, and it would help to deter imperialists and reactionaries from aggression, or from invading us. But it would only deter for a limited time. The imperialist countries wouldn't want to attack the socialist country just out of an idle desire to fight. The fundamental reason they would have for wanting to attack socialist America would be the same fundamental reason they periodically make war on other imperialists—to wipe out an obstacle to the continued expansion of their investments and profits. Socialist America would be a rear base area for revolution around the world, both material and ideological, so it would most certainly be a major obstacle to imperialist expansion worldwide, and a target of attacks which would intensify as crises developed in the big capitalist nations, and the need to seek new sources of raw material, cheap labor and markets became more and more compelling to the head reactionaries in those countries.

The capitalists are not permanently deterred from making inter-

imperialist war by the fact that the other side has nukes. Until that iron law of "expand or die" is eliminated by the total elimination of classes, imperialist nations will be forced to lash out, regardless of the danger to the masses of people, at those who block their way. Thus, nukes or no nukes, they will be forced to try and destroy socialist countries.

The RCP once said about interimperialist war that the existence of nuclear weapons, far from making world war unthinkable or unlikely, only assures that the war will be that much more destructive. The same would be true of the possession and therefore the implied usage of nuclear weapons by a socialist country.

A socialist U.S. would be based on reliance on the masses, not only here but worldwide. Does keeping nuclear weapons reflect such a view? The real strategy of the international working class for reaching communism is not primarily defense of an existing socialist country, but revolution by all the peoples of the globe until capitalism is defeated. The use of nuclear weapons, or even the implied threat to use them, would be great power chauvinism on our part, because our use of nukes would poison or make uninhabitable great stretches of land of other nations, in the name of preserving socialism in this country.

The RW deplored the use by today's superpowers of the populations of the U.S. and U.S.S.R. as bargaining chips in the coming showdown. But that's precisely what we would be doing ourselves. If we wanted to knock out the other side's industrial plants or military bases, why not work on perfecting accurately targeted conventional missiles and the like—not to mention working with revolutionary defeatists within the imperialist country—instead of slaughtering half a million people for each factory com-

plex or airfield hit by nukes, we would be leaving habitable land, and survivors with normal genes, in the aftermath. As for their nuclear missile silos, even the Pentagon makes its plans with the assumption that not all of Russia's silos could be knocked out by a nuclear attack aimed at them, not to mention missiles on subs.

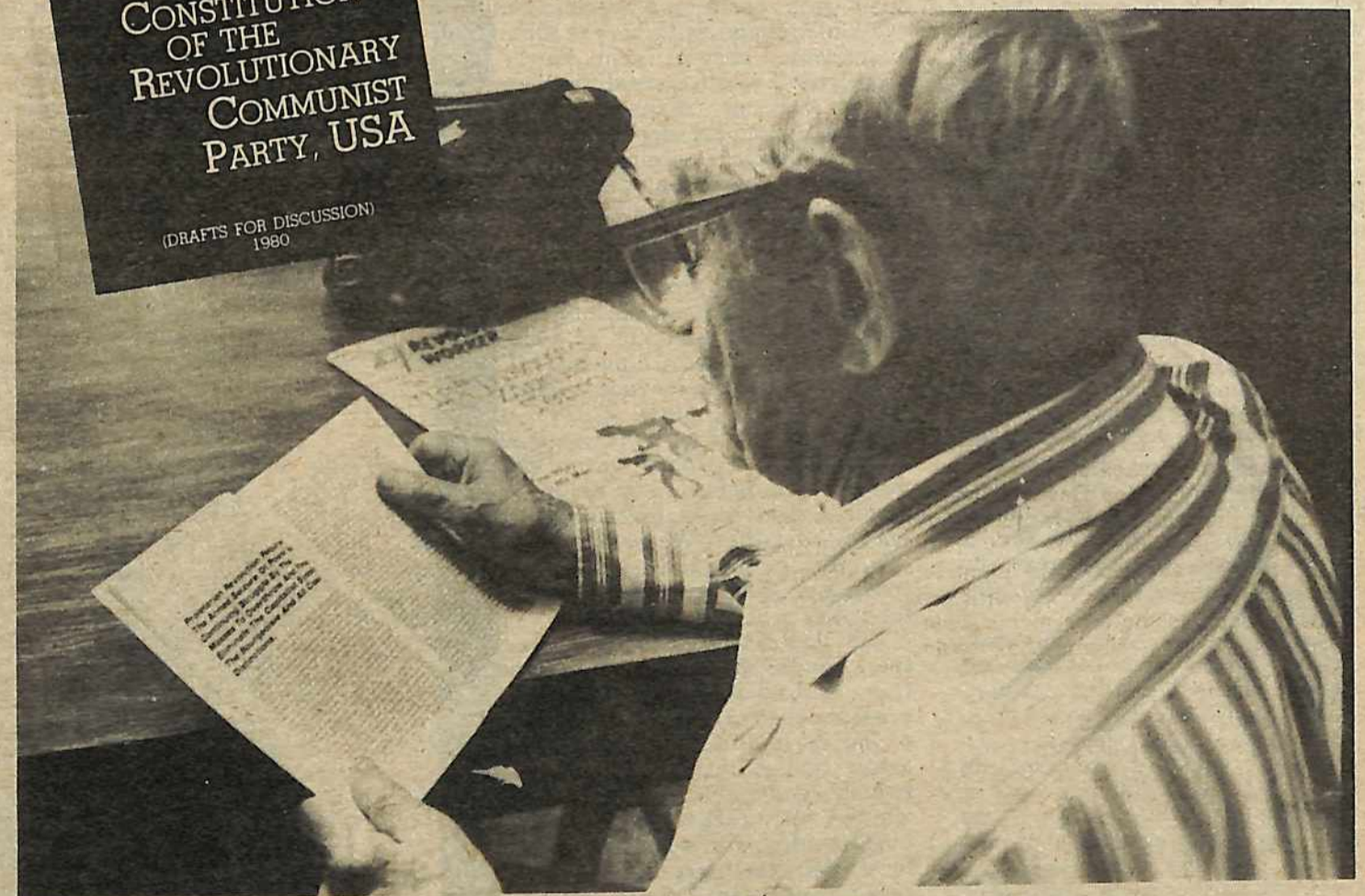
The nuclear bomb is a weapon of mass terror. A second argument I've heard advanced in favor of keeping nuclear weapons under socialism is that to get rid of nuclear weapons ourselves, is to disarm ourselves, and Marxists are not for disarming the oppressed and laboring people as long as oppressors have armaments (i.e., as long as the oppressor exists). I agree that the oppressed must use violence to win liberation from the oppressor—no other way will work. But must we use every form of violence that the oppressor uses, and in the same way? No—the Chinese didn't torture, execute or rape ordinary Kuomintang soldiers that they captured, although this form of terrorism was practiced by Chiang Kai-shek. The People's Liberation Army "disarmed" itself of the so-called "weapon" of torture—this policy isolated the enemy, and helped to win the hearts of the working people. Though the U.S. troops in Vietnam committed many My-Lai-type atrocities (and though movies like "The Deerhunter" have told filthy lies about the Vietnamese revolutionaries), the Vietcong, as far as I know, didn't have a policy of raping, torturing and burning whole villages when their inhabitants opposed the Vietcong. In spite of South Vietnamese tiger cages, the American POWs in the North were accorded fairly good treatment—good treatment the shutdown pilots didn't even deserve. Were the Vietnamese "disarming" themselves by not using tiger cages for "deterrence"?

And lastly, should we revolu-

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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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SUMMING UP A MAY 1st FACTORY BATTLE

More Revealed on Revolutionary Potential

Our Party's Chairman, Bob Avakian says in his statement summing up May Day, (*RW*, May 5, 1980) "On May First, we grasped and acted on this potential and the ruling class's serious response, but we could have grasped and acted on it even more. Because of this we were not able to break through as much as we needed to in leading people that day to break out of work, break out of school—which is how we knew we'd have to do it in order to fully meet the quantitative requirement we set for these May First actions. We will be more prepared in the future—more resolute, more energetic, more aggressive."

I would like to go into what happened at one plant on May Day and before that day which both shows the tremendous potential there was among the advanced workers for May Day and the serious response of the ruling class and how we did not grasp and act on this enough. The Chairman says, "We must learn this (the seriousness of the situation our rulers are in, the great revolutionary opportunities that lie before us) and apply it right now and thereby really take yet another leap forward from here." This is an attempt to contribute to that summation to take things further on the road to revolution.

* * *

This plant was picked as a "target" plant for May Day. Here was a plant with a couple thousand workers whose description is like that of the proletariat. Men and women, all ages, over one-half immigrants from various countries, the rest mostly Blacks and Southern whites. A sizeable minority, if not a majority, are from countries dominated by imperialism. Many have immigrated here in the last 10 to 15 years and a small but significant number closely follow communist organizations in their native countries. To the advanced among them the May 1st call for workers to mount the stage in this "capital of the capitalists" as one immigrant once put it, to do this in the beginning of this decade of war and unprecedented opportunities posed both a challenge and an inspiration.

Early on in the campaign, May Day was greeted with a favorable response from a number of workers, although many others who could not read English or Spanish demanded May Day literature in their own language. To tap the full potential this was a task that had to be taken up. The week of "Button Day," May Day manifestos arrived in several more languages. A sizeable delegation of May Day organizers was sent to the plant on "Button Day," March 24, with red flags, banners, buttons and *Revolutionary Workers*—singing the *Internationale*. This time as the afternoon shifts changed, many heads turned and workers stopped as they read for themselves in their own language what this historic campaign was about. Fists were raised and broad smiles broke out while others halfway to their cars stopped dead in their tracks at the sound of the *Internationale*. Dozens of May Day buttons were sold that day, many of them pinned on shirts right then and worn into the plant.

Company Counter-Attack

That day the company more fully grasped the potential of May Day, too. A bunch of those workers who they normally count on to hang together in their own nationality groups were coming into work with May Day but-

tons on and with revolutionary, subversive leaflets in their own language—busting through the language barrier. All this put the company on notice that the advanced workers took this seriously and that the Party intended to tap that revolutionary potential inside their walls. That day they called the city cops who arrived with paddy wagons, and numerous squad cars. The company stationed management honchos right in the middle of the steps where all the workers had to pass by. Many bought buttons right in front of these dogs and pinned them on as they walked by them.

Plant security closely guarded the area and the city cops ticketed all the workers' cars that were parked on the street for "illegally parking" and then stated loudly that it was the "commies fault." Here in this plant with a history of militant struggle around economic conditions, including a prolonged wildcat not many years ago, the company freaked out at the response May Day was getting from their wage slaves. We heard later that a worker had heard some management flunkies saying after Button Day that they were afraid the workers would wildcat May First. The potential for May Day was highly visible. We Won't Work That Day—Will You became a major question for the company and the workers.

But within two weeks following Button Day, this company was to mount a ferocious campaign of repression aimed at sniffing out this fire, at smashing attempts by the advanced to arm themselves and others with the *RW* and to intimidate the rest of the workers from even thinking about taking up May Day. If they couldn't keep May Day organizers away from the plant they would try to keep the workers away from May Day. Workers were told they would be fired if they bought the *Revolutionary Worker*. Management and company sucks were stationed center stage each time the May Day organizers appeared, as well as calling city police to make the point crystal clear of how dangerous they viewed this. They made the workers run a gauntlet of bourgeois enforcers on the "public property" that lay between the plant and the parking lot. Plant security waited in the parking lot. May Day organizers were told that if they stepped one foot in the lot they would be busted. This created a situation where if the worker stopped to talk for more than a minute he or she would be in line to be fired. One worker told us later of a worker who was fired during this period—he was told by the company that one of the reasons he was being fired was for reading the *RW*.

All this heavy harassment and intimidation going on inside had a heavy impact on the workers. Few workers would even look at the May Day organizers, many would walk by, heads down. Sales of the *RW* plummeted, only a handful would stop to talk. They told of increased harassment, of the threats of firing. But at

the worst period there were always a few who would buy the paper right in front of the management goons and there were others who whispered, "Wait 'til May Day." There were those who knew only a few English words who said, "This is May First? It is good." And on the worst day when most workers seemed beaten down by this shit, 3 older workers who spoke next to no English or Spanish and didn't read either language at all, walked pointedly up to the *RW* seller who was closest to the management gorilla, made sure he saw him and each dug in their pocket for a quarter, pulled it out and proudly walked into the plant with the *RW* on display.

Political Questions Sharpen

All this repression had an effect on the outlook of the May Day organizers. What the company was doing was plain to see, but was this a sign of their power or weakness? Looking at the appearance of things, many of the organizers had deep doubts that there was any possibility for the advanced workers to go up in the face of these attacks and come forward to take up revolutionary May Day. As one organizer later said, "I felt that the people were just too intimidated, the bourgeoisie too strong. I felt that the workers were saying, 'Go away, don't plague us,' to us. The company was floating rumors through their sucks that we were the ones who made them lose their strike. I thought, 'what's the point of being here if nobody is going to talk or buy the *RW* anymore?' Some began to expect before they went out there that no one would unite with May Day, looking at all the workers as the same—no advanced, intermediate and backward. Growing demoralization and doubts set in—a view that there was nothing we could do to go on the offensive toward the workers.

But what we failed to grasp is the tremendous class struggle that was going on. We failed to grasp that the company was carrying on such a vicious campaign because they were terrified that the advanced workers would take up the revolutionary line of the RCP and lead others forward. They knew the place was ripe for May Day. This they understood better than we did. These doubts and political vacillations on our part led to not understanding that those who stepped forward in the face of all this shit to buy the *RW* and arm themselves and others with the Party's line—and those few who talked to us and told us, "You wait 'til May Day" were actually waging this struggle. This is all the more significant because of the attacks. These were the advanced, taking this shit on. Had we grasped this better we would have ourselves grasped and armed the workers with the understanding that what was going on there was another living indication of the position the U.S. imperialists are in going into the '80s—faced with crisis and World War 3. They must drag the masses into

political life behind their star-spangled banner. The last thing they need is class-conscious workers stepping forward to take up internationalism and revolutionary struggle against them.

Potential of Foreign Born

The bourgeoisie has a sense of the effect of the foreign-born and their experiences on the rest of the working class and society. They try to exploit this for their war-mongering chauvinist purposes—the "huddled masses yearning to be free" in the land of the benevolent Uncle Sam (who, they omit, has plundered the native land of these immigrants and driven them to come here to avoid starvation). It is true that some of the foreign-born are lured by the glitter on the slave chains (plated in blood of millions world-wide). Compared to the destitution, starvation and brutal treatment in their imperialist-plundered homeland, the crumbs they receive here blind some to reality. The bourgeoisie, turning reality upside down, uses that as a big selling point to build American chauvinism.

But for the vast majority of these foreign-born who wind up in the factories as wage slaves, they have some consciousness of the bloody tentacles of U.S. imperialism and the iron hand underneath the tattered glove. This is a sore point for the ruling class. They are conscious that there are good numbers of immigrants who have waged bitter struggle against imperialism and its local henchmen in their native land and have gained a higher political consciousness of the enemy and of the bonds of the international proletariat and oppressed people all over the world. The bourgeoisie is conscious of the tremendous impact this could have in exposing their system and raising the consciousness of the rest of the working class and masses if this potential is unleashed by correct revolutionary leadership.

But the May Day organizers did not grasp well enough the political line that was needed to unleash these forces. This was expressed by Bob Avakian in his "Talk": "Is Revolution Really Possible in this Decade and What Does May First Have to do With It?" (*RW*, No. 49):

"But it's also true that the advanced workers, who we're calling on to do this, have to understand the great impact they can have in this way. They have to understand it theoretically, through our analysis, especially through explanations of this (and other points) in the *RW*, and they have to understand it practically—by going out and being involved in building May Day among other strata as well as broader sections of the working class, getting that experience directly themselves as well as by us educating them."

While there are other sections of the workers at this factory who are feared by the company, including many with political experience from the 1960s to

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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 (November 1948), *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

LAPD

Continued from page 7

and busted it up. We caught them and they finally told us, 'The pigs paid us to do it.'"

Of course, the police face a great many objective difficulties in maintaining and expanding their gang operation, not the least of which is widespread refusal to "cooperate" continually expressed by youth and parents alike. In particular, the police strategy of "community mobilization" to achieve their sinister ends has always run into problems. Thus, a key part of their approach has been to work with and through certain "gang program" administrators who, operating with government funding, have set up wide-ranging networks involving present and former gang members supposedly to help get the gangs to stop fighting each other. (One such program receives 90% of its funding from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration—a federal agency which links together local police departments and federal police agencies. The other 10% comes from the California Youth Authority.) Because of their vast knowledge of the situation, these administrators are much sought after by police department specialists. For obvious reasons, any relationship between the police and these administrators that may exist is not very widely publicized. In fact, an LAPD captain, in calling for this and other types of "united team efforts" in the community, wrote in an article in the July 1979 issue of *Police Chief* magazine, "This type of united effort need not be of a formal nature. In fact, experience tells us that much can be accomplished if the obstacles of too much formality are avoided."

It is unclear how many of these "programs" are actually directly aiding police control operations in

the barrios and ghettos, but an incident that occurred in 1976 in Los Angeles can shed some light on at least one way that those administrators who don't follow the rules are dealt with. According to the *L.A. Times*, one of these programs, which had originally been funded by the YMCA, suddenly developed "administrative difficulties," and the funding was canceled. When the administrator applied for funding from the county, he discovered that the money had been given to another group to run the program. The head of the Sheriff's Department East Los Angeles Juvenile Bureau admitted the reason when he told the *Times*, "... when Joe [the fired administrator—RW] had the program, he always kept us at arm's length. It was a one-way communication. I mean, he'd collaborate with us so he could keep track of his kids, find out when one of them got into trouble... but he never provided us with much information."

"New Directions" in the '80s

Now, in the '80s, new plans for this police network are already off the drawing board. As the bourgeoisie scrambles to douse the flames of struggle which are flaring up, it more and more consciously hounds revolutionaries. A former gang member who now sells the *RW* in his neighborhood told us that when he was out selling the paper recently, he was approached by a guy who lived nearby. "This guy was asking me all about everybody around, like how does so-and-so feel about this newspaper—you know, trying to find out where everybody stood. A little while later, we saw him talking to the pigs."

But the art of informing is only one of the many services that "cooperative" elements will be more and more called upon to deliver as things heat up. A related form of service to the ruling class recently came to light when one of these "gang program" administrators was discovered shaking hands with the police at a coffee shop in the vicinity of the Damian

Garcia memorial march in East L.A. on April 24th. He was later seen organizing a handful of youth to hold up a banner which read "Vato Locos From Any Barrios Will Not Be Used by the RCP" and follow the march through the projects of East L.A., supposedly representing the sentiments of the youth who live there. A few weeks later, this same administrator was discovered in court, putting in a good word to the jury for "one of his boys"—one of the individuals holding up the banner. And contrary to the claims made at the time, it turns out that this youth had been imported into East L.A. from another neighborhood, about ten miles to the south, for his task. His friends were angered at finding this out and immediately made a statement of support for the RCP.

There are historical precedents for this type of activity: at least one has come to light and undoubtedly a lot more remain hidden from view. In the late 1960s, the Black P. Stone Nation, also known as the Blackstone Rangers, a large street gang in Chicago, received over \$900,000 in federal poverty funds funneled through a reformist group called the Woodlawn Organization. Exactly what services were being performed for the money is unclear, but it is known that the FBI and their infamous COINTELPRO program paid a great deal of attention to using the Stones against the then revolutionary Black Panther Party. A former Chicago FBI chief later admitted that he had approved the sending of an anonymous letter to Stones leader Jeff Fort which read in part, "The brothers that run the Panthers blame you for blocking their thing, and there's supposed to be a hit out for you... I know what to do if I was you." According to since published COINTELPRO documents, the purpose of the letter was to "intensify the degree of animosity between the two groups and occasion Fort to take retaliatory action which could disrupt the BPP or lead to reprisals against its leadership."

One service to the ruling class that is known, however, occurred in the days immediately following the murder of Martin Luther King in 1968. While the flames of rebellion were rising from Black ghettos across the nation, including Chicago's Westside, regular army troops were moved into the Southside, home of the Stones and a rival gang, the Disciples. The troops lined the main street of the ghetto, bayonets fixed for the first sign of resistance. However, in an obviously pre-planned maneuver the Stones and the Disciples were allowed to march through the army lines to a meeting point in the center of the Southside, where they announced loudly that anyone who tried to rise up would face not only the invading army but the home-grown gangs as well—a truly classic example of the ruling class, in the guise of gang leaders, putting the oppressed back in their place.

But as has been pointed out, the ruling class has far greater needs in this direction now, and is undoubtedly paying even more attention to this problem. The "vato importer" from Los Angeles unwittingly told the *RW* at the time, "I've got ten gangs I work with. We have sessions about the RCP. In fact, we just had a national conference in Washington, D.C. and that's what we talked about there." And there is evidence of police-promoted gang activity aimed at the RCP in at least one other city as well.

Thus, this aspect of the mechanism of the bourgeois state will be increasingly aimed at smashing revolution. And undoubtedly, the degree to which this police network (and others) extends won't be fully discovered until the masses seize state power and unlock the vaults that hold such secrets. But as the authorities continue to devise ever more despicable trickery in attempts to save a sinking system, they will find out that the masses of people are learning—and will learn better in the future—every feature of this trickery. □

Miami

Continued from page 2

class as well, youth and children, men and women and a few whites, community residents who said they were "waiting and watching" to see what would come from Carter's visit, and a great many who came to spit in the face of everything Carter represents, determined that the publicity ploy wouldn't come off as planned, as one Black worker told the *RW*: "He's coming here for what purpose? To try to quiet people down. But all he's doing is inciting..."

Hacks from PUSH, the NAACP and others did what they could to keep a close lookout for flickering sparks of anger to douse. The chants they led were "Don't vote for Carter," "We want jobs" and "We want justice."

But the anger kept overflowing. People near the front lines jeered and taunted the pigs in the streets who tried to shrug it all off. Cops would go up to the crowd and try to crack jokes and make small talk; then, swallowing nervously, step back to a safer distance. People commented on the relatively low-key open presence of cops, but one guy laughed and expressed what others knew; this is all they got out here but there's plenty more waiting down the street! Pigs even bribed small children to sit on their police cars to discourage sniper fire.

When Carter's motorcade finally arrived, people greeted him with loud booing and hostile shouts. Youth ripped open plastic bags and aimed peanuts at the cops. Carter flashed his grin, waved and then disappeared inside the building to sit down with the mayor of Miami, the president of Eastern Airlines, the President of Miami's Chamber of Commerce, the Urban League President, and a whole zoo of capitalists and flunkys.

Outside, things began to take on a

more onimous tone. Anger spread like waves throughout the crowd as the lines became more sharply drawn on either side of the barricades. Red, black and green flags appeared. RCP supporters had been passing out leaflets which several in the crowd took stacks of to distribute themselves. *Revolutionary Worker* newspapers passed from hand to hand. New chants were heard: "Jimmy boy, Jimmy boy, run, run, run; the people of the world are picking up the gun!" and "McDuffie's dead, cops go free, that's what the rich call democracy," giving the reformists many a nervous moment.

One Black worker told the *RW*, "People have gone through a lot of oppression and it's just gone beyond the breaking point. I think revolution is definitely coming—one of the biggest battles in the world's history. It's all bound to explode."

Finally, as Carter made a quick exit from the community center, he stopped at the limousine to flash his teeth again and wave while cameras clicked and Secret Service agents stood ready to pull him down at any moment. Just after his presidential ass was safely inside the car, the first bottles began to crash, followed by more rocks and cans, one of which hit the limousine as it sped away, windows rolled up tight.

Any criticism that Carter's speech writers lack humor had been cast aside by his speech at the Fountainblau Hilton, where he preached "keep the faith," promised to "enforce Civil Rights laws to the letter" and noted that there are "more minorities, more women, more young workers on the job than ever before in the history of this country." He also promised a few CETA jobs to the OIC, a nationwide program that by the proud admission of director Maurice Dawson "motivates as well as teaches [people] job skills, to get to work on time, to work hard when they get there, to how to dress, and yes, to use a deodorant."

The masses saw to it that this attempt by the bourgeoisie to "heal the wounds of the Miami rebellion" was a miserable failure. The rebellion caught the ruling class between a rock and a hard place. It ripped a deep gash in their red, white and blue net of national unity. Exposed in those three days were the sharpening contradictions of U.S. capitalist society boiling to the surface and overflowing, a sign of things to come as the crisis of U.S. imperialism

deepens. And while the bourgeoisie might prefer to look the other way and ignore the whole thing, Carter's trip to Miami was necessary, if somewhat belated. On the other hand, the mood of the Black masses in Miami is anything but cool, and Carter's aides figured that four hours there were the best they could hope for—and as they learned, they couldn't afford to be off by even a few seconds. □

Letters on Battle Plan

Continued from page 10

tionaries in the U.S.A. today pick up and use every last shabby trick our enemies do—just so as not to "disarm" ourselves—should we purposely feed the masses lies about the bourgeoisie as the bourgeoisie does to the masses about Communism?? No—we rely on the fact that their actual crimes are bad enough condemnation of their system if these crimes are brought to light and exposed. Have we reacted to Damian Garcia's murder by employing the same tactic as the enemy—individual assassination? No, since the only way out of this system is mass armed revolution.

The *Programme* says, and very righteously so, that there would be no U.S. troops and bases in other countries under socialism. Having lived overseas for a long time, this provision of the *Programme* is one I especially look forward to. But the same logic that is used to justify the keeping of nukes in the *Programme* (page 57, 3rd paragraph) is inadequate, and, as it stands, could justify keeping bases on foreign soil, by just substituting a few words: "Upon coming to power, the proletariat will need powerful armed forces which—although organized according to completely different principles—will need to be equipped with the worldwide string of bases the imperialists

have..." because "... the remaining imperialists and other reactionaries, being desperate gangsters, will not so easily give up their foreign bases surrounding the socialist state."

How can we totally disavow imposing our military presence on other peoples but not disavow—in the name of preserving socialism here—disavow scattering mutating, cancer-causing and long-lasting nuclear poison over various parts of the globe? It is my view that a proletarian state should disavow both, as well as other means of indiscriminate mass killing like biological warfare whose long-term effects are not now understood or controllable.

I am willing to be proven wrong on this by means of facts and analysis, particularly analysis of likely situations to be faced by socialist powers and what alternatives there might be in dealing with them. Whether I am wrong or not, I feel that this letter should be printed—or some other one which squarely addresses these issues—to get a lively debate going, so that more information and ideas will be brought up, more investigation done, and a solid understanding of this question be grasped by myself and all other readers of the *Revolutionary Worker*, as well as incorporated into the *Programme*.

ECONOMY

Continued from page 1

their crisis onto other countries because of their military domination of large parts of the world. Now their empire is in decline and being challenged by a young and hungry imperialist power—the USSR.

Even since that "Big Jolt..." article things have significantly worsened. In the last week in May, the government announced a record 4.8% drop in the leading economic indicators for April—the steepest one-month decline ever. Auto sales for April were 49% below the peak in April 1978, and housing starts were 53.3% below their peak level of two years earlier. In March and April, single-family housing starts, which are quantitatively more important than multi-family starts, were 9.8% below what they were at the bottom of the 1974-75 recession.

The impact of the cutbacks in auto has been serious in the steel and other industries related to auto production, while the crisis in the housing industry has led to layoffs in construction and lumber. The national figure for unemployment skyrocketed to an official level of 7% in April, while the actual number of initial unemployment claims, for example, was 3.1 million, or 300,000 more than during the height of the last recession. Unemployment in heavily industrial states is running much higher. Michigan, for example, has a rate of 12.4%. And the Conference Board, a business research group that compiles an index of help-wanted advertising, reported a 15.8% drop in the index in April—the biggest drop since they began to report the index. This tremendous surge in unemployment and all the rest of the recent dire economic news has caused even the government's masters of doublethink to admit that things are in bad shape and not destined to improve soon either. The bourgeoisie has taken stock of the situation and is all too aware of the profound dilemma they face.

Recovery Measures Turn Into Opposite

A look at how the very means they used to temporarily turn around the 1974-75 recession has laid the basis for what's happening now reveals the criminal anarchy of capitalism, the bourgeoisie's fundamental inability to resolve the contradictions inherent in their economy, and shows why they fundamentally cannot do anything about the situation they face save going to war to expand their empire again and gobble up more of the world. The recovery of the last few years was engineered largely through artificially stimulating the economy through increased consumer expenditures and government spending, mainly made possible by a tremendous and highly inflationary explosion of credit. Consumer debt has increased by 50% in the last three years alone. The housing industry was kept going by new and less stringent mortgage practices that made it easier to finance a house, sometimes with government-backed mortgage bonds and the like. Auto was kept going through new 4-year car loans. But even with all this rapidly growing mountain of debt, the recovery was only partial and fragmentary.

Big capital investment in productive industry never really got off the ground, as credit expansion continued and more and more non-productive speculative activity (like playing the gold and silver markets and investing in real estate) went on among big investors. Even what investment in productive industries that was going on was done through massive loans that increased the debt that much more, while the base of production and economic activity was feeble. Thus the whole financial structure was greatly weakened and vulnerable to disturbances and even collapse.

The U.S. imperialists have much more at stake in this financial system than simply the U.S. economy. Most important to them is keeping the economy of the whole U.S. bloc around the world intact. Keeping this bloc together is key to being in a strong position for war. Even the decision to resort to massive inflationary spending to pull the U.S. out of the '74-'75 recession was motivated primarily by the need to not only pull the U.S. economy out of the hole but more importantly to pull the other countries in the U.S. bloc out of the recession from which they were suffering worse than the U.S. But this soon turned into its opposite, setting off the high inflation that threatened to destabilize the bloc again. It was like a war-bound juggling act.

All the debt that has piled up has to be paid back or refinanced, but the ability to do either of these things is less and less. The whole fragile financial structure now balances on a shakier and shakier foundation, with a shock to any one part of it capable of bringing the whole thing down. Something had to be done about this rapidly expanding balloon of debt and the sky-high inflation it caused before the whole thing burst. The government began a series of programs to tighten up on credit and the money supply, to ease the financial crisis with sweet fantasies and hope that they could pull off a "controlled recession," an easy letdown of the economy, a cool-down. But their dreams of a "soft landing" are now turning into a nightmare with the chances of a crash all the greater.

One important factor that bourgeois economists were pointing to as a reason why this recession would be a so-called soft (mild) recession was that the ratio of manufacturing inventories to sales was good. This would indicate that companies were watching their inventories and not allowing them to build up to a point where they would have to curtail production and lay off workers, thus acting to hold back the recession. However, in the past two months even this ratio has shot up from 1.54 to 1.59 to 1.68, exactly where it was in 1974, much to the bourgeoisie's shock and dismay, destroying yet another hope of the government's economic fortune tellers and fantasy makers. In fact, in real terms, after adjustments for prices, the ratio is higher now than in 1974. Another feature of the current recession is that unlike 1974-75, a number of other countries in the U.S. bloc are not yet experiencing the kind of serious recession that is being felt in the U.S. While it may not necessarily be the case, the downturn in the U.S. may have the effect of dragging down the economies of these countries along with it—a reverse of the situation in the past recession that would be bound to make these countries very uptight.

The U.S. imperialists have discovered once again that fundamentally, they just cannot control the economy, and whatever they do makes things worse. After they have seriously undermined their economy with the massive expansion of the debt balloon almost to the point of bursting, they find themselves again staring recession right in the face—a recession triggered by the very means they used to get out of the last one. This recession was caused by their very failure to pull off a recovery with their dangerously inflationary methods of the past period and by the effect of their credit manipulation on the economic structure. Where then can they turn? They cannot escape this new downturn the way they did in 1974-75, yet daily the crisis grows worse. And even with a recession in progress, the rate of inflation continues to remain high, though it has gone down somewhat. Increasingly it is becoming clear that in the realm of economics the ruling class is fundamentally unable to solve the problems it is facing.

Military "Solution"

More and more, the solution they

are looking toward to climb out of the pit they are rapidly sinking into lies in the military and political arena. Even their economic decisions are more and more determined by military considerations, i.e., how to put themselves in the best position politically and militarily for going down with the Soviets on a world scale. This is why the imperialists have put stabilizing the dollar and the associated curbing of inflation at the center of their financial strategy right now, even at the expense of triggering a deeper recession in the U.S. As was brought out in the "Big Jolt" article:

"This monetary instability limits the degree to which the U.S. can weld together its bloc politically and square off militarily against the Soviets. It also, paradoxically, makes such a showdown more urgent. The Fed's moves to tighten credit and push up interest rates were not simply—or even mainly—responses to an "overheated" economy, but critically linked with these broader considerations, although the behavior of the U.S. economy interpenetrates with the overall condition of the U.S. bloc."

All this is not to say that there are no steps that they can take to forestall economic disaster. In fact, the Carter administration will most likely take some steps to manipulate the economy a little—steps that will mainly have a cosmetic effect but may be able to postpone an even sharper downturn somewhat. But clearly only stop-gap measures can be taken. And at this point, all they are even hoping to achieve is to stabilize the economy, not to undertake any kind of expansion. None of this will have any significant long-term positive effect on the economic scene, and it is ultimately doomed to failure.

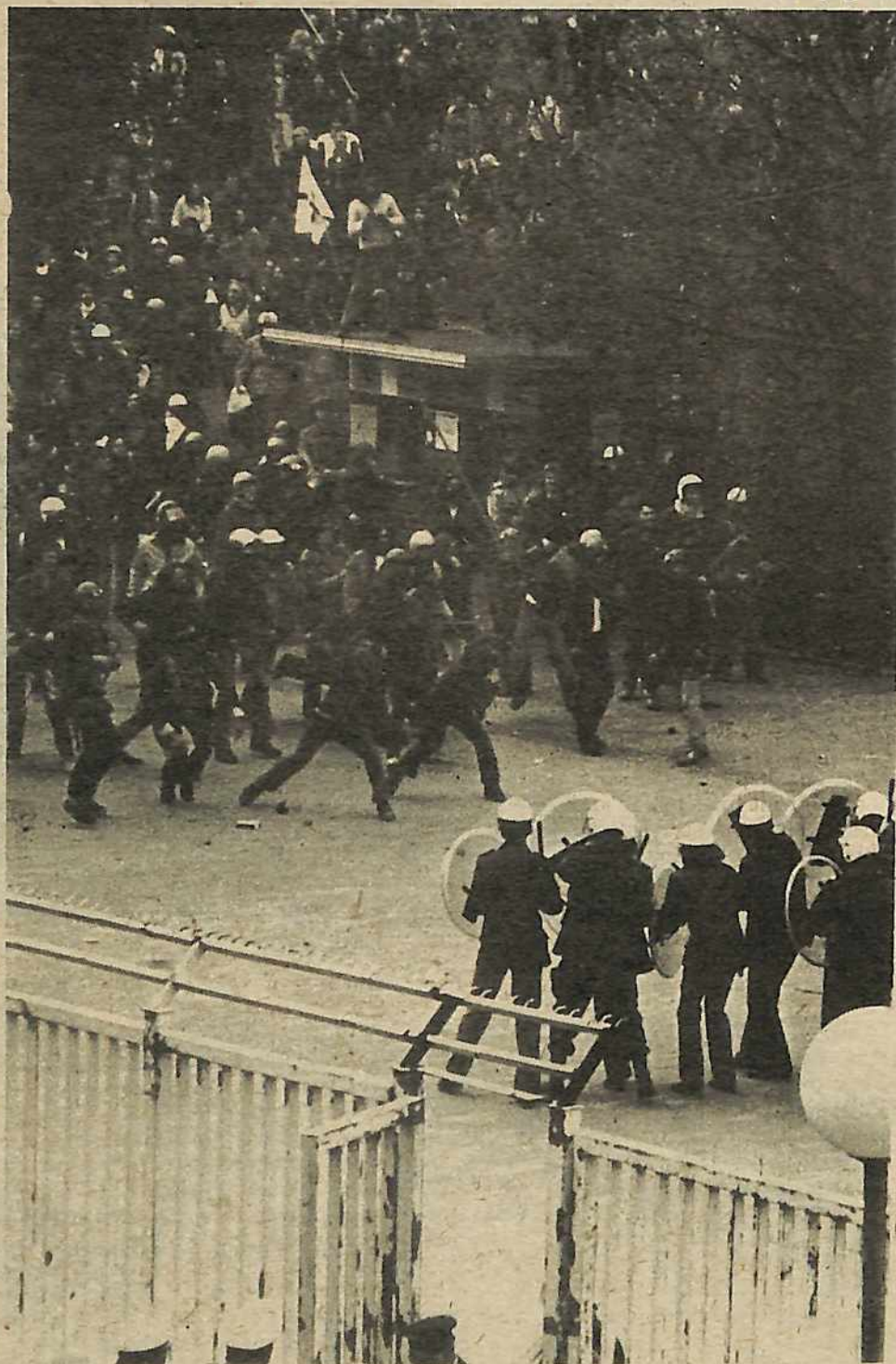
The fact that the economy is in the midst of a deepening recession which

cannot be denied or sloughed off by the government presents the bourgeoisie with profound political problems in the U.S. Specifically, it threatens to unleash great social turmoil and upheaval—social unrest that they are unable to deal with as they have in the past. That the ruling class is acutely aware of this is shown by their intense concern and worry in the aftermath of the Miami rebellion about a "long hot summer" among those who are at the bottom of their hell-hole society (especially but by no means only Black people). And unquestionably, they are looking well past the summer, and also at the masses of American people as a whole, whom they desperately need to throw on the front lines of the war effort. They also recognize that they are in no position economically to throw crumbs out to the people on the scale they did in the past, e.g., the Great Society programs, or to artificially stimulate the economy or even to dole out crumbs to certain better-off strata of workers at the same level as before. More and more, their anti-recession program amounts to simply "telling it like it is" (U.S. imperialist style) to the masses of people. They are saying, "Look, we've got big problems here. We have to sacrifice and pull our country together and all pinch in for the war effort." And they are not talking any more about a "war on poverty" or even the kind of Whip Inflation Now austerity program of Gerald Ford. They are talking straight out about preparing now for world war with the Soviets as the #1 priority.

Ruling Class In-Fighting

This is not to say that all crumbs will stop flowing or that rafts of politicians' promises and demagogy will cease. On the contrary, politicians' promises and reformist demagogy

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Moments before the battle broke out in the streets of Bremen, West Germany, May 6, 1980. Police brace fearfully behind their line of shields as thousands of angry West German youth advance, to disrupt the war pageant of mass army induction—timed to coincide with the 25th anniversary of NATO. Happy Birthday with firebombs and cobblestones.

MAY 1st FACTORY BATTLE

Continued from page 11

contribute to the general class consciousness, the foreign-born were the decisive force here—and could play a very important role in the city overall. It was important to grasp the role of these foreign-born as one of the "roads to the proletariat", pointed to by the Chairman in this same talk—a force whose understanding must be given more class-conscious expression and spread to broader sections of the workers and others. The need to take this understanding of their potential role to these workers was not firmly enough grasped. Opportunities to do so were not seized on—including using the fact that the capitalists and cops were going to such extreme lengths to keep these workers "under control" to agitate around this and to raise the question "why?"

We did not challenge the advanced: "this is the role you should be playing—you should be writing letters to the RW, making statements, going out to other workers and sections of the people telling them what it would mean to you to see the class-conscious force of the working class in the U.S. on the streets May 1st, raising the red flag, making very public what you know about what the red, white and blue really means in other countries." We did not do enough of the political preparation necessary to compel the advanced to play this role beyond the boundaries of the plant walls.

Many of the revolutionary-minded foreign-born while understanding

some things about imperialism's tentacles do not so clearly see the material basis for the possibility of revolution here in the U.S. in the 1980s. They wonder if its possible for the U.S. workers to awaken. Chairman Avakian in his "Talk" speaks to the necessity of arming the advanced with this analysis in order to activate them as the powerful force they are capable of being:

"So, especially with regard to the advanced workers—including those who have for some time, for various reasons, been more inclined toward a revolutionary position, but generally those who more readily gravitate toward and tend to take up revolutionary agitation and propaganda—we have to struggle with them to understand our analysis of the objective situation and its possibilities. I believe that if they do not grasp that, we cannot win them to take up May Day—and not just to come out themselves, but to *build* for it. 'Cause why should they act? Why will they themselves be brought forward to act? Simply because they've always hated this system and would love to see it wiped away? No, by and large they are not yet acting politically. 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 are not going to come out in large numbers and in any kind of sustained way

unless and until they see the possibility for it to make a real difference, to have a real effect on society, to actually contribute something important toward basic change toward revolution."

And grasping this line, we could have devised tactics to cut through some of this company intimidation to bring forward the advanced and enable them to play this role. By our actions and our silence we were telling them that nothing could be done. But in fact as the company came down harder, a small but significant number of the advanced were becoming more firm (we were to find out how much so on May Day).

Glimmers of the Struggle

But even with these gloomy doubts there was evidence that the picture was not at all dismal after all. In response to Red Flag/*Internationale* Day the company held their own informal American Flag Day. They got their company sucks to give away American flag lapel pins free to the workers. Only 30 people in the whole place took them! Here for all to see was the struggle being waged between the two roads—the red flag representing the revolutionary future of mankind, led by the proletariat, and the red, white and blue rag of plunder, misery and war—the dying rag of U.S. imperialism. Here in embryo was a glimpse of the future described by Bob Avakian: "in the period ahead, someone is going to come knocking on your

door. You're not going to be able to stick your head under your pillow and pretend it's not there, you're not going to be able to escape with dope or alcohol or tranquilizers or any of this stuff people try to use to get through the day in one way or another. They are going to come knocking on your door, the capitalists are going to come knocking. The class-conscious among the proletariat—the class in this country that doesn't have a stake in this system, no real interest except to rise up and overthrow it—it's class-conscious forces are going to be there knocking on your door. And we're not going to quit knocking until you, until millions and millions like you, come out from the confines that the capitalists try to force us all into and march onto the stage of history to stay."

The majority of workers in the plant had refused the company's chauvinist, America First garbage. The red, white and blue shit was going too far not only for the advanced workers but for many of the intermediate who had personally experienced the boot of U.S. imperialism on the necks of their native country. Here was some more potential, since it showed all the more why the advanced have to be doing something about this.

The Battle On May First Itself

This had the effect of jolting some of the May Day organizers to thinking that maybe some of those workers who were whispering "Wait 'til May Day" really meant what they said, that they were going to come to the May Day march. This was a correct assessment, but what we still did not grasp was that we were going to have to fight for that happening and *lead* it politically and tactically right down to not only the morning of May Day but the afternoon as well. Instead the view prevailed that anybody who was going to come to the march would have made up their mind beforehand and would not be coming to work. And for those who showed up at work, the intimidation of the company would be too heavy for anyone to walk out. This was coupled with, "The cops are sure to bust us if we go there in the morning and then we won't make it to the march either." It was not that they feared being arrested (many had been busted earlier) but rather a *political* view that the march might only consist of the Party and a handful of advanced and since they doubted that the workers at this factory would come forward, going there would only deplete the forces in the march. Basically a line that we have to protect what we have and not the Party's line "risk a lot, gain a lot." This orientation led to not making the kind of political preparation and tactical plans that would be necessary to wage the kind of battle needed to get the advanced to break out on May Day and join with the march downtown.

Struggle was waged up until dawn of May Day morning around this line but the preparations necessary to lay the most favorable conditions were not able to be made at this 11th hour.

May Day Dawned. When the first May Day organizers arrived a couple hours after the earliest shifts had already gone in, they were greeted by pigs at every entrance, literally surrounding the plant. Every kind of imaginable pig, city uniformed, city undercover, plant security, plant plainclothes. One city cop said to a May Day organizer at a high school in the district, "Where have you been? We've been waiting for you since 4 a.m." For the bourgeoisie to bring the armed forces of the state right into the plant is taking May Day seriously. Right there was some potential "teaching material"—not only of the basic position of the workers in society, but of the significance of the political action of these workers on May First. The company was expecting trouble from their slaves, they still believed that a May Day wildcat was possible. "We Won't Work That Day—Will You?" was a real question to them. And it was to a good number of the advanced workers in the plant

Honor Comrade Damian García Revolutionary Martyr

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

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



DAMIAN GARCIA

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

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

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

Five Dollars. Proceeds to the National May Day Committee.

STATEMENTS ON DAMIAN GARCIA

The following are a sampling of the many statements collected condemning the murder of Comrade Damian Garcia and supporting the seizure of the Alamo.

My father fought with Pancho Villa. I was just a child then so I remember little -- but I know he was a revolutionary. Damian Garcia was a revolutionary hero as great as Pancho Villa! What a glorious action -- to take the Alamo, pull down the Texas flag and raise the red flag! Who had not heard of the red flag! I learned about it when I was a child in Mexico. Everywhere it is the flag of slaves who want to rise up. They have killed a revolutionary and the people must respond. If the people will respond, we can build a great movement. We can rise up in arms for complete victory.

from an old Mexican Man
in Gainesville, Georgia

THERE IT STANDS

There it stands, glaringly mocking us.

The Alamo -- hated symbol of oppression.

To me, as a Mexicana, the Alamo represents the most insidious and vile force in this nation -- the lewd and corrupt capitalistic system that provokes war to plunder and to oppress.

The Alamo is, in short, a microcosm of a larger capitalist society that can only survive through deceit and the oppression and the suppression of those who would expose its evils.

For one thing, the Alamo is a perfect sell for the greedy...The Daughters of the Texas Republic, those well bred parasites of the "heroes" of the Alamo guard their mission as "keepers of the Alamo" jealously. They have to; on their own they cannot walk alone from their door to their car, so they have to live off their ancestors' "glories"; that is, these gentle "ladies" feed off the plunder of their long dead relatives much like vultures feed off rotten bodies.

Anyone who has visited the Alamo has noticed the contrast between the "holy" structure and its surrounding area. All around this "monument" are located pool halls, five and dimes, and other cheap establishments. At these places, one sees that their patrons are not the fleshy, loud talking tourists but rather pathetic and -- sometimes dangerous -- young men and women. These are the losers, the ethnic minorities, the poor. They hang around the stores across the street from the Alamo and watch the tourists take pictures of themselves in front of the Alamo. Where the hated tourists and their families strut about as though they had personally taken part in the battle, the poor who watch from across the street despise them. How long will it be before another actual battle takes place?

The scaling of the Alamo by Damian Garcia and other supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party did not go unnoticed by these observers of the Alamo and its visitors. It did not go unnoticed by the Mexican community either. Des-

pite the ruling class' and the media's outrage, the people loved it. The day after it happened, there were jokes at the Alamo's expense, there was admiration for the compañeros. Anytime the ruling class is outwitted, the people will support whoever is responsible. Fellow workers, although I'm not a member of your organization or even a revolutionary, I have the utmost respect for you. May you succeed.

D. M. Flores
San Antonio, Texas

This is a statement about Comrade Damian Garcia. He faced the capitalists and the bourgeoisie head on in the battle and a lot of people think he lost that battle. Well I think he won more than a battle. I think he made people open their eyes, especially the Chicano people, to revolution and freedom and what it's really all about...I don't think that there is any such thing as freedom and equal rights in the system we're living under now. And Damian -- the bourgeoisie was scared of him. The man -- he was putting his shit out there. He was out there with the meatpackers, out there with his brothers and sisters handing them the Revolutionary Worker, trying to arm them as best as he knew how. And he armed a whole bunch of them, he armed so many and he was doing such a good job building revolution that the capitalists, the bourgeoisie, had to put a hit on him. They had to knock him out of the race because they saw if any more like Damian Garcia had got up on the Alamo they would have had big trouble on their hands...They thought they would kill Damian Garcia and get the whole thing over with but it backfired on them 'cause there's a lot more brothers now that are willing to take Damian Garcia's place any time, any day, anywhere. Especially now in this day and age when it's the best time for us to grasp revolution, we should think not of staying home and watching the tube but should get out there and tell the bourgeoisie and the capitalists what you really think of them and not hide it sitting down somewhere in your chair or in your house watching some soap operas. I think we should get out there and make revolution. I think we owe Damian Garcia that much...And I also think that Damian Garcia was a great revolutionary. His soul will never die, his spirit will never die. It's among the masses of people now and it will always be there. It's a great expression of what we the working class people should be doing. If he was the man to take a stand like that, I know there's more out there who can take a stand like that and show the bourgeoisie that we can put them in their place, which is nowhere. I know we can overthrow this system if we just try hard enough and want it bad enough, which I know everybody does. But we can't fight only with anger, we have to fight with consciousness and overthrow the system. Because for the future to come, if we want a future, we'll have to overthrow the system, period.

A Puerto Rican Brother
in Buffalo, New York

BATTLE

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too.

One of the workers was very critical that we had not been there at 5 a.m. He was fully expecting what the company was expecting—a militant, determined, revolutionary force that would call on the advanced to take history into their hands and not work that day, a force that would lead them to stay out of work and march that day with the international proletariat. This opportunity was missed that morning.

But if there was any question that the company's fears were justified they were answered in the afternoon as the 2nd shift workers came on at 1:30. Today these workers did not walk by heads down and eyes averted. The scene was electrifying. In the face of the heaviest pig presence yet, with paddy wagons, squad cars, triple the security force, the majority of workers walked up, heads held high, smiling broadly. Many said excitedly, "I've been following it on the radio." "I saw it on the news." "How's May Day?" As a number stopped to talk, company goons walked up to within 2 feet of the workers' faces, snapping photos. One arrogantly stated, "I've already used up two rolls of color slides, now I'm on black and white." This not only did not enter the workers' spirits but seemed

to heighten their festive air. As one old white lady marched up and into the plant carrying a big American flag, groups of workers openly laughed at and ridiculed this reactionary display. Many of the advanced workers hung around outside and, in answer to the calls by May Day organizers to come to the rally at 3 p.m. said that they would be there. The company was bringing out their biggest repressive force. They had already fired people, they had launched their flag wavers inside the plant, they had tried to discredit and slander the RCP and the May Day Committee, yet on that day, all this could not deter many, many workers from going right up in their face with a joyous welcome of May Day.

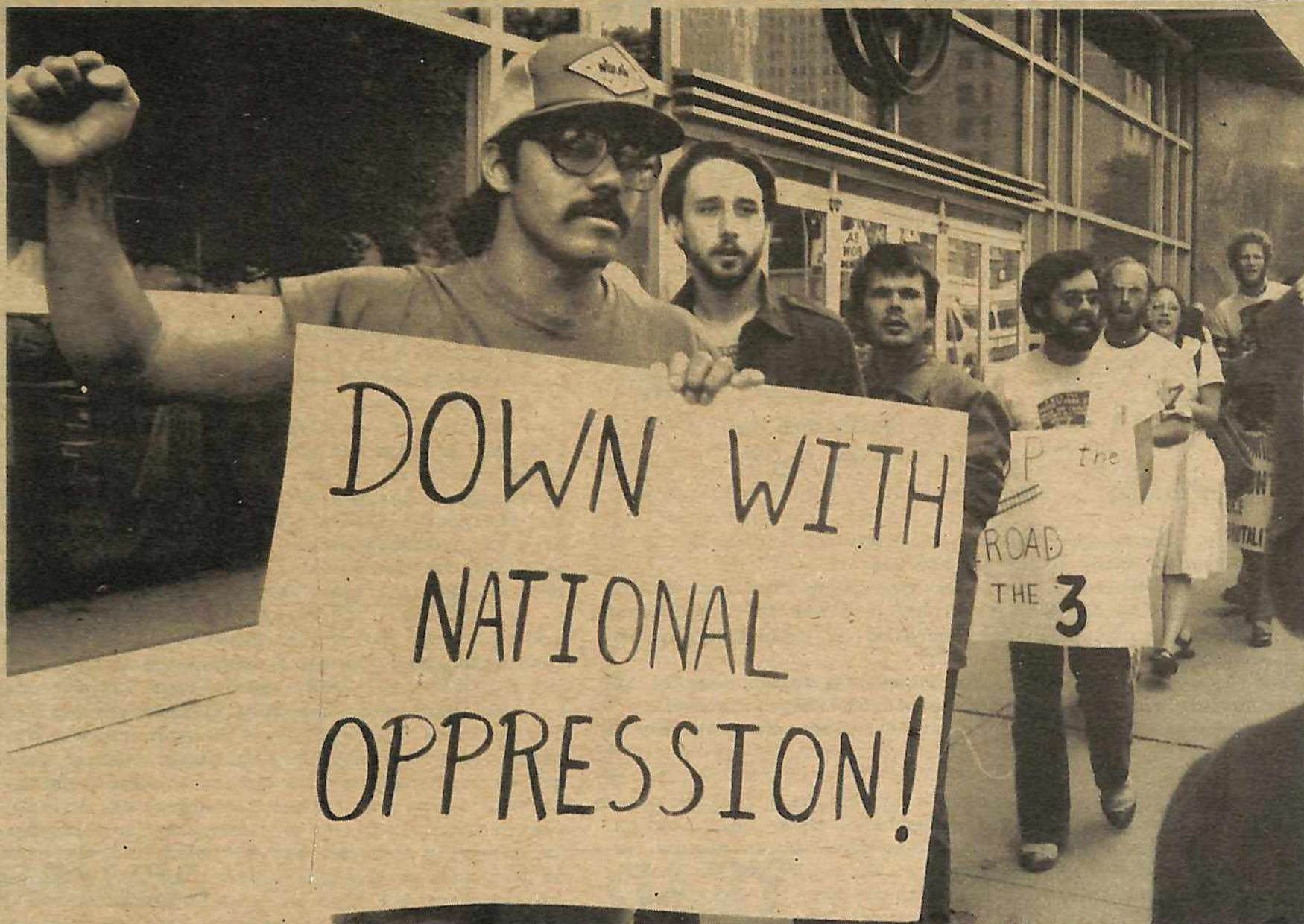
The next day we found out that 30 to 40 workers did not work at that plant on May Day, refusing to serve the class of imperialist parasites and their red, white and blue flag. Five or six told us that they had gone downtown to watch the march and one said he was in it. When an older Black man was asked why he hadn't worked on May Day he replied with surprise, "I didn't work May Day because I've been reading the Revolutionary Worker and that's what you're supposed to do, right?"

The dismal pessimism in the three weeks before May Day was blown away by the stand that many workers took that day, all the more significant because of the incredible campaign of annihilation the company waged. To

some extent the workers had been unleashed but had we wielded the weapon of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, had we analyzed this struggle more scientifically, had we really thoroughly grasped the potential among the workers and the desperate response it was evoking from the bourgeoisie, had we applied this science at every twist and turn in the road and seen more clearly what was *actually* going on and armed the advanced workers with this understanding, we could have taken this further in the direction that both the company and the advanced were

expecting us to take it—leading the advanced workers, to break out, and emerged with a more conscious and active force of class-conscious workers ready to play their role on history's stage following May Day. That potential exists and has been brought forward even more by May Day. The task now is to carry out the Party's line and transform those gains made on May Day and as Bob Avakian's recent statement put it: "We must learn this and apply it right now and thereby really take yet another leap forward from here." □





Comrade Damian Garcia in Houston demonstrates outside the courthouse where the Moody Park 3 were to be sentenced.

Remember Comrade Garcia Remember the Alamo Takeover

On March 20, 1980, three members of the May Day Brigade, Damian Garcia, Hayden Fisher and Gail Bayer climbed onto the ramparts of the Alamo and made history—a history that will never be recorded in the capitalists' high school textbooks. For one liberating hour, things were turned rightside up as they pulled down the Texas state flag and, in its place, ran up the blood red flag of the international proletariat, exposing this miserable little mission for what it is and calling on the working class and the oppressed of all nationalities to further take history into their hands on May Day, 1980. What a slap in the face of our exploiters! What a brilliant exposure of this country's rulers, right on top of this crumbling monument to their national oppression of the Chicano and Mexican people! The bourgeoisie was stunned and shaken by this bold action which quickened the pulse of the oppressed, both here and around the world.

Four weeks later they lashed back, planning and carrying out the political execution of Damian Garcia, a member of the RCP, as he spoke to the people about May Day in a Chicano housing project in East L.A. This desperate and despicable act by the capitalists only revealed how threatened they were at the sight of the class-conscious proletariat welding its ranks together under the leadership of its Party, preparing to blast forward onto the political scene in this country in a way not seen in decades on May 1st.

This was a vicious attack on the RCP. It was an attempt to paralyze and demoralize the gathering revolutionary forces. Comrade Garcia was singled out for the powerful action he and others took on top of the Alamo, an action which ripped the mask off of one of the most holy and revered ideological props the bourgeoisie has promoted. Now, with the trial of the remaining Alamo defendants (including three others who assisted in the action from below) coming up on June 17, Hayden Fisher—who was

also wounded at the same time Damian was killed—has been on tour to spread the revolutionary message of the Alamo takeover and what Damian stood for.

In San Francisco's Mission District, where over 600 people have signed the Statement of Outrage at Damian's murder, Hayden described the reaction of the masses right after the Alamo was taken: "All over the country people stood up and cheered. All over the country people greeted that as a great event. The next day in San Antonio as the three of us walked down the street we could see faces lit up wherever we looked. People recognized us from the big photo displays in the newspapers or from the television pictures. In the barrio people were saying, 'That should have been done long ago!' and 'I wish I was the one who had been up there!' In El Paso the next day, people sold bundles of newspapers merely by pointing at them and saying 'El Alamo!' People bought them like hotcakes. And it wasn't only the Chicano and Mexican people that saw that action as something great."

Early this month, the Damian Garcia Brigade converged on the city of San Antonio to build support for the Alamo defendants. It is clear that the shock waves from the Alamo action and the cold-blooded murder of Comrade Garcia continue to reverberate in the hearts and minds of the masses. People in San Antonio's West End barrio have told of how they had been driving in their cars and heard the bulletin announcing that there were three revolutionaries on top of the Alamo and how they were calling each other, trying to get down there so they could support it. A number of people said that they had been thinking of doing something at the Alamo and that they were inspired and overjoyed to see that someone had finally exposed it.

When the Brigade went to Apache Courts, one of the biggest Chicano projects in San Antonio, several dozen immediately signed the Statement of Outrage at Damian's murder

and many took the statement out to get more signatures from friends. One man told the Brigaders that when the three climbed up on the Alamo walls "it made me come awake" and how now the presence of the May Day Brigade had made him realize that "I have to come awake even more!" Another who had worked at the Alamo as a groundskeeper told how he had been inspired by the takeover and offered to give a statement of support. It turned out he had been fired after an argument about the Alamo takeover in which he punched out one of the Daughters of the Texas Republic who, along with the notorious Texas Rangers, run the Alamo as a national shrine! Elsewhere around the country, anger at Damian's murder and support for the Alamo takeover have mushroomed right up in the capitalists' faces. 102 workers at the Ford River Rouge plant signed the Statement of Outrage, which has also been endorsed by the entire MeCHA organization at the University of Oregon. In Atlanta, a tribute to Damian Garcia was fashioned from a wreath obtained at the memorial service there by a member of the RCYB. On the wreath was a picture of Damian on the Alamo which had been mounted on a red cloth background. RCP Chairman Bob Avakian's memorial statement was attached underneath. At a fundraising event, the bidding was fast and furious on this beautiful artistic piece, until it finally ended up going to a Black youth from Wrightsville. Now it hangs in Thomas's Bar, a well known gathering place for activists in the struggle in Wrightsville.

In Houston's Northside, in the area around Moody Park where 100's of signatures have already been collected, many in the community are familiar with Damian Garcia and what he stood for. He was there last year to help defend the Houston Rebellion and the Moody Park 3. One man told people how when he saw Damian and others on top of the Alamo on TV, he literally started

jumping for joy. Another woman, an artist, told how she felt this had been a very courageous act, how she wished she had had the courage to do it herself and that there should have been at least a hundred people up there on top of it.

People hate the Alamo because it is a flagrant tribute to the U.S. plunder of Mexico. And more, it stands today as a symbol of the oppression and exploitation of Chicano and Mexican people all over the Southwest and elsewhere. National oppression in the "tourist city" of San Antonio is stark. Farmworkers who work in the nearby Rio Grande Valley picking vegetables live in tin shacks every bit as squalid as those of the more notorious border towns. Many Chicanos work in menial jobs at the Air Force bases which virtually surround the city. The lack of anything but a few degrading, slave-wage jobs for Chicanos and Mexicans is illustrated by the fact that many end up joining the armed forces in order to "better themselves."

The capitalists never miss a chance to yell "Remember the Alamo" and to rub people's noses in the "glorious heritage" it represents. On a typical day at 12 noon, the Fifth Army Band plays in the park in front of the Alamo... and as the masses of mostly Black and Chicano people walk by in the street, the first tune they strike up is "Dixie"! On San Yacinto Day, the anniversary of the Mexican General Santa Ana's armies' defeat, the whole town is forcibly closed down for a "fiesta" promoted and celebrated by the bourgeoisie. On this day, members of an exclusive white club regularly crown one of their members "King Antonio," who then travels around to the public schools and tosses shiny new pennies to the children. For the Chicanos and Mexicanos who make up over 50% of this city, this is an appropriate symbol of how the "King" capitalists have treated them ever since the U.S. victory over Mexico—distorting their culture and forcing them to

that many Chicanos and Mexicans in San Antonio boycott this "fiesta" and will not allow their children to go on the field trips to the Alamo regularly sponsored by the public schools to indoctrinate their kids with its reactionary message.

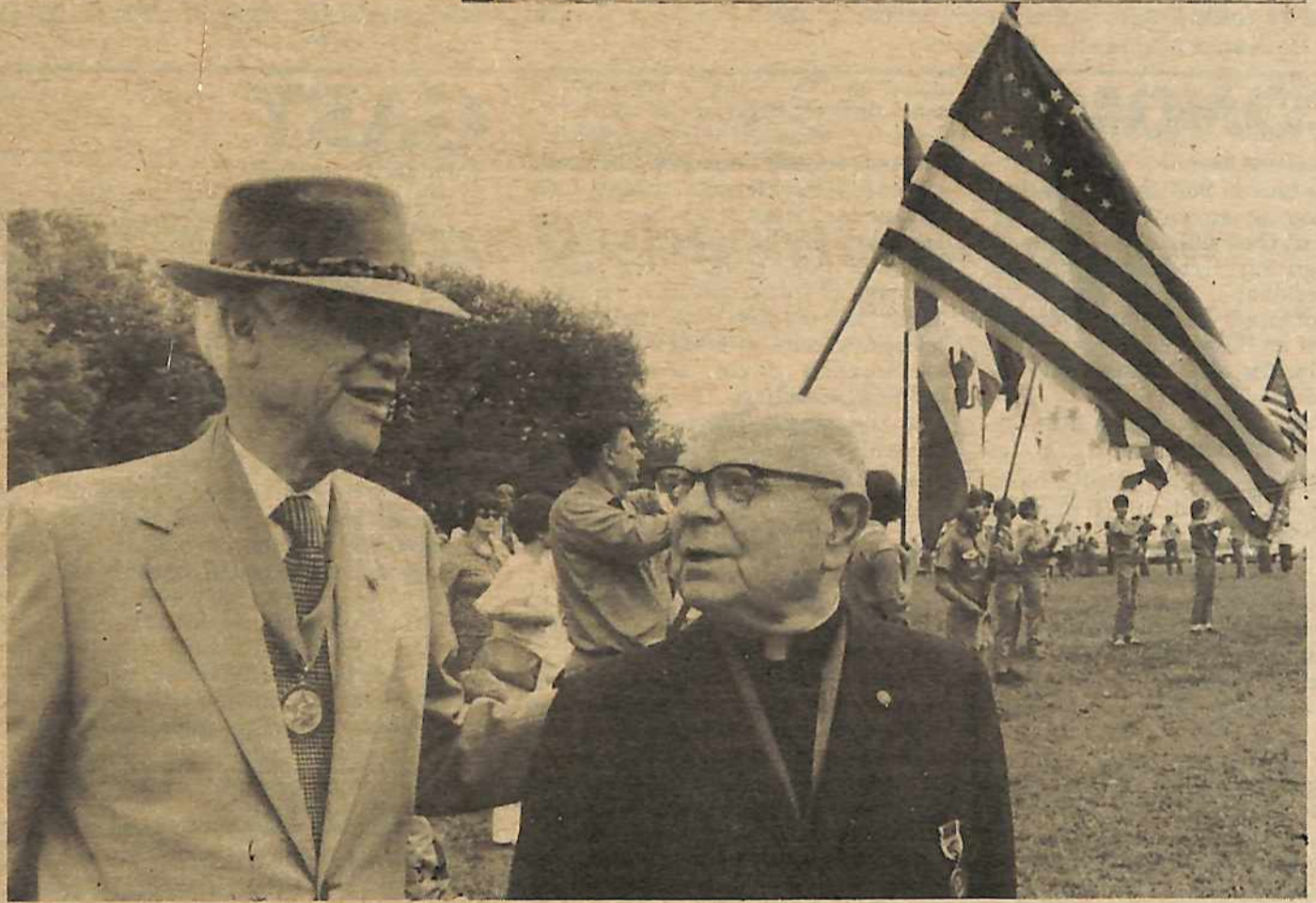
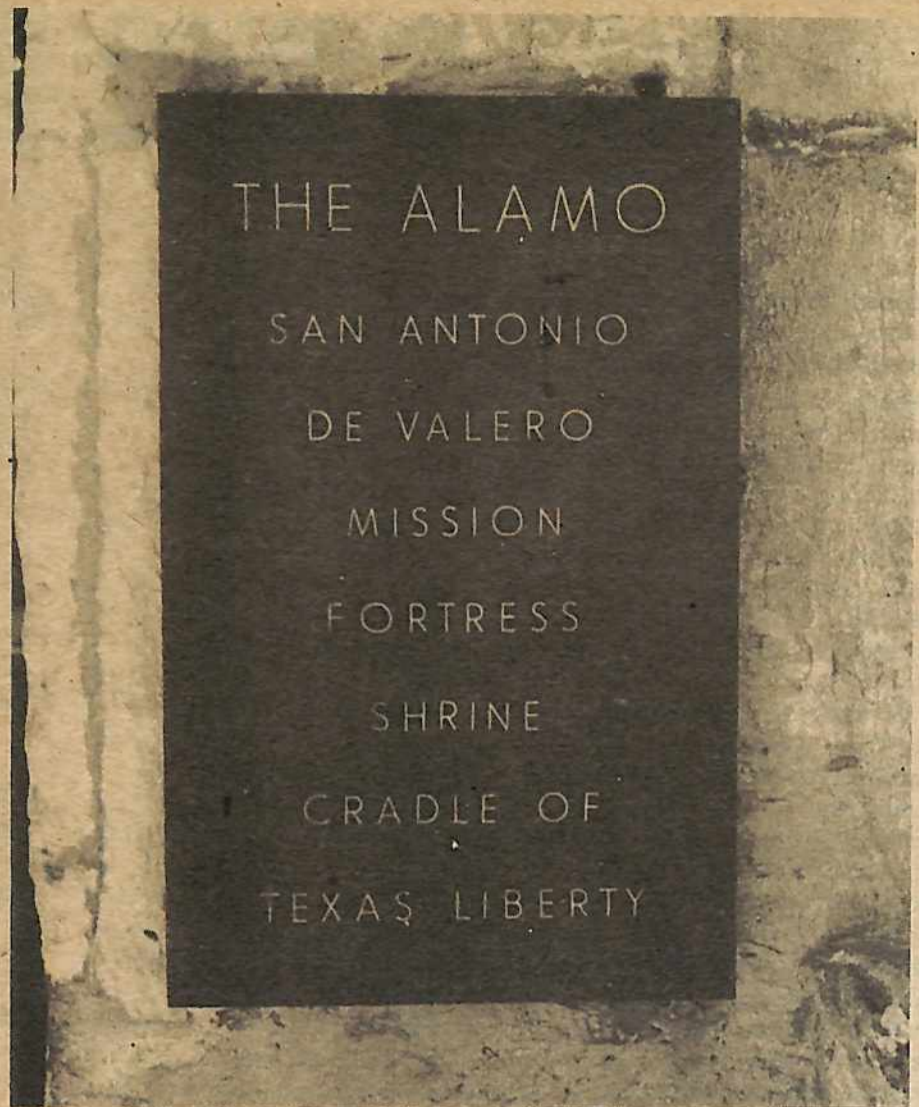
The importance of this rubble-filled little shrine to the bourgeoisie and the lessons they would have people learn from it are not simply confined to a glorification of the distant past. In front of it stands another monument, a marbled tribute to the "heroes" of the Alamo—a motley collection of slaveholders, professional mercenaries and thieves—unveiled in 1936 on the centennial anniversary of the Texas Republic by no less than FDR himself. Beneath the suffering figure of one of the Alamo defenders (who bears a striking resemblance to Christ crucified), the inscription reads: "From the fire that burned their bodies rose the eternal spirit of sublime, heroic sacrifice that gave birth to an Empire State." They would still have us cherish this "eternal spirit"—the spirit of obediently defending their stinking empire from the ramparts of their Alamos around the world.

It is precisely because they are desperate to preserve this sacred ideology of oppression which is shrouded within the Alamo's walls that the bourgeoisie is pressing ahead with the trial of the Alamo defendants. They need to see to it that those who exposed and besmirched the rotting centerpiece of this Alamo city do not escape unpunished. But just as clearly they are also trying to downplay this trial—and the political bombshell it represents—to cover up their crimes, including the murder of Damian, and cloud over how deeply they were wounded by the Alamo seizure. Original charges of "criminal trespass" and "desecrating a venerated object" (both of which could have meant jail time) were dropped in hopes of dampening publicity and support, and at this point the defendants are facing a lesser charge of "making an offensive gesture"—highly appropriate, considering there is not a shadow of a doubt that raising the red flag on their precious Alamo was a gesture most offensive to the bourgeoisie!

Yes, the authorities are very uptight about this trial, hoping they can keep it neatly tucked away within the confines of municipal court. Police have denied a permit for the Damian García Brigade to hold a rally in front of the Alamo on the day of the trial, and the *San Antonio News Express* is also doing its bit to keep the lid on by refusing to print the Statement of Outrage for reasons of "editorial discretion." But what-

ever they might wish, the capitalists know that this *will* be a political trial in which they and their system will be the ones being judged under the watchful eyes of the masses. Among other witnesses, the defense is planning to call Armando Gutierrez (a professor of political science at the University of Houston and an activist in La Raza Unida Party for the last 10 years) to testify as an expert on the history of the oppression of the Chicano people. But what the high and mighty defenders of the Alamo fear most, what sends a shiver up their spineless backs, is that a large part of this trial will be taken up by the one defendant who will not be there in person, but whose spirit rages in the streets of San Antonio and beyond. It is a spirit they can never kill, the spirit of Comrade Damian García—proletarian revolutionary—whose towering figure still stands astride the battlements of their disintegrating fortress, whose revolutionary example still brings joy to the hearts of the oppressed!

The Alamo is truly a sacred shrine to the ideology of imperialist oppression. Below, left, a prominent member of the Sons of Texas (descendants of Texas pioneers who delight in reliving the history of U.S. domination of Mexico). George Brown, head of Brown and Root Construction Co., builders of the notorious tiger cages used in Vietnam.



The following are additional signatures on the Statement of Outrage issued after the murder of Comrade Damian Garcia. Over 6,800 people had signed the statement just prior to publication of this week's RW. \$9,000 has been raised to pay for the publication of this statement including hundreds of signatures in the Los Angeles Times and the San Antonio Light on June 17, the opening day of the Alamo trial.

- 163 Residents, Pico Aliso Housing Project, Los Angeles (site of Damian's murder)
- 201 Residents and Workers, East Los Angeles
- 237 Residents, Watts, Los Angeles
- 35 Aerospace Workers, McDonnell Douglas plants in Long Beach and Torrance, CA
- David Correa, Director, La Clinica at Casa de la Raza, Santa Barbara, CA
- Fernando Terreros, Villejas, Periodista Periodico Hablado, Tiajuana, Mexico
- 30 Residents, Apache Courts Housing Projects, San Antonio
- 134 Residents, Irvington Court/Moody Park, Houston
- MEChA, University of Oregon, Eugene
- Hector Montes, Director, El Centro Chicano de Estanford
- La Raza Students Union, Merritt College, Oakland
- 616 Residents, Mission District, San Francisco
- Lee Otis Johnson
- Dr. Nathan Hare, Psychologist, San Francisco
- Richard Flacks, Chairman, Sociology Department, University of California at Santa Barbara
- Armando Gutierrez, Professor of Sociology, University of Houston
- Martin Carnoy, Professor of Education, Stanford University

- Juan Rios, Instructor, La Raza Studies, Laney College, Oakland
- Nellie Iminorez, Staff, American Indian Studies, UC Berkeley
- Willis Truitt, Chairman, Philosophy Department, University of So. Florida
- Dr. Richard McCleary, Professor of Philosophy, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA
- Lyman H. Legters, Professor, University of Washington, Seattle
- Joseph Pear, Professor of Psychology, University of Manitoba, Winnepeg, Canada
- Hector Durán, UCLA
- Larry Noble, Professor, Atlanta University
- Iranian Student Organization, Southern California
- Valeria Bunze, Professor, Northwestern University, Chicago
- 111 Workers, Ford Rouge Plant, Dearborn, MI
- 28 Salvadoran Day Laborers, Los Angeles
- 14 Members, United Farmworkers, San Diego
- 21 Postal Workers, Houston
- 21 Workers, Mountain Pass Cannery, El Paso
- 22 Residents, Waialua Sugar Plantation Camp
- 19 Workers, General Electric, Lynn, Massachusetts
- 11 Workers, Southern Iron, Atlanta

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15 Members, Laborers Local 89, San Diego
 24 Members, Local 261, Laborers Hall, San Francisco
 Antonio Castrejon, Director, Latin Workers Association - AWA, Portland, OR
 Harold Shin, Veteran Worker, Waialua Sugar Plantation Sailor, USS J. F. Kennedy (Tall Ships), Boston
 Afghan Support Committee, Connecticut
 Gary Jones, Afro American Bookstore, Houston
 Jon Divens, Former Chairman, Black Student Alliance, UCLA
 Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center
 Black Women's Revolutionary Council, San Francisco Bay Area
 Jose Jaime, Ex-Director, Centro Cultural, Cornelius, OR
 Joe Young, Veteran Activist, Atlanta
 Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), California Chapter
 Gary Clark, City of Seattle Mayor's Staff
 Ismael Ahmed, Arab Community Center for Education and Social Services, Detroit
 Carol Hayse, Black Hills Alliance, Chicago
 Maureen Smith, California Chairperson, Peace and Freedom Party
 Arnold Townsend, Executive Director, Western Addition Project Area Community, San Francisco
 Association of Kurdistan Abroad, California Chapter
 Ann Stutz, Santa Clara Valley Rape Crisis Center, California
 Christchurch Cooperative Book Society, New Zealand
 10 Residents, Segundo Barrio, El Paso
 24 Residents, Wrightsville, Georgia
 45 Residents, Dana Strand Housing Project, Wilmington, CA
 37 Residents, Southwest Community, Detroit
 29 Residents, Kingston Housing Project, Birmingham,
 49 Residents, East Lake Meadows Project, Atlanta
 123 Residents, East End, Houston
 5 Attorneys, Public Defenders Offices, Seattle
 Richard Lipsitz, Sr., Attorney, Buffalo, NY
 George Corsetti, Attorney, Detroit

David A. Snow, Attorney, Cleveland
 Fruitvale Law Collective, Oakland
 Dennis Cunningham, People's Law Office, Chicago
 Gary Cohen, Attorney, Austin, Texas
 Graber, Stetler & Townsend, Law Firm & Political Activists, Alexandria, VA
 9 Cast & Crew of play, "The Torture of Mothers," Boston
 Ron Milner, Playwright, Los Angeles
 John P. Thompson, Drome Records, Cleveland
 The Zeroes (Rock Band), San Francisco
 Chris Dunmore, "I--Tal" Reggae Band, Cleveland
 R. L. Painter, The Painter Band, Chicago
 Robert Allen, Writer and Publisher
 Karen Jones, Reel World String Band, Lexington, KY
 Osh Newman, Bay Area Muralist
 Alejandro Murguia, Poet, San Francisco
 Felipe Lizana, Chilean Poet in Exile, San Francisco
 26 Unemployed Workers, Woodward Unemployment office, Detroit
 32 Students, Center for Employment Training, San Jose, CA
 24 Students, Independence High School, San Jose, CA
 Florina Granberry, New England Black Weekly
 17 Iranian Students, Texas Southern University
 Confederation of Latin American Students, University of Illinois (Circle Campus)
 61 Students, Roberto Clemente High School, Chicago
 NOMMO, Black Publication, UCLA
 Ronald Scott, WTVS TV, Detroit
 Michael Bencsik, Editor, South End Newspaper, Detroit
 Clifford McIntire, Editor, Haight-Ashbury Literary Quarterly, San Francisco
 Rev. Troy Keeling, St. Paul's Episcopal Church, E. Cleveland
 Rev. Ralph J. Caro-Capolungo, Oakland, CA
 Djamahid-Navagi, Tehran, Iran
 Mario Rivera, Guadelajara, (JAL) Mexico
 Luc Van Grunderdeek & Billy Merwick, Brussels, Belgium
 *Organization listed after individual's name for identification only.

ECONOMY

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will increase, as will the in-fighting and bickering among the different sections of the ruling class. Some of this in-fighting can be seen in the current presidential campaign, as a number of forces are trying to pin the recession on Carter and generally blame him for all the economic ills coming down.

While some are trying to take advantage of the situation to lay the basis to oust Carter, others are merely trying to keep the Kennedy campaign alive, hedging their bets in case it is necessary to dump Carter by the time election time rolls around. But in any case, there is real in-fighting and jockeying going on in the ruling class around these elections and the economy in particular. There is also and will continue to be sharp struggle about how to deal precisely with an increasing number of economic and political factors as the recession deepens. But there will be less and less argument about mobilizing for war. In fact, it is through going to war that the bourgeoisie will actually be able to overcome and lay aside some of their differences, for a time anyway, until the war effort starts to go bad. Because war is a giant gamble for the ruling class, not a game.

Military Spending

This growing unity in the ruling class around war being the only way out is clearly illustrated in the current round of the yearly "battle of the budget" on Capitol Hill. While the usual bickering over which money will go where is going on, practically all are united on two things: first, the need for a leaner budget—although almost everyone has given up the idea of a balanced budget as had been championed by many before the depths of the impending recession became clear. To achieve a balanced budget would mean a sharp cutback in social service programs, and cutbacks in these programs could have severe political consequences. And second, the need for greatly increased defense spending, even though this will ultimately be at the expense of social programs. As one observer from the Brookings Institution, a liberal think tank, put it: "There is an increasing realization that the Government pie can't keep growing at past rates and if you give more to defense, you must give less to everything else. What is

going on now is just a precursor of more difficult decisions to come."

Carter delivered the bourgeoisie's message for the times when he spoke to the U.S. Conference of Mayors in Seattle last week fresh from his appearance on the streets of Miami, where he was stoned by the people. He gave a "frank, unvarnished talk" about his proposal for the federal budget, which includes cuts in social services in favor of increased military spending. He said in part that the budget "does provide for a 4% real increase in military spending sustained for the next five years. This is essential to strengthen NATO and to strengthen our own country for collective defenses in order to stop and to deter Soviet aggression which has been exemplified so vividly for all those on earth in the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan...."

"Some of you expressed a personal concern about defense expenditures and increases, but in spite of your expressions of concern I decided to stand firm because of the overriding needs for national security. Above everything else, the #1 responsibility on the shoulders of a president is to provide for and to guarantee our nation's security, and through it to preserve peace for ourselves and peace for people around the world...."

"The decisions that I've described to you on defense, energy, and self-discipline in Washington will be carried out.... You need to understand this."

The day before Carter's speech, Moon Landrieu, a former mayor of New Orleans and now the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, had called on the mayors to create a "kind of discipline, a kind of sacrifice, that this nation has always been able to muster in times of difficulty."

This message of discipline, sacrifice, and patriotic duty will be the rallying cry of the U.S. imperialists more and more from now on. The American people will be called upon to comply with this "request" from the ruling class or suffer the consequences at their hands. Such press-ganged sacrifices as the gas lines are definitely only a taste of what's in store. As war approaches, they will attempt to mobilize everyone, even those not called to the battlefields for supreme national sacrifice in order to preserve the very economic system which has caused the whole mess in the first place and can only live by extending its tentacles further around the world to gobble up more for its empire.

GARY

Continued from page 5

backward, saying that the revolutionaries were isolated and had no support. Significantly, the editorial failed to mention that *six people were still being held on outrageous bail* and threatened by police and their stooges inside the jail. One might ask, if the authorities were so cocksure that they had everything under control and the revolutionaries posed no threat, why they felt it necessary to continue their attack in the press almost one week after the busts at the unemployment office.

In fact, despite the two-pronged attack of the courts and the press, there is broad support for the Gary 10 from people in different strata in Gary. A local minister and an ex-city councilman got involved, and the councilman signed to guarantee the

full amount of bail to get some people out. This past Tuesday, the Calumet chapter of the ACLU passed a motion to go before Judge Grimes to protest his exorbitant bonds, and before the mayor to protest the violation of the first amendment rights of people selling the *RW* and the actions of the police. If this fails, they plan to issue a press statement "blasting" the authorities. Workers are taking *RW*'s into the mills and helping raise bail money. In the Delaney Housing Project where most of the working-class youth are laid off or never had a job, 17 red flags were sold. 15 prisoners in the city jail recently signed a statement of support for the Miami rebellion that stated, "It was a signal to all of us to pick up our preparations so we can make sure the flames of revolution engulf this whole dying system in the 1980s." Who says they ain't got trouble in Gary, Indiana? □

Satellites

Continued from page 9

duced), indicating some reduction in the trade sector's overall importance to the economy, sugar today, as it did under Batista, accounts for over 80% of Cuba's exports. According to Castro's grand scheme, "short-term" (20 years since the revolution and no end in sight) concentration on developing the sugar production and export has been pursued as a means of generating development capital which will supposedly lead to future diversification. But while there has been some diversification and the development of domestic manufacturing (for example, domestically produced sugar harvesters), this has not substantially changed the picture of dependence on its one-crop export.

And there is another effect of this concentration on sugar which cuts against diversification. Under a capitalist system, when exports are the country's most profitable sector, capital is attracted to those products that show the highest earnings. This drains capital from other sectors and retards not only export diversification, but the development of production for the domestic market as well. The only thing that has kept Cuba from being whipped about and further impoverished by its one-crop export dependence is that it has not been completely subject to the world market prices due to the Soviet price

agreements. And overall, 60% of Cuba's trade is concentrated with the Soviets and the Eastern European bloc, not much different from what it was with the U.S. before the revolution.

Natural—And Capitalist—Disasters

Cuba's current economic crisis can accurately be described as the chickens coming home to roost. On the surface, it is due primarily to a series of natural disasters. Cuba's sugar crop has been struck with a blight known as sugar rust which has destroyed a large percentage of the crop, and this will cut dramatically into its export. The tobacco crop has been afflicted with a disease known as blue mold which has virtually destroyed the whole crop. At the same time, its pig herds (especially in the province of Guantanamo) have been hit with an outbreak of swine fever that has forced the destruction of thousands of head of hogs. While it is possible that a worldwide shortage of sugar will drive up prices to the extent that Cuba's reduction in exports will not actually result in a loss of sugar revenue, this shortage follows several years of depressed world sugar market prices that have already sharply affected earnings, despite the Soviet subsidy.

The swine fever, at least, may not be an entirely natural disaster, since the last outbreak of the disease was directly linked to CIA efforts to

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Satellites

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disrupt the Cuban economy. But whatever the cause, it will mean a further reduction of an already very restricted domestic consumer goods market. Added to this is the failure of the Soviets and the COMECON countries to come across with all the imports to Cuba that they had promised. For example, Soviet failure to deliver on almost 30% of promised lumber shipments will slow an already inadequate construction of housing. The shortfall of imports of chickens from Eastern Europe has meant that the Cubans will have to slaughter beef to make up for lost meat in the already rationed domestic market. Fidel has complained bitterly about these failures of the Soviets and the Eastern Europeans to come across with the goods. In his secret speech last December, he hit at the COMECON nations' inability to supply essential goods. He specifically chided them for sending him lots of TV sets, but failing to provide much needed linen products—bedsheets, mattresses and towels.

But these natural disasters and the shortfall of needed Soviet and Eastern European imports only underscores the basic problems of the Cuban economy: the continuation of a thoroughly neo-colonial and dependent one-crop economy that puts the country at the mercy of forces outside its own control.

And there is another potential blow looming ahead that sends shivers up the backs of the Cuban leaders. Because of its own internal difficulties and the requirements of preparation for war with the U.S., the Soviets have given indications that their petroleum subsidies to Cuba may have peaked. The Soviets have already told their Eastern European allies that they should look to the world market to supply an increased percentage of their oil needs. It is likely that the same message will be delivered to the Cubans, despite Fidel's recent assurances that they have guaranteed petroleum deliveries to Cuba until 1985. If that becomes the case, the spectre of Cuban economic chaos could become a reality. Given its already huge debt and its inability to earn the necessary foreign currency to meet its present import needs, the necessity of purchasing oil on the world market could have a devastating effect.

Of course, economic dependency and the resultant perpetuation of underdevelopment are not the only price Cuba has had to pay, or will have to pay, for its neo-colonial relationship to the Soviets. As the old saying goes, he who pays the piper calls the tune. And the Soviets have definitely been calling the tunes in Cuba. This is not only true for the economic melody to which the Cuban people have been forced to dance since Castro cemented his alliance with Khrushchev in 1963. Increasingly the tunes called for have been military marches. At Soviet insistence the Cuban army has become shock troops for the Russians in key areas of the world, especially Africa. In the name of internationalism the Cuban forces have fought to insure Soviet domination of Ethiopia and Angola. But their effect goes even beyond that. They have a political role to play for the Soviets, spreading Brezhnev's gospel to the rest of the colonial and neo-colonial countries of the world that it is only by enmeshing themselves in the web of Soviet social-imperialism that they can ever hope to be free from the clutches of the American spider.

Same Old Capitalism

The response of the Cuban leadership to their "sea of difficulties" is as revealing about the nature of the regime as the economic crisis they have gotten themselves into. For while the crisis is the result of deformed capitalist development, their solutions represent nothing more than reaching into the standard capitalist bag of tricks. It would be wrong however to imply that the programs for recovery

outlined in Raul and Fidel Castro's speeches at the end of 1979 are anything new or different from what they have been pushing for years. It's just more of the same. In fact the 1979 speeches are very similar to another "bombshell" speech Fidel gave in 1975 at the First Party Congress. Then, in the face of Cuba's severe economic problems that coincided with a worldwide capitalist recession, Fidel humbly asserted that Cuba should have been "applying correctly the main useful experiences in the sphere of economic management" in the Soviet Union. And the experiences he referred to are that "economic laws" (especially the law of value) instead of being taken into account and restricted must be given full play, and that "money, prices, finances, budgets, taxes, credit, interest and other commodity categories should function as indispensable instruments... to decide on which investment is the most advantageous; to decide which enterprises, which units, which collective of workers performs best, and which performs worst, and so be able to take relevant measures." In short, Cuba, like the Soviet Union, must follow the laws and criterion of capitalist development.

As the 1976 RCP pamphlet pointed out: "The 'new economic system' Castro goes on to describe is based on the same principles that govern all capitalist countries, especially in the form of state capitalism: that prices be fixed according to the cost of production; that the factories and industries which produce the highest rate of return on their investment should be the areas of most expansion; that the managers of these units should be paid according to their social position and also the profitability of their enterprise; that the workers be paid according to the profitability of the enterprise they work for and lose their jobs if production would be cheaper without them; and furthermore, that the workers be paid strictly according to their productivity..."

Capitalist Labor Discipline

The '79 speech regurgitates much of the same stuff, only in a more frantic tone. And the emphasis is so much more heavily on putting the screws to the Cuban workforce to crank out production. As usual there is the token self-criticism on the part of the leadership in an attempt to mitigate internal resentment and unrest. But mainly the finger is pointed at the "malcontents," the "slackers," the lower level bureaucrats and those who want an easy ride. Against these malingers, symbolized in their most degenerate form by those splitting for the U.S., has been posed as a call for new dedication, new discipline, and the embrace of greater austerity measures. Raul Castro was at pains to make clear this is not a call for some sort of "Cultural Revolution." No, in fact the measures that the Cubans are implementing with new vigor in an effort to solve their economic difficulties are very similar to those unleashed in China by Teng Hsiao-ping and all the opponents of the Cultural Revolution

in China.

Step one is the call to go all out to increase sugar production and rely even more heavily on a one crop economy. Step two is to eliminate whatever window dressing of "moral incentives" have remained from the early days and attempt to provide people with the material incentives they hope will overcome absenteeisms, low productivity and other forms of labor resistance. A new law to go in effect in July will raise salaries for most workers, add bonuses and other incentives for meeting production goals. But what good are these wage increases if there is a shortage of consumer goods? At best it would increase inflation. In an effort to deal with this problem they have decided, in essence, to legalize and expand the black market. Restrictions have been removed from small producers of food that previously insisted that everything be marketed through the state's distribution system. Now the farmers may market their food crops directly to the consumers, in hopes that this will spur food production and alleviate some of the shortages. Similarly, the managers of many factories and other production units have been given greater freedom to make their own plans and deals to increase production and profitability.

But Castro & Co. are not relying only, or even mainly, on the carrot of wage increases and other promised benefits to increase production. Major steps have been taken to enforce labor discipline. New regulations do away with the old system in which the labor unions and plant committees of workers had to approve any disciplining of an employee. Now the plant manager himself can directly take whatever action he deems necessary, including firing.

While they have set loose new forces of anarchy and profit chasing in the economy, the government has also taken the necessary steps to tighten their grip on the masses, and prevent these forces from getting out of hand—their hands. There has been a major reshuffling of the top ministerial posts in the government, putting in place people of proven loyalty to Fidel. The whole security apparatus has been considerably beefed up. All of this is coupled with intensified calls to the people to put their noses to the already well-worn grindstone and work harder. One of the results of the efforts to discipline the labor force, restrict bureaucratic featherbedding and rationalize production is, not surprisingly, increased unemployment.

Defenders of Cuba, both in Cuba and in some sections of the left here in the U.S. make two main defenses of the facts laid out and the analysis made in this article. First they point to the fact that at the time of the Revolution, faced by intense hostility from the U.S. imperialists, the Cuban leaders had no choice but to throw in their lot with the Soviets and come under the protection of the Cuban "umbrella." Otherwise, they argue, the U.S. would have crushed the revolution. Secondly, they argue that

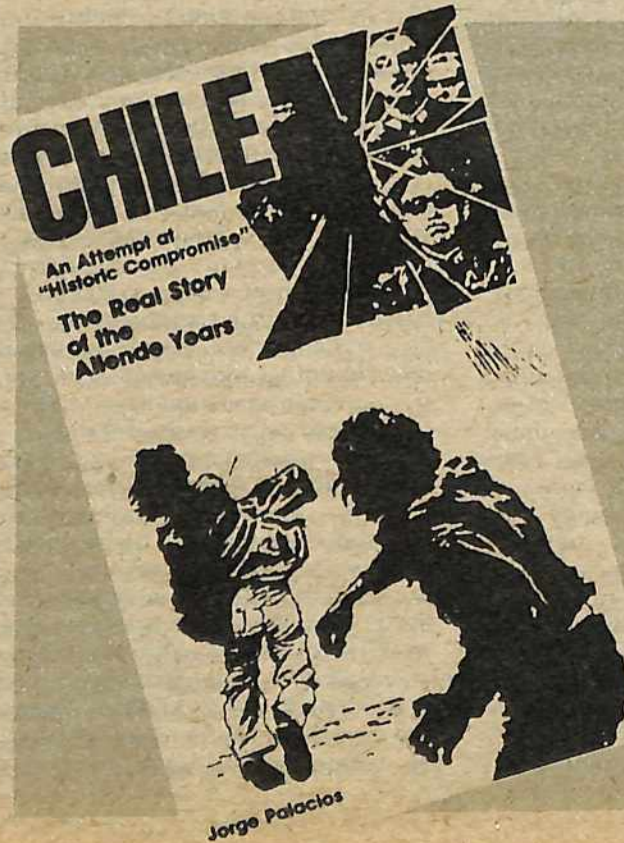
despite all its problems, Cuba has made great strides in providing for the well being of the people. They point to the wiping out of illiteracy, the access to education at all levels enjoyed by the Cubans, the large numbers of doctors that have been trained and the medical care available that is better than in almost any other underdeveloped country in the world.

As to the second argument, yes, Cuba has made important strides in these areas. It could even be argued that Cuba is the most advanced welfare state in the world, but not mainly in the sense of the welfare provided its people, but in the sense that a la New York City it subsists through massive injections of welfare from outside. Without the sugardaddy role of the Soviet Union, even the standard of living provided now for the Cuban people would not be possible. Cuba has not taken to the road of independent development. And the price it has paid for Soviet support is steep. It is the price of the continued neo-colonial deformity of its economy, the price of sending its troops where the colonial master orders, the price of depending on an unbilical chord of support that could be drastically restricted if the Soviets decided that was necessary for other, more important goals.

As to the argument that the Cubans had no choice but to throw themselves on the mercy of the Soviets in order to escape the clutches of the U.S., this is no argument at all. It is to condemn the people of Cuba and other countries struggling for national liberation to no escape from colonialism and imperialist domination. It merely argues that the best they can hope for is to exchange one overlord for another.

The petty bourgeois radicals that came to power in Cuba in 1959, like bourgeois elements everywhere have a fundamental abhorrence to the idea that the masses of people are capable of taking society into their own hands, that they have the ability to use the science of Marxism-Leninism to analyze and overcome all difficulties. For them this idea can never be a reality, just the opposite, it is sheer idealism. Their role is to be the "jefes" of the revolution and to "deliver the goods" for the people and the peoples' role is to produce according to plan. And of course the only way they see to "deliver the goods" is to get one or the other superpower to underwrite their "revolution."

The proof is in the pudding. Cuba has sunk deeper into economic disorder and crisis in direct relation as it has sunk deeper into the grip of the Soviet Union. The same old capitalist "solutions" to a crisis created by capitalist modes of development and entanglement in the international capitalist economic order are dredged up year after year, polished and served again as a new path. There is nothing new in either the crisis now described by Cuba's leaders, or their solutions except new levels of dependence of the Soviet Union's "generosity" and new levels of humiliation and subjugation for the Cuban people before all imperialism. □



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