



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

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25c

COINTELPRO Operations Vs. Maoists

FBI PLOTS EXPOSED!

Forged documents, produced in a special laboratory to look authentic, designed to "alter the political line and... in fact turn it into a revisionist line in a subtle manner"... the drafting and sending of fake letters aimed to cast suspicion and sow dissension within the ranks of a revolutionary organization... attempts to "compromise" leading members in order to discredit the revolutionary organization and the revolutionary movement it represents... special schools and seminars to train federal agents in Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to infiltrate top levels of leadership. No, these are not scenes from some Hollywood political thriller. These are just a few of the plans directed by federal authorities against the Revolutionary Union (RU), forerunner of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP).

Recent exposure and publicity surrounding the FBI's counter-intelligence program (COINTELPRO) have given a better glimpse of the real nature of this beast called the "American system." It has revealed some of the inner workings usually hidden behind the facade of "freedom and democracy for all." While they kept up their sweet talk for public consumption, they set their dogs of war to work. Documents recently released—chopped and censored though they are—make clear the seriousness and alarm with which the government looked at the revolutionary movement in general and the Revolutionary Union in particular. And behind the political workings of the state, the documents reveal the desperation and fear the authorities have for the spread of this movement in their outlandish attempts to discredit, prevent and stop revolutionary activity.

The documents date back to the late '60s and early '70s, which the government, after years of exposure on top of exposure, is now willing to admit were "years of some excesses." But despite the

Continued on page 6

Memorandum
 UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
 DIRECTOR, FBI (100-449698)
 SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-60968) (P)
 COINTELPRO - NEW LEFT
 DATE: 4/3/69
 ReBulet to Albany 5/10/68 and San Francisco to Bureau 1/6/69.
 POTENTIAL COUNTERINTELLIGENCE ACTION
 ReBulet letter to Bureau 2/19/69 pointed out the necessity of suggested other actions to be made

10066 WA CODE
 6:58PM NITEL 1-15-73 LXS
 TO-CHICAGO (105-27305)
 NEWARK (105-23827)
 SAN FRANCISCO (100-65293)
 FROM ACTING DIRECTOR (105-184369) JP

REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU) IS - RU 00: CHICAGO

RESFTEL, 1-13-73, SUGGESTING CONSIDERATION OF A TECHNIQUE LOOKING TOWARDS THE COMPROMISE OF REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU) LEADER WITH RESULTING DISCREDIT TO THE ORGANIZATION AND THE PRO-CHINESE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.

ALTHOUGH THE SUGGESTED TECHNIQUE HAS OBVIOUS PROBLEMS RELATING TO IMPLEMENTATION, THE BUREAU BELIEVES MEANS TO COMPROMISE THE RU AND/OR SHOULD BE CONSIDERED. RECIPIENTS SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THE TECHNIQUE AT THE FORTHCOMING CONFERENCES RELATING TO THE RU DURING THE WEEK OF 1-22-73. ALTERNATE APPROACHES OR SUGGESTIONS SHOULD BE AFFORDED CONSIDERATION.

END

MR FBI CG CLR

SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED FILED
 JAN 18 1973
 FBI - CHICAGO

105-27305-1167

Approved & sent by the Director of FBI documents regarding the RU. Reprinted by the RW.

Hostages in a Nuclear War Game

New York and Chicago held for ransom at the mercy of a handful of fanatics! People herded from their homes by armed men under the threat of horrible and complete destruction of their homes and cities. Sound like one of the B-grade movie plots about lunatic terrorists running amok? Guess again—it's a very real scenario being considered by the U.S. government as a means of "winning" a military showdown with the Soviet Union in the 1980s. And the handful of fanatics are none other than the U.S. ruling class.

If you thought nuclear war was "unthinkable," think again. As they are drawn inexorably toward World War 3 with their Soviet rivals, the U.S. imperialists have their think tanks scrambling to come up with strategies and counter-strategies to put the U.S. in a decisive position to come out on top in a nuclear confrontation. A recent report by the System Planning Corpo-

ration, a U.S. government brain trust in Arlington, Virginia, sheds some eerie light on the kind of thing they have in store for us.

Recently obtained by the RW, the report is entitled *The Potential Effect of Crisis Relocation on Crisis Stability*. Translated from the "officialese" into plain English, they are talking about the evacuation of entire cities away from high-risk areas (known as "crisis relocation" or CR) and its possible effects on a major confrontation with the Soviet Union, if a nuclear exchange "appeared to be a serious possibility."

To examine the possible advantages of CR, the report's authors interviewed some of the nation's top scientists, professors, army and navy brass, and assorted think-tank policy advisors. The respondents were asked to "assume the time is 1985" (this date comes up several times—an indication of the immediacy of the war being prepared by

the imperialists!) and that "the U.S. has a fairly detailed and well-planned Crisis Relocation Plan... and an intense crisis occurs between the U.S. and the USSR."

But what immediately stands out about this report is that none of these learned gentlemen are the least bit interested in "crisis relocation" as a means of saving people's lives in a nuclear exchange. There is hardly a word about this in the entire 180-page report! For all their pious references to "civil defense," they are only concerned with whether CR would be "appropriate as a tool for crisis management"—that is, for manipulating the outcome of a crisis in favor of the U.S.

As one think-tanker said, "If they (the Soviets—RW) believe that they can survive a strategic exchange, and we do not, then they will win the crisis!" Winning the crisis—that's what these

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New FBI Charter to Cover Old, New Crimes

Washington D.C. On July 21, Senator Edward Kennedy introduced a bill in Congress—the “Federal Bureau of Investigation Charter of 1979”—which he claims “will insure that the chronicles of abuses and failures of the past will not be repeated in the future.”

What the charter really does is strengthen the iron hand of the FBI as an important tool of bourgeois rule. Rather than attempt to prevent FBI wiretaps, informants, spying and other forms of subversion, the bill provides a “legal” framework for all of these

hated activities to continue and even be stepped up.

The charter outlines for the first time the exact legal powers of the FBI. In the words of William H. Webster, director of the FBI, the proposed charter “will eliminate any uncertainty about the legality or propriety of our activities. It will permit our agents to meet their responsibilities effectively and without fear of legal liability. It will also give assurance to the public that we are acting within the rule of the law to achieve the legitimate ends of law

enforcement.”

Ever since its founding in the 1920s, the FBI has had as one of its major goals the spying on and the disruption of revolutionary forces who have stepped forward to challenge the rule of the capitalist class and the various forms of misery and enslavement that their system heaps on the people. In the revolutionary upsurge of the 1960s the FBI with its web of political informants, “dirty tricks” and intrigue were a vital part of the bourgeoisie’s attempt to sidetrack and smash the Black liberation and anti-war movement; then shaking the country.

The FBI paid a political price for all this. Many of their activities were revealed for millions to see. Large numbers increasingly became disgusted and outraged by their actions and began to see the FBI’s true nature—low-life hired guns enforcing the rich man’s rule. In the early ’70s the FBI became a center of scandal as various sections of the bourgeoisie attempted to use the crimes of the FBI as a way of smearing their rivals.

But times have changed, with world war, economic crisis and the real possibility of revolution looming on the horizon the FBI (along with the CIA and other repressive arms of the state) is being called on to step up their work under these new conditions. In the case of the FBI, it is important to the ruling class that the FBI has a more defined legal framework to better conceal the naked fists of their dictatorship behind

the velvet glove of “equal justice under the law.”

This new charter is just what the doctor ordered. It is vague enough to allow the FBI to use different tactics as their political rule becomes more challenged. As Webster said at the hearings which helped draft the charter: “Conditions in our country change from time to time. . . There may come a time in a particular area of stress or tension when the nature of the activity would be such that the (more exact—RW) guidelines would become too inflexible.”

In order to give the appearance of “cleaning up” the FBI, the charter claims that the use of informants and the various other forms of surveillance and subversion are prohibited. . . except under special circumstances: But what are these circumstances?—“against terrorist groups,” to take their main example. According to the proposed charter, “terrorist” groups can include anyone “influencing or retaliating against the policies or actions of the government of the U.S. or any state or political subdivision thereof or any foreign state by intimidation or coercion.” Obviously by this definition anyone hating this system and who seriously considers getting rid of it can and will be “legal” target (plus many others as well) of their low-life activities.

The charter also opens up as “legal” the use of lawyers, doctors, psychiatrists, ministers and news reporters as informants.

So this is what “cleaning up” the FBI means—declaring filth to be “legally” clean, a filth desperately needed for the capitalists to continue to enforce their rule through the storms ahead. ■

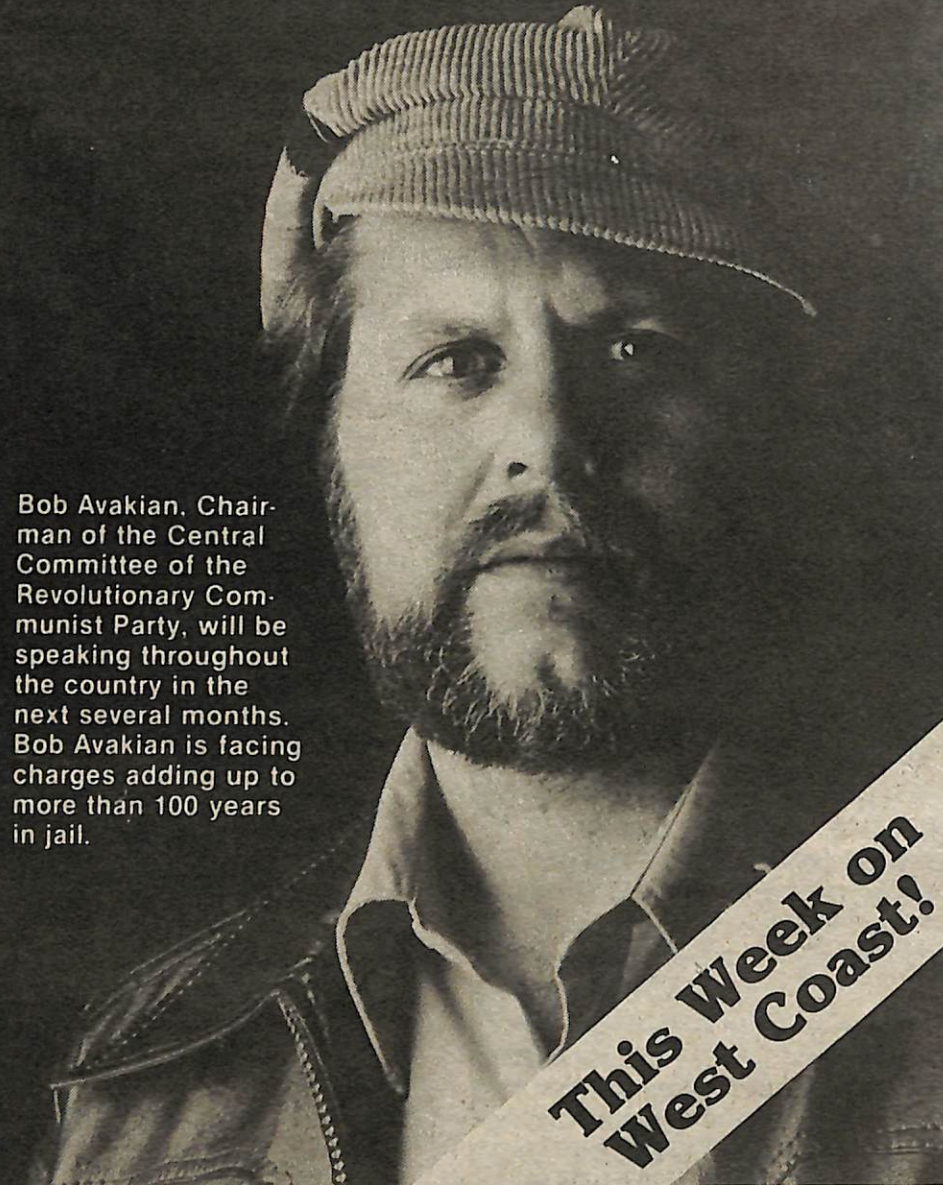
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Major Speaking Tour by Party Chairman

“To All Those Who Refuse To Live and To Die On Your Knees!”



Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, will be speaking throughout the country in the next several months. Bob Avakian is facing charges adding up to more than 100 years in jail.

This Week on West Coast!

This is your chance to hear the leader of the only organization in this country seriously working for revolution, the organization the government is viciously attacking and declares to be the most dangerous revolutionary organization in this country.

When you hear Bob Avakian speak you will know why those who rule this country are desperate to put him away and to stop the RCP. And why those who hate this whole criminal system and government are rallying more and more to the RCP!

For more information, contact the RCP in your local area, or write to: PO Box 3486, Chicago, IL 60654.

The following is a basic schedule for the first part of this speaking tour:
 Last week in July thru mid-August — West Coast
 Last half of August — Midwest & Great Lakes Area

Don't Miss The Chance To Hear Bob Avakian Speak & To Get Down With The RCP! It Will Change Your Whole Life!

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

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Kennedy's Hired Prof. Declares:

THE MAN'S A SAINT!

Chappaquiddick, oh Chappaquiddick—music to the ears of Kennedy foes. But alas, a sorrowful refrain for poor Ted, as he makes his grab for the brass ring on the White House door. Fortunately for Teddy his entourage is working hard in anticipation of the forthcoming shit that's bound to fly. They are proceeding to put money and influence to work scouring the gutters of the intellectual communities for prospective mouthpieces to sell Kennedy to the people. There's old reliables like Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who has prostituted himself to the bourgeoisie for years rewriting their history to shove down people's throats in the name of a free education. He can be depended on to state how the Chappaquiddick experience would make Kennedy a better president. But what is needed is the right man to put pencil and eraser to work to rewrite that whole nasty Chappaquiddick affair to clear Teddy's royal name and still be believable. Some new poison pen who doesn't yet carry the stench of the bourgeoisie with him.

Scientist For Hire

Voilà. Enter physics Professor Jean-Paul Auffrey and his *L.A. Times* syndicated series on the Chappaquiddick incident. Jean-Paul who? Just in case we aren't familiar with the guy's credentials, the *L.A. Times* assures us he's "recognized in both the American and European scientific communities." In addition, the newspapers stress in the introductions to his articles that the author, "a physicist by training used the discipline of the laboratory for his reconstruction of the night" which provides "new details and a comprehensive explanation of the events..." According to the newspapers, his "objective investigation" concludes "10 years of examining the Chappaquiddick tragedy." (Note the copyright is 1979, in time to have it in book form by 1980).

Here we are treated to a slick maneuver to explain away Teddy's particular skeleton-in-the-closet; the findings of a scientific expert! Now who's going to argue with an expert?

Well, Jean-Paul tries hard, but ironically every bit of circumstance our objective scientist uses to prove Teddy's innocence boomerangs Teddy right back on the shores of Chappaquiddick Island.

Facts are stubborn things, even for scientist Jean-Paul and what his dissertation amounts to is simply a rehash of the time-worn tales of Teddy and his friends, coupled with Jean-Paul's sympathetic interpretation of the events that night.

For starters, the series of articles conveniently omits speaking to some of the speculation at the time that Mary Jo Kopechne was pregnant and that her death wasn't exactly accidental. This became a very heavy rumor especially when her body wasn't exhumed for autopsy and her parents ended up with a pay-off from the Kennedys of somewhere in the neighborhood of \$150,000.

But the real stickler in the whole Chappaquiddick mess has always been those crucial 8 hours after the car crashed. The 8 hours that Kennedy waited 'til he spilled the beans—after the car had already been spotted in Poche Pond and work had begun to tow it ashore. Well, according to the Professor, the poor lad was still somewhat in a state of shock and didn't really have his wits about him enough to report the accident to the proper authorities. On the other hand we know he had enough wits about him by his own admission to get himself out of the sinking car, supposedly dive several times to try and rescue Mary Jo Kopechne, get back to the cottage to tell his legal friends the story, then swim back to his motel room, and make a couple of phone calls to other political confidants. But he didn't have enough sense to call for help during those last few desperate



ITEM: Professor absolves Kennedy in Kopechne drowning.

moments in Mary Jo Kopechne's life as she gasped for air, struggling to escape her watery grave? The scuba diver who arrived on the scene 8 hours later took less than 20 minutes to answer the call and remarked that there was a very good chance he could have saved her life that night.

What is the Professor's summation of Kennedy's actions that night? "I believe that Kennedy, on the night of Chappaquiddick, was not motivated by political concerns. Instead, he was driven by man's instinct to survive in a mishap..." The conclusion they would like us to draw is to chalk up Teddy's behavior to a moment of personal weakness—you know, like the time he cheated on his college exams—why, you can imagine the pressure, being part of the Kennedy clan, having to carry on in the family tradition, etc., etc., ad nauseum. The Professor must be getting quite a bundle over and above a physicist's salary for this attempted snow-job.

But still the question pops up: what leads Professor Auffrey to assume that Kennedy's political concerns and his instinct to survive are somehow different? Kennedy himself has shown that his political concerns and his instinct to survive are one and the same. He said that he "went through a considerable period of self-evaluation, re-examination of my own life, my values, and own purpose and direction of my life. I wondered whether it would be possible to continue in the area of public service"—(read, continue his political career—*RW*). Most assuredly he did a little sweating-out on that question, especially during those 8 hours as it became clear that this particular Kennedy wasn't going to be able to get someone else to take the rap for Miss Kopechne's death and was going to have to turn himself in. With his class position, this murderer used his money and legal maneuvering to worm his way out of the consequences. And now he's hired someone to hopefully erase that mark against him forever.

Kennedy Character Intact

Although the various scientists, historians and journalists in loyal service to the polo-playing, fox-hunting set would have us believe otherwise, Chappaquiddick was not a deviation from Kennedy's otherwise flawless character and ability to rule. No, in fact it remains living testimony to Kennedy's unswerving class character and interests. His cold-blooded "instinct" to try and save himself from a scandal at the expense of one woman's life attests to this heartless dog's ability to act in behalf of his fellow bourgeoisie. In the name of the New Frontier preached by his brother John, the escalation of the Vietnam war and the Bay of Pigs invasion were launched. Ted's money and power-hungry class instincts are a continuation of that Kennedy tradition, the bourgeoisie in a microcosm, living their decadent lives by riding the backs of millions.

Kennedy faces no shame in front of his honorable colleagues; it's no mystery why the Chappaquiddick inci-

dent only went so far, why it will only go so far in exposing his rotten ass and why all his friends will work overtime to cover it up with very little resistance from his friendly foes. After all, they all have their own skeletons to hide and who knows what closet will come unlocked next?

This whole affair provides a fine example of the great heights "American democracy" has risen to. For all their high sounding talk about "morality and justice," when election time rolls around they are reduced to dragging out the dirt (just a little mind you) on each other. As each one is driven to beat out the other, they can't help but letting just a little escape from the cesspool they inhabit. This aroma of Chappaquiddick is but a hint of the foul rotting system that these secretary-drowning hypocrits so loyally serve. All the Jean-Paul Auffreys and perfume in the world can't prevent its stench from sickening and disgusting millions and impelling them to search out its source.

Revolutionary Worker

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and

need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

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

Strike Turns Ohio Towns Upside-down

In the small Ohio communities of New Philadelphia and Dover with a combined population of about 30,000 nearly 800 workers have struck four plants in the area, I.F. Sales, Marlite Corporation, Sparta Manufacturing and AlSCO Anaconda. The strike which began over demands for higher wages and cost of living increase has erupted into a fierce battle and has drawn half the county into it.

The companies fired the first salvo, intensifying the struggle when Marlite tried to sneak scabs into their Number Two plant on Sunday morning, July 21. When word spread that the company had brought in scabs to work the plant, about 75 strikers mobilized and threw up a militant picketline, trapping the scabs inside.

The scabs soon found they had no way out so the company called in the Dover cops, mayor and law director. When the strikers refused the order to disperse more cops were called in for a show of force.

But the authorities got something they didn't count on—people from the working class neighborhoods around the plant came pouring out of their houses. Hundreds massed across the street from the picketline, hurling taunts and jeers at the police and the mayor and cheering the strikers.

Some crossed the street to join the picketline themselves. The police at one time formed a wedge and attempted to break through the picketline but were turned back after a short scuffle which ended with two cops sent to the hospital and two workers handcuffed in the back of a police cruiser. After a three-hour standoff the strikers agreed to an exchange of prisoners—the workers were released and the strikers let the scabs escape.

The next morning nearly 200 strikers and supporters threw up another mass picket at the same plant gate and turned the scabs away. From then on the companies were hell-bent on breaking the strike. They brought in security goons from New Jersey, Mississippi, and Cleveland, Ohio—some of them dressed in karate garb and carrying martial arts equipment.

The courts handed down an injunction limiting picketers to two and four per gate, while guards set up video tape machines on plant roofs. Sparta Manufacturing put an ad in the company's local mouthpiece, *The Times-Reporter* newspaper ordering workers to give up the strike by Wednesday, July 25 or be fired.

The strikers responded with roving mass pickets and the whole week was marked by intense battle. Scabs had their windows smashed and the plants were bombarded with rocks. One striker was beat up by a guard and another was hit by a truck attempting to carry scabs across the line. There were repeated confrontations with the police. On Friday the cops arrested ten more and took them in front of the notorious hangman, Judge Harlan Stein. The good judge lectured them in a packed courtroom of reporters and told them if they "behaved" themselves, they would consider letting them go. The strikers responded to this threat by calling for a mass rally on Sunday, July 29.

Over 300 strikers and their supporters gathered at a local race track where workers spoke their bitterness about the lack of workers' rights and the determination to carry the fight forward in this strike. Members of the Cleveland

chapter of the National United Workers Organization (NUWO) attended the rally and two of them spoke from the podium. One said, "This isn't our country and we have no interest in defending it. We're just modern-day slaves and we have to make a revolution to overthrow this profit system called capitalism and put the working class in power."

The next morning about 150 strikers and others massed in front of the Number Two gate at the Marlite plant. Soon the scabs arrived and were met with a militant picketline and a barrage of rocks. Within a few minutes dozens of cops from two police departments along with the county sheriffs converged on the area.

The police chief ordered the workers to disperse and when they refused the cops waded into the crowd grabbing and arresting people. When three pigs began beating a man they had thrown to the ground the crowd surged forward, fists began flying as the rocks pelted the police, a woman striker jumped on the back of one of the pigs in an attempt to rescue the other striker on the ground.

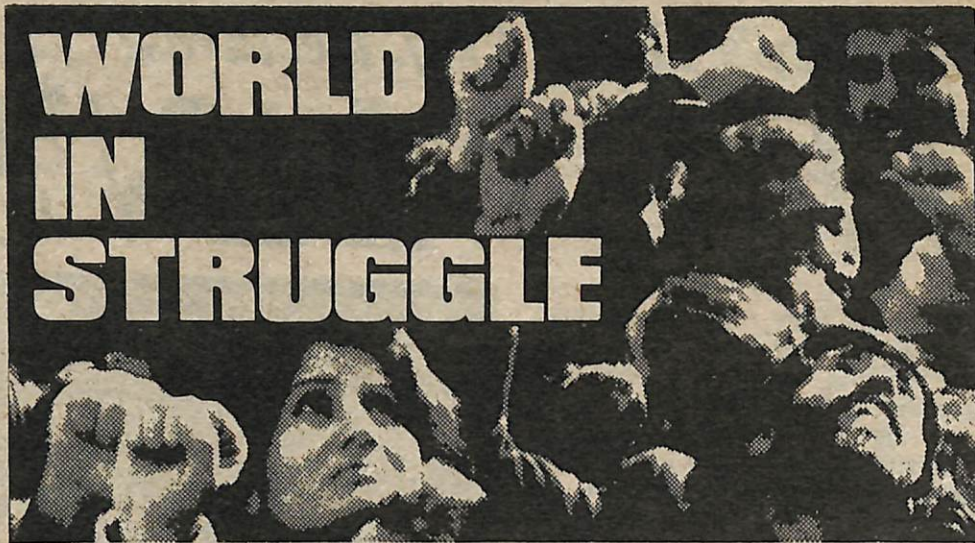
When the dust had cleared two cops were injured and 18 picketers had been arrested including two NUWO members. At that point a striker with 32 years seniority stepped forward from the crowd and delivered a resounding speech, "I've known capitalist strangulation all my life and if it takes a communist revolution to set things right then I'm for it!" The crowd cheered and the cops stood around wild-eyed.

Later in the day, the local newspaper ran a front page article completely distorting the role the NUWO members had played at the rally the day before, saying that they never identified themselves and trying to whip up hysterical attacks against the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper. The authorities had freaked out at the thought of workers actually reading the ideas in this newspaper. These distortions in the *Times-Reporter* are consistent with all the other lies and slander it has printed about the strikers throughout the strike.

That afternoon supporters marched up into the courtroom carrying signs saying, "Police brutality will not settle this strike" and "The police serve the rich." They packed the courtroom for the hearing of the 18 arrested and got another earful from Judge Harlan Stein. He frothed at the mouth as he tried desperately to drive home what our position is supposed to be in this society—whipped dogs.

He ranted that the union officials had better exert some "leadership" over the strike, saying that they can't tolerate these workers being "turned loose to act as they please." He said, "When the blood flows in the streets the union officials will be held responsible!" "I can't believe that seven of you people here are not even involved in the Marlite strike," said the judge, completely unable to comprehend the solidarity among the striking workers from various plants. And when one supporter spoke up, Stein told the audience in the court, "You don't even have a right to be here so keep quiet."

The strikers left the courtroom more outraged than ever. As of this writing, 34 have been arrested and 57 more identified by the company for citations. Trials are pending and the union officials are hurriedly calling meetings.



Music Banned from Iran's Airwaves

Ayatollah Khomeini banned all music from Iran's air waves at the end of July. According to the 79-year-old Islamic leader, "music is no different from opium. It stupefies persons listening to it and makes their brain inactive and frivolous." But several days later, the government had to back down in the face of massive popular opposition. Sound trucks were sent throughout Tehran's neighborhoods to assure the people that the ban on music would only last during the Moslem holy month of Ramadan.

After the victorious insurrection in February, Iranian radio played revolutionary music all night long. Choruses developed by revolutionary Iranian students, the militant songs of the Kurdish and Turkish people, and a wide variety of progressive music was played by popular demand. People would bring down their own records and tapes to Tehran's radio station, renamed Voice of the Revolution.

But in recent months as the new Islamic government has moved steadily to the right, all progressive music has been forced off the airwaves. Even popular Arab, Indian and traditional Iranian music has been disappearing. According to fundamentalist Islam, music is forbidden, except for drums. Today Iranian radio and TV are filled up with hour after hour of prayers, and lectures by mullahs who spend much of their time attacking Marxism and Iran's revolutionary Left.

Ayatollah Khomeini and others are serious about trying to straight-jacket the struggle of the masses, but they will never succeed. The people's music is a living part of the struggle which no decree, not even from Khomeini himself, can ban.

Steve Biko's Wife Denounces South African "Blood Money"

On July 28, the arrogant South African government offered to pay \$78,000 to the family of Steve Biko, who was brutally murdered in jail in September 1977 by the South African political police. Biko's widow, Nontsikelelo Biko, immediately denounced the offer as "blood money" and vowed to continue to fight against the government's whitewash of her husband's death.

Biko was a leading spokesman for the Black consciousness movement and founder of the South African Students Organization, which played a key role in the 1976 Soweto rebellion. Though the police at first claimed that Biko had died on a hunger strike, evidence leaked out that he had been tortured and beaten to death. As mass demonstrations spread throughout South Africa and international protests mounted, the government ordered a lengthy "investigation" that—as expected—absolved the police of any responsibility months later.

After this latest vile offer, Minister of Police Louis Le Grange announced that "the file on the Biko affair is now closed." But the blood of Steve Biko and thousands of other Azanian freedom fighters cannot be washed off the hands of the South African government.

Fake Tears From U.S. Over Israeli Raid

It was Sunday afternoon, July 22. Three formations of Israeli warplanes, sweeping out of darkening skies, bombed and rocketed five towns and a highway crowded with weekend travelers along a 21-mile stretch of Lebanon's coast. At least 15 Lebanese and Palestinians were killed and 50 injured in the blasts of rockets and high-explosive bombs. Though these cowardly and murderous bombing missions are almost a daily event, witnesses said it was the biggest Israeli air attack over Lebanon in months.

But because the Israeli military choose a highway crowded with hundreds of people coming back from the beaches and mountains to bomb and strafe instead of the usual Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon, the U.S. State Department felt it necessary to shed a fake tear or two about the deaths of "many women and children." It even promised to investigate whether Israel is using its squadrons of U.S. F-14 and F-15 jets for "defense." However, it is already well known what the Zionist rulers of Israel consider to be "defense"—invading and grabbing large chunks of Lebanon, assassinating Palestinian leaders and bombing refugee camps.

Wagging its finger at the Israelis, the State Department said that "such raids must be stopped." And how does the U.S. government plan to do this? By continuing to ship billions worth of jets, tanks and other "defensive" military hardware to the Zionists so they can continue to wage their all-out war against the Palestinian people.

Making Up With the Soviets?

When Will China Play

On July 16 a border clash between China and the Soviet Union took place in which one Chinese soldier was killed. This in itself is not surprising, such incidents have occurred frequently; but, according to press reports, China responded favorably on that *same day* to an earlier Soviet proposal to open normalization talks. China suggested that they begin in Moscow in mid-September. The two events show the conflicting trends and possibilities that underlie Sino-Soviet relations in the wake of Mao's death and the defeat of the revolutionary forces in 1976. To be sure, such a timid reaction would have been unthinkable while Mao was alive.

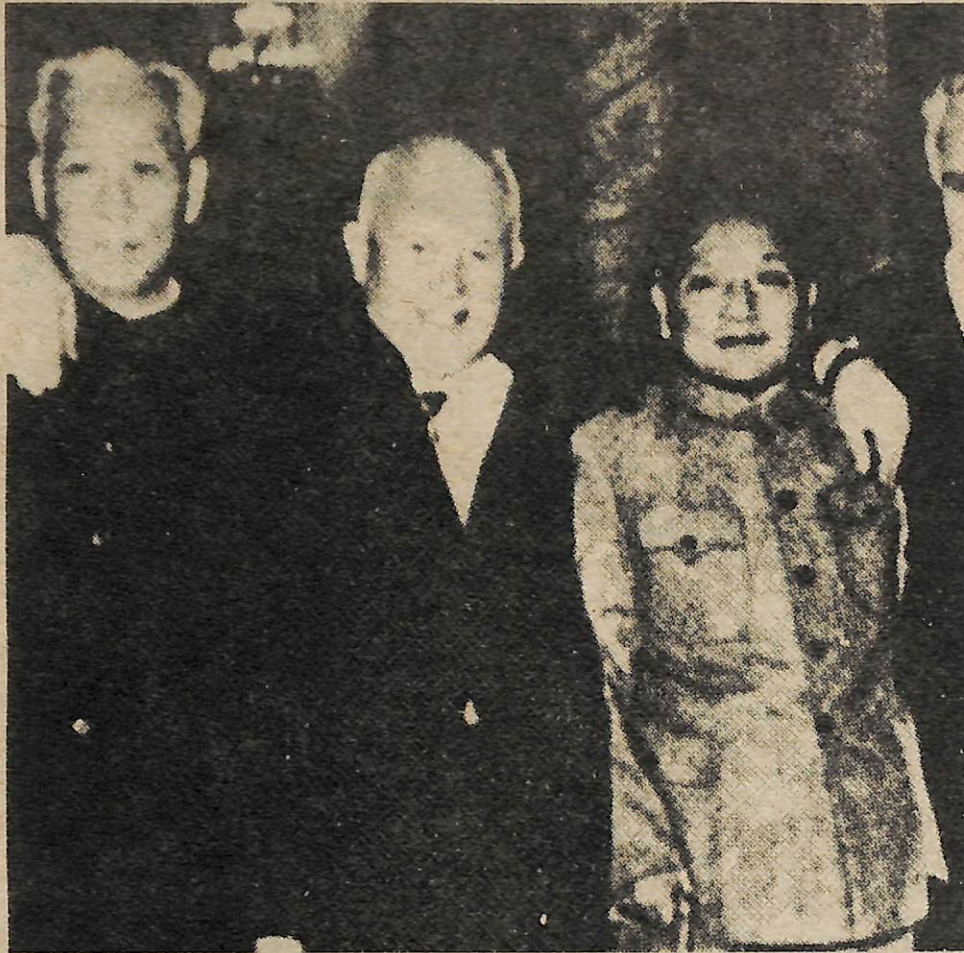
What could be brewing beneath the surface? Could China possibly abandon its new "Westward" turn to kiss and make up with the Soviets? Certainly, the conclusion of the treaty between China and Japan last summer and the recent normalization with the U.S. would appear to have locked China into a relationship—Teng even used the word "alliance" to describe it—with the West. And there can be little doubt that the ruling revisionists in China have definitely been looking West—for technology, loans and credits, military protection, and massive injections of bourgeois culture. But is this the end of the road or a stepping stone to something else?

"The China card is a game two can play," as one commentator put it. There are more than a few strategic analysts in the West who, since the coup, have voiced increasing doubts over just how durable the Sino-Soviet split is and whether it is wise for the U.S. to pin so much of its military strategy on Sino-Soviet hostility. American diplomats, they have said, seek to play the "China card" against Russia. But Teng Hsiao-ping is a noted bridge player himself and he, or others like him, may be seeking to play the "American trump card" to strike a better deal for themselves from the Soviets.

There is a material basis for all this, politically rooted in the capitalist outlook of the current Chinese rulers. True, the tensions between the Soviet Union and China are still great. Nevertheless, the pragmatic cast of mind of the Chinese revisionists, who put their fantasies about "modernization" and the "peaceful atmosphere" which they so often say is necessary to pull it off above everything else, puts principle at the low spot on their scale of priorities. The same thinking guiding their current capitalist "modernization" will guide them right toward the arms of the Soviets. The pressures that will mount on China as world war draws closer makes an about-face in Sino-Soviet relations not just an abstract possibility but a strong likelihood. Their logic: If the Soviets threaten to stomp on your sand-castles, why not strike a bargain?

Mao's Line on War and the Soviet Union

Mao and the revolutionary forces in China were quite concerned with the threat posed by the Soviet Union. By the early '70s, Mao had made the assessment that the Soviet Union was China's main external enemy. This was signalled most dramatically by the fall of Lin Biao and the Nixon visit. But the revolutionaries didn't say "throw away everything in the face of the Soviet danger." While it was necessary to



While the revisionist rulers of China currently bow to the U.S. imperialists, the Soviets are making use of the carrot and the stick, and when push comes to shove Chinese leaders may well be guided by the motto: Better to Switch than Fight! The basis for such a move is illustrated in the picture above. Teng Hsiao-ping, along with Liu Shao-chi (key target of the Cultural Revolution), stand arm in arm with Nikita Khrushchev at the famous Moscow Meeting in 1960. The outlook of these revisionists prevents them from mobilizing China's greatest strength—the masses. In sharp contrast stands the line of Mao Tsetung. Pictured below, a 1969 rally of Shanghai workers militantly denounces Soviet border provocations.



blunt the Soviet offensive by breaking China's diplomatic and political isolation, this could not come at the expense of—or ahead of—support for revolution in these countries. And while blocking and parrying in the international arena and upgrading China's military capabilities were important, China's best defense lay in continuing to mobilize her people through revolutionary struggle.

The principal danger to China came from within—from those who opposed the revolution's forward momentum and who would cave in to a foreign aggressor out of fear of its might and contempt for the Chinese masses. It was in this setting of sharp struggle over how to meet the war danger and in particular the Soviet threat that Mao, in 1975, launched the campaign to criticize the classical novel *Water Margin*.

This work had detailed the exploits of

an imposter who had wormed his way into the ranks of peasant rebels to betray and deliver them over to the emperor whom they had been battling. He, in turn, had received an amnesty. Any softening toward revisionism and social-imperialism (or Western imperialism) and any doubting of the Chinese masses' capabilities would, Mao was arguing by analogy, lead to capitulation. Concessions would not placate the Soviets. In this regard, it is interesting that Hua Kuo-feng, in his capacity as Minister of Public Security, had released some captured Soviet helicopter pilots in 1975 with a virtual apology.

But what of the Soviet threat? In all, more than one-quarter of Soviet ground troops and one-fifth of the Soviet tactical air-force are deployed against China. The revolutionary forces held that the Soviets' more advanced

The 'China Card'?

technological base and their sophisticated weaponry would not determine the outcome of war—the entire history of the Chinese revolution had proven this, as did the U.S. experience in Vietnam.

China could defeat the Soviets in a major war only by fighting a protracted war in which enemy forces would be lured in deep and bogged down in China. China could not—and did not have to—base her war strategy on beating the Soviets at the border, tank for tank.

But for those opposed to Mao—and who now hold power—any war with the Soviet Union in the near future would, in their estimation, be a total disaster. *It must be avoided at all costs.* How to avoid such a confrontation and, in the final analysis, whether and how to join up with the Soviets (since you can't lick them) has been the focal point of the debate in which the Chinese revisionist clique has been embroiled.

Chinese Revisionism, No Match for Soviet Social Imperialism

Since Mao's death, the new Chinese leadership has gone to great lengths to paint a picture of a China that is militarily weak and vulnerable. In reference to the Soviet threat, Teng put it bluntly: "We are an insignificant, poor country, but if we unite well, it will then carry weight." Indeed, this is an expression of the national inferiority complex which, right along with puffed up great power chauvinism, lends a distinctive character to Teng and his gang. They are sell-outs who seek greatness and power—under the umbrella and sponsorship of one or another superpower.

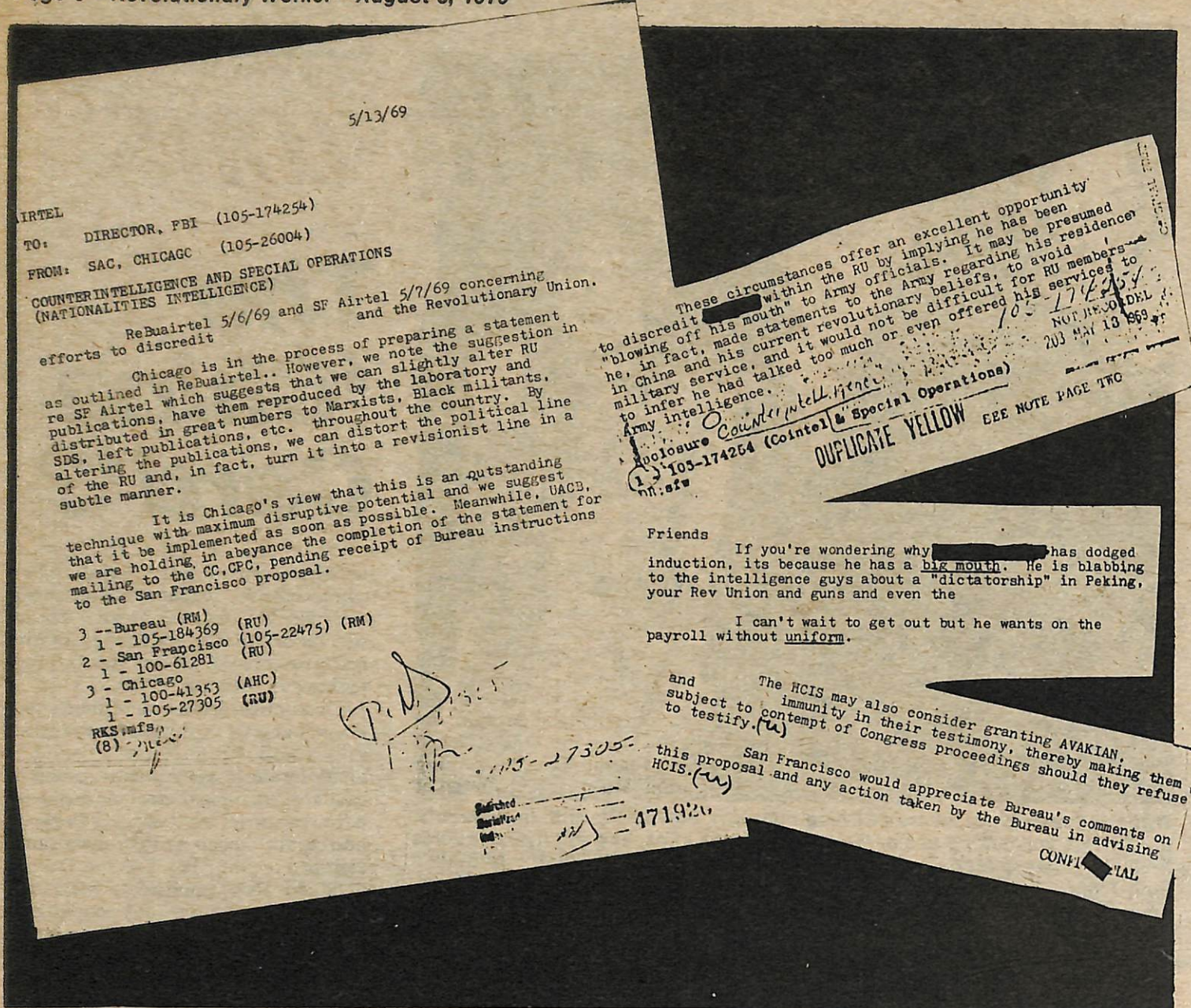
The outlook of the ruling revisionists is that of a double loser. On the one hand they think that peoples' war is hopelessly outdated given the Soviets' obvious superiority in armor, aircraft, and tactical nuclear weapons (there are indications that the PLA is being retrained with its new officer corps for combined large-scale operations).

On the other hand they know it will take years before the PLA would be able to beat back a Soviet thrust with conventional tactics. Neither the stepped up foreign arms purchases nor the bolstering of China's defense industry can, in any short space of time, bridge the gap between Soviet and Chinese military power.

Actually, any illusions or hopes for quick fixes for the defense and related industries or for a development program, like that of the Soviet Union, which accords the military sector highest priority, were recently dashed. China's rulers abandoned, for the time being at least, the stress on heavy industry that marked the modernization plan set forth in early 1978—and which has already wreaked havoc with the economy.

For the present there is agreement within the Chinese leadership that the relationship with the West is a useful counterweight to the Soviets. But they surely stew and quarrel over how reliable the West is as an offset to Soviet pressure and over how to hedge their bets and prepare for the best possible deal from the Soviets. To put it simply, these revisionists are being pushed by their ambitions and their fears to unite with the Soviets, their most immediate enemy, in order to

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FBI PLOTS EXPOSED!

Continued from page 1

outrageous claims of the capitalists, this kind of warped outlook and these kinds of attacks have not stopped but in fact have become more concentrated against the Revolutionary Communist Party. In fact, today, the government refuses to hand over any files on the RCP, admitting that it is "under active investigation."

Are the capitalists today serious and determined about stopping the RCP? One only needs to look at the recent indictment of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, and sixteen other revolutionaries known as the Mao Tsetung Defendants, currently charged with so-called "crimes" that carry a maximum total sentence of over 100 years, to see that the government is very serious indeed.

The FBI's COINTELPRO was aimed at revolutionary organizations, and more broadly, at preventing and stopping all of what it saw as anti-establishment activity. During the late '60s the most concentrated attack by the government was aimed at the Black Panther Party, which was spreading and popularizing the need for armed revolution and the revolutionary thought of Mao Tsetung. But as organizations were formed seriously basing themselves on the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and recognizing the crucial importance of the working class of all nationalities being the leading force in making a revolution in the United States, the bourgeoisie also grew alarmed at the danger posed by such groups. The leading organization of this type at the time was the Revolutionary Union, which in large part was the political and organizational center for the development of the Revolutionary Communist Party in 1975. The capitalists lost no time in sending in infiltrators and making plans to try to stop the RU.

The government sensed the great potential there was at the time for uniting many revolutionaries across the country around a correct revolutionary line. And for all its mocking of the "Party line" it took revolutionary politics very seriously. During 1969, the RU, founded in the San Francisco Bay area, was beginning to have an influence nationally. A document dated May 1969 suggests:

"Chicago is in the process of preparing a statement as outlined in ReBuairtel. However, we note the suggestion in re SF Airtel which suggests that we can slightly alter RU publications, have them reproduced by the laboratory and distributed in great numbers to Marxists, Black militants, SDS, left publications, etc. throughout the country. By altering the publications, we can distort the political line of the RU and, in fact, turn it into a revisionist line in a subtle manner.

It is Chicago's view that this is an outstanding technique with maximum disruptive potential and we suggest that it be implemented as soon as possible. Meanwhile, UACB, we are holding in abeyance the completion of the statement for mailing to the CC, CPC, pending receipt of Bureau instructions to the San Francisco proposal.

3 -- Bureau (RM) (RU)
 1 - 105-184369 (105-22475) (RM)
 2 - San Francisco (RU)
 1 - 100-61281 (RU)
 3 - Chicago (AHC)
 1 - 100-41353 (RU)
 1 - 105-27305 (RU)
 RKS:mfs
 (8)

"It is Chicago's view that this is an outstanding technique with maximum disruptive potential, and we suggest that it be implemented as soon as possible."

These high authorities even planned to distribute an "illustrated history of the Revolutionary Union (RU) in comic book form which would ridicule the RU..." using the same printing ink, paper, format and style of new left type publications such as *Ramparts* or *The Movement* in hopes of creating further divisions within the revolutionary movement, perhaps realizing that Snoopy had far more credibility among the people than did J. Edgar Hoover, though there were many similarities between them.

A specific thrust of the government's attack was aimed at individual members and leaders of the RU, hoping to discredit and create suspicion about them as a means of attacking the organization as a whole and its influence among the people.

In one instance the FBI tried to plant a fake letter saying that a member had been giving the government information about the RU in return for not being drafted. It states:

"These circumstances offer an excellent opportunity to discredit XXX within the RU by implying he has been 'blowing off his mouth' to Army officials..."

"Unless strong reasons to the contrary are known to you, it is requested you immediately prepare the attached unsigned note on appropriate stationery and post it to the public address of the Bay Area RU..."

The faked note reads:

"Friends,

"If you're wondering why XXX has dodged induction, it's because he has a *big mouth*. He is blabbing to the intelligence guys about a 'dictatorship' in Peking, your Rev. Union and even the XXXX. I can't wait to get out but he

These circumstances offer an excellent opportunity to discredit XXX within the RU by implying he has been 'blowing off his mouth' to Army officials. It may be presumed he, in fact, made statements to the Army regarding his residence in China and his current revolutionary beliefs, to avoid military service, and it would not be difficult for RU members to infer he had talked too much or even offered his services to Army intelligence.

Enclosure Counterintelligence & Special Operations
 105-174264
 NOT RECORDED
 203 MAY 13 1969

Friends
 If you're wondering why XXX has dodged induction, it's because he has a *big mouth*. He is blabbing to the intelligence guys about a "dictatorship" in Peking, your Rev Union and guns and even the payroll without uniform.

The HCIS may also consider granting AVAKIAN, and immunity in their testimony, thereby making them subject to contempt of Congress proceedings should they refuse to testify.

San Francisco would appreciate Bureau's comments on this proposal and any action taken by the Bureau in advising HCIS.

47192

wants on the payroll without uniform." And further:

"Suggesting consideration of a technique looking towards the compromise of Revolutionary Union (RU) leader XXX with resulting discredit to the organization and the pro-Chinese Communist movement.

"Although the suggested technique has obvious problems relating to implementation, the bureau believes means to compromise the RU and/or XXX should be considered. Recipients should be prepared to discuss the technique at the forthcoming conference relating to the RU during the week of 1-23-73."

There is one important thing to note about the above document. It is dated 1973—two years after the FBI claims that COINTELPRO was ended. Even here, in the 1970s, when they claimed the Left was dead, they were carrying out their dirty work aimed at destroying it. Still more lies exposed: All their reams of stories about how isolated revolutionaries were from the people; how no one could believe the ridiculous and crazy things they were saying, how nobody outside of these crazy "sects" was listening, weighing, even taking up these ideas—what do these documents show about all this? If all that were true, why the need to go about all this? Why the need to forge and distribute documents? Why the need to feed personal slander and political misinformation to columnists across the country for circulation in their newspapers—to people who would "never listen" anyway? To numb and discourage people's minds and hearts with talk of "being isolated in the political process," while they set bodies of armed men to work on the *real* business of suppression—this is their raggedy game.

The outrages revealed in these documents, the fact that the government is planning to commit more of the same and worse in the future (all under the legal cover of a Kennedy-sponsored "clean up" bill for the FBI), the continued attacks like those coming down today on the Party Chairman and the rest of the Mao Tsetung Defendants—all this is still more proof that we live under nothing but a *dictatorship*—the rule of the class of capitalist exploiters backed up by force of arms. It will never be reformed away, it will never be wished away. What the RU and then the RCP have said all along is shown again to be so: it can only be overthrown by the force of arms by the millions of people of this country. For

spreading this truth, and working to bring it into reality, they have wanted to shut us up and stomp us out.

Scare People Off

Of course, the government tries to get political mileage, even when forced to expose its ugly underside. Its message: "We are all-powerful, we will crush and destroy all opposition." How successful has the government been at destroying the revolutionary movement? Many organizations since the time of these documents have broken up and disintegrated. Some have transformed themselves into apologists for capitalism, preaching reform within the system as the best people can do.

But while the government has done damage to the revolutionary movement, this can't be said to have been decisive. What is decisive in determining whether or not a particular organization weathered these attacks and continued to advance is its basic line. The RU and RCP survived and advanced in the face of these attacks because of a revolutionary line. Others disintegrated and fell apart, or capitulated to imperialism in one way or another, also on the basis of line—reformist, adventurist, or a combination of both. This is important because the attacks on the part of the government are bound to become sharper as the contradictions of this system reveal themselves to the masses on a broader scale, creating new storms of resistance and struggle.

These documents and revelations, far from indicating that this was a thing of the past, point out the seriousness and political nature of the current attack on the Revolutionary Communist Party. In fact, the attack against the RCP today, concentrated in the indictment of its Chairman and the other Mao Defendants, represents the sharpest attack on a revolutionary organization since the one on the Black Panthers ten years ago.

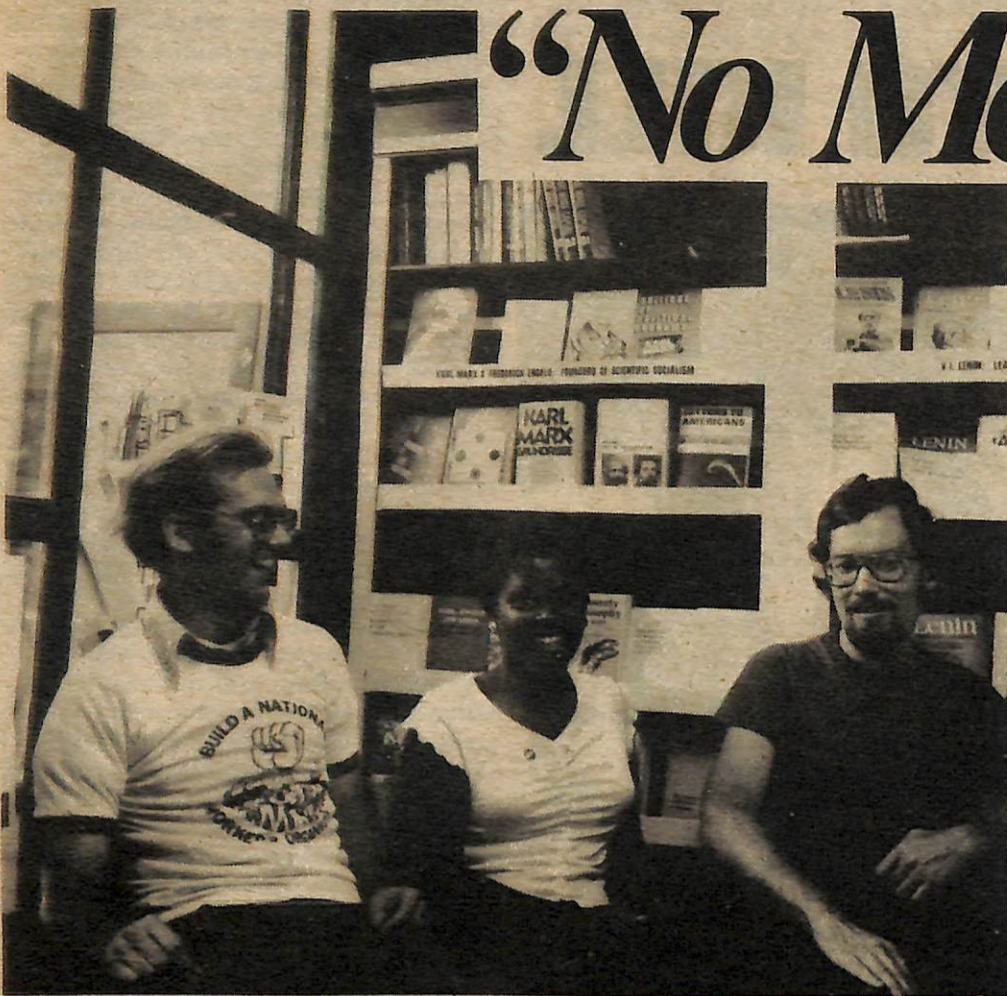
Some of the plans for attacking the RCP almost surfaced earlier this year during the trial of L. Patrick Gray, former head of the FBI. Gray was charged with ordering FBI agents to burglarize private homes and offices in 1972 and 1973 (surprise, surprise!). But the trial had to be postponed, because the FBI and its current ongoing operations would be revealed. Sources close to the case, according to a *New York Times* reporter, "warned that current counter-intelligence efforts against the Communist Party in the United States and domestic Maoist groups would also be exposed in the case. These sources said that such techniques as 'surreptitious entries,' the FBI's term for burglaries, are still used in these two matters with the permission of the Attorney General, and that disclosure of the techniques might be diplomatically embarrassing to the United States and a dangerous security breach." (*New York Times*, Feb. 6, 1979)

As far as the government's investigation of the revisionist CPUSA, it is certainly centered around their interest in foreign policy and their rivalry with the social-imperialist Soviet Union, and certainly *not* on the CP's non-existent ability or willingness to lead the working class in making revolution here. But as far as domestic Maoist groups are concerned, today, the attack is squarely aimed at the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Today, the stakes are higher for the capitalists. Their attempts at destruction will become more and more open. Their continued attacks, far from intimidating people, will only propel more people into struggle against each outrage, lie, scheme and deception. For with all their "intelligence," these political Dick Tracys always leave the masses of people out of consideration. This was true in Iran and it is just as true here. They can't really believe that the masses of people will consciously rise up in revolution. They can't understand how so many who lined the streets in Washington, D.C. the day of the demonstration against Teng Hsiao-ping could stand there cheering, grabbing and waving Red Books, with so much joy at seeing the banner of revolution brought to D.C. for the first time in years. And even after they've been overthrown, they still won't understand it.

Interview With Mao Tsetung Defendants

"No More Illusions"



Larry Snyder, Marilyn Wilson and Jay Moore, photographed at May Day Books in Detroit.

Last week in Detroit, the Revolutionary Worker sat down for an interview with three of the Mao Tsetung Defendants: Jay Moore, Marilyn Wilson and Larry Snyder.

These three defendants, along with 14 others including Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, were indicted in June on multiple felony counts of "rioting" and "assaulting police officers." This came 6 months after a demonstration—attacked by club-swinging Washington D.C. police—which had confronted the visit of Chinese Vice Premier Teng Hsiao-ping to the U.S., exposing the sell-out of China to imperialism and the enlistment of China in the U.S. war bloc for World War 3.

Revolutionary Worker (hereafter abbreviated RW): How do you feel about being singled out? How does it affect your feelings about the system and its justice?

Jay: I think I still had some illusions in the back of my mind. I thought, "How could they put us on trial—after all, it was the police who rioted, who attacked people." I had an intellectual understanding of justice and so-called democracy under this system. What they did to Malcolm X, Fred Hampton, and what they tried to do to the Moody Park 3. This definitely taught me that those illusions are just that—illusions. The pigs get up there on the stand and lie. This is the nature of their system, justice for the rich or for fake revolutionaries like Patty Hearst that can get daddy to buy them a pardon. But for the masses of people, and especially those who are serious about making revolution, the only real justice we're going to get is later, like the Iranian people got against the Shah and his agents like Savak after the revolution.

RW: You talked earlier about pride in being a Mao Tsetung Defendant. In what sense did you mean that?

Marilyn: It's like that quote from Mao: When you're singled out by the enemy it shows a clear line of demarcation between you and the enemy. You know you must be doing your work right. It's clear we're a threat to them. They're afraid of us revolutionaries, but the main thing they're afraid of is the masses of people rising up and seeing that there is a leadership to lead them. That's the honor—all those groups out there calling themselves revolutionaries but they're really just talking about reforms, and the bourgeoisie protects them. But it's clear that what we're doing is going straight up against them and exposing them in the face of all

their bullshit.

RW: How did you get to the point where you went to this demonstration in the first place? How'd you get involved, become a revolutionary?

Jay: Revolutionary China under the leadership of Mao meant a lot to me. I got involved in the anti-war movement and began to hate this system that would send an imperialist army over to a country like Vietnam, murder its people and leave it full of bomb craters under the guise of democracy, destroying it to "save" it. At first I was just against the war, but then I wanted to learn more about who the "enemy," the NLF, was. From there I began to study Marxism, which led me to study China. This was in the later stages of the Cultural Revolution which was a shining beacon of revolution to people everywhere including in the U.S. After Mao's death, when Teng Hsiao-ping and his cohorts took over, it was a real shock to me. I think I actually cried when I heard about how they arrested Chiang Ching and the others. China had meant so much to me I didn't want to face the fact that these new leaders were revisionists. As time went on though, and the Party deepened its understanding, comparing the line coming out of China with the revolutionary line before Mao's death, it became clear that there'd been a counter-revolutionary coup in China. This disgusted me. I was thinking about all that on the way down to Washington, how they were bringing back all the old reactionaries, imprisoning revolutionaries, doing away with the revolutionary committees where the workers have actually participated in the management of the factory. I wanted to go down there and spit in Teng Hsiao-ping's face.

Marilyn: For some time, since years ago being a youth in high school, I always felt that this system was messed up but I didn't know why. I used to say it was a jungle out there; discrimination, people going without, you couldn't find a job. I remember in '76 when Gary Gilmore got executed. In school we used to study a lot of things, but it was clear that the poor and working people got the capital punishment and always got the worst of everything, while the rich had everything they needed. That always puzzled me, as to why was that. What kind of society was this? Why did it always have to be like that?

That kind of thing led me into different phases of searching for a way out. I went from nationalism to religion and then some revolutionaries came around. They were supporting African liberation. They came to my college and

started rapping about imperialism, and at that time I didn't know what imperialism was. They were talking about how it was the system that we lived under, and I started getting more of an understanding about this system.

Before the demonstration, I went to New York for the Mao Memorial meeting. When I heard about China, a country where they have made revolution, where there was more equality for the people, and there was no discrimination—I mean it really hit me. I mean as a student it kind of really hit me when they said a lot of those peasants were going to school to be doctors. They didn't have to have an elite, didn't have to pay all this money like you would here in the U.S. And then hearing how all this was being reversed and taken back into the same kind of hellhole we were living in, it kind of really hit me hard. They were talking about bringing Coca Cola back and everything. When it came time for the Teng Hsiao-ping demonstration, after learning all that at the Mao Memorial, I really wanted to go and give Teng the fitting welcome he deserved. What with him and Hua Kuo-feng taking the Chinese people on that road back into enslavement, that was how I felt going to the demonstration.

Larry: I got active in the '60s when the anti-war movement was raging and the Black liberation struggle was raging. In particular the Black Panthers were active in the San Francisco Bay Area where I was going to school. Their bold stand won my respect, and that plus the anti-war movement propelled me into political life. I hooked up with the RU (the Revolutionary Union, the organization which played a key role in the formation of the RCP—RW), because they seemed to have an understanding of how to go forward, to go to the working class, the only class uncompromisingly opposed to the system.

Jay: He was under investigation by the House Internal Security Committee and also has the world's record for being fired.

Larry: Yeah. With the help of the FBI I got fired from about every auto plant in the Bay Area. And I got fired from Chrysler twice, once in '76 for participating in a walk-out of thousands of Chrysler workers against the sell-out contract. The second time was for distributing "unauthorized" literature in support of the revolution in Iran and demanding re-instatement of another worker fired for doing the same.

RW: What's your response been to these attacks?

Marilyn: That whole stint in jail really steeled me. Those five days in jail and that whole incident out on the streets with the cops beating people and everything. I really saw how serious this stuff was. And when I got in jail and they held people in there and we were chanting when they wouldn't give people their medicine. The cops were drooling at the women. They tried to keep us from talking to the prisoners. That whole experience kind of hit me.

I said to myself, "I want to be revolutionary the rest of my life." It just hit me kind of sharp, this was what I wanted to do with my life. No more illusions. Even at that time the kind of illusions I had when I was still a student and I wanted to go to school to be a doctor. But when I got in there it hit me that the kind of professional I should be striving to be wasn't to go to school for 20 years to be a doctor but to be a professional revolutionary, to go out and expose the system to the masses of people so we could make revolution and put an end to it. Then, for one thing, we might really be able to deal with medical care.

RW: What's gone on since the

demonstration? What have you thought about, what kind of work have you been doing among the people?

Marilyn: We're trying to make the defendants and the Chairman a household word. Like I was talking to a woman at the Afro-American Festival, and she said she remembered that she didn't know who Huey Newton was when he was about to go on trial, and she felt that this was kind of similar. She didn't know that there was an RCP out there. She started checking out the articles in the *Revolutionary Worker* and she said she was going to tell all her friends and help make it a household word. We've got to make it a broad question to people all over the country and throw it back in their faces. I think the basis is out there. Like I said, there's a lot of people questioning the system, hungry for revolutionary ideas.

Jay: We want to make this trial into a heavy rock, a piece of granite they end up dropping on their own feet. The way to do that is to build it into a mass campaign to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants and Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian, so millions of people are aware of it, like with the Joanne Little case or the Chicago 8 trial. This way they won't be able to keep a lid on it, to treat it like a "criminal case" and not a political case.

RW: What do you think of the railroad of Bob Avakian, why are they zeroing in on him? Wouldn't it be a serious blow if they got away with this?

Jay: It wouldn't stop the revolution but it would be a serious blow. The Party has this theory, Marxism-Leninism, and it's a very powerful weapon. In that sense it's going to be a lot harder for the bourgeoisie to knock us down or buy off our leaders; if some leaders are put into prison, other people will lead. It would be a very serious blow if the Chairman was put in jail, but still we communists don't believe in one hero, a lot of Indians and one chief. We believe in political line and that it can strengthen all of us. It was obvious that they singled out Bob Avakian from the treatment he got in jail. They had him in a special car, he had special agents assigned to him. What did they think, someone was going to ambush them? Most people got out on their own recognizance or had some friends say they'd be responsible for them. But he had to come up with the full bail, and then they put restrictions on his travel while Teng Hsiao-ping was still in the U.S.

Marilyn: The bourgeoisie can see in Bob Avakian him being a leader, and him speaking the concentrated line of the RCP. When he speaks it's like a sharp knife. He stands up there and gives an uncompromising stand for revolution. I know the bourgeoisie can see that—no remnants of reform, but live and die for revolution. They think they'll get the leaders and they destroy the movement. But they fail to see that with Marxism-Leninism some may fall but many more will come forward. I'm looking forward to the bright side, of us turning all this stuff around and making this a hell of a fight to keep them from getting him or other revolutionaries.

RW: What do you think about going to jail?

Jay: I think about a story I heard from Iran. After the revolution, there was an old guy who'd been in jail 30 or 40 years. The Shah's father had put him in jail. He'd even been in jail under Mossadegh, the leader of a so-called democratic regime, because he was a communist. When they let him out he was real pale, he hadn't seen the sunlight in 30 years, but he raised his

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U.S. OKs COPS' "CIVIL RIGHTS" TO KILL

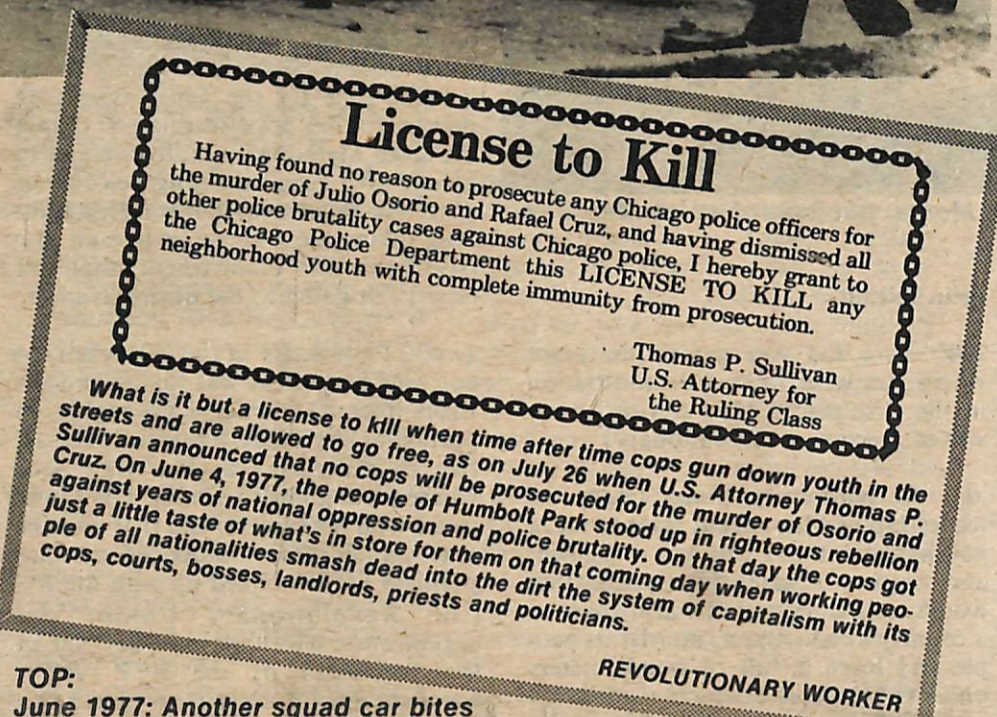


Chicago, Ill. On Wednesday, July 25, U.S. Attorney Thomas Sullivan announced that there would be no indictments against Chicago cops for the murder of two Puerto Ricans, Rafael Cruz and Julio Osorio in June of 1977. These murders in Humboldt Park ignited a two-day rebellion of Puerto Ricans that targeted the cops and the financial vultures that prey on the community.

Sullivan's so-called two-year investigation of this incident was intended to douse the anger of the people and cover the actual facts of the killings. The cops knew only too well, in fact their own ballistics tests had shown, that both Cruz and Osorio were killed by police bullets. Through the media, authorities still continue to assert that Osorio shot Cruz, thus forcing the cops to shoot Osorio. Guns were never found on either man. One was shot in the back, the other while strolling with his mother and wife. The authorities hoped that time could wipe out all memories of the murders and the rebellion.

But for two years the Cruz family and Jenny Osorio, Osorio's sister, did not forgive or forget who murdered Rafael and Julio. For two years the family has attempted to avenge the murderers of their brothers by seeking legal indictments against the cops.

On Wednesday the government gave



TOP: June 1977: Another squad car bites the dust as a lifetime of oppression erupts into rebellion in Chicago's Humboldt Park Puerto Rican neighborhood. The rebellion was touched off when swaggering pigs gunned down two men during a Puerto Rican Day celebration. **ABOVE:** Sticker issued by Revolutionary Worker after last week's ruling.

its reply—the men's civil rights were not violated by being murdered. This case wouldn't even make it into the courts. (U.S. Attorney Sullivan, incidentally, is the man who defended the Chicago cops that murdered Black Panther leader Fred Hampton.)

The family's stand remained reso-

lute; they will continue to seek justice for Cruz and Osorio. In a statement to the press the family defiantly called out Sullivan's decision, saying it "condones police terrorism in the Puerto Rican community."

For these two years of taking a stand and insisting the murdering cops be

brought to justice, even through the authorities' own legal system of "redressing of grievances," the Cruz family has faced unending harassment. Starting just days after the murders and ensuing rebellion, Clary Cruz, one of Rafael's brothers, was framed on a bum arson rap and was sent to jail.

The night the ruling was announced, harassment stepped up again. A cop car slowed up in front of the Cruz apartment, the cops eyeing the Cruz brothers who were standing on the street. After the cops hurled a number of taunts about the Cruz's losing the case and the cops winning, an empty aluminum beer can was tossed. As one cop lunged out of the car with gun drawn, his head hit the car door frame and he bounced back in. This was the alleged blow Michael or Robert Cruz dealt the pig, later described in the police report. The cops grabbed Michael and Robert. Within a minute and a half squad cars were everywhere. When two other younger brothers told the cops to stop, they were kicked and pushed around. A sister was beaten with a billy club.

Mrs. Cruz, the youths' mother, heard cries of "policia" from her window and looked down. She raced downstairs with visions of yet another son to die by police bullets. Mrs. Cruz collapsed and was admitted into the hospital with a heart attack. The Cruz brothers were arrested for "felony aggravated battery" and dragged off to jail.

While in custody the police did everything they could to divide the brothers and break their spirit. Robert Cruz heard one cop tell another, "I feel like stepping on his head." The cops attempted to wring a "confession" out of Michael by telling him that his 15-year-old brother was being blamed for the whole thing. According to Robert, "They told me Mami was in the hospital because of what I did and I should tell the truth because she might die. But they put her in the hospital, and if she dies..."

The police lie of the arrest, which was mimicked in Chicago's newspapers and media, went like this: police officers were lured into an ambush and attacked by a gang of rockthrowing, bottle-throwing youth, sending one officer to the hospital.

The incidents of the few short days following the Sullivan decision only multiplies the outrage of the U.S. Attorney's opinion that no "civil rights" were violated when Cruz and Osorio were gunned down. The "civil rights" of a pack of mad dog, gun-slinging pigs, however, have been upheld as the U.S. Attorney adds his name to the list of co-signers on the Chicago Police Department's license to kill.

Life Plus 50 Years - The Evidence? He's Black

Trenton, New Jersey. On October 19, 1974, Nate Walker looked at his watch. It was 11:30 p.m. Walker's shift at the Phelps Dodge plant was over so he punched out and got a ride to his front door from a friend who worked with him, just as he did every night. Nate arrived home about 12:15 a.m., ate dinner with his wife, watched some TV and went to sleep. For Nate Walker and his family, October 19 was just another day.

On that same day, Joanne Nagen, a young white woman had reported to the police that she had been raped by a Black man. According to Nagen, the man had jumped into her car shortly after midnight in Elizabeth, New Jersey. He forced her to drive to Newark, where he raped her. Four hours later, the man made Joanne Nagen drive him back to Elizabeth, where he jumped out of the car and disappeared. Nagen flagged down a cop and reported the rape. In her report she gave a full description of the rapist. According to Nagen, "he had a gigantic nose, it almost covered his whole face. He was circumcised and had only one testicle. He did not wear glasses."

Four months later, Nate Walker, a

37-year old Black man was picked up by the cops for a minor traffic violation. Since Nate was Black, he was automatically a suspect in any number of other unsolved crimes as far as the cops were concerned. They threw him into a lineup, and several women who had been raped in the preceding months were brought in to identify him. One woman couldn't pick him out. Another, a sixteen year old girl, identified Nate as the rapist, and Joanne Nagen said that, yes, he was definitely the man that raped her. Nate was arrested and charged.

In early 1976, Nate Walker stood trial. In the months before the trial, many new facts had come to light. The sixteen year old girl who had identified Nate admitted to a psychiatrist that she had lied, that the police had pressured her, forced her to identify him as the rapist. When Nagen's detailed description of the rapist was released, it was clear that Nate came nowhere near fitting the description. Where Nagen's rapist had a large nose, was circumcised, had only one testicle and wore no glasses, Nate was not circumcised, had a small nose, had two testicles and was

legally blind without his glasses. These facts, as well as the witnesses to Nate's doings on October 19, convinced Nate and his lawyer that the case would be a cinch. No one would be able to convict him based on the evidence. They were so confident that they didn't even have Nate's wife testify. But Nate and his lawyer overlooked the most damning piece of evidence—Nate was Black, and in the capitalist courts that was as good as guilty.

The trial began. It was a thinly disguised lynching extremely reminiscent of the famous Scottsboro Boys frameup of the 1930s. The rapist was Black, Nate was Black, and that was proof enough. Every aspect of the trial was a clear railroad. The "jury of his peers" meant that the jury was composed of ten whites and two Blacks. The whole trial lasted little more than a day. Immediately before charging the jury, Union County Superior Court Judge, Jacob L. Triarsi, reviewed the charges. He restated that the rapist had asked Nagen "Did you ever have sex with a Black man before?" And he ordered Nagen to repeat in graphic detail all of the various sex acts committed.

Triarsi's actions were clearly aimed at whipping up hysteria among the jury members in order to insure a guilty verdict. Three days later, Triarsi's efforts paid off as the jury found Nate guilty on all counts. Nate was sentenced to life plus 50 years in prison. He was to join the countless others who have filled the rich man's dungeons because of the color of his skin. Nate served almost two years in Rahway State Prison until his conviction was reversed on a technicality by the New Jersey Court of Appeals. After his release, he immediately set about rebuilding his life. Almost two years later, the New Jersey Supreme Court upheld Nate's conviction and ordered him to surrender and return to prison on June 13, 1979, at 4 p.m. June 13 came and went. Nate refused to surrender—he became a fugitive and disappeared.

When Judge Triarsi sentenced Nate, he prefaced it with a blustering statement about "protecting womanhood", and he stated that "Justice will be swift and justice will be certain in removing the offender from society." He ended with "The sentence I am about to impose is intended so that you and your ilk will receive this message." Nate Walker, his family and friends received the message loud and clear. The rulers' courts and their justice exist not to determine innocence or guilt, but to terrorize and enforce the oppression of the people, especially the oppression of Blacks and other minority nationalities, which is necessary for the survival of this system.

Malcolm X and the Muslims

On the blackboard in Temple Number One of the Nation of Islam was painted the United States flag, and under it the words "Slavery, Suffering and Death." This was in 1952. Today in the Muslim mosques the American flag is flying, but the words beneath it have been removed. Wallace Deen Muhammed boasts, "This flag is here to stay." On the Fourth of July in Chicago the World Community of Al-Islam (formerly Black Muslims) took that flag to the streets in a disgusting red-white-and-blue spectacle, the New World Patriotism Day parade. Acting as Grand Marshall was Muhammed Ali, who once went to jail and put his heavyweight title on the line for refusing to fight for U.S. imperialism in Vietnam.

What's behind this seeming about-face in the Muslims? How could an organization that once played a progressive role in the struggle against national oppression sink to such sickening betrayal?

The development of the Nation of Islam has to be viewed dialectically and in its historical context. There was nothing inherently progressive in the teachings of Elijah Muhammed. The Nation of Islam, founded in 1931, was essentially a religious movement with a distinct national character, modeled after the earlier Islam movement of Noble Drew Ali and heavily influenced by the Black nationalist movement of Marcus Garvey.

On the Crest of the Wave

Elijah Muhammed viewed himself as the divine messenger of Allah, a kind of modern-day Moses, sent to lead Black people out of the wilderness of North America by winning them to Islam, the "true" religion of the Black man. He "explained" the plight of Black people by creating a mystical fairy tale about a mad scientist named Jakub who created a race of "white devils" which brainwashed and tormented the Black race. The "solution" he held out was a refurbished version of Armageddon, where Allah would destroy the white race and save the Black man from this suffering and misery. While waiting for Allah, Elijah said Blacks should leave the white man alone and start self-help programs and businesses. Heavily influenced by Garvey, he also held out the possibility of a separate state for Black people, either in the South or in Africa.

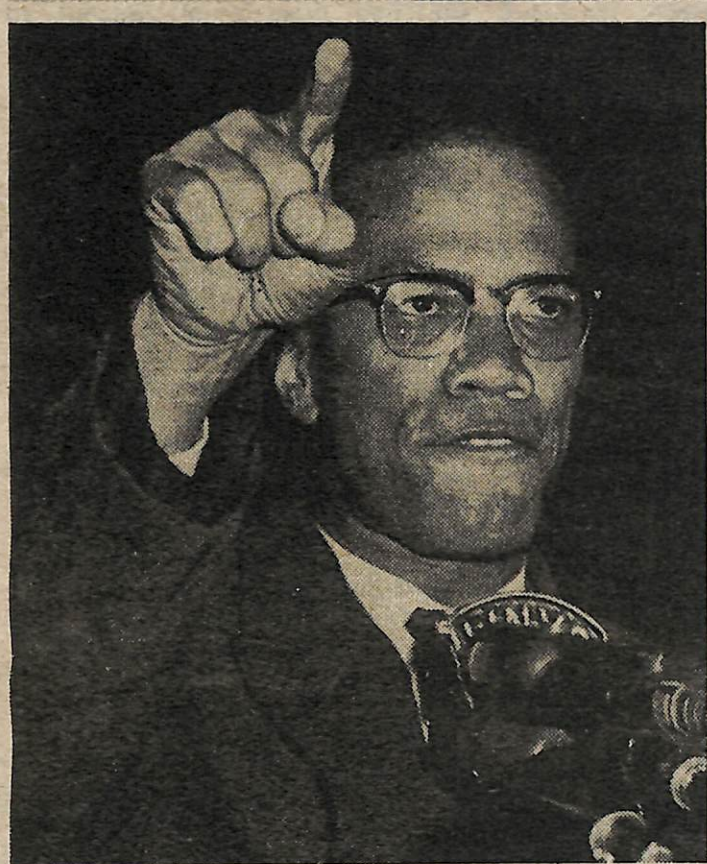
For 20 years Elijah Muhammed preached his "message to the Black man," but the Muslims remained a relatively insignificant sect with only a few thousand members and a handful of mosques and schools. But throughout the 1950s the Nation of Islam grew steadily, expanding its influence and impact in the urban centers of the North. In 1959 a TV program, "The Hate that Hate Produced," catapulted the Muslims to nationwide attention. In the space of one year the membership grew from 30,000 to an estimated 60-100,000, with over 100 mosques in 50 cities. Proud and militant, the Nation of Islam rode the crest of a wave of awakening national consciousness propelling the Black masses forward to more conscious and militant struggle against national oppression.

The resurgence of Black nationalism in the 1950s reflected the sharpening national contradictions in the U.S. and internationally. It was a time when millions of Black sharecroppers were again forcibly uprooted from the land and driven to the northern industrial centers, only to be shut out of the mainstream of "white America." It was a time of earthshaking turmoil in the world, as liberation struggles rocked Asia and Africa and new nations burst out of the bonds of colonialism.

It was in this context that the teachings of Elijah Muhammed struck a responsive chord with the most oppressed strata of the urban Blacks. Among them was a Black prisoner, Malcolm Little, who joined the Nation of Islam



Above: Float in the "New World Patriotism Day" sponsored by the World Community of Al-Islam. Sign on side of float reads "America—One Nation Under God."



"I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag-saluter, or a flag-waver—no, not I. I'm speaking as a victim of this American system."

—Malcolm X

in 1952 and became Malcolm X, leading spokesman, propelling the Black Muslims forward through the decade that followed.

Malcolm X

Malcolm was in many ways typical of those who came forward to join the Muslims in the 1950s. Raised on welfare, early into reform school, Malcolm got into street life, dope and hustling. He was serving a 6-year sentence for armed robbery when his brother came to him with the teachings of Elijah Muhammed.

When Malcolm heard "the white man is the devil," it was, in his words, "the perfect echo of the Black convict's lifelong experience":

"Here is a black man caged behind bars, probably for years, put there by the white man. Usually the convict comes from among those bottom-of-the-pile Negroes, the Negroes who through their entire lives have been kicked about, treated like children—Negroes who never have met one white man who didn't either take something from them or do something to them... You let this caged-up Black man start thinking how, with better breaks when he was young and ambitious he might have been a lawyer, a doctor, a scientist, anything. You let this caged-up Black man start realizing, as I did, how from the first landing of the first slave ship, the millions of Black men in America have been like sheep in a den of wolves. That's why Black prisoners become Muslims so fast when Elijah Muhammed's teachings filter into their cages..."

This was undoubtedly the single most important contribution that the Nation of Islam made: it broke through shackles of mental enslavement and built a sense of Black identity and pride. In Malcolm, like others who came forward to join the Nation of Islam, it fired his smoldering hatred of

oppression and sparked an intense desire to help Black people out of their subjugated state.

On streetcorners, in back alleys and meeting halls, Malcolm and other young Muslims zealously set out to undo the "brainwashing" of the Black man. The Muslims forcefully denounced the idea that there was anything "natural" about the subjugation of Black people. They showed how Christianity had been used to deceive the Black man to turn the other cheek and take whatever was dished out to him. They exposed how the history books had been "whitened" to erase the heritage and contributions of Black people. They educated people about the

powerful civilizations their ancestors had built in Africa before the colonialists packed them into the slave ships.

The Muslims went fishing for recruits in the ocean of seething Black discontent in the northern ghettos. It was the urban poor, the migrants from the South, those most thoroughly disillusioned by the system that responded to the Muslims' militant and uncompromising stand against the oppression of Black people. Harlem, where Malcolm was minister of Mosque Number 7, became the real center of the Nation of Islam, though Elijah Muhammed and the headquarters were in Chicago.

Continued on page 16

After the June 29 article, "New World Patriotism," appeared in this newspaper, we received quite a number of letters and telephone calls about it and the Muslims. This week's article, though not written in response to any one of these letters, does go deeper into some questions of the history of the Nation (now "World Community") of Islam.

Editor, Revolutionary Worker

Letter to the Editor

Comrades In Struggle:

I have a comment to make concerning one of your articles in the June 29th edition, entitled: "New World Patriotism". Let me first establish the fact that I'm not a socialist, but an Afrikan Nationalist and Muslim (Ahmadijya), that enjoys your paper. The article was very true plus some and I appreciated this being brought up front. I'm tired of people, organizations, flying flags, of false colors. And I'm tired of people using Islam as a method of financial gain.

But let me also say this, one part of your article was very narrow minded. And that was the statement: "The Muslims won an undeserved reputation for being militant during the '60s through their association with Comrade, Brother Malik Al-Shabazz (Malcolm X)." Most Muslims were on the forefront in the '60s, and fighting for the Black Liberation Struggle they were. Malcolm was a major part in that. Real Muslims, my comrades, are innovators and will always fight for Human Rights as Malcolm and others showed us the way. All Muslims don't fall in order with the World Community of Al Islam. Please realize this.

Wa-Salaam
In Struggle
M.M.

P.S. Enclosed is the card concerning receiving the subscription.

Hostages in a Nuclear War Game

Continued from page 1

cynical S.O.B.'s are concerned about, not how many people will be reduced to ash. To this way of thinking, "the ability to crisis-relocate can give a U.S. president an important option for standing his ground in a crisis, and not giving in to Soviet demands." This is what the imperialists mean by "crisis stability!"

It is quickly apparent that the real question this "civil defense" report is attempting to answer is whether the relocation of civilians can be used as an offensive weapon against the Soviets. Under the proper circumstances, we are told, crisis relocation could be used to "strengthen U.S. credibility of threats and improve U.S. bargaining position." As one interview respondent put it bluntly: "U.S. leaders cannot be expected to play the rational game of counting the costs in potential damage and would indeed raise the risks of nuclear war in hopes of guiding the crisis to a favorable outcome. This means provocative evacuation could be used by the U.S., if available."

"Provocative Evacuation"

Such a possible scenario was provided by another respondent: "Suppose the USSR invaded Western Europe, and that U.S. conventional and tactical nuclear forces cannot stop them. At that point we should be prepared to use a strategic Limited Nuclear Option (LNO), by evacuating our cities. Hopefully the Soviets would be deterred by this action; but if they are not, the relocation would have made us ready to execute the LNO."

Execute the LNO! How casually

these "peaceloving" monsters who "hope the Soviets would be deterred" are able to describe the unspeakable horror of several dozen Hiroshimas. Yet this is precisely what the imperialists are talking about—maneuvering entire populations, not for the purpose of saving lives, but to be in the best position to launch a nuclear exchange or, short of that, force the Soviets to back down in a big confrontation. It is not much different from the concept of the MX mobile missile, only with whole populations being used as weapons, switched around on a giant gameboard in a game of RISK with the Soviets!

According to the twisted logic of these ghoulish Strangeloves, the only meaning of "saving lives" is being able to sustain "acceptable losses," as they coldly finger their pocket calculators adding up the benefits of CR. To their distorted brains, "crisis relocation" is a way to "prevent a severe asymmetry in population vulnerability and reduce the chance that the U.S. would have to yield to Soviet demands."

Severe asymmetry, indeed! Behind this cold, inhuman, technical jargon are the lives of millions slated by these bastards for incineration. And heaven forbid that the Soviets might sneak into a position where they can incinerate larger numbers of us than we can of them. Why, this could "hurt us in crisis bargaining." We might become the victims of a "relocation gap"!

Who's Holding Us Hostage?

That millions would be used as unwilling pawns in this bizarre concept of shifting whole cities like chesspieces was revealed by one expert who blatant-

ly admitted in the report: "It is analogous to a 'game' in which each side holds some members of the other side as hostages, and threatens to kill the hostages if the other side performs some undesired act..." Or as another expert put it: "Not that the mutual-hostage relationship is desirable, but it's a fact of life which we must deal with."

Their "hostage holding" comparison is right to the point. Only *our* kidnapers are closer to home than the Soviet Union. The whole point that comes through again and again in this report is that the U.S. rulers want to literally hold the *American* people hostage, shuffling them from hideout to hideout, using them as bargaining chips in their nuclear poker game with the Soviets—with the stakes being world domination. It is nothing more than kidnapping on a grand scale. Kidnapping with intent to commit mass murder! Nothing could illustrate more graphically that these greatest criminals, the U.S. and Soviet rulers, are holding the entire world for ransom in their set-up of nuclear blackmail!

However, the report's authors are a bit crestfallen by the time they arrive at their conclusions. It seems there are difficulties with the concept of "crisis relocation" as an offensive weapon, not because of any concern for human suffering, but because of its serious strategic shortcomings. Unilateral evacuation, for example, could up the nuclear ante by "creating an urgency to act" and "signaling to an opponent that war is certain, thereby inviting a pre-emptive strike."

"Another related problem," accord-

ing to the report, "is that the Soviet response to unilateral U.S. relocation could be to de-escalate the crisis and try, through rhetoric, to make it appear that the President had over-reacted." With the American people seriously inconvenienced and the economy at a standstill, this could make the President look like a damn fool—caught with his "relocation" down—and "cause many other domestic and international problems."

But the real problem for the U.S. imperialists with CR is only vaguely alluded to in the report, and understandably so. It can be gleaned from the scattered comments of many of the authorities interviewed:

"I have serious doubts as to whether the people would cooperate. If they did, disturbance of society would still be great...it would probably result in social chaos."

"My concern is over the disruption to U.S. society and possible adverse impact on our government's decision-making processes which crisis relocation would cause."

"Crisis relocation would cause a tremendous, serious domestic upheaval."

What these distinguished bourgeois gentlemen are hinting at is that their precious "crisis relocation" plan has one absolutely fatal flaw. While it is designed to reinforce and protect their system of exploitation, putting it into effect could bring about the exact opposite of the desired result. With millions forced to endure increased misery and suffering that would surely accompany such massive relocations, many would undoubtedly see this as the last straw and decide the time was ripe to do something about the rule of these callous and manipulating exploiters.

In this situation, the masses, led by the working class and its vanguard Party, will have their own idea of "crisis relocation"—taking advantage of the imperialists' crisis to make revolution and relocate them permanently in history's graveyard, relegating their nukes and their insane CR plans to the Museum of Weird Historical Oddities. ■

Shortly after 6 a.m. on the morning of August 6, 1945, Japanese coastal radar operators, picked up three American planes heading for Hiroshima. The air raid sirens went off; but they sounded every morning, as American weather reconnaissance craft had been scouting the Hiroshima area for weeks.

At 8 o'clock, as the three planes drew near to the city, the all clear sounded: there was obviously no danger. When the expected bombing raids on Hiroshima did occur, they would involve wave upon wave of B-29's. This was just another reconnaissance mission.

The summer heat was oppressive. Thousands were already outside, many stripped to the waist. Many eyes peered into the sun, watching as the American "reconnaissance" planes droned over the center of Hiroshima, a city of 225,000 residents that had so far been relatively unscathed by the war.

100,000 died and another 100,00 were injured in Hiroshima that day. The U.S. "recon" ship dropped a 20-kiloton atomic bomb on Hiroshima and drifted into the horizon, leaving behind a scene of criminal mass slaughter unmatched in history. The dawn of U.S. imperialist world domination, streaked with blood and stinking of death, was ushered in that morning.

Why did the United States drop the atomic bombs on Hiroshima (and two days later, on Nagasaki)? Was it really to "save American and British lives" and to (in the words of Winston Churchill) "avert a vast, indefinite butchery...to give peace to the world, to lay healing hands on its tortured people by a manifestation of overwhelming power at the cost of a few explosions..."? In fact, this lie has long been exposed as an empty pretext. Japanese imperialism was already on the brink of surrender, and had communicated this fact explicitly to the allies as early as July 13.

No, the "saving of lives" had nothing to do with the incineration of hundreds of thousands of civilians at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The use of



atomic weapons was solely designed to militarily and politically insure that U.S. imperialism would emerge from the war in the strongest possible position, especially in relationship to the then-socialist Soviet Union, and that they could use their nuclear monopoly as a big stick to bully and intimidate the peoples of the world into cowering in submission before the glory of the "American Century."

Shortly after word reached U.S. President Harry Truman of the successful testing of the atomic bomb in mid-July, he conferred with Churchill. They discussed their fear of the imminent Soviet invasion of Japan, scheduled to commence on August 8, and the need to make sure Japan surrendered to the U.S., not the USSR. They plotted to break the alliance they had made with the Soviet Union during World War 2. Churchill's account of the meeting stresses that "We should not need the

Russians. The end of the Japanese war no longer is dependant upon the pouring in of their armies...we had no need to ask favors of them. A few days later I minuted to Mr. Eden: 'It is quite clear that the United States do not at the present time desire Russian participation in the war against Japan.'"

When Truman heard that the bomb had successfully been dropped on Hiroshima, he leapt from his deck chair on the luxury liner taking him back from Potsdam and screamed like a maniac, "This is the greatest thing in history!" He thought that now that the ability of the U.S. imperialists to slaughter a 100,000 people at one stroke had been demonstrated to the world, no one would dare rise up against the American empire.

But shortly after the fall of the atomic bomb, Mao Tsetung was interviewed by the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong. "I think the

American people and the peoples of all countries menaced by U.S. aggression should unite and struggle against the attacks of the U.S. reactionaries and their running dogs in these countries," Mao told Strong. "Only by victory in this struggle can a third world war be avoided; otherwise it is unavoidable."

"But," the correspondent asked, "...suppose the United States uses the atomic bomb...?"

"The atomic bomb is a paper tiger which the U.S. reactionaries use to scare people. It looks terrible, but in fact it isn't. Of course, the atomic bomb is a weapon of mass slaughter, but the outcome of the war is decided by the people, not by one or two new types of weapons."

"All reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful..."

This comment by Mao drove the U.S. imperialists up the wall. Here was someone who would not be cowered by their monstrous genocide. And even worse, millions did go ahead and take up arms against the U.S. People all over the world rose up—Korea, Vietnam, Africa, Latin America... Today Mao's statement remains just as significant, if anything still more so, with world war looming and with the tremendous cache of nuclear weapons in the arsenals of the U.S. and the USSR. The potential destruction from the large scale nuclear war both superpowers are planning for would make Hiroshima seem like a minor event. But as Mao forecast, one force has proved more powerful than the terrible force of nuclear bombs—the revolutionary fury of the masses.

Today Hiroshima is a reminder that the imperialists are not stockpiling weapons for simple "deterrence." They will use them. It makes it all the more urgent to make revolution and rid the world of these cold-blooded mass murderers and the misery their rule has brought to the people of the world. ■

"The Mind of Gil Scott-Heron"

Picture a man of nearly thirty
who seems twice as old with clothes torn and dirty.
Give him a job shining shoes
or cleaning out toilets with bus station crews.
Give him six children with nothing to eat.
Expose them to life on a ghetto street.
Tie an old rag around his wife's head
have her pregnant and lying in bed.
Stuff them all in a Harlem house.
Then tell them how bad things are down South.

This poem, "Paint It Black," is by Gil Scott-Heron, a poet/singer/songwriter/musician who is definitely worth checking out. His latest album, just released, called "The Mind of Gil Scott-Heron" is a collection of older and newer poetry and provides a good picture of his work. It includes a booklet of songs and poems he has written over the last few years.

Scott-Heron's greatest strength is a distinctive ability to artistically concentrate the struggle and life of Black people. At the heart of his poetry and music is a deep sense of the Black masses, and a deep hatred of the oppression continually perpetrated against them. A product of the civil rights movement and especially the Black liberation struggle of the '60's, Gil Scott-Heron has changed and developed his music unlike many others from that period who ended up being eaten up, capitulating to the system, or becoming cynical.

Scott-Heron *exposes* the oppression of Black people in America. He's out to tell people something, to wake them up, to win them to the idea that things are rotten and change is needed. Music and verse is dedicated to the task of ripping and tearing at a system which preaches and promises one thing, but practices another. He goes after the hypocrisy, the lies, the pigs and the pimps.

Gil Scott-Heron largely presents life from the perspective of a revolutionary nationalist. There is a strong sense of solidarity with other oppressed nationalities. But while he skillfully zeros in on many contradictions facing the people, because his view is not a class analysis, there is some ambiguity about the nature and source of the abuse that's heaped on the people. At the same time, he does not target the white masses as the enemy of Blacks. He aims his main fire at the ruling class.

For instance, in a poem written after the Nixon pardon called "We Beg Your Pardon, America," (which appears on the new album), the result of this pardon is described—the rise to the presidency of "Oatmeal Man" (Gerald Ford):

But that's the first result. And the second would be:
The dread of Rockefeller, doubtlessly being promoted
for the job he did at Attica...
Doubtlessly being promoted for the job he did on the streets
of New York City, where the pushers push the drugs that the
government allows in the country to further suppress the masses
who then do time.
They do life or death or life and death
behind bars...
and (while) brother Richard X faces 1,365 years
(did he say one thousand three hundred and
sixty-five years) for participating at Attica
Rockefeller faces the Vice-Presidency of this country
for his participation...
And all is calm and quiet along the white sands at San Clemente.

The scope of Scott-Heron's exposures is broad. He conveys the feeling that he's always on the prowl for ammunition to add to his arsenal. He finds it in the in-

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evitable sores and cracks in the system. He sharpens up contradiction and turns it into a poem or song.

The dirty-work of the U.S. is railed from Vietnam to Chile. Politicians, a frequent target, are caught red-handed in a web of deceit, and the political police, the FBI and CIA, are the objects of biting sarcasm and accusation. In "We Almost Lost Detroit," (a song which can be found on his 1977 recording "Bridges"), Scott-Heron sharply indicts the high and mighty for their pursuit of nuclear power and draws out the glaring contradiction between this and the blatant danger posed to the lives of millions of people.

"Winter in America," written in 1973 and appearing in the new album booklet, is one of Scott-Heron's most famous pieces and is a statement on the political situation in the U.S. after the movement of the '60s ebbed. While some may argue that the piece is a cynical statement, and that for one reason or another "winter" is not an accurate description of the '70s, actually it is a very optimistic tune. Anyone who thinks that it's spring in America right now has got a serious case of the Blues. In fact, the whole image of "winter" implies that another season will follow:

hoping that it rains/hoping that it rains
And I've seen the robins perched in barren treetops
watching last ditch racists marching across the floor
and like the peace signs that melted in our dreams
never had a chance to grow/never had a chance to grow

In live performance, Carl Cornwell breaks out on the alto flute between verses and there is little doubt that these musicians believe that the ice will thaw and something new will be born. As Scott-Heron says in the notes to "Winter in America" album, "We'll see you in the Spring."

Spring is coming. But in the meantime, Scott-Heron is compelled to take to task the liberal reformists and Black bootlickers who rode the crest of the past movement. Something should be learned about these "smiles in three-piece suits" he is saying. And this is indeed a fresh breeze as today even many self-proclaimed communists are to be found leading the scramble to suck Whitney Young's dead thumb. Check out "The New Deal" from the recent album:

"Just keep things cool," they kept repeating
"And keep the people out of the streets."

Continued on page 14

Powderkeg at Walla Walla

Walla Walla, Washington—Walla Walla penitentiary teeters on the brink of further explosion. The administration finds itself in a hell of their own making. The prisoners have gotten a taste of their strength and are determined not to stop halfway. They want Spaulding, the superintendent, out and are demanding reinstatement of the reforms won through years of bitter struggle. But more, they are demanding an end to the degradation of the animal-like existence forced upon them inside this capitalist dungeon.

During the current lockdown the administration has been struck by a massive rebellion, followed by a prisoners' hunger strike. Demonstrations and rallies of inmate supporters in Seattle, Tacoma, Olympia and right outside the prison walls in this tiny Eastern Washington town have hit them hard.

The lockdown began June 15 in retaliation for the elimination of one of the prison guards. On that day Mr. Cross was stabbed to death. One inmate described the antics of this racist asshole on the day of his exit: Twenty-five Indian inmates were gathered at their sweat lodge (a key part of Indian culture and religion). Many of them were angry over the murder of one of their brothers by four inmates three days before.

"At that time Cross was out there

harassing and humiliating us by taking our firewood away from us and trying to put the fire out, calling us names at the lodge and downgrading our religion and customs," he said. Cross then proceeded to desecrate the lodge by pissing on it. His death was immediately pinned on the Indian club and seven Indian prisoners were cuffed, beaten and taken to the hole. Two now face the death penalty for premeditated murder. The guards then went on a rampage on E Tier (or Indian Tier) of 8 wing. The prison tactical unit, now calling itself the "Cross Revenge Squad," ran amuck.

On July 7, after being locked in their cells for almost a month, with temperatures soaring over 100 and having been denied showers and medical care, prisoners in 8-wing exploded, tearing their cells apart.

Following the 8-wing rebellion, attacks by the guards escalated. The illegal strip cells were filled with bruised and bleeding men. The revenge squad went through B-tier, singling out six inmates, mercilessly beating them four separate times. Handcuffed and chained spread-eagle to the bars they were worked over with riot sticks and lead-lined gloves.

In between the beatings on B-tier the guards went down to A-tier, where the Indian prisoners were being held, and beat them. "We could hear some guys

getting pushed down the cement and iron stairways," writes one Indian prisoner. "Man they beat them bad. They came to my cell and one says to me, 'Hands on your head, just sit on the bed and don't move or I'll break your motherfucking neck and throw you over the tier where you belong. I always wanted to kill me an Indian. Just to see how good it would feel to kill one. And that way I could pay you Indians back for killing my friend Cross.'"

Meanwhile 230 inmates from 8-wing have been cleared out of their cells and have been living in the prison yard since July 8. The yard remains a scene of constant struggle. Daily there are confrontations between inmates and guards. A prisoner describes the condition of one man who was held in the yard:

"He was brought in because he was sunburned so bad. The bottoms of his feet are burnt so bad he can hardly walk on them. And his eyes are burned so bad he can hardly see. The guards threw him down in the dirt and stomped his face into the dirt and stood there with their foot on his head. They broke his glasses. So you can see how they are being treated out there. They are shooting out there now and it's been going on for quite awhile all week. This isn't an inmates' riot. This is war!"

And this war is far from sapping the prisoners' strength. On the contrary,

each new outrage is fueling the fires of resistance. The administration attempts to quell this resistance by new doses of terror. But this in turn only sparks more resistance and more public outrage.

And the administration is now running into a roadblock on another front—guards are threatening to strike. They are terrified of retribution from prisoners when the lockdown ends. The administration, anxious to cover-up the widespread brutality inside the prison, which is now being reported even in the capitalist press, has fired one guard and suspended 12 others.

While the 12 suspended guards are still being paid (in other words, they've been given a paid vacation) and while the administration, the FBI and Walla Walla police are obviously trying to cover up the beatings, still the guards know that the administration is not above sacrificing a few of them in an attempt to save their sinking ship.

Meanwhile the politicians in the state capital continue to issue pious statements blaming each other for the troubles at the prison, hoping to work out some advantage for themselves out of the whole affair.

The end is not in sight. Sooner or later the lockdown will have to be ended. When it does the administration will be sitting on a powderkeg, with a fast burning fuse. ■

Chairman's Speaking Tour Begins on West Coast "HELL



Revolutionary Worker

One young worker was asked how he liked the speech: "Let me ask you a question." He smiled. "Does a fish like water?"

"A hell of a program. Hell of a speech. Hell of a dangerous man," said one Seattle worker in his late twenties after taking part in the opening meeting of a major speaking tour by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party. The nationwide tour by the Chairman, which is being made in connection with the Party's \$1,000,000 fund drive, takes place in the context of serious attacks on the RCP by the U.S.

government. Last month 17 Mao Tsetung Defendants, including Bob Avakian, were indicted on felony charges carrying prison sentences of more than 100 years.

In the next several weeks, Chairman Avakian will speak to thousands on very crucial questions facing the revolutionary movement in this country: Why are these attacks and indictments coming down on the RCP, and what do they have to do with the overall situation of gathering storms of struggle in this country and around the world? Is it possible to make revolution in the USA? What can we learn from the movements of the '60s when many people tried to make revolution and yet it didn't happen? How do we know that revolution won't get sold out before we succeed, or even after victory? What

One student in his early '30s who's been involved in various political attempts to fight for reform: "After hearing the speech and going to the reception, I've got to rethink all my ideas about changing the system. I've got a whole new set of questions now."

are the tasks facing us now in building toward revolution, and why do people have to *step forward now*?

The speaking tour which kicked off in the week of August 1st in the Northwest and Hawaii has been met with tremendous enthusiasm and surrounded by lively discussion and debate among workers of all nationalities, students, and other revolutionary-minded people. Many people who have never before been to a revolutionary

event have come forward to hear Chairman Avakian speak and to meet and discuss with him after his talk.

One Native American woman in Seattle came to the speech with some deep questions. She had been reading Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* one night and had called a revolutionary friend at 1:00 a.m. very angry that Engels had referred to her people as primitive and barbarian. She was so

GUILTY VERDICT IN EMBASSY FIVE TRIAL

Flash—As we go to press, the verdicts-sentences have just come in. After an hour's deliberation, the jury returned guilty verdicts on all counts. The judge fined the defendants \$815 "for damages," and gave each a suspended sentence with 2 years probation. Jim Lauder milk was given a 3 month suspended sentence for the misdemeanor gun charge. Next week's RW will carry a full report.

Washington D.C., August 2. The trial of the Embassy 5 opened today. "These men share common concerns that in this land of wealth and plenty there exist poverty and decay beyond belief." Prosecutor Collins broke in, "I object Your Honor, this is totally irrelevant." The lawyer for the defense continued, "a common concern that a small elite band reaps profits."

"I object Your Honor—I have to object." So began the trial of the Embassy 5.

The defendants admitted the assault on the Chinese Embassy to make a political statement. The reversal in China demanded it. Across the room the pro-

secutor Collins launched into his assault, first trying to brand the four defendants as gun-toting, lead-sinker-throwing maniacs with no concern for life. Greg Ford began testifying, "A reversal in China was a crucial life or death question involving people's lives all over the world, not just in China..." Collins broke in "You seem to be an expert on China. Have you ever been there?"

"No," Ford replied.

"You mean you disagree with the U.S. government?"

"Yes."

Collins scowled in disgust. "Well, why don't you go to China."

"Because I was born in this country, and I plan to change things here."

Collins slumped back in his seat. Ford continued, "Teng's visit to the U.S. was billed as a move toward peace, but was part of the U.S. moves towards war." Again Collins jumped up "Your Honor, I object to this line of questioning." The judge replied, "You can't. This line of questioning is a testimony." "Then I object to the ques-

tions and answers." Collins kept objecting. He objected to the jurors hearing that Jim Lauder milk first started questioning the system when the National Guard was called in to Little Rock, Arkansas, because of segregation in the schools. He objected when Mark Jackson said how a friend of his came back from Vietnam paralyzed with two bullets in his spine.

Collins attempted to make the defendants look like desperados. He tried every trick to break down the revolutionaries. Every defendant was asked "Did you throw a lead-sinker-ball? Weren't you concerned that someone may be hit? You planned all this. You intended to do what you did." All stood firm.

"As the glass shattered at the embassy, a worker's arm was mangled in a machine in China because of speed-up. As white paint splattered against the embassy walls, troops in China were preparing to invade Vietnam. Yes we did it. And we're proud of the political statement we made." The jurors' eyes stayed riveted on Nelson. Collins tried

again. "I do not understand. You think it's OK to cause \$815 worth of damage. How would you like someone to do \$815 worth of damage to your home?"

"The embassy is not a 'home,' it is not the embassy of the nation of Mao Tsetung."

Collins pulled in his fangs and sat down.

The Embassy 5 trial is almost over. All that remains is the closing statements, then it goes to the jury. The outcome is of crucial importance. Not only for the defendants, but for the upcoming trials of the 17 Mao Tsetung defendants. Collins has tried to link the Embassy 5 action and the lead-sinkers that were thrown at the Chinese Embassy with the demonstration against Teng Hsiao-ping on January 29th. "Were you at the January 29th demonstration?" "Did you know a police officer was hit with a lead-sinker at that demonstration?", Collins asked. Collins was turning reality on its head. It was the cops who had attacked the demonstration, beating and arresting 78 people. ■

OF A DANGEROUS MAN"



Revolutionary Worker

"I don't know what to say. I heard speeches, talks in New York and New Jersey in the 1960s, but not like this." A Black man who had travelled 150 miles to hear Bob Avakian speak. "I used to say—I'll be there when it happens. Now I'm trying to figure out how to get other people involved."

angry that she was not going to come to the speech, but her friend convinced her that she should come and struggle it out. After some coaxing, she asked the Chairman about Engels, and who was this historian Morgan that Engels was referring to. She told the Chairman that Native Americans have a hard time trusting people, particularly whites who talk about revolution and making things better for her people.

Bob Avakian explained that Engels was not making a moral judgment with those words but was using the information from Morgan to scientifically trace and analyze the development of the family. He said that leadership does not mean a handful of saviors but means preparing the masses of people themselves to make revolution. The woman told her friend later that the speech and the talk afterwards with the Chairman were very inspiring and that she was glad she had come.

Both in the Northwest and Hawaii, the speaking tour drew notice from the press. The attacks by the government on the Party have made clear that the U.S. ruling class considers the RCP a dangerous revolutionary organization, and reporters were anxious to interview the Chairman of the Party who poses a threat to the government. In the Northwest and Hawaii, Avakian gave many interviews to the press. In Seattle the coverage was extensive, with twelve interviews conducted in one day alone, and a local TV station came to the Revolutionary Workers Center the night before the speech to film the preparations for the program and to interview the Chairman.

In Hawaii, the situation was very tense, as only four hours before the program the District Superintendent of Honolulu schools suddenly withdrew

the permit for the auditorium, demanding police guards at the school and a statement of financial liability from the Party. At the same time, the Honolulu Police Department announced that they would refuse to post any of their police at the school because they were afraid of violence.

Apparently the Superintendent had been receiving phone calls from politicians and his higher-ups screaming about this revolutionary meeting, but the Party and the Million Dollar Fun-

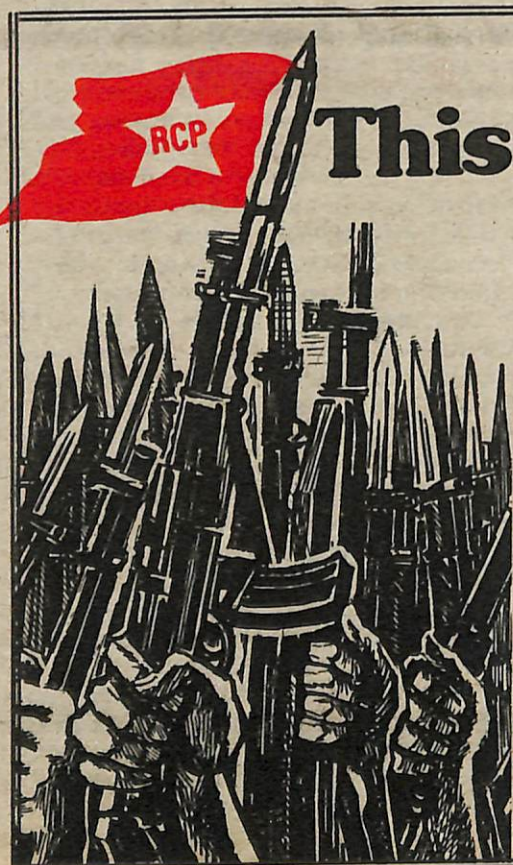
draising Committee were mobilizing to expose this attempt to silence revolutionaries and refused to back down. The doors to the auditorium were opened on schedule and the meeting was a great success. The *next* day an official notice arrived in the mail addressed to the Revolutionary Communist Party, stating that the officials refused to allow the program without police being there. Good timing, Mr. Superintendent.

This nationwide tour promises to be a real advance for the working class and the oppressed people in this country, building for the million dollar fund drive and rallying thousands to hear Bob Avakian speak. Already it has left more than a few people with sleepless nights. Those like the Superintendent and a certain class of people who fear this revolutionary leader and the Party

"It isn't just that he points at the enemy," said one Seattle steel worker, "He points it back at us too."

of the proletariat are unable to sleep because they fear the future. But the masses who have come forward and have been deeply moved and inspired by the powerful insights into the nature and direction of the revolutionary movement cannot sleep for a different reason—they have been awakened to revolutionary ideas which are changing their lives.

Don't miss the chance to hear Bob Avakian speak when the tour comes to your area. It will change your life too. ■



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

One 90 minute cassette tape: \$6

Order from:

RCP Publications
P.O. Box 3486
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Chicago, IL 60654



Scott-Heron

continued from page 11

We'll settle all this at the conference table.
You leave everything to me."
... I believe these smiles
in three piece suits
with gracious liberal demeanor
took our movement off the streets
and took us to the cleaners.

You've got to catch Gil Scott-Heron live to really get a feeling of his poetry and music. He's a very warm performer exemplified by the songs he does which are aimed at attacking the ideological bondage which chains the people. Without coming off condescending, he criticizes the escapist bag that people get into, like in "Getting Out of the Ghetto Blues," which hits the false hopes and illusions of escape from "making it" to shooting dope. Musically, he draws on the rich and varied legacy of jazz and blues to enhance his political content. The band he has assembled and now tours with is an excellent group of musicians which includes Edward Brady, guitar; Carl Cornwell, piano, flute and saxophone; Robert Gordon, bass; Tony Green, drums.

Judging from the fact that "The Mind of Gil Scott-Heron" has sold over 60,000 copies since its release last month (which is excellent, especially for a recording exclusively of poetry), there is a growing audience and growing hunger among people for art which crystallizes their experience and exposes their enemy. Why? Because the contradictions of this system are sharpening and the man is coming down harder everywhere, in every way. Gil Scott-Heron seems to recognize this motion and recognize a sharpening responsibility on his own part to hit back. As he says in "A Poem for Jose Campos Torres," the best poem on the new album, which is dedicated to the young Chicano brutally and blatantly murdered by the Houston police:

I had said I wasn't gonna write no more poems like this.
I had said I wasn't gonna write no more words down
about people kickin' us when we're down
about racist dogs that attack us and
drag us down, drive us down and beat us down—
But the dogs are in the street!

I had said I wasn't gonna write no more poems like this.
But the battle field has oozed away from the stilted debates of
semantics, beyond the questionable flexibility of primal screaming.
The reality of our city/jungle streets and their gestapos has
become an attack on home/life/family/philosophy/total...
The MOTHER FUCKING DOGS are in the street!...

In Houston maybe someone said Mexicans were the new niggers.
In L.A. maybe someone said Chicanos were the new niggers.
In Frisco maybe someone said that Asians were the new niggers.
Maybe in Philadelphia and North Carolina they decided they
didn't need no new niggers...

Brother Torres is dead.
The Wilmington Ten are still incarcerated.
Ed Davis, Ronald Reagan and James Hunt and Frank Rizzo are still alive.
And the dogs are in the MOTHERFUCKIN' street.
I had said I wasn't gonna write no more poems like this.
I made a mistake.



For weeks, Birmingham, Alabama, has been the scene of intense struggle over the murder of Bonita Carter, a Black woman who was shot four times in the back by city cops. On Saturday, July 28, the pigs had a different task—protecting a "march" of the KKK through downtown Birmingham from being torn to shreds by the people.

Thirty of the sheeted rats were joined by 70 "supporters" in a demonstration "in remembrance of the victims of violent crime." They avoided the main downtown streets where hundreds of Black people were doing their Saturday shopping. Even so, the Klan had to run to keep ahead of the increasingly large numbers of people that followed. Some of the people carried banners reading "Avenge the death of Bonita Carter!" Chants went up of "Down with Vann, Sands and the Klan." Vann is the mayor and Sands the cop who shot Bonita Carter. A life size effigy of a Klansman was hung and torched. Even more people massed at the Klan's rally site and began to arm themselves with rocks and bottles. The police then advised their brethren to cut short the rally and the Klan unfortunately escaped without injury.



China Card

Continued from page 5

achieve the stability on their borders and the political climate in which to carry out their modernization—and save their skins.

Indications of Pro-Soviet Drift

What evidence is there of Chinese willingness to seek out accommodation with the Soviets? There is, most prominently, the growing interest expressed by the Chinese leadership in normalization talks with the Soviet Union, even as they have announced that the Friendship Treaty with the Soviet Union will be allowed to lapse. Significantly, the Chinese did not lash out at the Soviets in making this announcement and Chinese Foreign Minister Hung Hua was quick to call for talks to improve relations.

The Chinese have also toned down their demands for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the contested and sensitive border areas. During the recent conflict in Vietnam, Chinese and Soviet negotiators continued to discuss river navigation problems. In this connection, it was in the fall of 1977 that for the first time since the start of the Cultural Revolution, agreements were reached on these navigation disputes. Huang Hua attended a reception in the Soviet Embassy in Peking that November—again a first since 1966.

Right along with these developments has been the rehabilitation of several leaders with a long and rich association with Soviet-style revisionism. The most outstanding case in point is that of Peng Te-huai, the former Minister of Defense, who had openly challenged Mao in 1959 and secretly met with

Khrushchev and the Soviets in Albania.

On top of all this, and most important, there are no longer any ideological obstacles, any conflicts of Marxist principle, standing in the way of overcoming their differences. A bourgeois nationalist dispute—even a bitter one—can often be patched up. The Chinese press no longer publishes analysis and criticism of the revisionist line of the Soviets on their phony "socialism," for to do so would be like holding up a mirror to their own revisionism.

Mao, the most implacable foe of Soviet revisionism, is now being criticized in China. So is the Cultural Revolution—which was aimed exactly at preventing Soviet-style reversion there. All this lays a most solid foundation for caving in to the Soviets. When Mao was alive the Soviets' aggressive designs on China were held at bay by the fact that the Soviets knew the revolutionary forces would not give ground to their demands and would mobilize an all-out counter-assault to any Soviet thrust.

How far to push the criticism of Mao and whether to fully clear the name of Liu Shao-chi, the President of the Peoples' Republic—a pro-Soviet element—who was the main target of the Cultural Revolution, hangs in the balance of the inner party struggle over the degree to which the Chinese must bow before the Soviets. As in its dealings with the West during the last two years, such a reconciliation with the Soviets will hardly be one of equals.

It is useful to examine the "Munich analogy" which has been so often invoked by the Chinese revisionists. They have drawn parallels with the pre-World War II situation in which certain circles in the West tried to appease Hitler in order to drive him eastward to attack the Soviet Union. This approach was most represented by the Munich Agreement. But the concessions did not check Hitler's ambitions and he turned on Western Europe.

Now on one level the analogy is designed to influence public opinion in the West to adopt a tougher stance toward the Soviets and relieve some of the pressure on China.

But on another level, the Munich analogy, in its obsession with Soviet strength and aggressiveness and its pointed references to Western weakness and indecision, stands as an argument that the West is an unreliable ally, that the die has been cast, the Soviets are the stronger of the two superpowers, and that one must face up to reality and come to terms with it. In other words, Soviet strength, Chinese weakness, and Western indecision combine to foist on the Chinese leaders the "difficult but necessary" decision to reach an accommodation with the Soviets.

Now, of course, it is silly to rate imperialist superpowers according to some reliability index. Both pursue their own interests and are driven by their global rivalries to take gambles and risks and even to throw friends to the wolves. It is not that the Soviets have awed the West into inaction with their supposed superiority; in fact, war is the certain outcome of Soviet-U.S. world rivalry, unless it is stopped by revolution.

But the Soviets, poised on China's border, do have more freedom of military action in relation to China, than does the West. This is the meaning of the notion that the West can't be counted on in the crunch.

There are elements in the Chinese revisionist clique, then, who see more danger in relying on the U.S. for support against the Soviets than in coming directly to terms with the Soviets. And, by the same token, there are those who see the move toward the West as a means for gaining leverage with the Soviets, for obtaining the best deal from them (as the commercial puts it, with Master Charge you have clout). So, paradoxically, the louder the anti-Sovietism, the more intimate the relationship with the West becomes, the

stronger the bargaining position of the Chinese in making a deal with the Soviets.

But how far and for how long this can be pushed is a matter of struggle and calculation. Clearly, there are those—including many in the military—who would try to send feelers out to the Soviets—perhaps in the form of some de-escalation in the border areas—to right now start negotiating seriously; others would want to carry this "toughing-it-out" posture further. But the tactical differences do not alter the fact that the Chinese leadership is irreversibly wedded to coming to terms with the Soviets—that is, unless world war breaks out first and short-circuits the deal.

For the time being the major constraint on immediate reconciliation is the legacy of Mao. Criticism must still proceed gingerly. One rather subtle indication of how this is unfolding can be gleaned from an article on economic readjustment in *Peking Review*, June 29, 1977. This article says that what it calls China's present re-adjustment in economic priorities is being carried out under more favorable conditions than before: "... in the early 1960s, in addition to the difficulties caused by the Soviet Union, the imperialists were blockading us economically. Now the international situation is highly favorable to our modernization." (emphasis added) A rather strange utterance in the shadow of world war. The point is, however, that when the Soviets tried to cripple China economically in the early 1960s and issued veiled military threats, it was Mao who would not compromise, while others (many of whom now hold power) whined that China was helpless and ought not to unduly antagonize the Soviets.

Soviet Strategy

The Soviets would gain immeasurably from normalization with

Ohio CPUSA Joins Chorus— “Kill the Commies”

Cleveland. “Maoist thugs went on a rampage here last week assaulting auto workers.”

“In an effort to launch a repeat of a disruption they provoked in the coalfields... a gang of 30 Maoists, members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, blocked parking lot exits.”

The above is just some of the highlights from an article in the press “reporting” on the July 18 incident at the giant Ford Brook Park plant near Cleveland. According to this fairytale, sellers of the *Revolutionary Worker* launched a vicious and unprovoked attack against “workers.” So what else is new? After all, hysterical anti-communism and complete fabrications are to be expected from the press.

Well, this particular article came from the *Daily World*, none other than the newspaper of the “Communist” Party, USA, from whom the unfamiliar reader might not expect this kind of absurd anti-communism.

The facts of the incident, of course, have nothing in common with the slanders. What actually happened was that for some time Ford Motor Co., the Brook Park police and the officials of the UAW local have been frantically trying to stop the growing readership of the *Revolutionary Worker* at the Brook Park plant. After a series of arrests and harassment by the local cops failed to deter the Revolutionary Communist Party from selling at the plant, the reactionaries thought they had found a way to stop sales of the paper. On July 18 the cops were surprisingly absent as about 20 were vigorously selling the *Revolutionary Worker*. All of a sudden two jeep loads of union officials and committeemen appeared expecting an easy mopping up operation as they came at the revolutionaries with pipes, knives, brass knuckles and rocks. Instead these goons found out, as a spokesman for the RCP in Cleveland put it, “the Revolutionary Communist Party, when attacked, defends itself.”

These cowards went to the press whining about how they had been “attacked” by communists. And the so-called “Communist” Party has outdone the Cleveland daily paper in printing every lie and slander of the union hacks. These traitors even quote from a leaflet put out by local union president Thurmond Payne that called communists “dirty scum” and called on backward workers to stop communists and “use every means at your disposal to do exactly that.”

But the CP in this country is shameless in its parroting of the line of the capitalists. Long ago they openly gave up the goal of revolution and have busied themselves since trying to prove to the bourgeoisie that they are loyal, and that they will try to keep the workers bogged down in fighting for petty reforms. So it is not surprising that the CP parrots the same charges as the capitalists against the RCP.

The capitalists have long tried to portray genuine communists as terrorists and as “saboteurs,” people who have no link to the workers and simply want to cause disruption for its own sake. For example, during the many struggles of the coal miners they have gotten particularly hysterical, slandering the RCP and the Miners Committee to Defend the Right to Strike for the role they have played in leading the struggle in the mines. In their ridiculous article on the Brook Park incident, the *Daily World* repeats this charge too, blaming the “Maoists” for the loss of free medical coverage in the latest contract! In the coalfields the CP, which has no influence on the rank and file, busies itself promoting Arnold Miller, who they try to present as a progressive. They claim that the RCP is trying to sabotage the upcoming auto contract by “attacking” the union officials at Brook Park!

CP Joins in Attack on Communists

After the incident at the gates, the officials at the plant used everything they

could to try to whip up the most backward and reactionary workers to attack communists. Again, they found support from the CP. Carl Edelman is known for two things by the workers at Brook Park, 1) being the biggest suck-ass in the factory (see letter from Brook Park worker), and 2) being associated with the “Communist” Party. Right after the incident came down, and the union hacks were trying to whip up an orgy of anti-communist frenzy,

Edelman put a giant sign reading “UNION” over his work area and helped the officials distribute their openly anti-communist leaflet. He went around the plant spreading ridiculous stories (also printed in the *Daily World*) that communists had been running off a leaflet on a company mimeo machine, and that when they were “discovered” they beat up a worker.

But despite all their whimpering, the CP is not really upset by violence. They think it's fine to promote Thurmond Payne who was accused by underlings of kidnapping a man at gun point for objecting to a salary kickback scheme. Payne was cleared on these charges by the UAW International, but workers at

Continued on page 16

Letter from Brook Park Worker: CP Member “Biggest Suck-ass in Plant”

Letter from Brook Park worker to RW

I think that the *Revolutionary Worker* is an inspirational paper for the working man. To find out the truth about the government and how the capitalists are dominating the workers, driving them down into the ground and forcing them to exchange their ability to work for a paycheck.

I think that the incident at Engine Plant 2 was totally an outrage because 1) Ford told communists they could sell the paper outside the gates. Then Ford got the union flunkies to attack them with clubs, pipes and knives. I think it was totally wrong for them to do that but they got what they deserved. The fact of the matter is that they got whipped and aren't willing to admit it. Our so-called president of the union had the gall to write a death threat to keep the members behind the union by trying to get the union members angry and to try to drive the communists out of the plant. But everyone knows that Thurmond Payne is nothing but a thief, a kidnapper, and is out for no one but himself. Well, his plan failed and no one has driven them out. I guess people are beginning to realize that our union is not what it is cracked up to be. The bad part is that we have to pay for the union. It just isn't right. But, the thing that upsets me the most is that they will resort to anything to cover their asses. Example: Carl Edelman, a so-called communist, that is the biggest suck ass in the plant. He's been telling people that real communists were in the foundry and broke in and used their mimeograph machine to write their leaflet, which is bullshit cause they have their own machines. He's nothing but a punk bullshitter, that's trying to make a name for himself in the union and make brownie points with Thurmond Payne. Right on, Keep on publishing the paper! I think you should keep the paper in the plant. It really helps workers to get to know about revolution and how to get rid of these capitalists!

Fraternally yours,
a Ford worker

China. It would represent an alliance of impressive dimensions in East Asia, and all of Asia for that matter. The pressure on Japan would be almost unbearable. The cementing of such an alliance might very well—with the undermining of U.S. strategic positions that it implies—trigger World War III as it would greatly upset the international balance of power, in the same way that the entry of China into the U.S. war bloc has heightened superpower rivalries.

The confrontation with China absorbs major military resources of the Soviet Union and any adjustment between China and Russia, even the most limited and tactical, would almost certainly unsettle the military balance in Europe—where the Soviets could redeploy forces.

The Soviets have been using a carrot and stick to bring the Chinese to heel. In the months following Mao's death, they refrained from their customary criticism of the Chinese and they have been periodically holding out an olive branch and testing out the waters for negotiation. This past June yet another moratorium on criticism took effect.

On the other hand, they have continued their build up of bases and airfields, roads, depots, and a strategically vital rail link in the areas adjacent to the border. They have continued to provoke border incidents (though in 1978 they issued an unprecedented public apology to the Chinese for crossing the border on May 9, which fits right in with things).

They have continued to weld together their Asian Collective Security system (the new Indian government has vowed to snatch back border lands from China and work for Tibet's separation from China). The Soviets have projected their power more forcefully through Vietnam and they have tried to intimidate partners and would-be partners of the Chinese, such as Japan. (The Soviets have built military installa-

tions on two islands contested with Japan and indicated that the Backfire bomber will be deployed in the Far East as well as in Europe). The Chinese are being told that they will have to pay a very high price for their opening to the West.

The Soviets have a vested stake, therefore, in showing up Chinese weakness and the dangers and uncertainties of their relationship with the West, while offering them a diplomatic way out. In one sense they tested the Chinese when they incited the Vietnamese to invade Cambodia. The Chinese were faced with the prospect of either standing by and seeing their defense perimeter weaken, with now three Indo-Chinese countries in the Soviet orbit, or intervening and courting the risk of Soviet retaliation.

China would not have acted without U.S. consent and backing and this action principally served the U.S. aim of throwing Soviet forces off-balance, but there is no way the Chinese would have moved into Vietnam had they anticipated a major Soviet counter-offensive. Instead the Soviets dispatched warships to the South China Sea and Tonkin Gulf.

But the effect of the Chinese “punitive action” against Vietnam has been in some ways to bring into sharper relief the limitations of Chinese military power and to strengthen the case for detente with the Soviet Union. Who knows, maybe some in Chinese leadership even cynically set up the Chinese army to fail in Vietnam in order to build up their case for capitulation. China did not score a decisive victory in the fashion of her 1962 action against India and this action did not noticeably relieve pressure on Cambodia.

Moreover, the Soviets did *not* have to intervene to back up Vietnam. The ability of the Chinese, then, to fight a two-front war—on its southern flank with Vietnam and in the north with the better equipped Soviet armies—has

been called into question. On top of this, the costly commitment of this war caused further complications for the already financially strapped modernization boondoggle.

What might bring about this eventual reunion will probably be some variation of the carrot and stick, maybe involving the seizure of Chinese territory in Sinkiang (even with the tacit encouragement of certain elements in China) following a string of border incidents which presents the Chinese with a *fait accompli* and no choice but to conciliate to a more powerful Soviet Union.

Perhaps the Soviets will continue to force China's hand in Indo-China and increase the incentives for a broader accommodation. The Soviets might even throw in a “good will package”—lifting blockades, returning some territory etc. as a sweetener. Such “good will” offers made by the Soviets in 1973-74 were properly rejected by the Chinese as blackmail. Whatever the possibilities, the fact remains that the higher the costs—political, financial and military—of confronting the Soviet Union, the more desirable and necessary does reconciliation become.

But it would be wrong to suppose that such an easing of tensions would be a replay of the relationship that existed in the '50s or take the form of a “patching up of differences.” It is not likely to be a full embrace, but rather a tentative and perhaps frankly conceded tactical adjustment in “the mutual interests of both powers.” Public criticism will cease and cooperation may chiefly mean a planned disengagement from the border areas. No doubt the revisionist ideologues of both countries will go through their contortions and rationalizations, but the real humiliation will be on the Chinese side. This will mark the greatest defeat they have suffered yet.

Still, it isn't hard to guess their argument: “We tried to convince the West

to stand firm, but they wouldn't listen and even tried to use us! They're only concerned about their own self preservation, while our own military confrontation with Russia is draining badly needed resources for modernization.”

Capitulation and War

What all this shows is the increasingly volatile nature of the international situation as the two superpowers prepare for war. They must forge their blocs, but as they are tightened up and as the war pressures mount there will be defections and realignments as well—all as part of the maneuvering that precedes the outbreak of world war. Any successful initiative on one superpower's part could embolden it to launch this war or precipitate a pre-emptive strike by the other.

China is not by its nature a helpless giant, caught in the cross-fire of the great powers—nor must it be a pawn in their intrigues. But given its semi-colonial legacy, defeatism and capitulationism exert a powerful pull.

As Mao emphasized, those who practice revisionism internationally are bound to practice capitulationism externally. It is capitalists—not real communists—who will push giving up to the Soviet Union. These forces would much prefer to strike a bargain with a powerful aggressor than to endure the hardships and suffering of war.

More than this, since it is only mass mobilization—waging a peoples' war guided by revolution—that can defeat a better equipped and armed adversary, these revisionists must capitulate (and maybe earn the chance of becoming a regional gendarme for someone else).

The alternative—mobilizing the Chinese people in revolutionary struggle to defeat all enemies—is pure poison to China's new capitalist rulers. For such a revolutionary storm would sweep them away as well. ■

Malcolm X

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Throughout the '50s the Muslims grew, expanding their influence and building new mosques, schools, restaurants and small businesses. But also through this period Malcolm was studying, questioning, analyzing events in America and the world, and moving away from the religious spiritualism of Elijah Muhammed.

A Split Takes Shape

This emphasis on the spiritual marked a fundamental difference in outlook and orientation between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammed. Later, through a process of development, it would erupt into open antagonism and a split.

It was Malcolm who wrenched the nationalism of Elijah Muhammed out of the mystical realm and wielded it as a sharp knife to lay bare the concrete oppression of Blacks in America:

"The white man has taught us to shout and sing and pray until we die, to wait until death, for some dreamy heaven-in-the-hereafter, when we're dead, while this white man has his milk and honey in the streets paved with golden dollars right here on this earth!"

It was Malcolm's hatred of oppression that brought him to the Muslims, when their teachings broke through the blinders of the "brainwashing" of the Black man. What Malcolm drew from the Muslim theories was a beginning understanding that the condition of Black people had been created by the "white man." If that condition was created by man, then he saw that it could also be changed by man. Malcolm spent the rest of his life struggling to find the real-world way to end the oppression of Black people. He wasn't into *preying* off the oppression of Blacks, and it was inevitable that he would move away from *praying* for an end to it.

As the national contradiction sharpened in the U.S. and internationally, Malcolm and other young Muslims could not sit on the sidelines. As he said later, "I thought privately that we should have amended, or relaxed, our general non-engagement policy. I felt that, wherever Black people committed themselves, in the Little Rocks and the Birmingham and other places, militantly disciplined Muslims should also be there." There were many Muslims who did not have the "divine patience" of Elijah Muhammed to wait on Allah.

Malcolm was outspoken. He was blunt. He never held back if he thought something needed to be said. He didn't care who he shocked or who he offended. He led the Muslims into the political arena, in opposition to the non-violence of the civil rights leaders like Martin Luther King.

Everything in Malcolm's experience as a Muslim and as a Black man in the North told him that the "dream" being peddled by King and other civil rights leaders was nothing but an illusion to keep Black people on their knees begging. "I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare!" He blasted the civil rights leaders as Uncle Toms working in cahoots with the white power structure:

"When these 'leaders' create programs, you get no action. The only time you see them is when the people are exploding. Then the leaders are shot into the situation and told to control things. You can't show me a leader that has set off an explosion. No, they come and contain the explosion. They say, 'Don't get rough, you know, do the smart thing.' ... Whereas you and I don't want anybody to keep us from getting out of control. We want to get out of control. We want to smash anything that gets in our way..."

He called on Black people to defend themselves:

"Any time you demonstrate against segregation and a man has the audacity to put a police dog on you, kill that dog, kill him, I'm telling you, kill that dog. I say it, if they put me in jail tomorrow, kill-that-dog... die for what you believe in. But don't die alone. Let

your dying be reciprocal. This is what is meant by equality."

As Malcolm's line and practice developed and brought forward the most advanced within the movement, the Muslims became a rallying point for militant Black masses and a focus of attack by the ruling class. The U.S. rulers had been uptight about the Muslims since the mid-fifties—certainly not because they opposed religion but they did not like a religious order with a mass following among Black people which was outside the ruling churches. But the clincher was Malcolm X—because his leadership in the political arena was a direct threat to the U.S. rulers. To them Malcolm was a dangerous man who had to be stopped. It was at this point, in 1964, that Elijah Muhammed jumped out to silence Malcolm—and put himself and the Nation of Islam in opposition to the forward motion of the Black struggle and its developing revolutionary thrust.

The Murder of Malcolm X

For years the Muslims had presented a single face to the masses, but beneath the surface two trends were coming into sharp contradiction. While the nationalism of Malcolm X and other forces in the Black movement was becoming more revolutionary, the bourgeois nationalism of Elijah Muhammed had become rigidified around the program of self-help and Black capitalism. As the Muslim membership increased and the dues rolled in, generating more capital for investment, Elijah Muhammed began to see more potential for building the Nation of Islam as an economically independent empire—with himself as divinely-appointed chairman of the board. His nationalism stopped at the stage of keeping those Muslim enterprises going and growing.

The split between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammed was a decisive turning point, coinciding with the whole new thrust of the Black liberation movement which Malcolm came to represent. The split took the fetters off Malcolm. When blood flowed in the streets of Harlem, Watts, Philadelphia and Rochester, Malcolm, like the field slave who sees the master's house burning, fanned the flames. At a time when U.S. imperialism was preparing to launch its vicious war of aggression against Vietnam, Malcolm hailed the Vietnamese and drew inspiration from them: "Little rice farmers, peasants, with a rifle—jets, napalm, battleships, everything else, and they can't put those rice farmers back where they want them. Somebody's waking up."

Malcolm traveled to the Middle East and Africa to learn and digest the revolutionary experience there and came back to apply it to the concrete conditions of the Black struggle in America. While he never became a Marxist, he did come to see the fight against national oppression in the U.S. as part of the world revolution against imperialism.

The man who became a minister of the Nation of Islam in order to "revolutionize the American Black man's thinking," was revolutionized in the process and ultimately had to break with the Muslims. As he said in 1964:

"No religion will ever make me forget the condition of our people in this country. No religion will ever make me forget the continued fighting with dogs against our people in this country. No religion will make me forget the police clubs that come up 'side our heads. No god, no religion, no nothing will make me forget it until it stops, until it's finished, until it's eliminated."

Following the split the Nation of Islam also made a leap—backwards into unbounded opportunism. Elijah Muhammed's hatred of the new revolutionary thrust of the Black liberation movement was limitless, and at every turn he jumped out to oppose it.

When Malcolm X was gunned down, the Muslims hailed it as "divine chastisement" and rushed out to claim credit for this crime, covering the aims and interests of the bourgeoisie. In Attica the convicted hit man has spent the last 15 years set up like royalty, protected by a private corps of prison guards and Fruit of Islam trustees. He

is allowed to operate his own Muslim enterprise—a baloney sandwich concession—inside the prison walls.

Black Capitalism, Respectability and Reaction

When the Black masses rose in rebellion and tore open the underbelly of the cities, the Muslims, like the "house Negro" described by Malcolm, rushed to put out the blaze and save the master's house. In 1964 the police identified the Muslims as their "favorite" radical (sic) group, because they didn't participate in riots and preached non-violence. (*American magazine*, Sept. 8, 1964)

When the Black Panther Party took guns to the steps of the state capitol in California, Elijah Muhammed called them "fools."

Of course the influence of Malcolm X could not be erased from the Muslims overnight. The younger more militant Muslims were probably not fully aware of Elijah Muhammed's leap into reaction. Many Muslims, including Muhammed Ali, refused induction into the army during the Vietnam war. For Elijah Muhammed to oppose this progressive stand would have been a dangerously revealing self-exposure, since he had long cloaked himself in the mantle of political prisoner for refusing induction in 1943—a stand which at that time, when the working class worldwide was rallying to the defense of the first socialist state, was objectively *reactionary*.

Through the late '60s, while the masses were being propelled forward in an era of unparalleled revolutionary struggle, the Muslims' policy of building up their ghetto businesses dovetailed with the efforts of the bourgeoisie to promote Black capitalism as an alternative to revolution. The Muslims moved towards dropping altogether the idea of a separate state with self-help programs as an intermediate step, and going all-out for Black capitalism.

All "principles" went out the window and rank pragmatism (read: the profit motive) became the driving force behind the Muslims. For Elijah Muhammed nationalism was nothing more than a meal ticket, and when he saw the chance to get steak instead of bean pie, he went for it. With capital wrung from their ghetto real estate and industries, the Muslims built mansions for the

"royal family" valued at \$2 million in the integrated upper class community of Hyde Park in Chicago.

By the early 1970s the Muslims were true bourgeois models of respectability. Mayor Daley, noted for his "shoot to kill and maim" order during the Chicago rebellions, declared March 29, 1974, "Honorable Elijah Muhammed Day."

The teachings of Elijah Muhammed began to sound more and more like the Urban League of Black capitalists, as he preached his new message to the Black man: "As long as they're in power, respect them. Don't think you're too much because God said he would give you a kingdom. Wait till you get in it... They gave you your freedom, now go out and help yourself."

The shocking toadyism of the "new" Muslims reveals to what depths of opportunism the organization has sunk. Wallace D. Muhammed, far from *reversing* the direction of the Muslims, has in reality acted to carry out the legacy of Elijah Muhammed—"alter the creed to fit the need"—under the new and more difficult conditions faced by the aspiring Black bourgeoisie in the era of decaying imperialism.

The empire he inherited was bankrupt. He had to sell the businesses, go grubbing for loans from Saudi Arabia and other Islamic "brothers" in the Middle East, and ultimately sell himself and the Nation of Islam as comprador bootlickers to the U.S. bourgeoisie. With a \$20 million contract to manufacture K-rations for the Defense Department in his pocket, Wallace D. Muhammed is only too willing to wave the American flag as the U.S. gears up for war and call on Black people to have faith in the system—"just look what it's done for me." The full impact of the Muslims' degeneration became even more disgustingly apparent in mid-July when they jointly sponsored another parade—this time including a rifle guard of Chicago pigs—through the West Side neighborhood where Fred Hampton was gunned down in his bed. We can only speculate on when it will dawn on the "Imam" that it is cheaper to manufacture K-rations with pork than with beef; and the World Community will alter the creed to fit their profit need by lifting the ban on pork. We would consider this a most fitting move by those who have proved so willing to kiss the butt of the beast! ■

Cleveland

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the plant swear that it is true. In other words, the CP doesn't mind working with any kind of crook, kidnapper or goon, but as soon as revolutionaries dare to defend themselves, they, like the capitalist press, shed crocodile tears for the poor "mistreated" hacks. These scum then had the nerve in an official CP statement, to call on "the Brook Park authorities to prosecute the perpetrators of the attacks on Ford workers [!] to the fullest extent of the law."

Unfortunately for the CP, the union officials and Ford Motor Co., the ridiculous charges and slander aimed at the RCP is not succeeding. The CP, like the capitalists, has nothing but contempt for the rank and file worker—and they must think the

workers are pretty dumb if the CP thinks that anyone will really believe that the RCP was trying to "block the exits" of the Brook Park plant or that Maoists would attack workers with pipes. While a few backward workers are willing to swallow any bullshit from the company and the hacks, most workers are asking what the hell is the story—why are the union officials who never lift a finger in the struggle against the company are all of a sudden running all over the place waging a big campaign against the Revolutionary Communist Party. The *Revolutionary Worker* continues to sell like hotcakes, and workers have put themselves on the line defending RCP members in the plant.

And in the course of this struggle, workers at the Brook Park plant are learning why real revolutionaries have nothing but contempt for the "Communist" Party, USA. ■

Defendants

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fist and gave a revolutionary speech. Or Cordero, the Puerto Rican nationalist, who sprayed the House of Representatives with gunfire back in the '50s. He was let out of jail when he was dying of cancer after a mass campaign demanding his release. Thousands came out to see him in Puerto Rico and what did he say? Not, I want to die in peace. No, he said, "I still believe that the only path to liberation is armed struggle." A couple of months later he died, but people will remember him and they'll spit on the graves of people like the colonial

governor of Puerto Rico. It's something to live up to—those kind of people and the spirit of Mao Tsetung.

Marilyn: My mother said, "What about your child, what about Ricky?" But I'm looking at it not just in terms of my own child. When you take a stand for revolution you take a stand for the children of the world, for their brighter future. It's hard as a mother not to have subjectivity around that, but what kind of future do Ricky and the other children have under this system? It's a future of being slaves, being sent off to die in another war. As revolutionaries we're doing it for the masses of people and the masses of children worldwide—so that all the people can have the bright future of communism for all. ■