



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

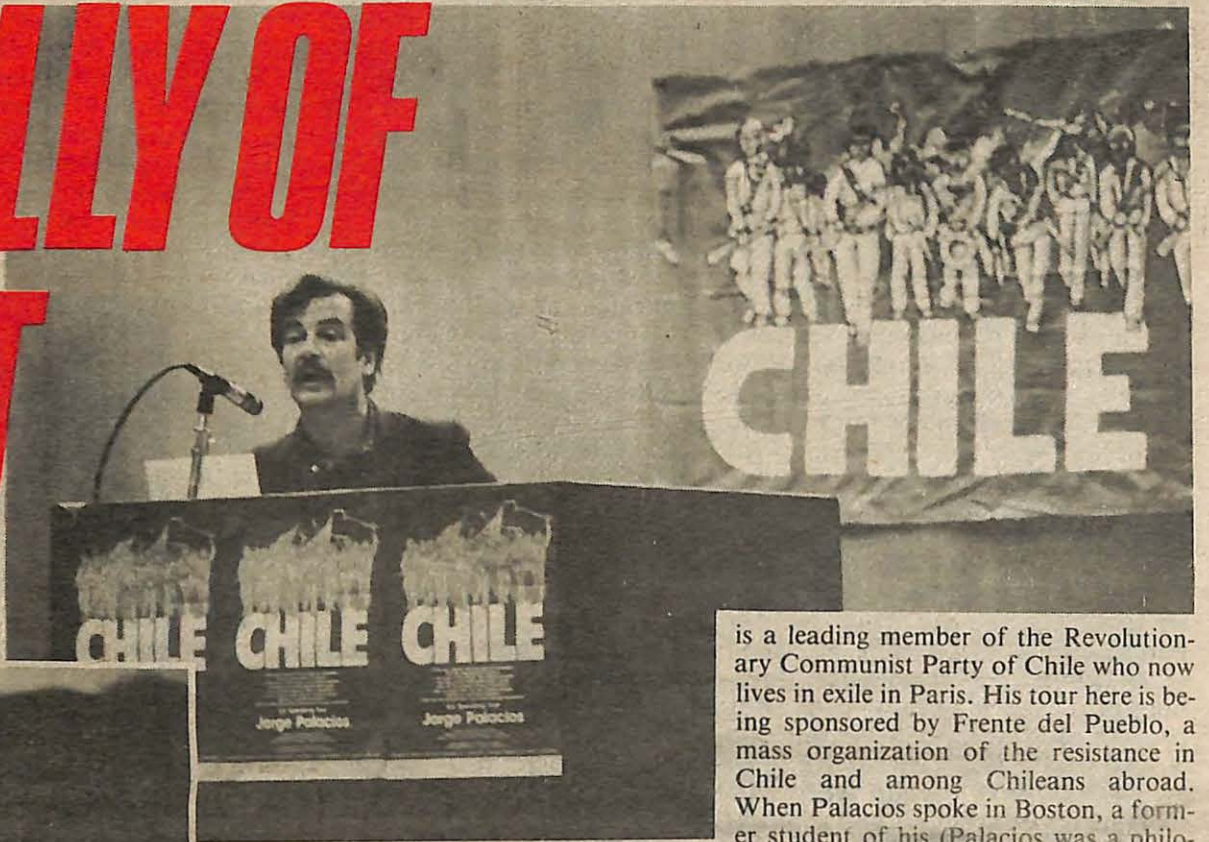
Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A.

Vol. 1 No. 23 ISSN 0193-3485 October 12, 1979 Sección en Español 25¢

CHILEAN REVOLUTIONARY IN THE BELLY OF THE BEAST

Jorge Palacios Arrives to Speak in U.S.

Revolutionary Worker



is a leading member of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile who now lives in exile in Paris. His tour here is being sponsored by Frente del Pueblo, a mass organization of the resistance in Chile and among Chileans abroad. When Palacios spoke in Boston, a former student of his (Palacios was a philosophy professor), who had not seen him for many years, came to greet him. There was an embrace—and jubilation that Palacios had escaped death at the hands of the generals who put him on their hit list when they took power in Chile in the fascist coup of 1973. In New York City another student told of how

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The U.S. tour of Jorge Palacios, a Chilean revolutionary leader, has finally begun. It is not to be missed. Wherever Comrade Palacios has spoken, his sharp and stinging analysis of the Chilean experience has been received with tremendous enthusiasm and has generated great discussion of key political principles. For those who do not know, Palacios

Chinese Revisionists Announce Trial of Mao

Tsetung.

That it is Mao who will be on trial has been made extra clear in recent weeks by the new official attacks launched on Mao's line and leadership. As we reported in last week's *RW*, leading Chinese official Yeh Chien-ying gave a major speech on September 29 summing up thirty years of history since China was liberated back in 1949. In it he described the 1966-1976 decade of the Cultural Revolution as "an appalling catastrophe suffered by all our people." The Cultural Revolution was personally initiated and led by Mao, and in fact concentrated Mao's greatest contributions to the theory and practice of continuing revolution after the working class seizes power—and of combatting the kind of reversion to capitalism that happened in the Soviet Union and has now happened in China.

In fact, if you strip the "polite" veneer off Yeh's speech given on behalf of the Party's Central Committee, it is clear that its view is identical to the more concise slogan now reportedly being circulated in China to sum up Mao's life, "Before liberation, great merit; after liberation, great mistakes; during the Cultural Revolution, crimes." Even

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HOW NOW DOW JONES?

The Stock market plunged downward last week day after day, with hundreds of millions of shares changing hands in some of the busiest days in Wall Street history, sustaining the worst drop in almost six years. Prices of stocks dropped across the board, adding up to one of the broadest declines in the history of the New York Stock Exchange. This plunge may be only momentary, but it is the latest sign of a crisis which is anything but momentary, and which goes very deep.

This month marks the 50th anniversary of the 1929 crash, and this steep plunge has provoked many comparisons with that of 50 years ago which signaled the Great Depression. It is true, as bourgeois analysts hasten to point out, that there are many differences between the stock market of

1929 and that of 1979. One of the chief differences is that today corporations raise most of their capital (money invested in them) through loans rather than through the stock market, where shares in the companies are bought and sold. But nonetheless the stock market does remain an important financial market, and this fall in stock prices is certainly significant.

It is significant because it is a barometer, a sign of the underlying and deep crisis which grips U.S. imperialism. This particular stock market crisis may pass, but the underlying crisis of which it is just one more sign will not. Although this plunge is not as bad as that of 50 years ago, the economic crisis which underlies this one is even worse than that underlying the crash of

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Regional Conferences on Mao Defendants, May Day

See Centerfold

Racism & the CPUSA

The interview with the brother from Cleveland (*RW* Sept. 13) was powerful. It said so many things, so many things that I have felt and I believe growing numbers of Black revolutionary-minded sisters and brothers are thinking and feeling who have come into contact with the RCP. The brother spoke for many who are increasingly looking to the RCP and who are joining with the RCP to build the necessary revolutionary machinery to unite and head working class and oppressed people, Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Asian, and white, who are all stomped down by this foul and funky system to overthrow it. Many are turning to the RCP because, like it rang out in the brother's interview, the RCP and its chairman Comrade Bob Avakian, the foremost revolutionary in America, are revolutionary to the bone; and nowhere, at no time can a revolutionary be determined simply on the basis of how he or she looks, what color is his or her skin. A simple eyesight analysis just won't do.

For the cold-blooded reality is that the victims of this system of oppression come in all colors, and what is needed to deal with the situation is revolutionary understanding, a revolutionary working class understanding and leadership—rather than simply leadership based on skin color. The only measuring stick to see who is for real and who is bullshit is what one is about and what one does. A revolutionary party is determined by its line and practice. The ruling class shows us this all the time. They gunned down Malcolm X and Fred Hampton and carried out hellbent repression against the Black Panther Party most basically because they stood in their time for a revolutionary direction, even though some of their ideas about what that actually meant and how to go about it were confused and even contradictory. On the other hand Black handkerchief heads and bootlicking Toms grew old and grey, dying from old age, weighed down with medals and plaques from the oppressor for services well done.

And that's why today the ruling class

is after Chairman Avakian and the RCP because they are revolutionary, thorough-going freedom fighters. Like the brother said, "I fear for him. Every leader that I have seen that was like Bob—something always happened to him. This is why I fear for him. I really do. That man's on fire, and I know the system is after him."

The same reason the ruling class is after Comrade Avakian and the RCP is the very same reason that the RCP is attracting revolutionaries of all nationalities into its ranks. Like one brother who attended an RCP program recently said, "It looked like the U.S.—all those nationalities." But different from the U.N. They were banded together and carrying out the revolutionary politics of the working class.

I think that the brother's point about how the old Communist Party (CPUSA) took the Black struggle to the cleaners is well taken. But to take it a step further though, not only did the old CP sell out the Black struggle, it took the working class to the cleaners too. In fact, the old CP sell-out of the Black struggle was rooted and flowed directly from the CP shamelessly giving up on revolution and the revolutionary potential of the working class and becoming a full-time caboose of the Democratic Party.

At the time in the '50s when the CPUSA was talking about "a realistic perspective has opened for a peaceful and democratic achievement of full social, political and economic equality of the Negro people within the framework of the specific American system and tradition." This was simply consistent with and came out of their overall line of ballot boxing it to socialism, the so-called "peaceful transition." If the working class could vote the capitalists out and vote socialism in, then it followed surely that the oppression of Black people could also be solved peacefully.

They gave up all pretense of revolutionary class struggle and went to the sky's the limit in class collaboration: the working class and its Party had no independent role to play, no need to

organize all sections of society around its banner. This is something the old CP never really understood, even in its better days. Take organizing the CIO. It did trade union work and was knee deep in trade union reformist politics—but no communist politics and communist work. And the same was true of its work in the National Negro Congress which was built by the CPUSA and was headed by A. Phillip Randolph—here they did civil rights work, not communist work.

In the '50s the CPUSA, rather than trying to bring revolutionary working class politics to the simmering Black struggle, cabooseed it behind the NAACP, claiming it was the vanguard of the Black struggle. Later they cabooseed it behind King while denouncing Malcolm X as a police agent. These were the same backstabbers who in the early '50s had called for basically putting the hopes of the working class and

the masses of people behind the Democratic Party. They said what was needed is a new administration which would start where the New Deal left off. These same revisionist politics also leads the CP to do what they're doing today—tag along with and push straight out bourgeois nationalism. Check out Angela Davis. Anything will do to drag revolution back.

I agree with the brother—the CPUSA was never half the party the RCP is. For the last 40 years the CP has never been a revolutionary party—it was a party of reform, sometimes more militant reformism than others, but nevertheless reformist. It never was a revolutionary party actively preparing the masses every hour on the hour for the overthrow of this system. Now our class and oppressed people have such a Party—the RCP.

Inspired,
R.G.



CHILE

Chile was aflame with the fight for liberation. The CIA drenched it in blood. In the face of this attack, the Chilean people had their hands tied behind their backs. How did this happen? Was it inevitable? How, six years later, are the Chilean people fighting to overthrow fascism? How can the people free themselves through revolution?

U.S. Speaking Tour
Jorge Palacios

Chilean Revolutionary Leader
(Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile)
Author: "Chile: An Attempt at Historic Compromise"

Sponsored by el Frente del Pueblo
a mass organization of Chilean resistance

Speaking in: Boston / New York / Ann Arbor / Detroit
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Frente del Pueblo de Chile, 2520 N. Lincoln Ave., Box 103, Chicago, IL 60614

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

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SEABROOK NUCLEAR BATTLE

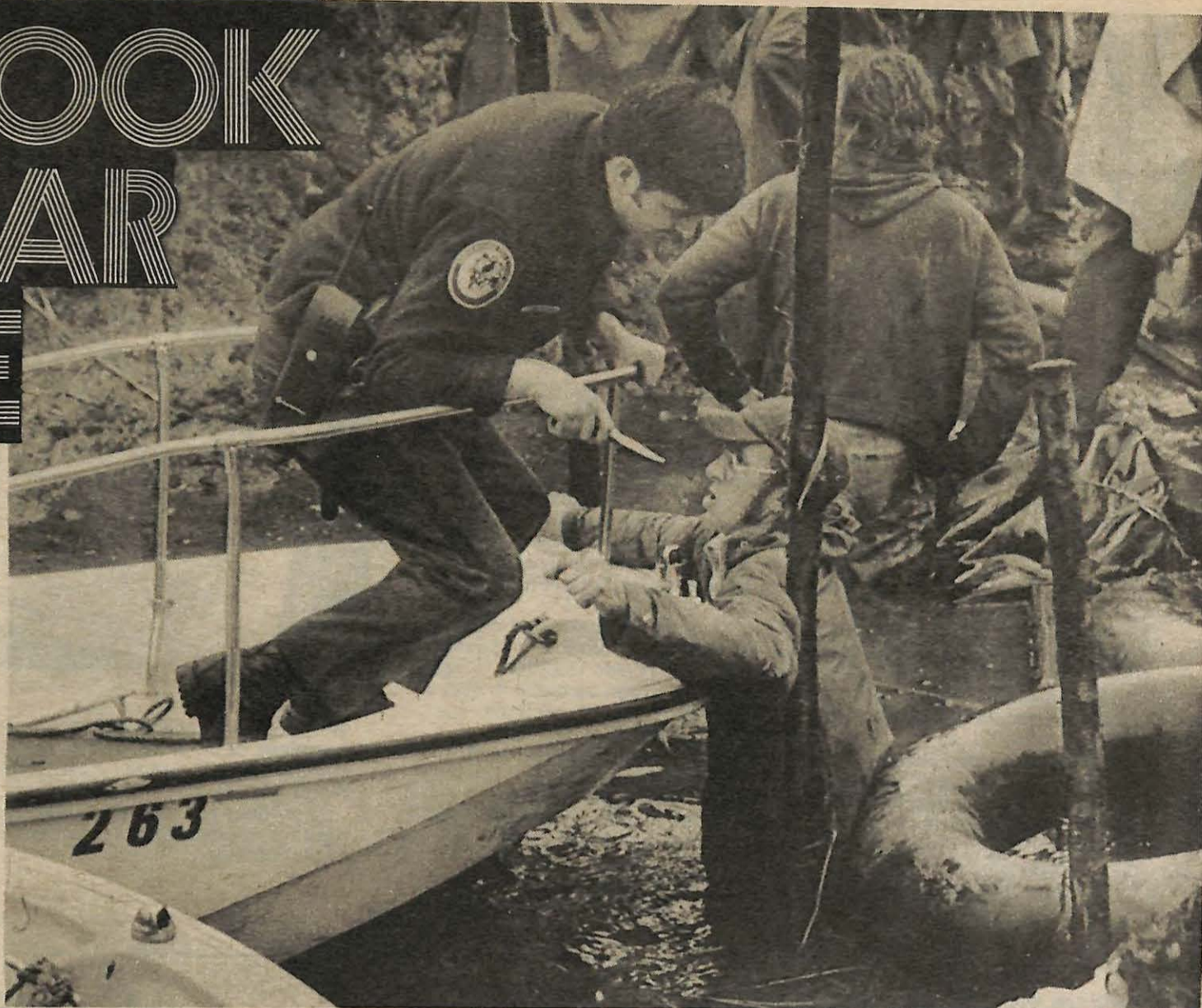
On Oct. 5th, eyes were focused on the Seabrook, New Hampshire, nuclear power construction site. Months of planning this nonviolent occupation were coming together. The purpose of the action was to occupy, camp on and shut down the site. Since 1977 when 1414 people were arrested in a non-violent demonstration at Seabrook, this site has been a focus of the anti-nuke movement.

People came from as far away as Michigan, Florida and California. They carried backpacks and some said they were prepared to camp out for years, if necessary, to shut down the site. They began arriving Thursday night preparing for a dawn occupation on Saturday. Campsites capable of providing for several thousand people were set up on the north side and south side of the plant on property provided by anti-nuke residents of Seabrook.

By 4 a.m. Saturday morning the small town was humming. People were pouring into the town to participate in the occupation, to help provide medical care, to serve the demonstrators coffee and to give them free rides up and down Route 1 surrounding the site.

Over 350 reporters had checked into the press headquarters by 5:30 a.m. Patrol cars rolled up and down roads and sat at every intersection. The state had called for the National Guard to be on hand from six New England states and even had judges set up inside the site prepared to immediately process any demonstrators arrested. They were not going to repeat 1977 when their courts and jails were jammed for days and their funds were bled in court proceedings.

All that preparation once again ex-



State trooper armed with knife to puncture demonstrator's pontoon raft, faces off against protestor outside Seabrook nuclear site.

posed that nuclear power is not the irrational policy of the rulers of this country. It is a critical part of their preparation and strategy for World War 3. The anti-nuke movement is politically threatening to this strategy, and at Seabrook, the focal point of this movement, they did not want militant mass action.

At 8:30 a.m. 1500 demonstrators, most with 40-pound back packs, crossed a half-mile sea marsh on the south side of the site. A thousand crossed on the north side. Some news reporters had joined them while others stood at the edge of the marsh, prepared to film this formation of people about to cut an opening in the wire fence surrounding

the site.

Cops lined the inside of the fence waiting. On the south side, 10 people moved up to the fence with wire cutters. They tried to protect themselves with a sheet of plastic, but as soon as they got within a few feet of it, the cops began macing them and threw tear gas into the rest of the crowd. Although a few canisters were thrown back at the cops, the crowd was forced off.

The cops continued to harass the demonstrators and flaunt their strength. They had attack dogs, clubs and guns. They used a water cannon on the north side to keep people from even approaching the fence, and helicopters hovered low overhead. When again on the south side a hole was successfully cut through the fence, instead of the demonstrators getting onto the site, the cops poured out.

They covered their badge numbers, and although people constantly declared their nonviolence, the cops didn't hesitate to club them. They tore off back packs, confiscating gas masks, plastic protection and wire cutters.

By noon it was a stalemate. Some people left discouraged, but over half remained, determined to occupy the site for the next two days. Floating bridges were built to cross the swamp, now at high tide, and canisters of water were brought out to relieve those tear gassed.

By Saturday night the press had the story they wanted. They tooted the capitalists' horn. They fabricated so-called violence on the part of the demonstrators, though the most violent thing they did was to clip the fence. They gloated over the inability of the demonstrators to get on the site. They even brazenly admitted that cops covered their badge numbers. The message was clear—you can't fight the powers that be.

Despite this, Sunday and Monday two more assaults were attempted. Several hundred demonstrators stormed the main gate, but again they were beaten back with water cannons and tear gas. As a few people tried to chain themselves to the gate, the cops sprayed mace from a distance of one foot—close enough to blind. A few other demonstrators tried to get over the fence with a ladder but were beaten back. While these actions were going on, the picket line outside the site swelled to a thousand supporters.

Monday night, some stayed picketing the front gate all night. They tried to talk with the cops but got only threats in return. "In the morning this place is

going to look like Danang," they said, and "Why don't you go home, then we could come back in the morning and beat the shit out of each other."

And again Tuesday, several hundred demonstrators surrounded the courthouse where the dozen arrested who refused to give their names were being held. The cops were merciless. They tore apart the crowd, clubs swinging. Several were injured and many were stunned by the viciousness of the cops in response to their persistent non-violence and their attempts to win over the cops.

Bankruptcy of Pacifism

In the face of this four-day battle, the line of the leaders of the Coalition for Direct Action, the sponsors of this occupation, stood bare. Continually they had insisted on nonviolence, berating anyone who heaved tear gas canisters or even gave the finger to the pigs. "Save the cops, stop the nukes," they hollered. And they instructed people confronted with the cops armed with their attack dogs to put their hands behind them and "make human noises to show you're human too." "This is a universal issue, not a class issue" they said.

Some criticized the demonstration only on the narrow grounds that the occupation had been scheduled "too soon." They claimed the problem was too few people. But the State admitted they were preparing to stop even 10,000-15,000 people if necessary.

But the weekend at Seabrook painted a clear picture that this is not a "universal" but exactly a class issue—one rooted in the rule of the capitalist class over society, and the capitalists' control of the forces of the state. The forces were lined up. The capitalists stood exposed, having to stop the occupation at the point of a gun. And people left Seabrook hotly debating the lessons of this action. The forces revealed by this confrontation show not only that this battle is far from over, but also give a glimpse of the nature of this whole imperialist system and what will be required to deal with it.

October 27

Breaking With Old Ideas



Eugene, Oregon at 2 p.m. at Cinema 7

Portland, Oregon at 8 p.m.,
Northwest Service Center, 19th and
N.W. Everett

Benefit for the Million Dollar Fund Drive
Sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Party.

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Message from Communist Party of New Zealand

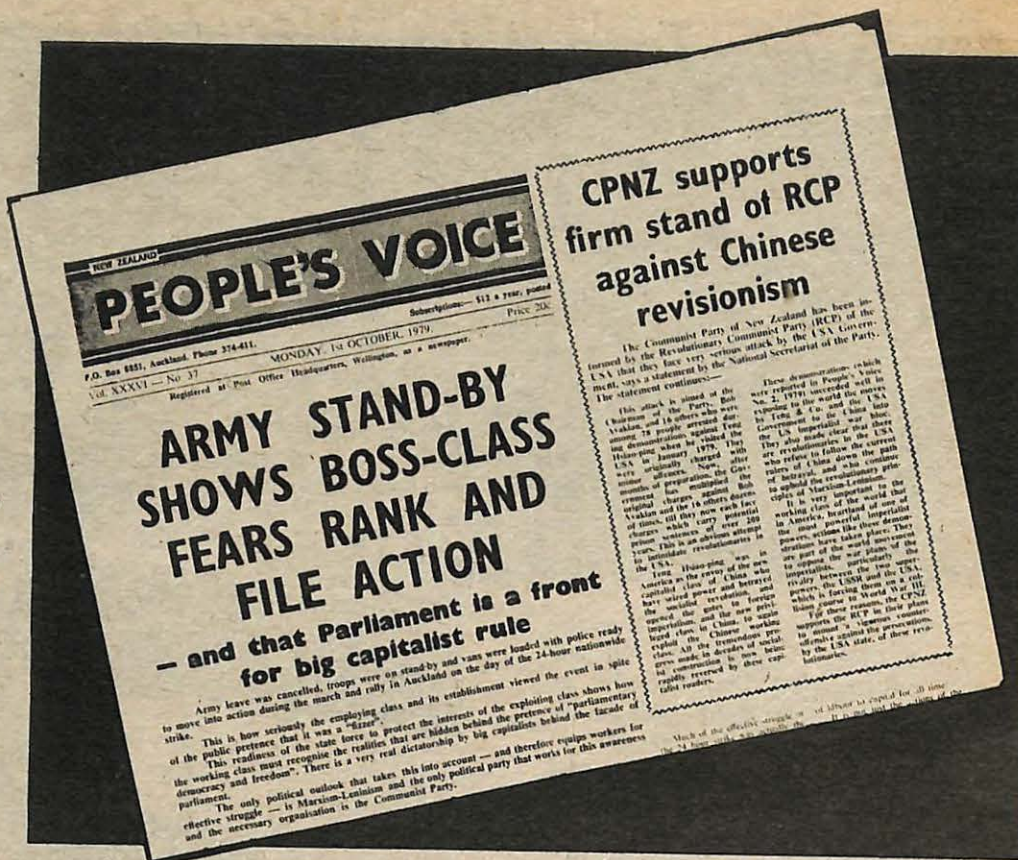
The Communist Party of New Zealand has been informed by the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) of the U.S.A. that they face very serious attack by the U.S.A. Government.

This attack is aimed at the Chairman of the Party, Bob Avakian, and 16 others who were among 78 people arrested during demonstrations against Teng Hsiao-ping when he visited the U.S.A. in January 1979. They were originally charged with minor offenses. Now, after months of preparation, the Government has multiplied the original charges against Bob Avakian and the 16 others dozens of times, till they now each face charges which carry potential prison sentences of over 200 years. This is an obvious attempt to intimidate revolutionaries in the U.S.A.

Teng Hsiao-ping was in America as the envoy of the new capitalist class of China who have seized power and betrayed the socialist revolution, and opened the gates to foreign imperialism, and the new privileged class in China, to again exploit the Chinese working class. All the tremendous progress made in decades of socialist construction is now being rapidly reversed by these capitalist roaders.

These demonstrations (which were reported in *People's Voice* No. 2, 1979) succeeded well in exposing to the world the moves by Teng & Co. and the U.S.A. Government to tie China into the U.S. imperialist war bloc. They also made clear that there are revolutionaries in the U.S.A. who refuse to follow the current rulers of China down the path of betrayal, and who continue to uphold the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

It is very important to the working class of the world that in America, heartland of one of the most powerful imperialist powers, actions like these demon-



strations have taken place. They are part of the world movement to oppose the war plans of the imperialists, particularly the rivalry between the two superpowers, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., which is forcing them on a collision course to World War III.

For these reasons, the CPNZ supports the RCP in their plans to mount a vigorous counter-offensive against the persecutions, by the U.S.A. state, of these revolutionaries.

National Secretariat, CPNZ

TURN D.C. UPSIDE-DOWN!



They've Thrown Down the Gauntlet—A Deadly Serious Challenge, and a Truly Great Opportunity . . .

... to go straight up against this system and rock this country at its very foundation. This is a call for volunteers to join the front lines of the battle in Washington, D.C.

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party is issuing a call, throughout this land, to Party members and all others who are willing and determined to make the necessary sacrifices to take their stand with the Party—to volunteer to go to Washington, D.C., beginning a few weeks before the trial starts on November 19, and continuing to its conclusion; to join the front lines of the battle to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants and Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian; to gather their combined force where the trial is to be held, in the very political capital of our imperialist rulers, and through their united efforts to take the issue of this trial, and the crucial political questions it concentrates, out to hundreds of thousands of people in the Washington, D.C. area, so that by the time the trial starts, and even more so through the course of it, this will become the major political question in that area and indeed throughout the country, known of and talked about on a daily basis by masses of people.

We aim at nothing less than turning that area into a major political battleground, and in so doing and through the support built in every major area, to rock this whole country to its foundation. . . Two hundred "picked troops" will be selected and sent, political organizers who will fan out across D.C. on a daily basis, educating and activating many times their number.

The trial of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants will begin Nov. 19th. To volunteer to be selected by the Party to serve on this battlefield, contact the address nearest you listed on page 2.

Message from the Italian Journal

Corrispondenza Internazionale

The following telegram was received from the Italian journal *Corrispondenza Internazionale*:

To the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party USA. In the name of the editorial board of *Corrispondenza Internazionale* I express the staff's militant solidarity to comrade Avakian and other RCP militants who U.S. imperialism is trying to intimidate exactly because of internationalist commitment. Will extend in Italy knowledge of your struggle.

Trial of Mao

Continued from page 1

this slander is out of date, since the Chinese revisionists have already brought still more things done by Mao under fire. But nevertheless this slogan is a pretty accurate statement of the evidence on which these motley revisionists will be judging Mao: "He was a communist, not a bourgeois-democrat like us."

This revisionist "sum up" of Mao is actually a naked self-exposure by the current rulers. They are exactly what Mao called them—bourgeois-democrats. They were people who benefitted from and supported the revolution up to a certain point—kicking out the foreign exploiters and domestic feudal forces, but increasingly resisted a revolution that went any further. Mao put it this way in 1975, "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they wanted revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interest of high officials."

Word Games

Today, even as they fire on Mao, these revisionists are still tiptoeing up to their target. This is a reflection of the great prestige that Mao's revolutionary line still has among the Chinese people, even after three full years of reactionary political attacks. So they have tried, and are still trying, many tricks to throw people off guard.

The current rulers' whole approach since the coup in 1976 has been testimony to their political bankruptcy and cowardice. They've had to go through a twisted process to arrive at the point they are approaching today. When they first arrested the "gang of

four," the revisionists tried to win people over by saying that the Four had opposed Mao. The Chinese press was filled with personal slander and phony articles like "A Factual Report: Crushing the 'Gang of 4' Was a Wise Decision by Chairman Mao" (*Peking Review*, No.3, January 1977). The second phase of their attack was to blast Mao's political line, but by pretending that it was only the line of the "gang of four." Now we are entering the final phase which will culminate around the trial, where Mao and the Four are linked back together by these revisionists and jointly thrown overboard.

Even today, the revisionists try to mask their outright attack on Mao by pretending they are simply attacking the "cult of the individual." Yeh's speech, for example, says, "Leaders are not gods. They are not infallible and therefore should not be deified. . . Even less can we permit any individual to place himself above the organization and the masses." You don't have to read very far between the lines to see that these butcher revisionists, who have executed many genuine revolutionaries, are accusing Mao of being the one-man head of what they have called the "fascist dictatorship of the gang of 4"

Mao more than once cleared away this sort of fog and got to the heart of the matter. He said, "Some people opposed Lenin, saying that he was a dictator. Lenin's reply was straightforward: 'better that I should be a dictator than you.'" And "opposition to the cult of the individual may also have one of two aims: one is opposition to an incorrect cult, and the other is opposition to reverence for others and a desire for reverence for oneself. The question at issue is not whether or not there should be a cult of the individual, but rather whether or not the individual concerned represents the truth. . . Our Party has stressed the combination of the role of the individual with collective leader-

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Bob Avakian Talks with a Reformist Socialist

Just Who Is Being Unrealistic?

Following is a portion of a radio talk show with Bob Avakian in Madison, Wisconsin.

Radio M.C.: You're on the air now.

Caller: Hi. The comment I would like to make on Mr. Avakian's speech is, I'm not exactly surprised that what he says seems rather detached from reality. I think it's abundantly clear that there's really very little relationship between what he's saying about the political situation in our country and what the political situation actually is. Now one thing I want to emphasize I really don't want people to get the impression the kinds of things he's saying represent the thinking of all leftists and all organized political leftists in this country. Because I think there are a lot of people for instance, in the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, or the New American Movement, or the Common Sense Coalition right here in Madison, who have a very different perspective of trying to unite all democratic socialists behind some kind of platform or organization, and you see, trying to build a broader progressive movement that includes sections of the labor movement, citizens groups, environmental groups, the feminist movement and so on.

B.A.: You mean like Doug Fraser? Is that what you are referring to? People like that?

Caller: I certainly wouldn't rule out Mr. Fraser and his union being part of any kind of progressive formation coming into being in this country. I certainly

ly don't think it's feasible at this point to ignore labor leaders like Fraser simply because they might not agree with us on all issues.

M.C.: Could you do me a favor and just point out a couple of things that Bob Avakian said that you think are out of touch with reality.

Caller: I think one thing that is out of touch with reality is the allegation that millions of people in this country are going to be hurled into struggle in the '80s and hurled into the kind of struggle that Mr. Avakian seems to think has some likelihood of happening, i.e. struggle organized around the politics of his Party, politics that is primarily in the streets, politics that seem, according to him, to be very soon approaching a kind of insurrectionary peak. I just think this is really far from the reality of politics in the United States today.

M.C.: What you're saying is...

Caller: I think it is also very unlikely that people are going to get very interested in a kind of politics that takes China, even yesterday, as a model because I don't think people in this country are interested in a socialism that is, essentially and was, and still is today a one-party state. I think that people are interested, if they are interested in socialism, and if they can be interested in socialism, in a multi-party system, in a democratic kind of socialism, in a kind of socialism that extends political and economic and social liberties instead of restricting them.

B.A.: I would say after listening to you

that you are the one that is completely out of touch with the reality of this society, with the reality of the things that millions of people go through and most fundamentally with the reality of what this system is all about. You're talking about a socialism that has been tried for a couple of hundred years, which is essentially reformist and bourgeois socialism that relies upon bourgeois leaders like Doug Fraser and...

Caller: I beg your pardon...

B.A.: Wait a minute, I didn't interrupt you when you were talking, I listened very patiently, and I think that you owe it to the listeners out here to do the same. What you're talking about is, you're not dealing with the reality of the system that first of all is a dictatorship of the capitalist class which is enforced by force of arms. If you don't believe it then explain to me what happened to Fred Hampton, what happened at Kent State, what happened at Attica, what happened back through the history of this country to the Wobblies or anybody who seriously posed a threat to this system. What happened in Vietnam, what happened in Chile. What were the U.S. arms doing in Iran shooting down people? You're talking about a fairyland—what you're really talking about is you're ignoring that there are classes in this society. The "reality" you are talking about is the limited reality of sections of the middle classes, intellectuals and others who recognize no potential among, and by your own expression, think the masses of people are too dumb and stupid to understand and support what went on in revolutionary China, and therefore you have to turn to figures like Doug Fraser, who peddles chauvinist, blame-OPEC-for-all-the-problems lines, and are open servants of the U.S. ruling class and are now talking a little bit of weak-kneed socialism to try to keep the anger and frustration of people within acceptable bounds. I would suggest to you that you read an essay by Lenin, even if you don't believe Lenin at least you know that Lenin's party did prevail in Russia, that's an historical fact that can't be denied. It's called a lecture on the 1905 Revolution, and it was written just before the 1917 revolution when he summed up the lessons. It's in volume 23 of his works, where he takes on exactly the same viewpoint that you are now expressing. All the reformists and pseudo-socialists and bourgeois reformists, hangers-on of the system at that time denounced and ridiculed the Bolsheviks as being a tiny sect out of touch with reality and said there would never be a revolutionary situation in Russia. And they said that as late as the early 1900s but then 1905 came along and blew them all out of the water and the Bolsheviks' influence grew tremendously. And I think the thing that you're not dealing with is what is your stand on the growing developments toward world war? What do you think is necessary to prevent that war? How other than revolution can this world war be prevented and do you think that people are incapable of grasping that and acting upon it?

Caller: May I say something?

B.A.: Sure, go ahead.

Caller: I have essentially two comments on what Mr. Avakian just said. The first comment is that I defy anyone who is listening to this tirade that Avakian just launched into to find any similarities between what I said previously and what he then proceeded to allege that I said. I did not say that the socialism that I was in favor of was, for instance, the society that they have in Britain or Sweden. I did not say that I was in favor of piecemeal reforms to increase the benevolence of the system. I didn't say any of those things. I certainly didn't say the capitalists don't dominate this system. But I certainly wouldn't say that it's of no significance that there are democratic rights in this country. That you can have organized political parties that are independent of

the control of the government, that it's of no significance that people have free speech, freedom of religion, that it's of no significance that the working class can organize itself into independent trade unions. Now Mr. Avakian evidently thinks that these rights are of no significance. I can't agree. And I think that's precisely why the kind of socialism that Avakian poses and the kind of socialism that I, and I think many other people would pose, are fundamentally different. Because I have a vision and I think other people share it, of a democratic kind of socialism. And when you come down to what Avakian's vision is, it is not of a democratic socialism. It's of a socialism where the state basically controls the entire social life of society, and essentially what it says goes, as it did in China, and as it did in the Soviet Union. Now that's not to deny the important reforms or advances that were made in the conditions of people in those countries, but it is to say that that can't really be a model for the United States, and it's not indeed what I think that people in this country are interested in. And now my final comment would be that I think that Avakian's analogy to Lenin's article in 1905 and to the Bolshevik revolution once again shows that really his analyses are not based on a consideration of U.S. reality, using the Marxism that he talks about so much, but rather lifting, wholesale, various so-called lessons from other people's revolutions like the Bolsheviks or like the Chinese. And that in fact I think is the root of a great deal of the error of unreality that I think most people listening will agree is evidenced by Mr. Avakian's remarks.

B.A.: Let me ask you a question. Do you believe that in order even to achieve the kind of socialism that you are talking about, and we can discuss more of what that is in a second, do you believe that it is necessary in order to abolish capitalism in this society to have a violent revolution or not?

Caller: I believe that it is certainly necessary to have a revolution. The nature, violent or peaceful, of it, I think is something that is to be decided by the situation as it develops and most particularly the responses to whatever reforms or steps, or structural changes are made by the capitalists and the people allied to them. I don't think it is something that we can judge in advance as indeed I don't think Marx did, or Lenin did, or Rosa Luxembourg or Antonio Gramsci and a number of other competent analysts did.

B.A.: In other words, you think it's not clear that at this point the capitalists will resist forcibly and violently any attempt to abolish capitalism in this country?

Caller: No, I don't think that necessarily follows. I think we should strive to make it a peaceful transformation and that if it appears that there's going to be problems, well, then those will just have to be dealt with. But I think that at this point to run around screaming, essentially, at the top of your lungs about the necessity for a violent armed conflict is simply to...

B.A.: Would you like it any better if I said it in a soft voice?

Caller: No, no, I would prefer it if you didn't say it at all.

B.A.: Right, I know. Because the point is that you're the one who's obviously out of touch with reality with a ruling class that will shoot down people in Attica prison demanding a few actual reforms, not even demanding a revolution. Will murder them in cold blood for the simple reason that they have to make an example out of people even demanding reforms, and if you look at the whole history of this country, and you're quite wrong on what Marx, Lenin, every Marxist, in fact, has said... Marx said that force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with the new. Lenin wrote a whole book, *State and Revolution* and a number of other things like *The Proletarian*

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"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 241 years in jail.



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.

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

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 INVASION OF VANCOUVER

Revolutionary Worker

October 1, British Columbia. Gazing out the back of the chopper, I see the landscape through the fumes ejected, giving the picture an unreal quality, removal from the situation our class faces. Only hours before, Jimmy Carter had delivered his speech on the Soviet troops in Cuba. "We must be able to move our ground, sea and air units to distant areas rapidly and with adequate supplies." "Ground, sea and air... rapidly," the words spun off the rotors of the Twin Huey which had dumped us on board the *U.S.S. New Orleans* as a dozen reporters ran under the whoosh of the chopper cameras and recorders flying.

Forty-five U.S. and Canadian ships converged off the northern tip of Vancouver Island. Only the faint glow of lights in the night fog indicated the gathering armada. About 40,000 troops and 150 aircraft had come to this isolated spot on the coast of western Canada for one of the largest amphibious military maneuvers in recent history. Lurking beneath the surface were nuclear attack submarines, missiles and torpedoes at the ready. As the sky grew light and the fog lifted, the air was filled with helicopters while landing craft circled, waiting for the order to go ashore. The assault phase of Kernel Potlatch II was about to begin.

All this was a "war game." The deadly game of preparing for war.

* * * * *

The day before as we pulled into the Esquimalt Military Base in British Columbia, the guards dutifully checked off our names. We entered Building No. 74 for the press briefing. Coffee and biscuits were served while plans for World War III were laid before us.

"Vancouver," noted the Commander of the Canadian Maritime Forces Pacific in a press briefing the same day as Carter's Cuba speech, "is now the second largest port in North America, second only to New York. But you add to this the traffic that moves in and out of Seattle/Tacoma, the Portland port which has become a very large port these days and also the strategic oil routes from Alaska, and you will understand that we are talking about a very important piece of water in terms of North American or Western defense. . . . We are now facing a threat from an opponent or a possible opponent who has worldwide capability. And therefore a threat to North America or to western sea lines of communication can happen anywhere, and the west coast of North America would not be excluded from this."

Rear Admiral Martin delivered this with the cold precision of an accountant. He was a model of military etiquette, pressed uniform, his voice a monotone, an impassive face. The calculations of World War are, after all, just part of the job.

The operation supposed that the

"orange forces" had invaded and occupied Alaska and the west coast of Canada. An early-warning radar station had been erected on the northern tip of Vancouver Island, guarded by two companies of "orange" troops. "Blue forces" were to proceed from San Diego and then launch an invasion of northern Vancouver Island and retake the tip of the island.

In case there was any question of who the "orange" forces were, a Canadian general clarified the point: "The orange side, or red side, or whatever colors you use to denote the enemy." Once outside the press briefing, people didn't bother with colors at all: it was simply "the Russians."

Of course, Admiral Martin was quick to point out that such an assault on North America, "without great escalation on a worldwide basis and therefore the possible threat of nuclear war," is quite unlikely. As if the thought of a nuclear holocaust were supposed to reassure us.

But the military might of the U.S. and its Canadian brethren was being

marshalled behind just that thought. Before we left to board the helicopters down for the "front lines," the public information officer asked once more, "Has everyone with the press signed what we call the 'next of kin form'?"

Kernel Potlatch II, the latest attempt to fine-tune U.S. imperialism's war machine in the Pacific, lasted three weeks. It began in San Diego. There the 11th Marine Amphibious Unit, the 3rd Battalion of Princess Patricia's Canadian Light Infantry, the Second Canadian Destroyer Squadron, 36 ships of the U.S. Third Fleet, and numerous other aviation and support units gathered, first to practice their maneuvers and then to convoy up the West Coast.

The reason for all this? A mutual defense treaty signed by the U.S. and Canada in 1946. Or so they say.

But all the talk about "defense of North America" was just window dressing for the real concern—preparing for war against the Soviet Union. And it was a concern that the military brass made little effort to conceal.

Letter from a Canadian Worker

The Revolutionary Worker recently received this letter from a Canadian autoworker through the Marxist-Leninist Organization of Canada IN STRUGGLE.

American and Canadian comrades,

This letter to all Canadian and American autoworkers is a call for unity.

Bourgeois propaganda vaunts the "blessings" of capitalism. Bourgeois propaganda tries to paper over the crisis that racks advanced capitalist and imperialist countries throughout the world. The bourgeoisie is trying to sugar-coat the bitter pill. It wants to make us accept the crisis and shoulder the brunt of the burden.

The "blessings" of capitalism are very real and very concrete for the tens and hundreds of thousands of autoworkers.

For GM, the "blessings" of capitalism mean declared profits of \$3.5 billion and an overproduction crisis that is causing a delay in the marketing of the 1980 models to allow dealers to dispose of their inventory of 1979 models. For thousands of workers at GM, the "blessings" of capitalism mean layoffs, lower wages and the loss of certain acquired rights.

For thousands of workers at Chrysler, the "blessings" of capitalism mean an appeal to "tighten their belts" with a separate agreement involving cuts in wages, sizeable layoffs affecting thousands of workers and, of course, speed-ups for those "lucky" enough to hang onto their jobs. All this is designed to do one thing: make maximum profits and "save our poor

bourgeoisie."

The "blessings" of capitalism mean that in times of crisis the working class and the people as a whole must foot the bill. The "blessings" of capitalism mean profits for the bourgeoisie and grinding poverty for the working class and all the people.

To get the working class to swallow all these "blessings" of capitalism, the bourgeoisie relies on support from traitors within the labour movement and its agents infiltrated within our ranks.

This is why the UAW brass—the Frasers, Whites, Deans and their likes—do everything they can to divide the working class. The favorite weapon of these "opportunists" is without a doubt nationalism and all its guises.

This is why they tell us: "The Americans are to blame for layoffs in Canada. They steal our jobs," or that "American workers don't want a strike September 14 because they don't want to fight" (sic). Consequently, the UAW decided that GM in the United States would be the "target company" and that workers at GM Canada would stay on the job. It was out of the question for Canadian workers to strike in support of American workers.

These rotten opportunists will do everything they can to divide the working class and sabotage the unified resistance of the Canadian and American working class—always, it should be remembered, with an eye to "saving our poor bourgeoisie."

Comrades and fellow workers, The working class has nothing to expect from these opportunists. We are all workers and we are all—American,

The convoy up the coast, complete with enemy air and submarine attacks, was designed to practice and test anti-submarine warfare and convoy tactics. Exactly the weapons needed to protect supply routes from the formidable Soviet submarine force in case of world war. This is particularly clear in the practice of an amphibious assault, a tactic which serves little purpose in an invasion of North America but could play an important part in the defense (or expansion) of other parts of the far-flung American empire. This is particularly true for Canadian troops, who have less experience in the amphibious operations which were key in winning the Pacific during the last world war, and which U.S. imperialism has employed—with considerably less success—in Korea, Vietnam, and the 1962 Bay of Pigs invasion in Cuba. "After all," remarked one junior officer, "we can't practice in Cuba or Libya."

Sailors performed their jobs with all the enthusiasm of a chain gang. But on the darkened bridge, officers scurried about, grappling with the complexities of coordinating massive military forces on the land, in the air, and on and below the sea. In the decks below, hundreds of marines whittled away the hours of enforced boredom with cards, waiting for lights out.

Beyond its military value, this operation was a big public relations bonanza for the U.S. and Canadian ruling classes. This was particularly true in Canada, where a concerted effort is under way to win public opinion for more military spending for the U.S. war bloc. All NATO countries are supposed to increase their military budget by 5% above and beyond inflation, but this move has met with little enthusiasm from the Canadian people. Pictures of Navy ships gliding across Canadian TV screens and marines battling on the front pages of newspapers in British Columbia and Alberta, accompanied by phrases like "keeping our international commitments," were undoubtedly designed to bolster public support for the imperialist war machine.

But this was merely a side product of one of the largest joint U.S.-Canadian military maneuvers ever undertaken. Units from Edmonton, Alberta to Pearl Harbor, Hawaii were brought together in the deadly serious game of putting the U.S. bloc's military forces on a war footing.

When the fog cleared off Vancouver Island's coast, the morning light revealed the cold calculations of the U.S.-sponsored imperialist alliance. ■

Canadian, English-speaking or French-speaking—exploited by the same enemy: capitalism.

To fight back against the tactics of division used by the bourgeoisie and its agents infiltrated in our ranks, the working class must begin right now to build the unity of workers in Canada and the United States. Workers must demand jobs or full compensation for workers at Chrysler. There can be no question of the working class accepting a separate agreement designed to lower the wages or providing for layoffs and unemployment for Chrysler workers. We realize that if the bourgeoisie and its agents can impose this kind of measures on part of the working class today, tomorrow it will be our turn.

We should build the unity and common struggle of all Canadian and American workers to make the bourgeoisie and its agents back down. We must break the curtain of silence and division perpetuated by the labour bosses of the UAW.

This is why this open letter is a call to all American and Canadian workers to link arms across the border and make known our demands and point of view, concerning both our immediate demands and perspectives for building the revolutionary unity of American and Canadian workers to put an end once and for all to the capitalist system of exploitation, the fundamental cause of all the injustices suffered by the working class. Capitalism has outlived its time. The working class must take up and carry through its historic task: the establishment of socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Long live proletarian internationalism!
A communist worker at GM Canada.

Pope's Visit Summed Up

THE CROSS AND THE SWORD



In the year 1095 the French pope Urban II called on his countrymen to stop fighting among themselves and join ranks against the infidel. So began the first Crusade to seize Jerusalem, which had fallen into the hands of the Turks. Coincidentally, Urban II's call for the crusade came at the same time as an appeal to the pope from the Byzantine emperor Alexius I in Constantinople, who was being threatened by the same heathen Seljuk Turks. With the cry of "God wills it!" the crusaders marched off with cross and sword, filled with blessings and indulgences from the pope. History does not record Alexius I's response to these actions by Urban II, but there is little doubt that it could have been aptly expressed in the words of the *New York Times* in the wake of the visit to the U.S. by Urban's modern day successor, John Paul 2: "Here's a pope that knows how to pope."

In a far cry from the days when American Catholics squirmed under the charge that if a Catholic were ever elected president the pope would be in the White House, the pope was in the White House—blessing the crowd from the balcony, with the permission of a Southern Baptist. The warm welcome and fulsome praise the U.S. ruling class showered on the pope was well deserved. In seven days in the U.S. he delivered 63 speeches, and while the themes varied slightly, in every case he plucked the right cords and strummed the right tune. He began in Boston as he stepped off the plane and hailed "America the Beautiful," using the

words of the hymn "God crown your good with brotherhood from sea to shining sea." In New York's Madison Square Garden he addressed a rally of 19,000 youth, admonishing them against rebellion and concern with material goods. In Iowa he walked through the "amber waves of grain" and extolled the Christian values of America, the hard work and respect for the simple life, virtue and authority. But it was in Chicago that he gave his heaviest pitch for the unity of the American people to meet the challenges ahead.

Chicago, the largest Catholic Archdiocese in the country, is well known for its plurality of nationalities, a large Black population, and hundreds of thousands of people of Eastern and Southern European origin. And historically, Chicago has been a city where the bourgeoisie has most successfully used its divide-and-rule tactics, pitting the various nationalities against one another, promoting racism and national divisions to prevent the masses from uniting against a common exploiter and oppressor, the capitalist class itself. But at the same time, the bourgeoisie is very happy to try to unite people around "higher" bourgeois values, about which the pope spoke so eloquently.

Taking for his text the sacred words of the U.S. Mint that are stamped on the back of coins, *E Pluribus Unum*, "from many—one," John Paul emphasized that from the great diversity of cultures and heritages, from many parts of the world, the American people had

been molded into one people. "One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." Never mind that there is not liberty and justice for all in the U.S. That can be taken care of, as he often repeated, by the wealthy sharing some of their bounty with the poor. The key is that we are one people. To hell with class differences. One people that must be welded together to fight for truth, justice and the American Way. Great lengths were gone to in portraying this unity visibly in the Pontifical celebration in Grant Park. Even though the Catholic Archdiocese has time and again shown its contempt for Black people, most recently by trying to close down an all-Black Catholic high school that the students and parents have fought vigorously to keep open, they made sure that Black faces were highly visible in the liturgical ceremonies.

But if his appeal to the unity of the American people was broad, his stand on matters of Catholic faith and doctrine was rigidly sectarian. If anything, John Paul's sermonizing in the U.S. was marked by a rejection of the ecumenism and ecclesiastical reformism attributed to his predecessors, especially Pope John 23. He was rigid in his assertions that Catholics must adhere to traditional Church teaching on birth control, abortion, marriage, celibacy for priests and the second-rate status of women. For all of his preaching about human rights and the dignity and equality of all individuals, he was adamant that women should stick to their convents, or stay at home as mothers

and wives, with no place in areas of leading responsibility or office.

There was also very little reaching out to the "separated brethren" of other faiths and denominations. His message was that this is the one, true, holy and apostolic Church, the largest and most disciplined church in the world, still the church of the Spanish Inquisition that demanded absolute doctrinal obedience and proclaimed the damnation of all those who refused to accept its divine authority. It wasn't quite as blatant as in the old days, but the message was the same.

This toughness on questions of the Church corresponded to his general "tough stand" that the bourgeoisie was so agog over. He reached back to the ignorance and superstition that was the foundation of the faith in the Middle Ages. You can't understand the world. So stand with humility and in silence and follow the orders and eternal truths handed out by those who know better, who have a direct pipeline to the mysterious, to God. You can't know the difference between good and evil yourself, so we will define good and evil. Anyone who does not accept all this will not be saved.

This was the Church Militant in the figure of John Paul 2. At almost every stop, choirs belted out on cue the church fight song: "Faith of our fathers living still, in spite of fire, dungeon and sword...we will be true to you 'til death." Here was a pope to preach a new crusade against the infidels, i.e. those godless "communists" in the

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POLITICAL POPE FOR U.S. WAR BLOC 922-11401

On Thursday, Oct. 4, the day before the Pope delivered mass in Chicago's Grant Park, this plane was seen flying over the downtown area with the slogan, "Political Pope for U.S. War Bloc" in tow. The Revolutionary

Workers Center in Chicago received many phone calls, including one man who demanded, "Are you the people that put that plane up?" "Yes, we are." "Well," answered the caller, "God bless you!"

Special to Revolutionary Worker

TALKS WITH AN IRANIAN WORKER

The following article about the role of the Iranian working class in the overthrow of the Shah and the developments in the struggle of the workers of Iran since, is the fourth in a series of articles about the Iranian revolution by Bob Saibel, a revolutionary activist and writer who has recently returned from a two and a half month stay in Iran. He was in the thick of the developing revolutionary struggle of the people from Tehran to Kurdistan and is now writing a book on his trip, which will be published in a few months.

Most of Iran's three million workers are concentrated in urban centers like the oil cities of Abadan and Ahwaz in the south, the developed region around Tabriz, and the capital city of Tehran. Also, most have recently come from the countryside. Zabiattollah was no exception, and like others who moved to the cities from the isolated traditional existence of rural life, his eyes were opened.

"I began working as a construction worker in Savabad (the Shah's compound of 16 palaces in Northern Tehran), where the Shah was making a palace for his mother. We heard they spent over 1 billion touman on it" (about \$100 million). He described his daily trip from his home in the dusty, narrow alleys of smog-choked south Tehran to northern Tehran, cool and fresh with its wide streets, multitude of trees, and expensive mansions for the rich. "When I went home, I would see where other workers lived; they wanted a place to rest and sleep, and made homes of tents and broken bricks. When there were no building materials around, they dug holes in the ground." But the people weren't even left in peace here, as the Shah's troops regularly attacked and destroyed their makeshift homes to protect the profits of land speculators.

One architect had told him the palace was costing 1 million toumen (\$100,000) a day to build, yet he made a mere 20 toumen (\$2-3 per day)—barely enough to pay for his cab fare to and from work, and a lunch of bread and cheese. If he hadn't lived with his brother, he couldn't have survived.

His brother, also a construction worker, had once asked his boss for a raise; he was met with the same response that the Shah's fascist regime dealt to any workers who resisted: "We only pay what you get, and if you want more, I'll introduce you to SAVAK." Under the Shah's "enlightened" rule all workers organizations were illegal, and workers who led strikes were subject to execution.

"I wondered why we were so poor?" Zabiattollah continued. "And more and more I began to understand the Shah's regime. But we must also thank the students. They were pioneers. They told us about the real face of the regime and what was going on in Iran. We know the imperialists and capitalists—that we just work for them and they have all the money. I've known work since childhood, but what capitalist has done this?"

Lives like these were the story of the Iranian people who exploded in a torrent of struggle last year. But within this stream of people from nearly all classes in society, the working class, particularly the oil workers, played a special role. I talked to Iranians from many walks of life, and they all testified to the powerful role played by the workers during the past year's revolutionary storms.

The Role of the Workers in Overthrowing the Shah

While the revolution was not led by the working class, when the oil workers came on the scene in a big way in late

1978, the struggle to overthrow the Shah was advanced to a new level at a decisive point. Realizing the strength of the working class and seeing it in action propelled many from other classes into the battle and inspired them to take bolder steps toward actually bringing down the Shah's regime.

"I consider myself politically advanced," one phone company engineer told me. "But when some oil workers demanded the overthrow of the Shah last November, I thought they were crazy. I could see demands like freeing political prisoners, but this was too much."

But the oil workers' strikes which started in October were far from crazy. Demanding freedom for political prisoners, an end to military rule, and breaking from the imperialist-controlled oil consortium, as well as the Shah's overthrow in some cases, this bold action unleashed a wave of strikes throughout Iran that virtually shut down the economy—from government offices to factories and shops, from November until the insurrection in February.

In conversations with people touched by this, however, it became clear to me that these political strikes, strongly influenced by the revolutionary Left, signified much more than simply the discovery of a new weapon to add to the Iranian revolution's arsenal of mass protests, street barricades, and molotov cocktails. Its impact went far beyond crippling the economy. The oil workers demands, and their refusal to settle even for the regime's desperate offer of a 100% wage increase to get them back to work, deepened the existing revolutionary movement and gave it a more fundamentally anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist thrust.

Workers all over Iran began raising political demands that went beyond just overthrowing the Shah, and hit at the roots of imperialist exploitation of Iran and the Shah's fascist dictatorship. Workers in the finance ministry demanded the expulsion of all foreign experts, ripping up the contracts with the foreign oil consortium, and even breaking the link between the U.S. dollar and the rial, Iran's currency. Bank workers demanded foreign advisors be expelled, laying special emphasis on military advisors. Newspaper, radio and television workers and writers struck against censorship and SAVAK presence in all of their offices, demanding control of the news.

During the winter months of '78-'79 the power plant workers in Tehran turned off the power every night at 8:30 just when the Shah's national news was to be aired (and about the time curfew was to be imposed). Workers in steel, machine tools, auto, airlines and dozens of other industries waged political strikes like these. In January, workers in Tehran demonstrated under the banner "Workers United to Destroy the Roots of Imperialism."

My engineer friend described how GTE (General Telephone and Electronics) and Bell Telephone plundered Iran and structured their "assistance" so Iran would be even more dependant on imperialism. "Finally 50 of us went up to each Bell employee and told them to get out. They asked for half an hour. We gave them five minutes." As the Bell employees beat a hasty exit, the sky was filled with shreds of paper. "Ticker

tape" goodbye? No, it was the reams of all their imperialist paperwork.

Although the workers were not the first to move and were not led by their own vanguard party, they profoundly influenced the whole course of the revolution; and they showed in embryo the role the working class can play in rallying other oppressed classes throughout society to its revolutionary banner of carrying the anti-imperialist democratic struggle through to victory and advancing from there to socialism. "We must destroy this regime and destroy capitalism and stand up and say, 'Where did you get your money, Mr. Capitalist?'" Zabiattollah declared. "From now on we are working for the benefit of all."

The Revolution Must Go Forward

The Iranian workers' stand was fundamentally opposed to the narrow, reformist leanings of the leadership of the Khomeini-Bazargan alliance, centered around Iran's national bourgeoisie and religious hierarchy. Even before the overthrow of the regime in February there was sharp struggle and the bourgeois forces opposed to the Shah tried to cool out the oil workers' struggle and narrow its aims.

In January, Khomeini sent soon to be prime minister Bazargan to the southern oil fields to try and get the oil workers to increase their domestic production (which could be used by the Shah's military) and to soften their anti-imperialist stand. After Bazargan returned, complaining that the workers had "no respect for religion," one of the leading revolutionary oil workers (who was later arrested) summed up Bazargan's trip to Abadan much differently: "...A group of opportunists is exploiting the death of the traitor regime and monopolizing the whole revolution."

So naturally in the days following the insurrection, this battle—whether to fundamentally root out the exploitation and oppression of the old system or to simply make a few cosmetic changes on the same old semi-colonial, semi-feudal foundation—whether to trade one set of exploiters for another—raged on.

In factories across Iran, workers rose up to smash the exploitation they had faced at the hands of the imperialists and the big Iranian bourgeoisie. They threw foreign owners and technicians, as well as hated bosses and SAVAK agents, out of the plants. Tens of thousands demanded their wages be paid since November, their jobs be guaranteed, and that workers who had been fired for political reasons during the revolution be reinstated. Many fought to insure that the workers' right to strike and organize politically would be protected.

The revolutionary Left, especially the Marxist-Leninist organizations, dove into this turmoil and have made great strides in linking up with the workers and giving their struggle conscious direction and leadership. Indeed, the phenomenon of revolutionaries going to the workers in recent months has become so widespread that no less than Prime Minister Bazargan was forced to whine on TV, "Why are all these students getting jobs in the factories? What do they want there?" As if he didn't know. Numerous leaflets put out by or for the workers today speak not only to workers' immediate struggles, but to the main political battles in Iran: from supporting the Kurdish rebellion to denouncing the new constitution and exposing the continued influence of U.S. imperialism inside the army and the government.

One woman described to me how shortly before Bahktiar (the Shah's stand-in) fled for his life in February, hundreds of students would gather daily at Tehran University and go to different striking factories to support the workers and spread revolutionary consciousness. In one factory she and a hundred other students spent day and night for nearly a week. Besides non-stop political discussion, these revolutionaries presented a play based on Gorky's novel about the Bolshevik revolution, *The Mother*, bringing many of the workers to tears.

Since the February insurrection, the

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Slums of tin-can shacks—called Halabad ("Tinsville") by the residents—ring Tehran and most major Iranian cities.



Iranian workers at 1979 May Day march. Poster reads: "Capital comes from the blood and sweat of workers."

economic crisis of the new regime has deepened, due to the legacy of imperialist domination of Iran, and the new regime's inability to transform the economy in the interests of the masses of the people. Millions of workers have borne the brunt of this, with nearly 40% of them unemployed, and inflation raging unabated. In fact the current economic situation is much the same, if not worse than under the past regime. This has led to numerous strikes, sit-ins, and demonstrations of workers of many different industries.

Islamic Government Clamps Down

Sensing the potentially decisive role of the working class when it is politically armed and conscious of its role in being able to actually lead the other oppressed classes in Iran to advance the revolution, the Khomeini-Bazargan government has clamped down on the workers' struggle in all spheres. They have especially targeted the advanced politically conscious workers and are desperately trying to prevent the revolutionary Left from continuing to deepen its ties in the working class.

The last thing the government would like to see is the working class led by its political party leading the Iranian masses in the complete overthrow of imperialism and all reaction in Iran. It

is precisely this task, the formation of a vanguard communist party, which genuine communists and class conscious workers are now dedicating themselves to in Iran.

Where workers have risen to take matters into their own hands, the government has fought to "keep them in their places." In the name of "national unity," the government tells the workers to let the old owners and newly appointed government bureaucrats continue to run the show. Workers demands, sit-ins and strikes, and demonstrations have been met with beatings and arrests. Today, most unions are directly run by the Islamic government.

In opposition to this, the workers have formed their own unions in some cases, and independent workers' councils in various factories and trades have been formed. These councils take up many of the immediate issues facing the workers and are also a place where larger political questions are struggled over and taken up. The extent of the independent activity of the workers is reflected in a statement by a leading government spokesman, Amir Entezam, who complained that a major reason that factories weren't functioning was because the workers were holding continuous political meetings,

and were refusing to accept government appointed managers.

When the workers have struggled to raise their political horizons, the government has lashed back with a reactionary onslaught of terror and fanatical Islamic ideology. Khomeini's "Revolutionary Councils" (komitehs) recently approved a bill making disrupting production or "agitating" workers an anti-revolutionary offense punishable by two to ten years in jail. These actions are now, according to Ayatollah Khomeini, "religiously forbidden, because they are against the principles of Islam."

The Islamic government has made a big push to infuse this reactionary religious ideology into the ranks of the workers with the aid of backward and anti-communist workers, spreading the line that everyone, from the capitalists to the workers, are all "Islamic brothers." As the revolutionary and democratic forces were organizing massive May Day marches this year, the government called for an "Islamic May Day" where workers were told to "work harder" and to "give up the weapon of the strike."

The government has done its best to fire leftist workers and prevent revolutionaries from getting jobs. Recently, they have even set up a "special task

force," little different from those organized by SAVAK under the Shah, to attack the proletarian movement.

These attacks have come down especially hard in the oil fields. Shortly after the insurrection, three of the leading revolutionary oil workers were arrested and held without charges for 43 days. Since then as the struggle of the Arab minority (in the southern oil-producing province of Khuzestan) against national oppression has erupted, the Islamic government, through its US-trained governor Admiral Madani has instituted a reign of fascistic terror throughout Khuzestan. All demonstrations have been viciously attacked and revolutionaries have been summarily tried and executed.

A month ago, just before I left Iran, I learned that a comrade from the Marxist-Leninist Heydar Amoughli group (named after the founder of Iran's first communist organization 70 years ago) had been arrested for supposedly having a rifle. He was executed three hours later.

Great Battles Ahead

In spite of this terror, the revolutionary Left continues to work in these difficult conditions in the oil fields. The fact that the oil workers' syndicate has openly protested the arrest of the three revolutionary oil workers referred to earlier, as well as the new press law, shows that the revolutionary spirit of these workers remains unbroken.

There are many other examples of the class war raging in Iran. At the Iran National plant, a huge auto factory in west Tehran, for instance, workers have been attacked and beaten for the "anti-revolutionary" crime of trying to hold meetings to establish workers' councils. In Isfahan, a city in central Iran with a large working class population, thousands of workers have called meetings to organize a city-wide union. They have tried ten or twelve times to do this, but have been repeatedly attacked by the Komitehs.

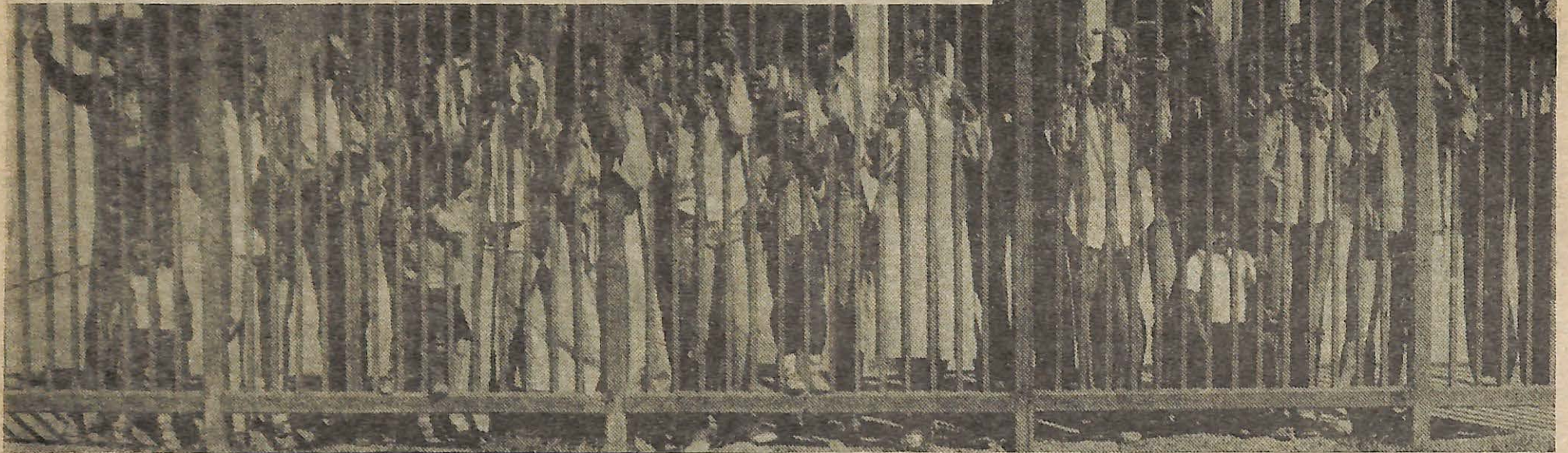
In April, a revolutionary worker, Nasser Poufighian, was murdered in Isfahan, an act that enraged workers throughout Iran. The workers have since set up their own security system, and openly announced that not only would they organize another public meeting, but that any attacks upon it would be met by armed force.

A recent battle in Isfahan shows not only the growing strength of communists among the workers but the lengths the new government has gone to suppress the workers' struggle. Unemployed construction workers had called a conference to form their own union and press the battle for jobs. Over 1000 workers attended this meeting, at which the Left had a strong presence. The komiteh, there to "protect" the meeting, allowed armed reactionaries to disrupt the meeting, and then joined the reactionaries in breaking it up. After all this, the komiteh arrested three of the leaders and charged them with instigating a disruption! Not to be cowed, the workers immediately marched to where their comrades were imprisoned and began a sit-down strike which lasted until their release.

These examples show the crucial life and death nature of the struggle now going on in Iran. The working class and all the oppressed classes in Iran are faced with the task of continuing the revolution in the face of a growing reactionary onslaught. In the great battles that are approaching, the working class will be called upon to play an even more decisive role than in the past in smashing the oppressors and exploiters of the Iranian people and forging ahead in its mission to eliminate all oppression and exploitation. Talking to workers like Zabiattollah, I sensed the fierce desire to scale these heights.

Zabiattollah's family asked me why I wanted to study Iran and support the Iranian revolution. I told them of the struggles of workers and oppressed people in the U.S. against the same imperialists who enslave them, and explained that I felt that imperialism was the common enemy of the people all over the world. Zabiattollah responded without hesitation: "Well, there's only one thing to do. We must wipe imperialism from the face of the earth." ■

Ghetto Walls



Fists clenched tight around iron bars, knuckles gleam. Glimpses of tense Black faces. Angry silence, as 40 people line up behind the recently constructed 6-foot high prison gates surrounding their homes.

A scene from South Africa? No. This is Cabrini-Green, a treeless complex of concrete hi-rises that houses 35,000 Black people on Chicago's near North Side. Cabrini-Green was pictured on TV's "Good Times." Beyond the fence, only a few blocks to the east looms the glittering Gold Coast, the dazzling lights of the Rush Street night clubs and tree-lined blocks of newly rehabbed flats.

The residents of Cabrini-Green assembled behind the fence in a dramatic protest against not only the fence itself but the oppression that the fence has come to symbolize: "We are not in prison. We are not animals in a cage." In places, the thick iron bars have been sawed through, leaving gaping holes. People have tried to dig out its foundations, so sections of the fence have been sunk in concrete trenches four feet wide and three feet deep.

The Chicago Housing Authority claims the fence is part of a \$1 million "safe homes" program to reduce crime at Cabrini-Green. But it is clear that the purpose of the fence is not to keep criminals out but to keep the people in. The manager of Cabrini-Green described the fence as a barrier to prevent purse snatchers, muggers and rapists from attacking passing motorists and then making a quick getaway into the unlit labyrinth of low corridors and stair wells in the projects. The "safe homes" program, and the fence itself, is aimed at reassuring middle class people who are moving into the area which is being "revitalized" that they will be safely walled off from Cabrini-Green.

For the people of Cabrini-Green, the fence stands as a symbol of the unwritten apartheid law of segregation and national oppression which has created this concrete-and-cardboard hellhole walled off from the rest of society. As one resident said, "We're already fenced in enough in Cabrini-Green without them adding bars."

Bob Avakian

Continued from page 5

Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky, making precisely the point that there could be no abolition of capitalism without a violent revolution, and without the violent suppression of the overthrown capitalist class, and reactionary elements and this is in fact a lesson of history and even Allende who tried to do basically what you're talking about in Chile, and was calling it socialism, tried to carry out a number of reforms with capitalism still intact—look what happened to him and how do you sum that up?

M.C.: We just have a time out for a second here in case anybody tuned in I don't think they will quite be able to figure out what the hell is going on, on WORT this evening. Bob Avakian, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party of the United States is here discussing with one of our listeners various perspectives on the nature of revolution in the United States and the possibility of a socialism arising out of the current political and economic conditions if I could in the most abstract sense sum up their argument. So far as I've been able to hear, neither one of them has been terribly specific about what they think is going on or what they think is going to happen but they both have put forward a good deal of theoretical argument of a...

B.A.: See, I don't think the question when you're talking about world war is at all abstract or lacks any specificity. If you look at the events around you, here is the U.S. all of a sudden making a big fuss about Russian troops in Cuba which they have known for years are there. Very clearly this is yet another thing that is part of their propaganda arsenal to condition people to getting prepared for world war. If you look at this phoniness of the SALT agreement and propaganda being done around it, and the whole debate being done around it, it is clearly to whip up sentiment toward war. If you look at China and Vietnam, or you look at Ethiopia, or you look at almost any part of the world, you can see these two forces lining up heading toward war. You see the SALT agreements and then the MX missiles are almost immediately developed right after it. And you have to be blind or fearful not to face up to the fact of what's going on in the world. And we can go into innumerable specifics on that front, or on the front that this economy is in deeper crisis. That's rather obvious, but the question is why are these people like Doug Fraser and

others all of a sudden, doing what they are doing? It was very revealing that he said, "Doug Fraser and his union," because that is precisely the view of Doug Fraser and the whole strata of bureaucrats. Lenin rightly called them labor aristocrats and we think that's a good thing to learn from Lenin. People who make large salaries and identify openly their interests with the U.S. ruling class, whip up this chauvinist stuff against OPEC, trying to blame them for the economic crisis in this country, and people who have in fact treated the union like their union, and even when the workers in that union have waged wildcat struggles it was Doug Fraser, who only a few years ago, and he hasn't changed his nature, organized a goon squad with brick bats of a thousand union hacks just like him to go out and physically assault workers on strike against Chrysler. This is the kind of person that our caller here wants to rely upon and wants to work with or try to work with to build some kind of so-called democratic socialism.

M.C.: Would our caller like to make some kind of comments I suppose in defense of himself and his beliefs?

Caller: Several comments, I think one is that with regards to Mr. Avakian's contentions about the violent and peaceful nature of revolution and what people have previously said about it in the past, I think that as an old veteran of biblical Marxist exegesis like Mr. Avakian is, I think he should realize that there are places in Marx and Lenin and most everybody else when they speak about the possibility of a more or less peaceful transition to socialism, so I guess the point I would make, is simply you can't solve arguments like this by citing chapter and verse from some particular theory. Second of all I think the question of Mr. Avakian's political strategy and the relationship it bears to reality is not incapsulated in the question of the violent or peaceful nature of a revolution, whenever that revolution might occur and so on, because really I mean his political strategy is not based around the idea that the transition to socialism might be more or less peaceful, it's based more around a whole series of other ideas. Like, for instance, taking Doug Fraser as an example, the idea that one can simply ignore the fact that Fraser is the leader of a large union, he has a lot of power, and the United Auto Workers are making important moves toward breaking out of the trade union consensus that has existed hitherto at the top levels of the American labor movement. He (B.A.) sees that as completely insignificant, he

doesn't want to work with these people, indeed he denounces them in the most extreme terms and I think, to my mind, reduces the chance of any possibility of working to get a section of the labor movement that's part of a more progressive left-wing movement. I think concretely in Madison he would certainly oppose strategies like the Common Sense Coalition, which tries to bring together a lot of unaffiliated leftist progressive people and work in elections and work on things like the Municipal Gas and Electric increase and for a broad coalition, and things like that. I mean I think these are really the kinds of things that people do respond to, elections, issue things at the community level, and you have to have a significant amount of unity among all activist forces to be able to reach people. You have to talk to them in their language, and let them learn.

M.C.: Well you think that, I would almost call it violence, but certainly the aggressiveness, with which Bob Avakian approaches his political position is in itself a positive thing and something which would jar people out of their complacency? Can you substitute something for that?

Caller: I think the proof is in the pudding on that. I think that history has shown fairly conclusively that people, if they do adopt a radical political perspective, are brought to it through their own experiences, through talking with people they know, with organizations with which they've had contact with for a long time that they trust, and that in fact extreme rhetoric, a very high-pitched rhetoric, has generally been very ineffective. I think that was shown in the history of numerous sect groups like Mr. Avakian's, the Trotskyist movement, a lot of various Maoist formations—goes all the way back to certain periods in the evolution of the communist movement when rhetoric was very extreme, like for instance the 1928-1934 period when the communist movement shrank to a shell of its former self. It didn't really get big until the era of the popular front and the resistance when they took a rather moderate line and emphasized the unity of all progressive forces. I don't want to get too deeply into the historical examples but I think that the contrast is there between the approach that emphasizes unity and people learning through their own experiences and an approach that more tries to tell them what they should think.

M.C.: Thanks very much for calling. You've really been a very enlightening caller and you posed some good ques-

tions to Bob Avakian. I just want to go on so that perhaps some other people might want to call and have their chance. OK?

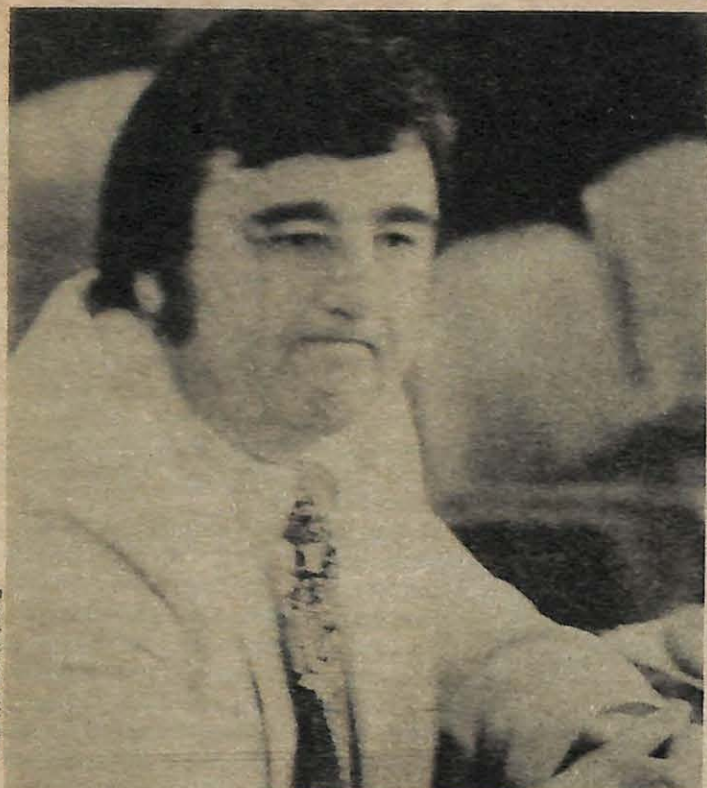
Caller: OK, thank you very much.

B.A.: Let me just say that I think that the very comments he makes that people relate more to elections reflect exactly the period we've been going through when there has been an ebb of the upsurge of the '60s and early '70s when millions of people learned lessons that people like him would not have been able to peddle among them any longer. They learned about the fruitlessness of voting for these various politicians. They learned about the fruitlessness of trying to work with people like Doug Fraser, or work with people like the heads of the Machinists' Unions, Wimpy, or whatever he calls himself. They learn of the fruitlessness of trying to work with people, like he puts it very openly, who have power because those people are in power meaning the bourgeoisie, give it to them to exercise on their behalf. And millions of people learned that the only way to make any change in this system was to rise up and fight tooth and nail, without compromise against it. And because there's been an ebb in that and the strength of that mass movement has not been there, some people have become temporarily discouraged and even forgotten some of the lessons that were even paid for in blood in that period. The revolution is precisely not a religion. It's a science, and that means we should also scientifically sum up what we've learned here as well as around the world. People paid for it in blood, the blood of more than two dozen Panthers, the blood of people at Kent State, as well as through the history of this country and all over the world, that in fact trying to work in and with this system cannot bring any fundamental or lasting change and in fact only strengthens the hold politically and outright militarily that the system has over people. And that's the lesson that people are again going to be learning in their millions.

M.C.: You might want to call up again and ask Bob Avakian a question...



Behind the Lockdown at Walla Walla



(Above) Walla Walla prisoners expose lockdown

(Left) Acting superintendent Cummins

Rebellion and Retaliation

This report was written by a brother from Walla Walla.

After a week long struggle prisoners inside segregation at the Washington State prison have ended their strike. The breakthrough came when guards, tired of having to wade through flooded toilet waters, urine and feces, decided to discuss the situation.

After two sessions of negotiations, a compromise was reached. Administrators agreed to return personal properties and to other concessions on the condition that prisoners clean up the area.

Having won this battle the war was hardly over. Unwilling to accept their losses or recognize them as prisoners' rights, guards openly antagonized prisoners over the smallest things.

On Sept. 26, their efforts to create turmoil in order to justify retaking control of the few privileges prisoners had attained paid off. Violence broke out after Mark LaRue submitted his clothing for a clean set and was denied it because he "didn't ask the right way."

The riot squad was called and showed up equipped with riot sticks, a fire hose and a force of fifteen goons. Ordered to return to his cell, the prisoner refused and was simultaneously sprayed with water and rushed.

Acting to defend himself, LaRue produced a knife, stabbed one attacker in the arm and held the rest at bay while negotiating for some wears.

Suddenly realizing the gravity of the situation, it didn't take the goons long to decide the few clothes weren't worth the trouble or risk of anyone else getting hurt. LaRue was given clothing, placed in solitary confinement and charged with assault.

Word of the skirmish spread like a prairie fire among the guards and it wasn't long before they were on the scene again. This time with an even stronger and more organized force to counteract any further threat of disorder.

With their plan of attack already laid out, guards locked segregation down and the reprisal raids commenced. Books and other valuables exceeding the allowed limit, or deemed unnecessary by those conducting the searches, were either confiscated or thrown away.

Prisoners who complained about this arbitrary action were dismissed with impunity and those displaying a real or imagined spirit of resistance were beaten into submission.

Of those brutalized, Bill Mar received the worst treatment. A death row prisoner, Bill and other similarly situated enjoy full rights and privileges equal to those provided the general prison population.

However when he attempted to explain this and refused to turn over a ring, he was beaten and cut twice with a screwdriver by a pig called "Brooks." After he was cut Bill was thrown to the

floor and with the screwdriver tip pressed against the back of his neck, forced to remove the ring from his hand.

This form of "population control" has symbolized the operational attitudes and practices of Governor Gray and Warden Spaulding's regime since the lockdown went into effect at the institution.

Probes into these methods by state and federal authorities has exposed the institution's brutal practices and on a small scale managed to flush out a few guilty protagonists.

But for the most part, these investigations have failed to reveal a full and accurate report on the illegal dealings of state officials at the prison or the capitol.

Most prisoners and their support network expected a "cover-up" concerning these crimes and haven't been surprised.

The question now is how to force justice from the double-dealing legal system supporting the capitalist class. The legal paradox is a headache and anyone interested can figure out the score easy enough. Either the state or the people will do justice to prisoners' struggles through legal or illegal channels. One thing is certain. There are many cases of brutal practices to be ruled on now at the prison and from the looks of things there's plenty to come which the state will never hear in the future!

Meanwhile the lockdown is slowly approaching its end. The fact that it is being reopened means very little because it's being reopened on terms set by the state which prisoners haven't approved!

Like it or not prisoners are not accepting accountability for the crime-breeding conditions of the capitalist system. By laying this burden on them in the form of harsher punishments while at the prison, it will only intensify their rage and assure a future rebellion.

People are asked to support these prisoners by writing:

Patricia Kelly
102 Newell, Apt. 2
Walla Walla, WA 99362

The only penetrable point of a tyrant is his fear of death.

Prisoners' Press Conference

Heads erect and proud, the 14 men filed into the room. As they took their seats, cameras rolled. It was the first time convicts at Washington State Penitentiary had met with the press since May 9th—when three prisoners made international news, seizing hostages and a prison building until they were allowed to air their grievances to the press.

While the prison entered its 110th day of lockdown, the prison administration was once again forced to grant inmates a press conference. No guards were present. No prison administrators were in the room.

The inmate chairperson opened the conference. "At 9:15 I was called out and told there was to be a 45-minute time limit. We were assured before... that there would be no time limit... It's been over 100 days since we've been locked down. Everybody in the state has been heard from. The prisoners have not been heard from. It's our time and we are asking you to stay with us until the completion of this news conference."

What followed was over an hour of individual testimony. As each man spoke, another layer of the administration's cover-up was peeled back, laying bare the brutality inside the walls.

"For the first 3-1/2 weeks when we were locked in our cells without showers, we were constantly told that a shower was coming the next day... The mail slowed and it virtually stopped for a couple of weeks... Our newspapers were cut off... A memo issued of items that would be taken from our cells. When they came to our cell they took the four of us, all Chicanos, they locked us up in a closet naked. An hour elapsed... When we were taken back to our cells, there was nothing but the bunks, a blanket and a mattress. I stood at the cell bars to look at the things that were being removed. As they were throwing them on the tier I seen picture of my daughter and me and my wife torn up on the floor."

—David Rivera

"We went off in 8-wing because of the way they brutalized us and our personal possessions—the only things that we were allowed to keep that had any meaning to us—that kept us in contact and kept our ties to the people on the street. The things that had meaning to us. At approximately 10:00 o'clock in

the evening, July 7, guards came into the wing, fired a round off, they say it was a blank, I don't know, from a shotgun... we were told to double time from 8-wing to the big yard which is approximately 600 yards. If there ever was any space that came between you and the man in front of you, you were hit. There were approximately 30 to 40 guards on either side, I don't know where they came from."

—John Waite

"Admissions wing is single man cells. On the afternoon of the 8th they doubled the tier up... moved the survivors from 8-wing and put them on the tier with us. Parley Edwards (the president of the guards' union) stopped by my cell and was running down what happened in 8-wing, his version of it. The man was drunk at the time... We could hear gunshots all night long. There was approximately 16 rounds fired off that night... What you got to realize is you got over 300 people in here doing life. You got people doing life for forgery. For burglary. And you watch guards take and beat prisoners, ram batons up their ass and try their damndest to kill them without any repercussions, and then you're supposed to sit back and be guarded by the same guards for the next 13 years. It don't make sense to me... There's bloodstains on the walls back there by those strip cells... The situation in this institution since June 15 is comparable to that of being in a pit with a rattlesnake and no way out. It won't do any good to cut off any of the rattlers. You have to cut the head or you'll be bitten and the poison will kill you."

—David Bailey

Testimony continued as each man came to the mike. Several times the administrators tried to end the conference. A sharp back-and-forth ensued among prisoners, reporters and administrators. After the inmates' testimony and some questions by the press, the prison authorities moved in to clear the room. It was only after the room had been cleared that acting superintendent Jim Cummins dared appear. He announced, "Ladies and gentlemen, I only have about 15 minutes. I don't have much time." After a few "I don't know" 's and "I can't say" 's and such, Cummins left the room. The press conference, a real study in opposites, ended. ■

"You're down for it and so am I"

This letter came to the Revolutionary Worker from a brother in Walla Walla.

Yo soy Ruben M. Flores and I have been reading a copy of one of your newspapers, it's an old issue but the paper hit me like a hammer between the eyes. All my life I've been fighting these white racists and rebelling against everything from schools to police, I even couldn't understand this world so much that I was lost in drugs 'cause it's hard fighting these pecks but hard or

not they ain't broke me and I'll fight them until the day I die. I am currently locked in the segregation unit cause they say I'm a danger to the population and a threat to the orderly operation of the institution. See, the joint has been locked down since June 15th and they're starting to bring it off and they're scared so they are locking up everyone that could start anything against it, which I would—but that's not what I'm writing about. I'm writing about if I could read any and all

material you've got on your Party and how your struggle works and what's the end results as I'm not hip to the R.C.P. and would like to hip myself and some of my carnals who have also been locked down for the same reason and I would like to read up on this kind of communism marxism and if that isn't possible hip me to some old newspapers. From what I've read you're down for it and so am I.

Viva La Revolution

TODAY THE STAKES

Regional Conferences on Two Key Battles

During the last weekend in September and the first weekend in October, six regional conferences were held across the country to discuss and debate taking up the two most important battles facing our class—the battle to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants and Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian, and the battle to build for a mass revolutionary May Day 1980. The conferences were sponsored by the Revolutionary Communist Party, the National Unemployed Workers Organization, the Unemployed Workers Organizing Committee, Vietnam Veterans Against the War, and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade. From New York to Honolulu and from Birmingham to Detroit, revolutionary minded workers and other fighters got down and made preparations to “Take the Revolutionary Future Into Our Hands” as one of the slogans for the conferences put it. The following is a report from the Midwest conference, held in Detroit.

I came to the conference in Detroit prepared to get down and deal with some matters of key importance for the revolutionary struggle in the U.S. and I hoped that the necessary unity would be forged to be able to mobilize people to go out and create the conditions to free Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants and pull off a mass revolutionary May Day 1980. But I have to say that my mind was blown by the seriousness, depth, and high level of the political discussion and debate that went on. This was for real. This was preparing to make history. Here were many of the advanced fighters in the working class of all nationalities getting down as the RCP speaker put it, “to take the revolutionary future into our hands and in a way that hasn’t been done before in this country.” Besides workers there were Vietnam veterans, students, youth and others oppressed by the capitalist class that has its foot on our necks.

In the course of the meeting, I learned that my own understanding of the crucial nature of these two key battles,

and of the actual possibility of winning these battles and taking real leaps toward revolution in this country, had not been as sharp and deep as it needed to be. I had to deepen my understanding and firm up my grasp in order to be able to carry out these tasks to the max.

The RCP speaker set the tone from the start:

“We’ve got to understand right from the beginning that this conference and what we believe the outcome of it will be is historic because we aim to do nothing less in the next several months than change the face of this country, change the way millions look at the system...and change the way millions look at the working class...”

He spoke to the vital role that the people attending the conference had to play:

“Let’s face it! It’s about time the advanced got our shit together! Don’t tell me that all of a sudden without thousands taking a stand, without thousands daring to come forward and lead, that millions are just going to pick up and be in the revolution.”

The first item on the agenda for

discussion was the battle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants—the most important and key battle facing the working class and oppressed people in this country at this time. A battle to defeat the bourgeoisie’s attempt to cripple the RCP and kill revolution by cutting off its head. As one of the Mao Tsetung Defendants, a worker, put it in his speech to the meeting, “The bourgeoisie is trying to put away the greatest revolutionary leader the American working class has ever produced before most of America even knows he exists.”

I had already volunteered to go to Washington, D.C. to be on the frontlines of the battle to free the Chairman and the Mao Defendants—I was fully prepared to make the necessary sacrifices, but the statements and struggle from the floor drove the significance of Bob Avakian’s contribution to the revolutionary movement and the crucial, truly life and death importance of keeping him out of the bourgeoisie’s clutches about ten levels deeper into my brain.

This was not a question of defending an idol that people should worship. As

Take History Into Our Hands May Day 1980

It’s long overdue for the slaves of this country to break openly and powerfully with the slavemasters. The image of the U.S. working class as contented and ignorant fools must be shattered and destroyed.

We are not the passive pieces of machinery our rulers wish we were. Their constant parade of labor leaders and people’s politicians preaching faith in the American way is proof enough of that. They know, and fear, that there are those among us whose eyes are wide open, who see the bankruptcy and hypocrisy of this “best of all possible worlds,” where forced animal-like existence makes suicide and murder as normal as childbirth—and this madness pales in the scale of their plunder worldwide! They know, and fear, that more will swell these ranks as the tiny crumbs they’re tossed diminish along with the illusions they foster.

All who already see what is dead and dying and what must be put in its grave must come forward, as a combined force, to hold aloft the revolutionary banner of our class. We can shake awake our broader ranks to see what’s shaping up in the world, unleash feelings that have been dulled and locked up all too much by the rut of everyday life and begin to indicate the bright future ahead.

Today we can make a decisive step in this direction.

We will do it with our feet. We will do it by refusing to follow the daily routine, refusing to go to work, to school, to look for a job. **WE WILL DO IT BY MARCHING IN THE STREETS ON MAY 1, 1980.** And we will be saying in a way unheard before in this country, “Capitalists, the working class—not your stable backbone of society, but your GRAVEDIGGERS—have arrived!”

There is no time to waste. World wide crisis, approaching war, the godfathers of the world, the imperialist rulers of this country and their counterparts in the Soviet Union, have everything at stake. They are already coldly calculating how many people can be sacrificed to their profit and still have enough left to exploit when the mushroom clouds disperse. Their CIA hitmen scurry to the alleys and corners of the earth, propping up their petty clones. But their monstrous crimes call forward turbulent upsurges. Already they are wounded, as in Iran, in Nicaragua, guns of revolution have opened fire. Their crisis is our opportunity if we dare to seize it.

In the ghettos and barrios, where millions are imprisoned at the bottom of society, flames flare up. Their murdering police are attacked. Turmoil is simmering throughout this country, but with it a question—is it to be only a righteous stand for two days of justice, or once again a fight for reforms that vanish as soon as they’re won, going nowhere? Or is there the strength and the forces to carry it through?

The fires of the ‘60s fueled our burning hatred, while the rulers labeled the working class the “silent majority,” threw out nickels and dimes and held up Archie Bunker, consciously working doubletime to smother our potential strength. To our shame, they paraded flagwaving hardhats who attacked the students we should

have been leading. But now the stakes are up. Their vicious attack on our revolutionary leadership, their attempted railroad of Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Defendants shows that our rulers know this all too well.

We must come from behind, catch up to the gathering momentum and march to the head of it, enabling the revolutionary movement and the conscious understanding of the millions of people to take a leap forward, to keep pace with the rapidly changing times. And we must do this now, for if we do not we may very well miss the tremendous possibilities that lie ahead.

It’s no accident May 1 must be our target. May Day is International Workers Day. Around the world a force already exists—without us—that each year takes May 1 as its own, our brothers and sisters of every flag, recognizing no flag but the red one of revolution. The capitalists know this and cringe at each May Day, because those they have crushed and robbed in every part of the globe signal their doom. They cloud our TV screens with Russian tanks, smothering our history in lies, saying “See! This is how all your struggle will end.”

But think of it, what it will mean—the giant heart of the international proletariat will skip a beat as thousands of their own thunder through the streets of America, ushering in a new decade.

They will try to stop us, any way they can. But they will not contain us on May 1. We will face all repercussions knowing that our action will have a tremendous impact on countless more who hate this system but wait for the right moment to act. They will be able to see the opposing forces lining up and many will recognize their true interests, support our action, defend it and themselves take up the banner we will be raising.

We will show, on May Day, that the U.S. working class is maturing and developing a revolutionary section that dares to proclaim its determination:

To stand united, white, Black, Asian, Latin, Indian, foreign born and American born as one to fight this capitalist system and the oppression, discrimination, and inequality it thrives on;

To stand firm in refusing to allow the ruling class to strike down those who stand in the forefront of the fight for the revolutionary interests of our class;

To stand shoulder to shoulder with the workers and oppressed of the world, welcoming and drawing inspiration from the oppressed of other countries when they strike a blow at our rulers, the U.S. imperialists, or any other similar oppressors;

To discard fully the bloody red, white and blue, tirelessly exposing what’s behind their war moves and preparing to make war, not for them, but against them.

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

(Clip out and post)

KNEES ARE HIGH

one speaker from the floor said:

"Bob Avakian doesn't say, 'Hey, I'm your leader and you are my followers.' No. He says, 'Look, get off your knees and take up the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and make revolution. Don't wait for no saviors.' Like Mao Tsetung said, 'You ought to check out dialectics.' Bob Avakian has used dialectics and the science of Marxism-Leninism and solved problems here in the U.S."

It comes right down to the fact that defending Bob Avakian means defending revolution in this country. We cannot let them put the Chairman in jail because in a very real sense, as one person put it:

"While putting Bob away isn't going to change the fact that revolution is inevitable, whether they put him in jail or not could mean the difference in making revolution before World War 3 and possibly avoiding it or after millions and perhaps hundreds of millions of working people worldwide have been roasted in a nuclear showdown between the two top superpowers."

This is exactly the kind of stakes around this case. The enemy in its own way senses this and that's why Bob is facing 241 years in jail and who knows what else if they get him in their clutches.

Making History

I was beginning to grasp that this struggle was an historic moment. The outcome of this battle would have real bearing on another *moment* in the future—the revolutionary situation that Lenin was referring to when he wrote, "It is not so often that history places this form of struggle on the order of the day, but then its significance is felt for decades to come. Days on which such method of struggle can and must be employed are equal to scores of years of other historical epochs."

The next few months would have a profound effect on the future. The possibility of bringing significant numbers of advanced workers and other fighters into the struggle and carrying out revolutionary work on a broader and greater scale than ever before and influencing millions is within our grasp. The people in the auditorium and at the other conferences around the country were the key factor in seizing this opportunity to advance toward revolution with giant strides. Today we were lining up these forces, meeting, struggling to forge a solid core of fighters for the battle ahead. An auto worker was the last to speak from the floor during the first session:

"This is a real challenge. This is our future. If we are talking about rising up and putting an end to this hell-hole, then we got to do this here...The Bolshevik Party and the Chinese Communist Party, they arose to the occasion, they defended Lenin, they defended Mao Tsetung...All genuine parties defend their leaders and that's what the RCP and the American people are going to do."

The first session ended with the unanimous passage of the resolution to "use all the vehicles available—especially the *Revolutionary Worker*" to build the campaign to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants and Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian. Part of the resolution was to hold job actions during the first week of the trial. If workers could make tremendous sacrifices in their strikes and other battles around their wages and working conditions, why couldn't they be moved into action around a battle as earthshaking as this. Also part of the resolution was to build for massive actions in Washington, D.C. around the trial and support for the call for volunteers to go on the frontlines of the battle in Washington. In addition a special resolution was passed to send a telegram from the



The sky is high, the clouds are pale,
We watch the wild geese vanish southward.
If we fail to reach the Great Wall we are not men,
We who have already measured twenty thousand li.

High on the crest of Mount Liupan
Red banners wave freely in the west wind.
Today we hold the long cord in our hands,
When shall we bind fast the Grey Dragon?

Mao Tsetung
October 1935
"Mount Liupan"

conference to the prosecutor in the Mao Defendants case as a powerful statement from the hundreds attending of our intentions to go out and mobilize the working class and others oppressed by this man-eating system to take up this fight in a big way.

Like most people I returned from the dinner break excited from the first session and ready to get on with the next point on the agenda, the discussion on building for a mass revolutionary May Day on May 1, 1980. I thought back to May Day 1979 in Washington, D.C. where Bob Avakian issued the Party's call to make May Day 1980 happen. I remembered what a bold announcement it was and what a real challenge it was to the Party and advanced workers and others to create the conditions for the working class to come on the scene in a big way, playing a role that it has never played in this country before. And not only that, the stress that the

call itself put on the point that this historic and bold step could actually be accomplished:

"Not only is it the historic mission of our class—the proletariat, the propertyless class of wage slaves—to make revolution. Not only is it necessary to make revolution to eliminate the evils of this society...But more than that, it is possible to do so. It is possible to increasingly raise the consciousness of the mass of workers and others ground down and degraded by this system...It is possible even up against a force as powerful as our ruling class...But to bring this about we have work to do and struggle to carry out...We must arouse, mobilize and marshal the great potential strength of all those who say they agree...move them from mere agreement to concrete action to expend their energy and combined force to make it happen..."

The thrust of the call for May Day 1980 was a call for a significant section of the working class to "sound the first powerful salvo of the revolutionary mass struggle in the 1980's." It was a call to start forging the revolutionary future right now. But just reading the call of May Day 1980 and saying, "Right On," obviously wasn't enough.

The chair asked people to speak to the draft Manifesto that had been drawn up to be struggled over, changed if necessary and then put out broadly to the working class. The Manifesto calls for an unprecedented move by the U.S. working class—it calls for the U.S. proletariat to mount the political stage, "to break more openly and powerfully with the slavemasters" than ever before by a long shot. It calls on the working class to take advantage of the real opportunities that the deep and fundamental crisis the ruling class is in

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Jorge Palacios

Appearing in Los Angeles, Sat. Oct. 13, 3 p.m.

Fritchman Auditorium, 2936 W. 8th St.

For information on other appearances in Southern California, call: Liberation Books, (213) 384-3856

Appearing Next in San Francisco, Fri. Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m.

Mission United Presbyterian Church, 3261 23rd St.

Sunday, Oct. 21, 7:30 p.m.

La Peña Community Center, 3109 Shattuck, Berkeley

For information about other programs in the S.F. Bay Area, call: Revolution Books, (415) 841-8314

Palacios

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he had heard of the RCP of Chile and Palacios while he was living in South America. Because he knew Palacios to be a genuine revolutionary leader, this youth came forward to offer to help protect Comrade Palacios while he was touring New York City.

The first leg of the tour began on the East Coast, with speeches in community centers and quite a few university campuses. In both Boston and New York City, the tour committee made headphones available at the key addresses, providing a simultaneous English translation of Palacios' speech. His incisive summation of the Chilean revolution acted as a compelling magnet, drawing vital questions from revolutionaries and other people from Chile, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Eritrea, and other countries, as well as native born from this country. In New York City, one hour had been allotted for questions and answers but it was expanded to two and a half hours. A reception followed.

Jorge Palacios was quickly crowded by people eager to share their experiences and to learn more. The reception turned into an informal question and answer session and continued for many hours more.

Palacios and those present locked in a critical exchange on how to make revolution, discussing experiences the world over—for example, the lessons of Chile for the Iranian revolution—and country by country. There was heated debate on how to apply Marxism to the specific conditions of Latin America, and if and how Mao's contributions to the theory of revolution in colonial and semi-colonial countries apply there.

Palacios drew out deeply the application of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tsetung to Chile and its significance for the world.

It is beyond the scope of this article to report the many hours and depth of discussion but some key questions stood out. How does the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile actually work to unite the people to overthrow the junta? Why does the RCP of Chile say that some of the well-to-do middle sections, who were strong supporters of the coup at first, can and should be won over by the working class in the fight against fascism? What does it think about Allende, who died at the hands of the very generals he had called "neutral protectors of the Constitution"? What is the role of pro-Castro groups like the MIR?

Is there really a non-aligned countries movement in the world today? What is the RCP of Chile's position on the "three worlds" theory? Is a two stage revolution still necessary in the countries of Latin America? Many people were especially fascinated by Palacios' story of the 1964 meeting between Mao Tsetung and a delegation from the Chilean organization Spartacus, which had split off from the old CP and later went on to form the RCP of Chile.

Palacios' main speech itself, brought to life the historic struggle he has been a part of in Chile. Of course, Palacios himself pointed out, his book, *Chile: An Attempt at Historic Compromise—The Real Story of the Allende Years* (just published in English), goes into far greater detail than his speech could. His main presentations therefore expanded on the little known or understood role of the pro-Soviet Communist Party in Chile in sabotaging the Chilean revolution.

While denouncing the U.S. ruling class for unleashing the coup in Chile,

Palacios focused on the Soviet Union's different tactics in disputing with the U.S. for world hegemony. He pointed out that in the countries of Eastern Europe, such as Czechoslovakia, the Russians used armed intervention. In Africa, the Soviets gave phony "backing" to various liberation forces. But in Chile, in the "backyard" of U.S. imperialism, the USSR preached peaceful transition to socialism. The USSR chose not to directly defy the U.S. but to try to get in on the act as junior partners of the U.S. in the domination of Chile. This was why they promoted (and still promote) the treasonous conception that revolution is not necessary, that the working class and oppressed people could peacefully secure power without smashing the power of the reactionary classes in Chile.

In another example he explained how, when the capitalists in Chile attempted to topple Allende by shutting down factories, the workers not only occupied the buildings, but demanded arms to put down this reactionary "bosses strike." At one point he said even Allende had gone to the Central Committee of the CP and urged that the workers be armed. But the CP refused. The CP had even gone so far as to go all out to support a gun control law.

What became most apparent throughout Palacios' presentation was that had the Chilean working class and masses of people been armed with a genuine revolutionary leadership they would have been able to defeat the coup instigated by the U.S. Palacios added that the CP was more afraid of the masses than of fascism. And he explained the perspectives, strategy and present state of the Chilean struggle to overthrow the junta, liberate the country and bring about socialism—a struggle in which the correct analysis made by the RCP of Chile has enabled his Party to play an increasingly important role.

Because Palacios hits so hard at the reactionary rulers of the U.S. and the USSR, exposes their schemes and crimes and offers so much that is vitally important for revolution in this country, as well as in Chile and elsewhere, his tour has naturally met with great resistance, as well as support. When the U.S. government stalled in giving Palacios a visa to enter the U.S. a number of people, including professors and academic authorities, came forward to call, write and otherwise put pressure on the State Department.

Then there was the problem of the very sectarian attitude towards the tour taken by some groups and forces that have been active around Chile in the past, forces that claimed that this tour wasn't "significant" enough to merit their attention. This attitude flies in the face of the interest and enthusiasm shown by Chileans and other Latin Americans in the U.S., and of the fact that the RCP of Chile is one of the few organizations whose line has enabled it to survive the coup and grow, greatly expanding its influence in the heat of the resistance movement.

That the really "significant" problem is that some people are threatened by what Palacios has to say about the role of pro-Soviet revisionism in Chile has become increasingly apparent as these forces in the U.S. move from a "wall of silence" strategy—which is failing—to open attacks and sabotage. In the largely Latin American Mission district of San Francisco, a meeting hall which many weeks ago had been planned as the location for next week's main event there, was suddenly pulled out from under the tour with the explanation that it was "too political" and "too controversial"—but the hall was given

over to a fundraising event for the revisionist CPUSA. When another location was arranged, this too had to be changed because of CP pressure. These cowardly behind-the-scenes attacks have helped many people better understand the significance of Palacios' tour, and made them more enthusiastic.

The RCP, USA put out a leaflet which confronted the revisionists with the fact that it was their line and influence within the Allende government which led the Chilean people into the bloody ambush of the 1973 coup. Now, in some places, people connected with the CPUSA within the "Chile movement" have taken to screaming hysterically at the mere mention of the name Palacios—a name that represents quite a threat to their cozy little business of using phony "solidarity" with Chile to push the same line that lead to slaughter there.

The CP has put the word out that Palacios is "destroying the united front against fascism"—but the fact is that the RCP of Chile has shown in word and deed that it unites with all possible forces against the fascist military junta, providing that it is a unity to fight it. The ugly fact is that the Chilean CP has taken to maneuvers designed to allow it to "participate in the new institutionalization"—to be allowed to surface as a loyal opposition to the gorilla henchmen of U.S. imperialism, in exchange for their help in putting out the flames of resistance. This is the "united front" they are so worried about—a front which demands destruction! No wonder the pro-Soviet revisionists in this country and some forces who conciliate with them are getting more and more upset about the Palacios tour.

Wherever Palacios has spoken, it has had its impact on people, stirring controversy and debate over important questions of political line, providing concrete lessons, and bringing to life the worldwide nature of the working class fight for its emancipation. To hear Comrade Palacios' speaking tour is a rare experience. ■

Dow Jones

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'29. For at that time U.S. imperialism was on the ascendancy in the world, already taking over from the declining imperialism of Britain; but now it is on the defensive, past its peak. Compared to 50 years ago it is much more economically over-inflated, bloated, and parasitic. The unproductive sectors of the economy, including the vast bureaucratic apparatus of the state as well as the financial and marketing sectors, have grown enormously. Speculation by the capitalists, although more hidden than in the early part of this century, is rampant as they scramble to hedge against disaster. And all of this is balanced precariously over a tremendous chasm of ever-expanding credit and debt.

The stock plunge is a direct reaction to the measures the U.S. took last week to try to stem the fall of the dollar, which is itself another symptom of U.S. capitalism's crisis. In order to attempt to slow down inflation and halt the fall of the dollar internationally, the Federal Reserve announced several measures on October 6 to raise interest rates and generally tighten credit and the money supply. This makes it harder

Trial of Mao

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ship." Some people attack an individual in order to oppose the political line he or she stands for. The behavior of Yeh and his fellow revisionists toward Mao is a case in point.

In an article by an official "commentator" on October 3, with the up-sidedown title "A Correct Attitude Toward Marxism," these revisionists write, "It is superstitious if we consider every sentence uttered and every thesis made by a man as truth even if he is a Marxist. Lin Piao and the gang of 4 did not allow anyone to say that 'one divides into two' can be applied to Mao Tsetung Thought... We must uphold those of Comrade Mao Tsetung's theses that have been proven correct and correct those that have been proven incorrect." Translation? Mao was OK (maybe) before liberation in 1949 and to hell with him afterward. These revisionists want to chop up Mao's words into bits and pieces, tear their revolutionary heart out and maybe use a few little phrases here and there to cover their betrayal.

Maoism vs. Mao?

Nowhere is this clearer than in the way these revisionists are now defining Mao Tsetung Thought. As of now they are still using the words "Mao Tsetung Thought" to describe their ideology, but does this mean they uphold Mao and his basic teachings? Are you kidding? Instead, typically, we get a sleight of hand trick to smuggle in counter-revolution in the name of revolution. Yeh said, "Of course, Mao Tsetung Thought is not the product of Mao Tsetung's personal wisdom alone, it is also the product of the wisdom of his comrades-in-arms, the party and the revolutionary people." And what is this "collective wisdom"? Yeh is speaking of? Well, for one thing there is the "wisdom" of the Central Committee report Yeh gave which blasts Mao's line

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for corporations to raise capital and harder for consumers to get credit, and these both have the effect of "slowing down" the economy—in other words, less gets produced, more people get thrown out of work, and less gets bought—which is supposed to curb inflation. The major banks immediately raised their prime corporate interest rates a full 1% to a record 14 1/2%. It is these measures that triggered the stock plunge.

There is wide agreement within the ruling class that this restrictive program is the way to go at present, with all the most "liberal" politicians echoing Carter in backing the Federal Reserve action—for it seems to be the only option left, from a capitalist point of view. But it is certain to deepen the current recession (with unemployment being predicted to go up to 7% or 8%), and even then it is unclear whether this will really bring down the rate of inflation very much.

The bourgeoisie is caught in the same dilemmas as have faced it the entire decade of the 70's—inflation, monetary crisis, recession, either one after the other or all together. Getting out of one crisis only prepares the way for an even worse one. This current stockmarket plunge is only a crack in the surface, a crack that allows a better glimpse of the rot underneath. ■

FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED

The battle to free Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants cannot be waged unless funds are raised. Legal expenses for a trial of this size and significance are enormous. But the decisive battle will take place outside the courtroom and that battle too needs money. At the end of this month 200 volunteers will be leaving their homes, families and jobs, in order to go to Washington, D.C. for the course of the trial. Your financial contributions are urgently needed to enable these frontline fighters to turn Washington, D.C. into the major political battlefield that this trial demands. They will be making tremendous personal sacrifices, and tremendous financial sacrifices by many others will be required to support them and to carry this battle to victory.

Debate in Press

RCP Challenges CPML To Defend their Line on China

For a few years now, the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML) has been the foremost spokesman for Chinese-style revisionism in the U.S. They have been consistent in supporting the line of the Chinese revisionists at every stage in their development, they have been shameless in parroting anything regardless how counter-revolutionary, and they were among the first in the world to eagerly embrace the new revisionist rulers in 1976—all of which earned them the personal congratulations of Hua Kuo-feng. Because the CPML occupies this dubious position of honor, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is hereby challenging the CPML to open debate in the hopes that the opposition of two lines will further clarify the vital questions of the developments in China before the revolutionary movement in the U.S.

This is not the first time that we have made such a debate challenge to the CPML. In fact, at one point the CPML even challenged the RCP to debate them on the question of the international situation, only to run for cover when we accepted their challenge! The reasons the CPML gave at that time for refusing to debate are almost as pathetic as the political line they can't defend. Originally, they tried to shift the focus of the debate to a discussion of the internal developments in China, knowing full well that at that time (early 1977) the RCP was still studying the situation there and that, besides, there were some people still in the Party's ranks who supported the Chinese revisionists. These people later split and are now wading in the swamp of CPML-style revisionism. Later they gave as a reason for refusing the fact that a public face-to-face debate would be a "circus," by which they meant that any audience would be overwhelmingly sympathetic to the RCP position. They then counter-proposed an exchange of articles in each other's

newspapers—once again trying to take advantage of the fact that the RCP had not yet spoken on some of the questions they would raise.

Well, CPML, these conditions of yours can be met. The RCP, USA has plenty to say about China, and the latest round of developments make us even more anxious for our lines to contend in public. Since it was you who suggested "an exchange of polemics... to be published in each other's press" (March 14, 1977) and since we now also publish a weekly newspaper, we feel such an arrangement would be fine indeed.

The length of articles, their frequency, and the period of time such an exchange would continue could all be easily negotiated. The subject of the exchange would be the developments in China and their worldwide significance. You would be free to say what you like, attack the "gang of four," repeat any of the fables of Teng Hsiao-ping, even "re-evaluate" Mao Tsetung in public. We would hope that you would use the opportunity to try to present a political defense of your positions, but if you find this impossible, we will print your insults and falsifications—drawing the line only at the most open police-type provocations.

All those who want to deal with the real political questions and are not satisfied with the superficial drivel combined with mudslinging which passes as "polemics" in *The Call* will welcome this proposal. If the CPML had the remotest confidence in their own line, or had anything but fear of the ability of others to sort out right and wrong, they could not fail to respond to such a proposal which would sharpen up before revolutionary-minded people some of the most vital questions being debated here and internationally.

Trial of Mao

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and policies at almost every critical juncture during the 30 years of People's China. For another, Yeh includes in this "collective wisdom" the "major documents of the Eighth Congress" of the Chinese Party which contain "guiding principles for socialist revolution and construction in our country." These major documents, delivered by Mao's sworn enemies Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping, were later summed up as revisionist during the Cultural Revolution.

These documents went straight against what Mao had said from 1949 on, that the main conflict in Chinese society was that between the working class and the capitalists (like Liu and Teng) and that "class struggle is the key link" to keep the revolution from being reversed. Instead, according to these revisionists, now the main thing was to develop production, and under that banner to fight against the working class and revolution. To sum up Yeh Chien-ying's major contribution to hocus-pocus and double talk: "Mao Tsetung Thought" is made up of everything that Mao Tsetung fought against tooth and nail down to his dying breath.

Personal Slander

Of course all this is just warm-up, "preliminary assessment" as Yeh put it, for more disgusting attacks yet to come—especially at the trial of the "gang of four." In fact this report itself gives a more official and refined sounding cover for some more crass and open attacks on Mao that have been going on in China for months now on a mounting scale.

Besides rehabilitating to honor nearly all of Mao's old foes—recently Liu Shao-chi, known as China's Khrushchev—these revisionists have written lots of so-called theoretical articles to prepare for attack. The articles' contents vary, but their themes are similar. For example, in July of this year, the Theoretical Group of the Shanghai Publishing Bureau printed an article titled "Reviewing History, Upholding Socialism." The main point of the article is expressed in the following passage: "Lin Piao and the 'Gang of Four' have destroyed the reputation of socialism. But the pseudo-socialism of Lin Piao-'Gang of Four' by no means dropped from the sky. Its existence calls for a particular climate and budding soil.... To simply heap all blame on Lin-'Four' is not being scientifically critical. Furthermore, it does nothing to solve the problem." In other words, Mao's post-liberation policies must be thoroughly repudiated in order

to help "solve the problem."

The dean of China's Military Academy, Xiao Ke, in an article titled "The Great Program of Building the Army," published in *Red Flag* (August '79), went one step further in laying ground for attacking Mao. In the last passage, where he discussed how to treat Mao and his thinking, Xiao Ke had this to say: "Why, then, are there mistakes in the theory created by and the policy formulated by the revolutionary leader?" After the author suggested four important reasons, fearing his arguments might not be enough, he blurted out, "Besides, (the revolutionary leader's) health is very important. Some in old age are often ill, and unable to grasp the real situation, especially under the circumstance where they are manipulated by traitors and therefore unable to have direct contact with the masses and with honest and loyal cadres. Plus the fact there is generally a deterioration in one's mental capacity in old age, one cannot make the same kind of deep analysis as in one's younger days. Therefore, it is quite unavoidable to have shortcomings, and mistakes cropping up here and there, affecting some policies and decisions."

So the ruling clique is attacking on two fronts. On one hand, it criticizes Mao's theory and practice, and in case one is not convinced, it throws in a bunch of disgusting personal attacks "senility," "illness," "lost touch with reality".... The Hua-Teng clique is using tactics it used three years ago against the "gang of four"—trashing its enemy with personal attacks. It is a vicious, low blow aimed at creating public opinion: Mao was senile, not in control of his mind. So why should anyone study or take seriously his theory? Or worse still, actually carry it out?

These are outright lies. Mao's thinking had always been consistently Marxist, and in fact constantly deepened from his early to later years. Not only had he not become senile, he raised Marxism-Leninism to new heights with his theory and practice of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Actually, even the bourgeois politicians from foreign countries who saw Mao in his last years—right down to Henry Kissinger in his recent *Memoirs*—testify that although Mao was indeed very ill, his mind was extremely sharp. Desperate for slander, the Chinese revisionists, who slavishly copy these foreign capitalists on every other question, won't go along on this one.

Why A Trial?

But the question remains—why do these revisionists want to openly attack Mao—even to the point of the risky

business of bringing the Four to trial? The answer is simple. They have to. In order to really carry through the revisionist, capitalism-restoring program for China—a program which Mao fought for years—they have to remove every "legal" basis for the Chinese people to resist them.

Targeting the Four has been one step, but Mao himself must be openly tied in. That way when people raise up Mao's words to resist the current revisionism the answer will be clear—"Go ahead and raise Mao; we already tried him and found him guilty." Only in this way can the props of "legitimate" resistance be knocked out.

And the revisionists are worried about resistance. One official Chinese publication admitted openly "Many people have doubts on the Center's policy. Resistance is widespread.... Some people go so far as to say that the Center is leaning right and going revisionist." *Peking Review* has published several articles recently which refer to people "deeply influenced by the ultra-Left line who oppose the discussion, denouncing it as 'de-Maoization.'" (Sept. 28) Commanders of Military Regions recently warned their officers and men not to be "foolishly loyal" to leadership (Mao). In the September issue of *Red Flag* an article criticizes the masses for having "naive class feelings, making it difficult for them to accept the seek-truth-from-fact attitude toward revolutionary leaders and revolutionary theory..." For all these reasons, the ruling clique is anxious to swing down the fist this trial will represent.

There is another possible reason for "de-Maoization" too. Mao was the most implacable foe of Soviet revisionism. And something is in the wind. Dropping Mao, while not necessarily the same thing as making up with the Soviets, is certainly a necessary precondition as far as the Soviets are concerned. As the recent talks between the Soviet Union and China were opening up, Soviet revisionist leader Mikhail Suslov noted that Moscow "resolutely condemns the ideology and policy of Maoism as deeply hostile..." Shortly later, with Yeh's speech, the Chinese leadership took some major steps in removing the source of hostility. In addition to its assault on Mao, the tone of Yeh's speech is unprecedentedly lamb-like toward the Soviets. And in his major National Day address, Hua Kuo-feng refrained both from mentioning Mao and from the usual attacks on the Soviet Union, or even using the code-word "hegemonism." Of course dumping Mao doesn't mean that the bourgeois interests of the Chinese and Soviet rulers won't still clash, but the pull on China to come to heel under Soviet pressure is great indeed. And

some ruffled Soviet feathers are now being smoothed by the Chinese leaders' "de-Maoization."

Of course having a trial will not be all smooth sailing. Many of the current ruling revisionists must be sweating up a rain storm at what might come out. Only Teng Hsiao-ping and his buddies are really free and clear of potential fall-out. They've been open and bitter foes of Mao for years, and now that that is officially "fine" they're cool. Not so for those backstabbers to the proletariat and snakes in the grass who betrayed Mao in a more covered-up fashion. They might get caught in the cross-fire. Even Chairman Hua Kuo-feng might have to worry some. After all the scrap of paper he produced three years ago signed by Mao, which Hua then tried to present as an endorsement for usurping power in the coup, has markedly deflated in value. Now, to these revisionists, it reads more like an indictment than an admission ticket.

But Hua has proven himself able to bend over, twist and adapt himself to so many opportunist positions that while he may be wounded, he will probably survive. But others whom Hua has willingly sacrificed to save his own skin, may not be so lucky this time.

Even Yeh Chien-ying, who gave the recent major speech, seems to be a centrist force—a footdragger. This is not because he is a revolutionary, or pro-Mao, but apparently because he believes that all the potentially conflicting reactionary elements at the top of the Chinese hierarchy should avoid rocking the boat and avoid mutual blood-letting at all costs—lest the resulting "instability" might provide some opportunities for genuine revolutionaries.

Some pro-Teng Hong Kong publications which have been pushing for a trial of the Four for some time have made some not-too-subtle jabs at the 81 year old Yeh for footdragging. They've said that one of the factors holding things up on the trial is that some "comrades" are very old and get very tired going over all the material. In other words, "You old fart—stop blocking things or retire right now!"

The coming trial in China could have world-shaking repercussions. Though these revisionists are dishing up outrageous attacks on working class revolution and against the science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, they are performing at least one service. Anyone who has been misled into thinking that Mao somehow had something in common with these Chinese revisionists can now be clear: Mao Tsetung Thought and revisionism have only one thing in common—they have been locked in a fierce and irreconcilable struggle for years and remain so right down to today. ■

Frame-up of Ex-Panther Leader Exposed

The railroad of Geronimo Pratt, former leader of the Black Panther Party, now a political prisoner who spent eight of the last nine years in the hole at San Quentin, provides a sharp look at the real nature of capitalist justice and the frantic attempts of the ruling class as they tried to crush the revolutionary upsurge of the 1960s.

Recently released evidence is further proof of what was obvious from the start, that Pratt's real crime was daring to be a revolutionary. Deputy Minister of Defense of the Panther's L.A. Chapter, he became a main target for the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO (counter intelligence program) designed to "neutralize or misdirect" Black militants and other leftists by any means necessary including murder. He was the target of constant harassment and surveillance by the FBI, as they frantically sought to snuff the revolutionary dreams that inspired so many at that time.

Pratt was almost murdered in a predawn raid on the Panther's headquarters in L.A., four days after the Chicago pigs gunned down other Panther leaders, Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. He was indicted on 72 felony counts of which he beat 71, and was forced to stand trial on six other cases all of which resulted in acquittal. They tried to assassinate him twice while he was out on bail. Failing at all this, the

ruling class decided to fall back one more time on their legal system to do what other frame up attempts and the pigs' bullets had been unable to do.

In the fall of 1970, a mysterious letter suddenly appeared which fingered Pratt for a Santa Monica murder committed almost two years before. With this "break" in the case, a warrant went out for his arrest and Pratt was eventually turned in by a police informant.

The ruling class had delivered its message to Geronimo and to the people that they would stoop to anything to make an example of this Black revolutionary and to conceal the fact that this was a political trial. It was as if they had said, "Alright, we couldn't get you on trumped up criminal charges before, and we failed to outright kill you, so we will just frame you up and put you away, and let this be a lesson to anybody else who might come around talking about revolution." It was in this spirit that the trial of Geronimo Pratt began and ended.

Key witnesses were suddenly sure he was the killer, even though they had originally said that the killer was tall and very dark, while Pratt is 5 feet 6 inches and light skinned. When he was first "identified," the witnesses were shown only sixteen pictures and Pratt was the only one dressed like the description of the killer. Naturally he was picked. Next after they had studied the photos carefully, they managed to

pick him from a lineup, and by the time the case hit the courts, nearly four years after the crime, they were convinced he was the one, even though he bore no resemblance whatsoever to the man they had originally described. (Other than the fact that he was Black and was, of course, a Black Panther.)

What's even more revealing is the other chief witness—a Black Panther member who set him up in the first place. He swore Pratt "confessed" the killing to him and two years after the murder he stepped forward to turn him in. The fact is that this Black Panther member was actually a police infiltrator who had been assigned to help destroy the organization. How convenient that Geronimo just happened to confess to him, just like it was "convenient" for a Chicago pig to become Fred Hampton's bodyguard and drug him to make sure he could be assassinated in his sleep.

The lies that masquerade as facts in the trial go on and on. The gun that was allegedly used was confiscated during a police raid in 1969 at the house of another Panther. Testimony said Pratt had been seen near the house. Ballistic tests could not be done on the weapon to prove it was identical to that used in the murder because the police claimed "the barrel had been replaced." In fact the cops didn't even "discover" it was the murder weapon until a month after Pratt had been arrested. How conve-

nient. In fact Pratt was in Oakland at a Black Panther Central Committee meeting the night of the murder as witnesses testified and which the FBI knows well, since they had the Panthers under intense surveillance at the time and quite possibly were present at the meeting itself. Of course, very conveniently, they say they didn't even open Pratt's file until 12 days after the murder was committed.

Geronimo was eventually convicted and sentenced to life, but he has never stopped fighting. Now as the facts of this case become more embarrassing for the bourgeoisie every day, they're considering giving him a new trial as proof of their benevolence. As the FBI said, after admitting that they had spread lies about actress Jean Seberg, a Black Panther supporter who was eventually driven to suicide (see RW No. 20), "We aren't in that business any more."

We don't know what "business" this misguided pig doesn't think he's in any more, because despite all the attempts of the FBI to clean up their image after the death of J. Edgar Hoover, it is clear that protecting capitalist rule by any means necessary is exactly the business of the political police, the courts and their pigs in blue on the streets. Geronimo Pratt spent eight years in the hole as testimony to this. And even now as the bourgeois politicians cynically use the glimpses of truth that have come to light around the case of Geronimo Pratt to try to clean up their act, the federal government is attempting to railroad Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, to jail for 241 years. ■

High Stakes

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presents to bring their empire down. It says: Hey, you workers who have sat by and watched, get where you belong! March to the head of this revolutionary movement and let's do what's got to be done!

But for quite a while the discussion floundered. Something was wrong here. People were talking about May Day 1980 just like any other May Day, just like another demonstration or working class holiday. There was a lot of confusion and concern around the room. The session ended and people were dissatisfied as they went out for a short coffee break.

After we returned from the break an RCP spokesman summed up that the last discussion had left a bad taste in people's mouths and that the discussion would have to continue. She pointed out that people had largely been missing the boat in the previous discussion and it was exactly because of a wrong line that people held. People were not fully grasping the real potential and historic nature of *this* May Day—May Day 1980 and that a significant number of those workers whose eyes are open can actually be mobilized to march out onto the political scene in a way that has never happened before in this country, right now! Then she opened up the discussion again.

Things began to get going in the right direction with a number of people speaking to the key questions. But some people still didn't get it. At the mike, some guy was talking about how May Day was like Christmas. No joke, he really was. Then BOOM! A guy two seats away from me jumps up interrupting him:

"Jesus Christ we've been listening to boring bourgeois crap like this all goddamn night! Goddamn it let's look at what the problem is. I'm tired of this bullshit. We're talking about a situation with some revolutionary elements in it. I got a little brother right here that's in the U.S. Army and they're making them sing chants, 'One, two, three, four. Send our battalion we're ready for war.' This shit's serious. Let's look at the concrete problems. Let's look at the urgency of this goddamn thing. We're going into the goddamn 1980's. And we're talking about World War 3. Hundreds of millions of people being blown up. We're talking about crisis,

depression, people starving worse than they ever have. That's what we're talking about. We're talking about a working class that is fully capable. Fully capable of playing their role in society. Fully capable. They ain't goddamn sheep and they can grasp this."

This was exactly the jolt that was needed. In the short time left there was some real fruitful and down to earth discussion even though much more would have to go on after the conference. People spoke to the necessity and real possibility of the working class taking the political step called for in the Manifesto. As one auto worker put it:

"What we've got to do in a very short time is turn what is now hundreds influencing thousands and tens of thousands into a situation where thousands and tens of thousands are influencing millions. And it's not going to take anything but millions of people to get anything done. We are talking about one class—the working class—that can do it....I think it's precisely because of the necessity and the urgency that it is possible to do this....We let the backward whip us around. We've got to start grabbing people and start shaking some sense into them about what the hell is going on....That's what it's going to take and that's what we got to be able to do coming off this thing."

The resolution adopting the basic thrust of the draft Manifesto was unanimously adopted. And as we left the meeting, I thought about how profound an experience it had been and how my understanding and determination to carry this through had been deepened. What a far cry this meeting had been from the old anti-communist stereotype of a communist meeting where people get up and mindlessly repeat slogans and cliches. The conference was a good beginning. It was a glimpse of the battle that lies ahead. A preview of the kind of training ground for the future that is in store for those who dare to take up the two key campaigns we had been getting down around. A preview of the tremendous challenges in store for those who dare to take the future into their hands. I left feeling the same way as they guy who made the final statement from the floor, "More than anything I've ever wanted to do before, I want to go to Washington, D.C. to do my part to make sure that the man giving the major address at that May Day 1980 is Bob Avakian." ■

Cross and Sword

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Soviet Union. Here was a pope to tell the masses of people to stop fighting among themselves and most of all to stop fighting their rulers and oppressors. The American people must be prepared to endure dungeon, fire and sword for the faith.

But he didn't just mean the faith of the Catholic Church, although he showed no hesitation to make clear that the Roman Catholic Church was the only religious force capable of galvanizing the people and infusing them with enthusiasm and a sense of purpose for the battle. He also meant faith in U.S. imperialism, whose virtues he never ceased to extol. Before the mass in Chicago, they sang "America the Beautiful." After the mass they sang "Battle Hymn of the Republic." "Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord... he has raised his terrible swift sword...his truth is marching on." Legend has it that the first Christian Roman Emperor, Constantine, saw a sign in the heavens as he marched into battle, a cross surrounded by the words, "in this sign you will conquer." The pope raised the cross to bless the sword.

Pope John Paul 2 is truly a godsend for the U.S. ruling class. Here is a very sophisticated fellow, well schooled in the realities and necessities of the inter-imperialist rivalries between the U.S. and the Soviets. Yet he can come off like the simple "Uncle Peasant" who has no other concern than love for his flock. He takes account of the discontent, the anger and the cynicism of the masses. He blames it on the unbridled pursuit of the material things in life. He holds aloft "undiminishable spiritual values." There is something worth fighting for. He praises the abundance of America, without saying where those riches came from, but most of all he praises the spiritual values of America, its respect for human rights and civil liberties. Here is something of value, something that must be cherished and protected from the onslaught of the infidels in the Soviet Union. And he can say it with so much more charisma and profundity than the American Legion or the calls of "fight for freedom" of a host of two-bit politicians.

If he can do this, as no American politician or leader can, if he can line the people up for the march into battle against the infidel enemies of U.S. im-

perialism, then he will be given every pulpit in the land, and the U.S. bourgeoisie will shout in unison: "Long Live the Pope!" They don't give a damn about the particular doctrines of the Catholic Church, except insofar as they keep the people as submissive as sheep, but they deeply appreciate his ability to preach militance, discipline, self-sacrifice and unity.

The Protestant evangelist Billy Graham summed up the view and hopes of the U.S. ruling class: "No other man in the world today could attract as much attention on moral and spiritual subjects as John Paul." A Chicago cop listening to the crowd sing "America the Beautiful" outside the pope's bedroom window put it more explicitly: "I haven't heard anyone do that since the '50s. This sure beats fighting people back with nightsticks."

Yes, the U.S. ruling class has good reason to call him "John Paul, Superstar." He put on a stellar performance for them. As *Time* magazine gushed: "As he led his triumphant seven-day journey of joy through the U.S., Pope John Paul II confirmed what his earlier tours of Mexico and Poland had intimated: after only a year in office, the Pontiff is emerging as the kind of incandescent leader that the world so hungers for—who can make people feel that they have been lifted above the drabness of their own lives and show them that they are capable of better emotions, and better deeds, than they may have thought."

What they really hope is that he is the kind of charismatic leader who can get people to forget the misery of their lives and channel their emotions into the better deeds of a new crusade for U.S. imperialism. ■

Traffic Report

On Monday, September 24, Detroit radio traffic reports (WJZZ and WJRI) reported that traffic on the North Lodge Freeway was jammed because cars were slowing to gawk at graffiti. Eye witness investigation by a revolutionary listener revealed that the "graffiti" was the RCP flag and slogans "STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN! FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS!"