



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

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100,000 Co-Conspirators NOW —It's In Your Hands



100,000 copies of this issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* are now off the presses. The final, decisive battle of a major campaign—"Wanted 100,000 Co-Conspirators"—is here. Starting now, and over the next couple of weeks, the task we aim to accomplish is to build off the advances already made and make a culminating, sharp leap in sales to the 100,000 level. Once accomplished, this leap will be nothing less than a major step in preparation for proletarian revolution.

The groundwork for this leap has been laid. Most important has been the "100 Flowers" debate in the pages of this paper, political struggle among revolutionaries, over our Party's central task and our battle plan for revolution. And based on this important initial practice, advances have been made in broadening and deepening the influence of the paper and in revolutionizing and professionalizing its methods of distribution. Now, however, the final leap has to be made and so a leap is required in taking this task of distributing 100,000 *RW*'s to the masses. It is, literally, in your hands. Since the beginning of this campaign we have stressed that its success depends entirely on the conscious activism of the masses, taking up this battle as their own and waging it with a sense of urgency. Now we believe these conditions are ripe for taking it over the top.

In "mini-rallies" at factory gates, in neighborhoods of the oppressed and exploited, and other potential key political "base areas" for revolution, agitators will be appearing calling on people to step forward and begin selling this paper now as the key weapon today in preparing for revolution. Organizers will be following up to firm up the networks, the basic revolutionary organization that develops around the paper. We call on people to step into every aspect of this work, to contribute in their own ways to spreading and deepening the roots of this conspiracy. And not only must the existing English, Spanish, and Chinese language editions of the *RW* be expanded in their distribution and correspondence, but new efforts must be made to get out the *Revolutionary Worker* in other languages as well, so as to reach and mobilize still more immigrant workers whose experience with "all sides" of this imperialist system is a great potential source of strength for the proletarian revolution. This, too, requires people to step forward now. For all who really wish to fight, who wish to get on with the business of doing away with this world-oppressive system, the challenge is here: take up the task of wielding our main weapon now—contribute to distributing 100,000 *Revolutionary Workers*.

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First-Hand Account from Poland:

In the Eye of the Storm

For the past several weeks the world has been waiting for the Soviets to drop the other shoe—the invasion of Poland. The escalating spiral of struggle between Polish workers and the government and party has brought numerous warnings of the dire consequences that confront the country. On December 4 the Polish United Workers Party Central Committee issued a statement to the people of Poland: "Countrymen, the fate of the nation and the country

hang in the balance. . . . Continuing unrest is leading our homeland to the brink of economic and moral destruction." Then, on Friday, December 5, the Soviet news agency Tass announced that an emergency secret summit meeting of the Warsaw Pact had just been concluded in Moscow. The official communique from this meeting declared a "reprieve" for the Poles. There would be no Soviet invasion to restore order—at least for the moment. Mean-

while, Lech Walesa and other leaders of the new Polish unions seemed to be working feverishly, along with the hierarchy of Poland's Catholic Church, in an effort to cool things out and prevent the outbreak of another wave of strikes. Their argument to the workers is that unless the Polish government and party, headed by new First Secretary Stanislaw Kania, is able to restore some semblance of stability, Polish workers risk losing all they have gained

in the wake of Soviet military intervention. The following story, sent to the *RW* by a correspondent who arrived in Poland shortly before the last outbreak of strikes that was touched off by the raiding of the Warsaw offices of the independent union, Solidarity, and the arrest of its printer Jan Narozniaka, takes a look at the mood of the Polish

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Catholic Nuns Slain in El Salvador

Once Again the Bloody Hand of U.S. Imperialism

On Thursday, Dec. 4, the bodies of three nuns and a woman lay missionary, all originally from the U.S., were found in a mass grave near San Salvador. They had been raped and shot in the back of the head, then thrown into a hole in the ground, bodies piled one on top of the other, while uniformed Salvadoran National Guard officers supervised the burial. Another bloodsoaked message has been delivered by the ruling junta in El Salvador on behalf of its U.S. masters. And all the phony concern expressed in the U.S. press, and by the U.S. government (in a little charade of temporarily withholding economic and military aid to the junta) can't hide the real truth—that it is the U.S. who is responsible for the fascist terror in El Salvador. This is in fact all part of a stepped-up offensive in that country and in other countries in Central America aimed at nothing less than drowning the struggle of the masses of people in blood and bludgeoning broad and influential forces who have joined the opposition to the junta into abandoning this course.

Two of the nuns murdered were members of the Maryknoll Order, many of whose members in Latin America are widely known to hold to what is called the "theology of liberation" and support opposition to the U.S.-backed rulers. The Maryknoll sisters were returning from Nicaragua when they met the other two women and decided to ride together shortly before their minibus was attacked. While it is at this time unclear whether all or any of the women were part of the radical or even anti-imperialist wing of the clergy in El Salvador or were simply part of the more moderate church opposition that has exposed the junta's brutality, it is clear that their rape and killing was meant to be a particularly vivid statement to all the clergy that have joined the opposition forces, as well as to the people more broadly: *nothing* is so sacred that it will be allowed to oppose the fascist bloodbath of the junta, approved and coordinated by its U.S. imperialist protectors.

This latest political execution is very much related to the murders of 8 leaders and members of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), the main

coalition of opposition forces in the country. As was pointed out in last week's *RW*, the U.S. has stepped up its efforts in El Salvador to terrorize significant forces who have backed the junta in the past but who recently have deserted it in droves and joined the FDR, into breaking with the FDR in which the pro-Soviet revisionist Salvadoran Communist Party has significant influence. It was also pointed out that this has everything to do with U.S. preparation in the region for world war.

The U.S. puppets in El Salvador have already shown, on more than one occasion, their willingness to go after certain priests. Three of them have already been murdered by junta forces this year, and even very "moderate" opposition forces such as former San Salvador Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero have fallen, with his particular assassination being directly ordered by the U.S. and blessed by the Holy (god-) father himself, Pope John Paul II (see *RW* No. 58, June 6, 1980). And the junta's paramilitary organizations, the Salvadoran National Guard, army, etc. have repeatedly threatened to murder every Jesuit priest who doesn't leave the country. However, this is the first time that nuns have become targets of the junta's fascist terror, a clear sign that it is escalating it further. In the past week alone, over 25 people were murdered by the government and its paramilitary agents in the wake of the previous week's assassinations of FDR leaders and members.

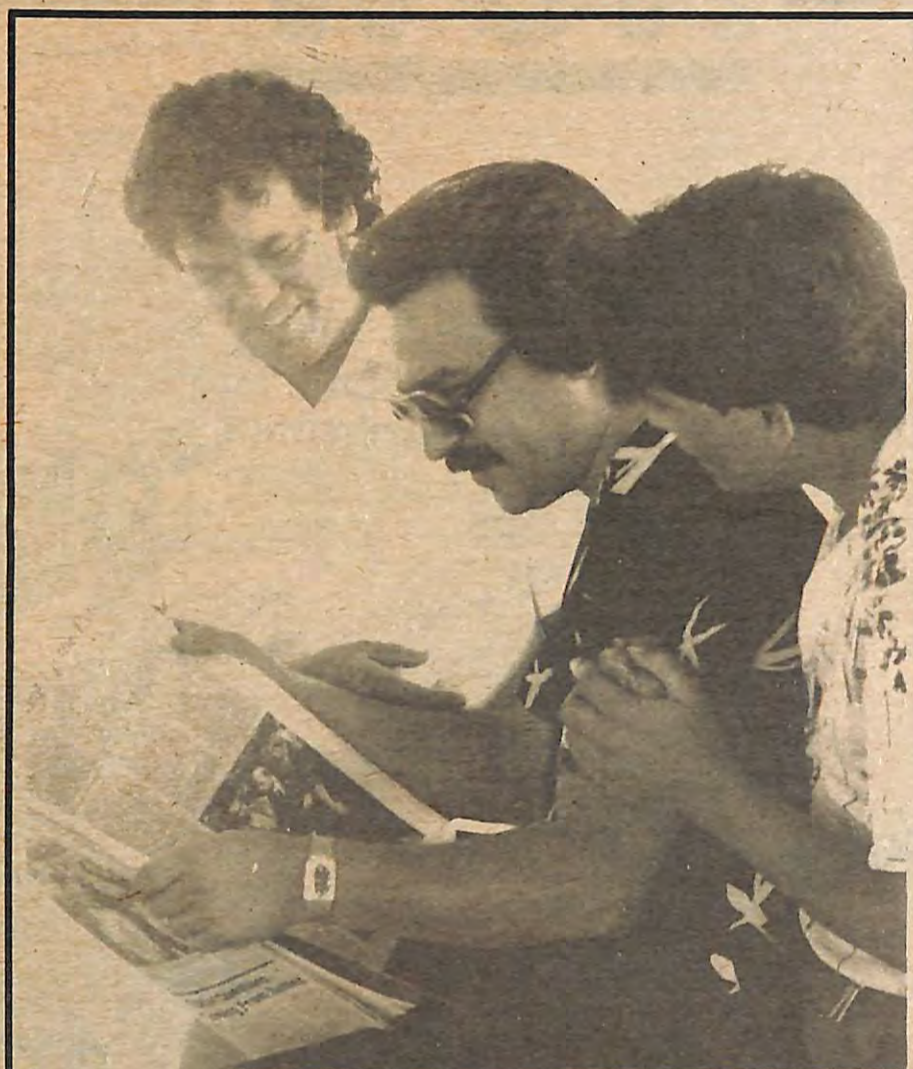
On Thursday, the same day the bodies were found, the U.S. State Dept. issued a typical weakly worded statement similar to the one given after last week's U.S. hit job. Typically, State Department spokesman John Trattner said, "We deplore violence against innocent persons once again," leaving the basic message intact once again. For the benefit of U.S. public opinion, junta member Jose Napoleón Duarte, a Christian Democrat who has presided over the murder of 9,000 people since the beginning of the year, was widely quoted in the U.S. press stating that the murders were the work of an "extreme right wing" trying to "destabilize the government." Apparently it was thought by the Associated Press and

other bourgeois prostitutes that such a statement would go down better in the U.S. than the "fascist junta that is the government" message that is being delivered daily in El Salvador.

However, by the following day it was clear that few had been fooled, and the State Dept. was starting to feel the heat from many quarters, including Catholics in the U.S., about its continuing support of the junta. Suddenly the State Dept. announced it was really getting tough. Trattner stated that they were "suspending \$20 million in economic aid and...uh...uh...\$5 million (mumble, mumble) F.M.S." (When the film clip was shown on Channel 2/CBS News in Los Angeles, the anchorwoman also neglected to mention that the initials "F.M.S." that Trattner mumbled under his breath stand for Foreign Military Sales credits—a truly laughable performance considering the

government's often repeated proud statements that it gave military aid to the Salvadoran junta to help it *stop* the "violence from both the Left and Right.")

The "aid suspension" is to remain in effect while a "top-level probe team" headed by former Secretary of State William Rogers conducts an "investigation" of the murders. While it is clearly possible that they will find a "suspect" in this case—undoubtedly either someone who doesn't know too much or someone who doesn't live too long, just to make sure that the intricate connections leading back to the U.S. don't spill out—it is a certainty that this "suspension" of aid won't last very long. After all, they have urgent work to do in El Salvador to keep their badly exposed and isolated regime in power by any means necessary.



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Statements Demand:

Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants

On Thursday, December 4, attorneys for Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and the Mao Tsetung Defendants presented a petition to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. A three-judge panel of the nine-judge appellate court handed down a decision on October 21 which reinstated the 25 felony count indictment against the defendants dismissed last year in a lower court. The December 4 petition demanded that the entire court hear the case. No decision has yet been made by the court.

The Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants issued a call for a swift and decisive response to the October 21 decision, and the Revolutionary Communist Party has broadly taken out the struggle, mainly through the Revolutionary Worker. By December 4, a literal tidal wave of telegrams had engulfed the court. Thousands of people had signed hundreds of statements condemning the railroad. This was a clear expression of militancy and anger in the face of the latest government plotting. A small number of the statements received appear below.

Many around the country have come into active opposition against the government's attack. In Detroit, over 100 workers at the Ford Rouge complex signed a large banner. Small pieces of the banner were smuggled into the plant and signed by other workers. In Atlanta, 90 residents of the Bowen Homes (scene of the recent murderous day care center explosion) signed statements, and 10 people wrote their own. In another city, a Black revolutionary nationalist group has actively taken up the battle. One thing they've done is to play Bob Avakian's 1979 May Day speech, struggling with others to take up the battle. At the University of California at Berkeley, 35 students signed a 10-foot banner inscribed with a statement while 50 other students co-signed a letter written by a Native American woman.

The seriousness with which the authorities took all this was indicated in Cincinnati. On December 4, as supporters of the Mao Defendants approached the site of a rally and press conference called earlier, the cops swooped in and arrested nine. The police confiscated a banner, picket signs and pictures of Bob Avakian, a P.A. system, buttons and nearly 200 Revolutionary Worker newspapers. All this was held for "evidence."

The thousands of people who have directly joined the battle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants have made a powerful statement to the ruling class over the past few weeks. This can be seen by the statements below. But the struggle is by no means over. Messages of support should continue to pour in—the battle to overturn this railroad must spread and intensify.

Send statements to: D.C. Court of Appeals
500 Indiana Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20001

Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants
Box 6422 "T" Station
Washington, D.C. 20009

To the Honor Justices:

The National Conference of Black Lawyers urges your reconsideration of the Court of Appeals decision in the case of *U.S. vs. Schiller*. The issue before the court is one of extreme seriousness and involves the protection of civil liberties and Constitutional rights for the instant defendants and potentially will affect the rights of many future persons appearing before the court.

It is our considered opinion that the Court of Appeals erred in its conclusion,

that the U.S. Attorney's decision to re-indict the Mao Tsetung Defendants was in our opinion motivated by political considerations and vindictiveness on the part of the prosecutor. The standard used by the Court of Appeals in reaching its conclusion would practically require the admission of wrongdoing by the prosecutor to sustain a charge of prosecutorial vindictiveness. The totality of the circumstances observed by the trial judge gave the impression of vindictive prosecution, and upon closer examination, such impression was not satisfactorily dispelled by the prosecutor. It is unrealistic to expect prosecutors to willfully admit wrongdoing or reveal political motivations in the clear and overt terms required by the court standards.

We reiterate our concerns in the amicus brief previously submitted and urge the court to consider the decision herein.

Victor M. Goode, Esq.
National Director,
National Conference of Black Lawyers

Court of Appeals
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sirs:

It seems as problems intensify around the world and in the USA, those people who stand for the advanced class up and coming in the world get attacked, thus only revealing the weakness of the ruling class, such as the U.S. media whipping up the poison of national chauvinism just when Iran valiantly took the U.S. embassy in Tehran. And you know what, it isn't even my embassy. And what's worse is that I'm in your military.

We're waking up to your shit, others are waking up on their own or through agitation and propaganda and struggling over why it was right for the Iranian people to seize your embassy. I heard that 30 sailors protested being sent overseas to Iran.

Thanks to Comrade Avakian and the RCP my eyes have been opened, and now I too will struggle no matter what the consequences, to see that this railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants is pulled up from the tracks and he is set free to lead the U.S. working class to victory.

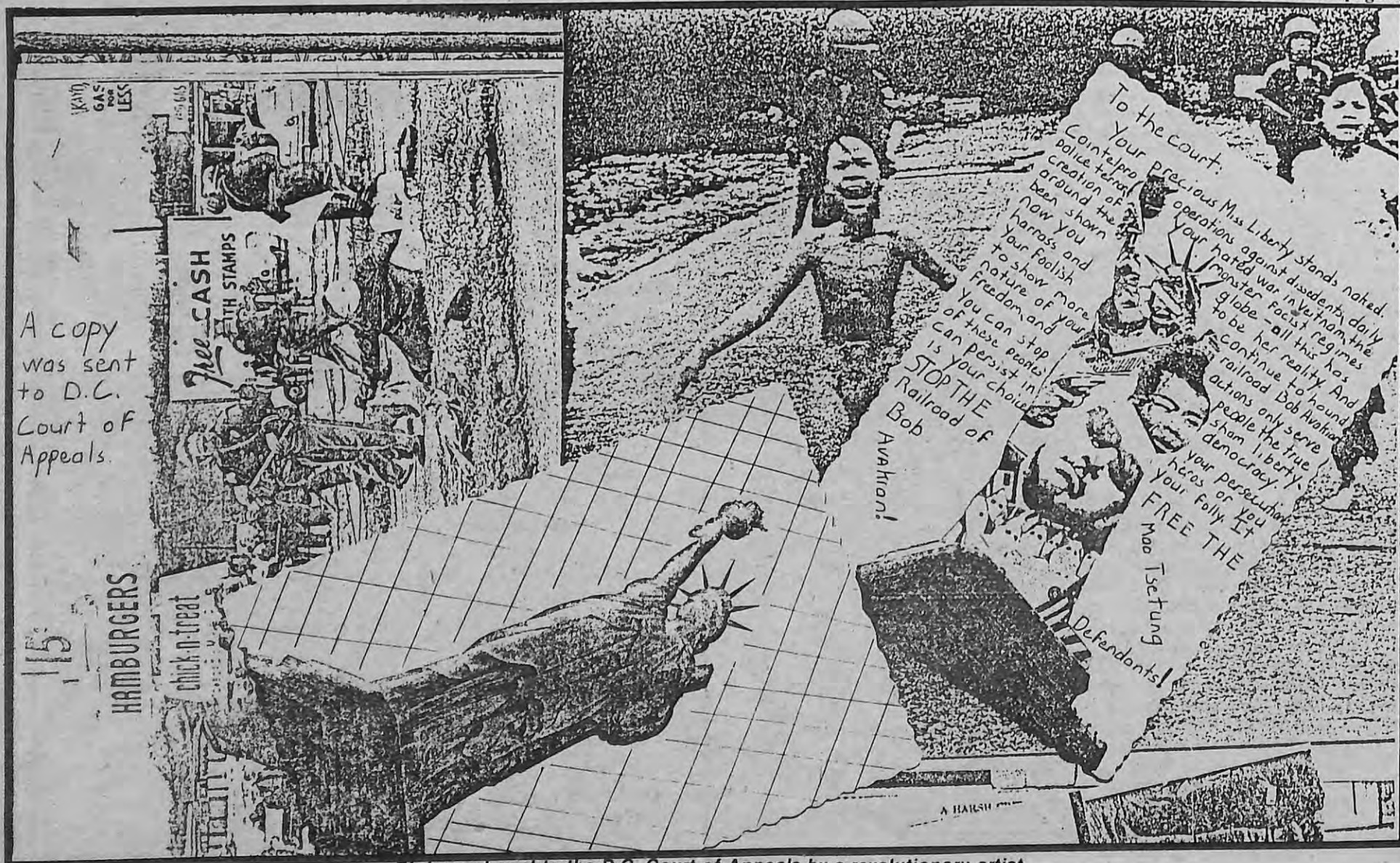
Drop the Charges!
Free Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants!
Long live revolution!

From a red sailor in the American imperial navy

D.C. Court of Appeals
500 Indiana Ave. Northwest
Washington DC 20001

While we're working overtime to produce tanks for our rulers to use against our working class brothers and sisters around the world, this same class of plunderers is working overtime to railroad Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP. Many of us fought for our rulers in Vietnam. We know that their weapons aren't powerful. Also their guns weren't able to stop Black people from shaking this country to its foundation in the '60s. Now our rulers' weaknesses are becoming even clearer. They are scared to death of the kind of leadership that Chairman Bob Avakian represents, the kind of leadership that is necessary to striking the decisive blow against this world wide system of oppression and exploitation. Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian. Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

Four workers from Blauknox Tank Factory
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Statement sent to the D.C. Court of Appeals by a revolutionary artist.

Italy's Political Aftershocks

Vacant apartment buildings, and the 120 public schools in the city of Naples, Italy, have been seized by angry residents in the area struck by an earthquake on November 23. About 100 survivors stormed over startled priests and took hold of the monastery of the Institute of Jesuit Fathers. Truckloads of food have also been seized by the people. And as piles of clothing line the streets and roads in the mountainous regions—part of the "relief" effort—driven in by government personnel and then dumped on the ground, the masses of people are responding to the outrages visited on them by a crisis-ridden government. The political cracks and fissures appearing and widening in the Italian government are bringing deep consternation and worried brows to the Italian bourgeoisie and the U.S.

As we reported in last week's *RW* (No. 82, p. 9), the so-called "rescue" effort has been a total fiasco. An estimated 300,000 people have been left homeless as a result of a quake that registered 6.8 on the Richter Scale, and an unknown number have been killed.

And still, as more and more bodies are recovered from the rubble, the authorities continue to hold the death figures at the 3,000 mark—for there is much to cover up.

The media in the U.S. has played a particularly active role in trying to smooth over what is taking place in the quake area, by portraying the masses' resistance to the crimes of the Italian rulers as the strange actions of ignorant and backward people driven by superstition—or solely the work of black-marketeers and roving bands of looters. What they would have people believe is that the outbreaks are but aberrations in an otherwise fine "relief" effort. And in response to the masses' protests, the Italian government has sent in troops and extra police to "cope with the looters," (read: to quash the masses of people).

The prostitute press of the U.S. has paid special attention to getting the Italian bourgeoisie off the hook and out of the spotlight of exposure. Even the grossest disregard for the lives of "mere peasants," as they see it, has been

twisted and lied about.

Among the vilest things (and there are many) to be parroted by these media mouthpieces was uttered by none other than CBS' Walter Cronkite, when he claimed that people, especially "childless couples," were *stealing orphans* in the quake area. What this lie is actually referring to is that people are trying to protect children from being literally stolen by the Italian government and taken to who knows where or stolen by other scum who would sell them on the orphan market. Out of sheer expedience and for very political purposes, many children who are found alone by government "rescuers" are simply picked up and taken away, no questions asked. Thus the government is creating orphans by the hundreds. The thieves that Cronkite is speaking of are none other than the parents, relatives, friends, and other concerned people who are trying to protect these children from being snatched up and taken away. The attempted creation of an "orphan problem" is no doubt a conscious political move by the

bourgeoisie. What better way to hide the heinous crimes of the Italian ruling class under a veil of phony tears than focusing attention on the plight of the homeless "Italian orphans"? Already, barracudas like U.S. Senator Teddy Kennedy, smelling blood in the waters, have moved in. He has requested that the immigration laws be temporarily suspended in order to allow "certain Italian earthquake victims—such as those orphaned by the tragedy...or other such humanitarian cases with family ties here" into the U.S. Besides the obvious fact that Kennedy is playing up to the concerns of the rather large Italian-American constituency in and around the Boston area, this is another callous ploy to aid and abet the crimes of the Italian ruling class.

In the December 4 issue of the *New York Times*, on page 3, they have an article entitled: "Survivors in Italy Balk at Evacuation." In it they basically push the line that these "stupid and ignorant peasants" are refusing the gracious offers of the government to

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TRANSLATE THE REVOLUTIONARY WORKER INTO MANY LANGUAGES

FOREIGN BORN WORKERS, A GREAT STRENGTH FOR REVOLUTION

The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is calling on you, the foreign born, to translate, write for, produce and distribute the *Revolutionary Worker* in more languages. There is a conspiracy growing. It's taking place right here in the heart of the imperialist United States as part of and in unison with the revolutionary movement of the international proletariat. Its aim is revolution in the U.S.; an act that will be greeted by an outpouring of great joy by hundreds of millions in every corner of the earth. It's a conspiracy around the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, the main weapon that the working class has today to prepare to carry out this task. Right now it reaches out to many tens of thousands of people, creating broad public opinion for revolution, sinking deep political roots among the oppressed, roots that will powerfully resist being pulled up by the attacks of the bourgeoisie. Each week, as major events in the world explode, as revolutionary possibilities heighten, its pages are read, discussed, debated and acted upon. Sometimes being debated by hundreds in the streets—other times being discussed in whispers on assembly lines, apartments and in storefronts.

Ask yourself where are things heading? Events are moving quickly—not only to deepening crisis and world war between the two top imperialist gangsters—the U.S. and Soviet Union—but also along with it to momentous opportunities for revolution in the world, including the real possibility of a revolutionary situation here. The growing restlessness and turmoil and millions seeking a way out of this madness... the powerful outbreaks of rebellions like Miami... thousands of proletarians marching down the streets of the U.S. on the First of May, 1980, International Workers Day... does this indicate a contented and slavish future for the proletariat here? The possibility for revolution is real, but when the situation becomes ripe, when all of society is thrown up for grabs there must already be a class-conscious force capable of leading revolution to victory. And the work and struggle we carry out now will play a crucial part in determining the outcome of the struggle for power when it does finally become the order of the day. Without this newspaper there can be no way to build the organization capable of raising the consciousness of the masses who, together with the ripening situation will be able to seize power from the capitalists. As the great revolutionary Mao Tsetung put it: "First and foremost, create public opinion and seize power."

Today this paper reaches those who read English, Spanish and Chinese. But this is far behind what today's situation demands. In each of these languages it needs further contributions—in correspondence and in distribution. And it must appear in more languages. You, the foreign born, have an important role to play in transforming the world. You have rich experience fighting imperialism, driven here by the criminal acts of imperialism in countries all over the world. Yet the capitalists point to you as examples of those "who yearn for the liberty and freedom of the U.S." It is time—long past time—that this be turned into its opposite; that the victims of capitalism use their knowledge and experience and the fact that they have been driven here to become a force for imperialism's destruction, right here, in its belly. And a newspaper in many languages will link this force with others. You who understand the murderous and criminal nature of U.S. imperialism, must act on that understanding and join

with others in this country in arousing and shaking awake the broader numbers who still have illusions about this system and who have been kept ignorant of imperialism's role. Dare to take History into your hands!

THE RCP HAS CALLED FOR A BOLD AND DETERMINED STEP. TO MAKE A LEAP IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE *RW* TO 100,000 COPIES WEEKLY. BEYOND THAT, WE ARE CALLING ON YOU TO STEP FORWARD NOW AND BECOME A CO-CONSPIRATOR BY TRANSLATING, WRITING AND DISTRIBUTING THE *RW* IN MORE LANGUAGES. TO BRING TOGETHER OTHERS WHO KNOW THE LANGUAGE OF REVOLUTION, NOT JUST TO REACH THEM, BUT ALSO TO ASSIST THEM IN INFLUENCING BROAD MASSES OF NATIVE BORN WORKERS, AS PART OF THE INTERNATIONAL ARMY OF THE WORKING CLASS. BECOME A CO-CONSPIRATOR.

West German Youth Rebel

10,000 BLAST ARMY INDUCTION FINALE IN STUTTGART

In RW No. 80, we reported on militant demonstrations of youth and students in Bonn, West Germany, protesting the mass public induction of draftees into the West German Army. The public induction in Bonn was part of a series of similar events being held all over West Germany. For a great many people, these anniversary celebrations—which represent a sharp leap in previous attempts to whip up patriotism and sentiment for war—bear a striking resemblance to Germany's round of orgies of military-religious pomp and circumstance the last time the world imperialists launched a global slaughter for empire and profit. West Germany occupies a key position in the whole Western imperialist alliance headed up by the U.S. Perched on the border with the alliance headed up by the equally imperialist Soviet Union, West Germany in particular is preparing for war at a feverish pace. It has, for example, the largest army of any European country in NATO.

But, as the British imperialist magazine, *The Economist*, admitted: "The Afghanistan crisis, the Gulf war and the prospect of a build-up of medium ranged missiles on German soil are strengthening the anti-militarism of young Germans." One reflection of this is that although West Germany has a universal draft (for men, so far) with few exemptions, the number of recruits demanding to do their time in non-military functions has shot up by 40% in nine months. But far more significant and troublesome for the W. German ruling class have been the tumultuous mass actions against the induction ceremonies which have brought into action many thousands of people from the environmental and anti-nuke movements and young working class rebels, as well as other political forces.

Ever since May 6, when thousands of youth armed with rocks, bottles and Molotov cocktails tried to storm one of these induction ceremonies in Bremen held to commemorate NATO's 25th anniversary, the battle lines have been drawn. There have been large demonstrations at induction ceremonies in Munich, Hannover, Saarbrücken, Bonn and in Stuttgart, where the largest of all the demonstrations was most recently held. *The Economist* describes the activities of the police as they attempted to thwart the demonstration in Bonn: "There were a few clashes between police and demonstrators in Hannover, but mostly the authorities went for prevention rather than cure. Memories were still vivid of an oath-taking ceremony in Bremen last May... which caused the most violent demonstration the city has known. So the police took no chances in Bonn's main square on November 12 when the Bundeswehr (the W. German Army—RW) held its chief birthday ceremony, attended by President Karl Carstens, Mr. Schmidt (W. Germany's Chancellor—RW) and Mr. Hans Apel, the defense minister.

"Some 6,000 policemen were on duty to insure that 150 army recruits could promise to defend freedom and civic rights. The capital was all but sealed off. Approach roads were blocked by traffic queues several miles long as police searched cars and checked identities. Ninety-five people who, it was thought, might cause trouble, were taken into custody. Twenty others were arrested during the parade."

Bonn was only a prelude to the action in Stuttgart on November 21. What follows is our report on Stuttgart. **Friday, November 21, Stuttgart, West Germany.** The Capitol building, located in the heart of downtown Stuttgart, was chosen by the West German imperialists as the site of the last in the series of public inductions held throughout November celebrating the West German Army's 25th anniversary. For two hours before the program was to begin,



Stuttgart, West Germany, November 21. Demonstrators disrupt a public induction ceremony celebrating the 25th anniversary of West Germany's army.

1,200 army recruits (mostly draftees) were lined up in formation, forced to stand at attention in the Capitol courtyard. One side of this courtyard is open; it adjoins a large square in the main shopping zone of the city. Separating the courtyard and the shopping area was an iron fence erected for the occasion and just behind the fence stood a line of police, shoulder to shoulder. Their ranks stretched for 100 yards. As demonstrators gathered in the area, squads of five to ten police patrolled around, stopping people for I.D. checks and searching bags and purses.

On earlier occasions, where ceremonies had been disrupted by demonstrators, the entire area was generally cordoned and potential demonstrators were screened out. Significantly, this was not the case in Stuttgart. This was an admission on the part of the authorities that, as the other ceremonies had indicated, there was nothing that could be done to stop the protests. Although declared illegal, the demonstration was sure to take place. The best hope of the West German rulers to prevent another major embarrassment this day in Stuttgart, lay in a different event called for another part of the city, the "Walk for Peace." This ridiculous event was organized by the Jusos (the youth group of W. Germany's ruling party, the Social-Democrats) and by the revisionist German Communist Party. The "Walk for Peace" had naturally been granted a permit and the whole thing was obviously designed to draw rebellious youth away from the protest at the induction ceremony itself.

But no such luck. The crowd at the Capitol began to grow. Before the ceremony even began, literally thousands of youth, students and political activists lined the fence from one end of the square to the other.

When the officials who were to conduct the ceremonies arrived in three large black Mercedes Benz limos, all hell broke loose. Demonstrators began booing, chanting, yelling, blowing whistles and throwing things at the cops. The next one and a half hours saw a continuous uproar. At the height, nearly 10,000 people filled the square, over half of them vigorously opposing the ceremony.



German youth overturn police water truck during demonstration against NATO's 25th anniversary celebration in Bremen, West Germany last May.

The crowd surged against the iron fence and the first line of cops was quickly replaced by another, this time in full riot gear. As the ceremony proceeded, the mood of the demonstrators grew even angrier and more militant. More riot cops were called out, backed up by 50 mounted police.

As the late afternoon daylight faded into darkness, floodlights lit the area. But they were not turned on the ceremony, which was still in process in the courtyard—they were turned on the demonstrators in the square. This was for the benefit of police on the ground, as well as police photographers visible in the upper story windows of the Capitol. Several times throughout the demon-

stration, squads of 20 to 30 mace-spraying, club-wielding cops waded into the crowd at various points along the fence, attempting to maintain their perimeter. But testimony to the strength of the action and the exposure in process of the West German imperialists was the fact that the cops were only able to arrest 14 people before and after the demonstration.

The authorities were visibly shaken by this action. Instead of a crowd of flag-waving war boosters, the ceremony had drawn thousands of militant students and youth who did not want to hear the bourgeoisie's bullshit. Ceremonial speeches were blared out over a

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U.S. Gov't Tested Deadly Weapons on Millions

Chemical and Biological Warfare

From 1949 to 1969, the U.S. Army, working closely with the CIA, subjected millions of unknowing people to chemical and biological warfare (CBW) tests both internationally and in the United States. Some of these secret Army tests have been recently declassified. The declassified Army report, in addition to a little-publicized U.S. Senate Subcommittee Hearing report from 1977, represent only the tip of the iceberg of these hideous tests (a chart from the Senate report is reprinted here). These are only *some* of the incidents released, and certainly the scope of the testing goes far beyond what our rulers have admitted. The international extent of the tests is not represented in the chart—and on the whole, these reports are filled with outright lies and distortions about the dangers involved.

The Army claims the tests were "simulated," using live bacteria and active chemicals that are "completely harmless." These claims have been flatly denounced by one of *their own* scientists who quit and later published an article in a professional journal saying that one of the most common agents used in these tests, the fluorescent particle (FP-Cadium), can cause kidney damage, cancer, hypertension and cardiovascular disease, and that the long-term cumulative affect of this chemical is unknown. Several of the so-called harmless bacteria used are known to be harmful to anyone other than healthy adults—and one of them, *Serratia*

Marcenscens, can cause pneumonia and death in elderly people suffering from other diseases. The SM bacterial agent was widely used in these tests and in San Francisco where it was sprayed from Navy ships into the clouds over the entire Bay Area. It recently came to light that this test killed at least one person and caused many serious illnesses.

The Senate report also documents numerous tests of crop-destroying agents like wheat rust and rice blast which were dusted over thousands of acres of farmland (unknown to local farmers), as well as aerosol deodorant agents sprayed on cattle before slaughter that remain in the meat. The Army report shows that they were concerned about at least one living thing: the bald eagle, America's prized symbol. The Army report actually admits to moving one test site area in Virginia that is a bald eagle nesting place, to another site more heavily populated by people!

In the early years of the CBW tests, the Army contacted local authorities to help coordinate their efforts, but in at least one case they ran into some difficulties. In 1953, F.P. was sprayed 35 times in the streets of St. Louis. The report indicated that at least a few local officials didn't want anything to do

with it. But the Army knew how to deal with that. As the report notes, "Minor difficulties with the Park Commission were ironed out with the completion of the change in city administration." And the St. Louis police department was very cooperative with the Army, asking to know in advance of each test "to quell any disturbances resulting from the presence of the test crew in the area." Also in on the tests were executives and scientists from corporations like Monsanto as well as university research scientists in the area. But aside from this core of loyal servants, no one knew anything about the tests they were being subjected to.

Soon afterwards, the Army stopped notifying even these officials, going about their deadly business at the lower risk of exposure. In CBW tests done in Manitoba, Canada in 1958, the U.S. Army told Canadian authorities that "the tests were to determine whether the city (Winnipeg—RW) could be covered in a smokescreen to hide vital installations in case of attack." The Army (using the cover of Stanford University and the Parson's Corp. of L.A.) proceeded to spray clouds of F.P. throughout the city. With the release of the recent report there has been an uproar in Canada and the Canadian government has been forced to begin an investigation of any harmful effects of the tests. In another incident the Army contaminated a shipment of food to the

Norfolk Naval Supply Center (the store which supplies all naval ships in the Atlantic and Mediterranean) all unknown to the Navy. With the release of the report, the Naval Regional Medical Center commander called the bacterial experiment "totally irresponsible and reprehensible." In these CBW tests, anyone was fair game.

Even a superficial comparison of the two reports reveal some striking contradictions. The Army report admits that 3 soldiers died at Fort Sam Houston in San Antonio, Texas, from CBW tests, one in 1951 of an unstated cause, one in 1958 of anthrax and another in 1964 of viral encephalitis. Yet the Senate report lists no tests of viral agents which cause anthrax or encephalitis during that period. Nor does the Senate report list the mosquito-yellow fever test done in Savannah, Georgia (see RW No. 80). The use of these more deadly agents blows the cover off the Army's claims of "simulated" tests and reveals more sharply exactly what they were up to.

The Pentagon has begun a massive campaign to step up CBW agent production, as accounts of the Soviet "edge" in these weapons appear in the press. Congress has recently allocated \$3 million to build a chemical binary weapons plant and are debating appropriating another \$19 million for chemical weapons equipment and this is just some of the information that is being made public. Perhaps the Soviets could learn a thing or two from the testing the U.S. imperialists have done over the last 30 years. Both imperialist rivals are expanding development of these weapons, and as regards the U.S. in particular, it has obviously accumulated a great deal of experience in the use of CBW.

BIOLOGICAL FIELD TESTING ANTI-PERSONNEL BIOLOGICAL SIMULANTS INVOLVING PUBLIC DOMAIN

Location of Test	Date(s) of Test	Simulant/Agent Used
Washington, D.C.	18 Aug 1949 26 Aug 1949 12-13 Dec 1949 11 Mar 1950	SM
USS Coral Sea anchored in Hampton Rds, & USS K.D. Bailey at sea off entrance to Hampton Roads, VA 1 trial at anchor, 16 trials at sea off the entrance	1-21 Apr 1950	SM
San Francisco, CA	Sep 1950	SM
Panama City, FL	Mar-May 1953	SM
Central Alaska	Jan-Feb 1965	FP
Hawaii, Hawaii	Jan-Mar 1968	SM
Camp Cooke, California	1955	FP
Key West, FL	1952	SM

FIELD TESTING NON-BIOLOGICAL SIMULANTS/AIR DIFFUSION INVOLVING PUBLIC DOMAIN

Location of Test	Date(s) of Test	Simulant/Agent Used
Harpers Lake, CA (Mojave Desert) Operation Dew	18-19 Aug 1949	Soap Bubbles
South Carolina, Georgia Coast	Mar-Apr 1952	FP
Minneapolis, MN	15 Jan-24 Mar 1953	FP
St. Louis, MO	Sep-Oct 1953	FP and Lycopodium spores
Rosemont, MN	21 and 26 Mar 1956	FP SO2
San Francisco Bay, Redwood City, CA	30 Nov 1957 6 Feb 1958 25 Apr 1958 20 Mar 1958	FP
Continental U.S. East of Rocky	1959-1960	FP
North Central Texas	Test No. Date	FP
	A-1 13 Aug	
	A-2 15 Aug	
	A-3 18 Aug	
	A-4 2 Oct	
	A-5 5 Oct	
	A-6 7 Oct	
	A-7 9 Oct	
	A-8 12 Oct	
	A-9 10 Feb	
	A-10 12 Feb	
	A-11 15 Feb	
	A-12 19 Feb	
	A-13 22 Feb	
Vandenburg AFB, CA	Jun-Aug 1961 Feb, Mar, and Jun 1962	FP
Cape Kennedy, FL	May, Jun 1961, Jan-Mar 1962	FP
NE Oklahoma, Corpus Christi, TX, E Washington and SW Nevada	Summer 1962	FP
St. Louis, MO	May-Sep 1963 Apr-Oct 1964 Mar 1965	FP
Dugway Proving Ground, UT	17-21 May and 15 Aug 1963 4 Sep 1963	FP
Chippewa National Forest, MN	Jan-Aug 1964	FP
San Francisco, CA	Mar 64-Mar 1968	FP
Wambaw Swamp Francis Marion National Forest, SC	Jun-Aug 1964	FP
Fort Wayne, IN	29 Jul 1964-5 Feb 1966	FP
Victoria, TX	Jul-Aug 1965 Jul-Aug 1965 9-29 Jul 1966	LP, FP LP, FP
Oceanside, CA	Jun-Jul 1967	FP
Searcy, AR	Sep 1967-May 1968	FP
Charles Lathrop Pack Demonstration Forest of the University of WA	Nov 1968	FP
Cambridge, MD	Aug-Nov 1969	FP

BIOLOGICAL FIELD TESTING ANTI-CROP PATHOGENIC AGENT INVOLVING PUBLIC DOMAIN

Location of Test	Date(s) of Test	Simulant/Agent Used
South Carolina-Georgia Coast	Nov & Dec 1952	Dyed Lycopodium Spores Seed-dyed Cereal Rust Spores
Morris, Waseca, Le Sueur, Crookston, Duluth, & Rosemount, MN	May 1953	Wheat Stem Rust
Rosemount, MN; Rosemount, MN; Rapid City, MN	Rosemount-5,7 Jun 1955; Rapid City-3 Jun 1956; Crookston 19 Jun 1956	Wheat Stem Rust
Intersection of US Highways 60 and 441, Yeehaw Junction, Florida	15, 18, 19, 20, 24 27 Nov & 1 Dec 1956	Wheat Stem Rust
Hays, Kansas Experimental Station, Beaumont, TX	7 May 1960 Summer 1959	Wheat Stem Rust Rice blast
Langdon, North Dakota	12 Jun 1960	Wheat Stem Rust
Yeehaw Junction, FL	Nov, Dec 1968	Wheat Stem Rust

Abbreviations

FP Fluorescent particle. LP Lycopodium Spores. SO2 Sulfur Dioxide.

Charts from U.S. Senate hearings, March 8 and May 28, 1977.

SOVIETS ATTEMPT SHOW OF STRENGTH IN SYRIA

JORDAN'S U.S.-BACKED PROVOCATIONS

Syria and Jordan moved large concentrations of troops and military hardware to the border between them last week, in a confrontation which reflects the escalation and intensification of the bitter struggle between the two imperialist war blocs led by the U.S. and the USSR.

The confrontation between Syria, which recently signed a 20-year "friendship treaty" (read: military pact) with the Soviet Union, and Jordan, which is a long-standing pro-U.S. political force in the Middle East, had been developing for some time. The immediate backdrop for it had already been set in the recent months, on the one hand, by the continuing U.S.-backed Iraqi invasion of Iran and a rapid succession of other military and political moves made by the U.S. imperialists to shore up and strengthen their strategic position in the Middle East, and on the other hand, by the efforts of the Soviets to sink their imperialist claws further into Syria in

the hopes of making further inroads in the area.

At the end of November, a meeting of the "Arab League"—an organization of Arab heads of state which is dominated by regimes with close ties to U.S. imperialism in the Western bloc—was scheduled to convene in Amman, Jordan. The agenda of the pro-U.S. forces such as Saudi Arabia and Jordan, was to use the meeting to provide "Arab endorsement" for the Iraqi invasion of Iran and to call for the further strengthening of U.S. military might in the area under the hypocritical pretense of "countering the Soviet presence and encroachment." In response, Syria, which is more closely allied to the Soviets than ever, led a boycott of the meeting, bringing along with it the Palestinian Liberation Organization (which is heavily dependent on Syria—and the Soviet Union—for support) and Lebanon (which has been occupied by nearly 30,000 Syrian troops

since 1976) as well as the Soviet client regime of South Yemen.

One of the main maneuvers which Syria feared would unfold at the Arab League meeting was an attempt by the pro-U.S. bloc to seize the initiative in liquidating the Palestinian struggle—especially through promoting King Hussein, who has for years been a U.S. overseer of the Palestinian movement in the West Bank and inside Jordan itself. "There have been signs," reports the *New York Times*, "that King Hussein may be edging toward acceptance of a role in negotiating the future of the Israeli-occupied West Bank. There had been reports that the Amman meeting might be asked to abrogate the 1974 decision of Arab heads of state declaring the PLO 'the sole representative of the Palestinian people.'"

There have also been a flurry of reports in the press recently that the U.S. has decided that the Egyptian-Israeli accommodation it engineered in

early 1979 has just about gone as far as it can and that the time is ripe to start up a new "Mideast peace process" involving the Jordan-Saudi Arabia-Iraq axis and pro-Western elements in the PLO—a new attempt to settle the Palestine question in conjunction with Israel so as to "stabilize" the area (under U.S. auspices, of course) for the coming global military showdown with the Soviets. Naturally, the Syrians and their Soviet backers are unhappy about such moves by the U.S., and recently started demanding that Jordan "continue to recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people." It should be noted that Syria (and the Soviets) are no more interested in promoting revolutionary struggle among the Palestinian people than their rivals—each bloc is very concerned with attempting to gain the upper hand in the Palestinian movement and harness it for its own imperialist purposes.

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America's "Neutral" Aggression in the Persian Gulf

Over the past two and a half months, the U.S. bourgeoisie has truly outdone itself in attempting to pose as a neutral party in the Iran/Iraq war while carrying out the most unbridled military attacks against Iran through the Hussein regime in Iraq and while making large-scale and furious war preparations in the Middle East. As thin as this mask of neutrality is getting, to this day they still are trying to maintain it while thrusting and twisting their knife into Iran as viciously as ever.

To take one example of this incredibly bald hypocrisy, the banner front-page headline in the December 1 edition of the *Christian Science Monitor* expresses a gangster's regrets: "IRAN-IRAQ WAR: HARD TO END... AND SPREADING?" (referring to the development of the Syria-Jordan conflict). This article was noteworthy for refusing to entertain the slightest idea that the U.S. and Iraq are in cahoots, instead painting the U.S. as the aggrieved party, being further insulted by Iran's "stiffening demands" on the hostages—when in fact, the U.S. government is conducting its typical gunpoint "diplomacy" by utilizing Iraq's mercenary armed forces to "convince" the Iranian government to release the 52 hostages and, even more, to re-establish ties in all fields with the Western imperialists.

The *Monitor's* linking of the Iran/Iraq war and the Syria/Jordan conflict is no coincidence either. Their intention is to muddy the waters and camouflage the actual U.S. role in both conflicts as it aims to fortify its domination of the entire Middle East in preparation for war with its equally imperialist Soviet rivals (who, as seen in their role in Syria, are not paragons of neutrality either).

But the reality of the Iran/Iraq war tells quite a different story from the lies of the U.S. imperialists. Ever since the overthrow of the Shah in early 1979, they have resorted to increasingly ruthless and desperate maneuvers to reverse and crush the Iranian revolution, from their incessant plotting to launch right-wing military coups and uprisings inside Iran to their so-called "hostage rescue" military raid last April. Month after month, the U.S. has been trying on a number of fronts to bludgeon the vacillating, bourgeois forces in the Iranian government to capitulate to the

West—either that or to overthrow them altogether—in order to position themselves to crush the revolution altogether.

In order to carry out this "made in the USA" strategy, the imperialists found a willing tool in the reactionary government of Saddam Hussein in Iraq, which, like other reactionary regimes in the Middle East, was itself directly threatened by the continued revolutionary upsurge inside Iran. Beginning in the spring of 1979, Iraq started launching attacks into Iranian territory, and hand-in-hand with the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, provided money, arms and training facilities for right-wing Iranian exiles commanded by some of the Shah's ex-generals. In September, the U.S. imperialists gave Hussein the green light to invade Iran, focusing on capturing the province of Khuzestan and knocking out Iran's southern oilfields and refining facilities there.

But, no, repeated the President, the Secretary of State and the TV anchor-men, "We're not involved!" At every press conference and every nightly newscast, they worked to add to the ball of confusion around the war, explaining out of one side of their mouths that it is a result of the centuries-old rivalries between Arabs and Persians, and out of the other, implying that the Soviets are backing Iraq. But as we pointed out in *RW* No. 73 at the outbreak of the war, the fact that Iraq has been fighting with MIG jets and other Soviet equipment is the product of their past ties with the Soviet imperialists. Since the mid-1970s, the Baathist ruling clique in Iraq has moved steadily into the Western orbit, tightening up their economic and military ties with the Western imperialists (especially France) and with local U.S. client states such as Saudi Arabia and Jordan.

Ever since the U.S./Iraqi strategy of gaining a lightning victory in the war ran aground on the rocks of the determined resistance of the Iranian people, and their hopes of immediately toppling the Khomeini government and installing a new U.S. puppet regime receded for the time being, Iraq's military strategy has closely followed the U.S. goals in the war. The slow, plodding efforts of the Iraqi army to cut off most of Iran's oil industry—its economic

lifblood—from the rest of the country and to try to encircle the main cities in Khuzestan and wear down the resistance of the Iranian defenders without risking a frontal assault on these cities or further thrusts into the Iranian interior, is exactly the kind of leverage that the U.S. imperialists have wanted to have on the Iranian national bourgeoisie—a gangster-like effort to "convince" them that their only way out is to come around and cave in to imperialism. (And this goal of the U.S., needless to say, is tightly bound up with the current negotiations over the hostages.) This is a strange neutrality indeed. And a quick look at U.S. military moves in the area in the past few months reveals just how massive this Big Lie of the U.S. ruling class is:

- Immediately after the war began, Iraq scattered much of its air force in Jordan, North Yemen and Oman—all U.S.-dominated countries in the region—to keep it in reserve for future use in the war.

- To guarantee that the pressure stays on Iran, the U.S. has been overseeing a resupply operation for Iraq, utilizing its Middle East client states and others. Jordan continues to be the main supply route for Iraq-bound arms. Saudi Arabia admitted recently that three of its ports are being used to receive supplies for Iraq. While the Soviets have been refusing to mount a substantial resupply operation due to Iraq's turn to the West, Iraq has been able to obtain Soviet-made spare parts, ammo and equipment from U.S.-dominated North Yemen and the Sudan (paid for with Saudi oil money), both of which were recipients of Soviet military aid at one time or another in the 1970s.

- The U.S.'s West European allies are also playing an important role in the resupply operation for Iraq. Even before the war, the French imperialists were supplying 25% of Iraq's weapons and were involved in numerous economic projects in Iraq, including a \$400 million nuclear reactor project near Baghdad. France is now speeding up delivery of a \$1.6 billion Iraqi order for 60 Mirage jets, tanks, patrol boats and other heavy weapons that will wean Iraq even further from Soviet weapons systems. In addition, Portugal's arms factories are reported to be churning

out large quantities of small arms and ammo for Iraq. Not surprisingly, both France and Portugal get a large percentage of their imported oil from Iraq.

- Under the pretext of responding to an "Iranian threat" to Saudi Arabia's oilfields, the U.S. sent four AWACS planes plus 300 military personnel to Saudi Arabia shortly after the outbreak of the war. The stationing of these super-sophisticated radar and communications planes was direct involvement of the U.S. on the side of Iraq, since these planes have not only been guarding Iraq's bombers stationed in the region, their 250-350 mile range has enabled them from inside the Saudi border to cover the area of heaviest fighting in southeast Iran and pass valuable information about Iranian air raids and troop movements to the Iraqis. And finally, these supposedly "defensive" AWACS craft are built for more than spying: their main military purpose is to serve as a flying command post to direct ground, naval and air forces of both the U.S. and its allies in the region.

- In fact, the stationing of these AWACS planes in Saudi Arabia not only aimed at assisting the Iraqi war effort and forcing Iran into submission, but was part of expanding the U.S.'s direct military presence in the Middle East, especially the oilfields, that has picked up speed since the outbreak of the war. This is a longstanding and urgent goal for the U.S. imperialists in order to solidify their position in this critical region in order to wage war against the Soviets. And what could offer a better pretext for this attempt to turn the Gulf into an American lake—and under the banner of "maintaining peace and stability"—than the "great danger" posed by the war to the West's oil supplies? Other components of this U.S. buildup are:

- A big U.S. and allied naval armada has been assembled in the Indian Ocean, just outside the entrance to the Persian Gulf, built around two U.S. aircraft carriers with 170 airplanes armed with nuclear weapons. Other U.S. ships hold a landing force of 1800 U.S. marines. And they are joined by carriers, cruisers and destroyers from the British, French and Australian navies who picked this time to hold "joint exercises."

- Inside the Persian Gulf itself, the U.S. has now stationed a guided missile cruiser, the *Leahy*, which, in addition to its stock of surface-to-air missiles, has the capacity to act as ground control for any battle action in the Gulf directed by the AWACS planes.

- For the last three months, several squadrons of F-4 Phantom jets have been conducting joint training exercises

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Appellate Court's Blatant Decision

California Lawyer Hounded by "Partners of Theft"

Glen Ramirez, a Chicano attorney from northern California, has been suspended from practicing law by the California Bar Association for one month. He has been put on probation for one year. Ramirez' experience exposes the crazy idea that the courts—particularly at the higher levels—are somehow impartial.

Ramirez' suspension stems from an incident in 1976 when three California State Appellate Court judges came to the rescue of some bankers who had been temporarily waylaid in screwing a northern California family out of its farm. The Klamath Production Credit Association (KPCA), a farm credit bank, was about to foreclose on the Terry family farm. The Terry's, represented by Ramirez, countersued the bank. A lower court ruled that the bank had used "deceit and undue influence" to foreclose on the mortgage loans and awarded the Terry's their farm plus punitive damages. When KPCA appealed the damages on the grounds that "punitive damages were not allowable against a Federal agency," the appellate judges went the bankers one further, not only overturning the damages, but also reinstating the foreclosure.

Ramirez filed a Civil Rights suit against the KPCA and the judges. When this suit was rejected because of "judicial immunity," he appealed it. The appeal challenged the judge's "immunity" on the grounds that the ruling was an "unlawful violation of due process" based on an "invidious alliance" of the KPCA and the judges due to the "power and influence and money" of

the bank, and that the judges were "partners to theft" of the Terry's farm. In sum, Ramirez' brief said that the ruling was nothing but the judges helping their banker cronies to rob the Terry's and then using the legal system to protect themselves.

This was more than the California State Bar Association could stand. In particular, the Bar was insulted by Ramirez' allegations of an "invidious alliance" between the judges and bankers, making the judges "partners to theft." The Bar began disciplinary hearings immediately, charging that Ramirez had "falsely maligned" the judges. The Bar stated that since Ramirez couldn't "prove" that the judges were actually bribed, his "demeaning statements" violated an attorney's oath to "employ... such means only as are consistent with the truth." And what is the "truth" according to the Bar? It is that the judges were neutral.

Ramirez' point was obviously striking a little too close to home. And for the Bar, to rest its case on the question of direct bribery, payoffs, etc., does them no good. Direct bribery is hardly the preferred form by which the interests of the bourgeoisie are expressed in the courts. The judges are paid by the state to do a job—and they do it.

Ramirez refused to back down. He wrote to the judges "apologizing" for the Bar's interpretation that he had implied "the judges received money to render a decision." That wasn't his point. He immediately took his appeal to the California State Supreme Court, writing, "Does the undeserved,

unblemished reputation of a judicial officer outweigh the unlawful taking of a farm couple's property...?"

This was the last straw. The Bar, in a rage that Ramirez dared allege "a conspiracy to defraud his clients" without "proof" of "illegal action" (like bribery) ruled that Ramirez "became so personally involved... that he lost all perspective and objectivity" and recommended suspension.

The State Supreme Court has backed up the Bar, calling the terms "partners to theft," "invidious alliance," "undeserved—unblemished records," etc., "demeaning statements" made "with blatant disregard for the truth." The court concluded that, "Appropriate discipline must be imposed if

for no other reason than the protection of the public and preservation of respect for the court and legal profession."

These statements are not simply—or even mainly—hypocritical. The bourgeois ideological outlook is concentrated here. "Protection of the public" means protection of the rights of the capitalist and "preservation of respect for the court, etc." is a demand for the unhindered—and unexposed—ability of the judges to carry out the capitalists' dictates.

The judiciary and the Bar has lashed out at Glenn Ramirez for tearing away at their democratic mask. But this little inquisition has only torn it further.

Border Bullets

Abraham Garcia and Moises Ramgel headed for Mexico to visit relatives over Thanksgiving weekend. But, Moises told the *RW*, "When we got to the border the guard (on the Mexico side—*RW*) told us we had to have passports. We didn't need passports to go to Mexico... we're Mexican but we have U.S. citizenship. What the guard wanted was some money—mordida we call it—a bribe. When we told him no, he told us 'Go back or go to jail.' Then he started saying, 'I can put you in jail' so we turned around to go back into the U.S. He ran after us firing into the air.

Then another guard ran up and fired into the back of the truck. The bullet pierced the truck and went into Abraham's back and lung. It's still there."

Garcia is in the Calexico Hospital—shot by a Mexican border-guard. The U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and the U.S. Border Patrol claim their hands are clean. This time it was agents of imperialism on the Mexican side of the border who carried out the system's dirty work.

In the Eye of the Storm

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workers in the wake of the victories they have won to date and in the face of the Soviet threats.

Two uniformed security guards suddenly stepped in front of the procession of newsmen quickly making their way to the front gate of the large factory complex in Ursus just outside of Warsaw. The man in front of this string of camera-toting journalists suddenly started arguing in Polish with one of the guards. Standing just outside the guardhouse where this whole scene was unfolding, I looked up at a large red banner that hung on an outside wall of the gatehouse, proclaiming in bold white letters: UWOLNICE JANA NAROZNIAKA—STRAJK (FREE JAN NAROZNIAKA—STRIKE). One of the security guards went back into his office and others were called out to block the front gate from the outside intruders. The young worker who had led us this far turned around and asked through a translator if the journalists would stand aside for a minute. The guard was calling the director and things would be cleared up in a minute. The bright red and white button pinned on the upper left side of his sweater caught my eye. It said simply, "Solidarnosc" (Solidarity). I could sense the impatience of several of the journalists at the delay. The cameraman next to me, video equipment perched on his right shoulder, referring to the guard, asked, "Who does this Kojak dude think he is?" I laughed to myself. Here they were, NBC, CBS and other journalists from various imperialist countries of the West, standing outside a factory, itching to get inside and film the story of the striking workers! When all the time it was obvious that what they really wanted to do, and what the whole U.S. bloc media was doing with this strike, was to use it to slam the Soviets and their client regime in Poland. They couldn't give a damn about the condition of the Polish workers themselves, or what they are fighting for, except in so far as it has a bearing on the interests and plans of the U.S. imperialists.

Suddenly a large, clean-cut man in a sportscoat appeared at the factory gates from inside the grounds. He was also wearing a red and white Solidarnosc button on his collar. With him were two workers in their grey work clothes, each wearing a red and white armband. While the man in the sportscoat, a strike committee leader, walked into the guard office and began arguing loudly with the chief of the security guards, the other two workers set up their own security position at the gates and began to check the identification cards of people going in and out of the plant grounds. When one well-dressed fellow in a suit and tie, looking just like a manager, tried to leave without showing his I.D., they quickly held him back and demanded that he show it. An interpreter told us that they are making sure that no police agents are allowed to sneak in or out of the plant unnoticed. These security measures, he said, will be enforced for the remainder of the strike.

Shortly the Solidarity official in the sportscoat came out of the guard shack and motioned us to follow him. We quickly made it down a dark muddy road that runs along the plant perimeter. Large, bright green, unfinished tractors were parked on each side of the road. After about 200 yards, passing various sections of the plant, we stopped in front of the large red brick main section of the factory. Again, two workers were standing out in front with the red and white armbands, checking everyone who came in and out of the one door that leads into the large work hall. Behind them was a poster announcing *Strajk!* Stretching about 200 yards in front of us was a silent assembly line, half-built tractors standing dead still. As we moved down the line, cameras clicking, video film rolling, workers who had been sitting and standing around the line began to check out this troop of foreigners who had just entered the factory now under their control.

Five months had passed since the workers at the Ursus Tractor Works, one of the largest and most prestigious factories in the country, with a workforce 16,000 strong, had walked out

over the government's announcement of higher food prices. That strike had touched off the nationwide upheaval last summer that toppled Polish party boss Edward Gierek, unleashed a series of purges in the party hierarchy, and forced the new First Secretary of the party, Stanislaw Kania, and the other party and government leaders to accede to the workers' demands for independent unions and the right to strike.

Since the summer, workers in plants all over the country had waged a series of strikes to gain recognition of their unions and to force factory and government officials to live up to agreements. These strikes and the continuing militancy of the workers directed against the party and the government had created the most severe political crisis that crisis-racked Poland has experienced in the post-war period.

Now the Ursus strike threatened to touch off a whole new explosion. It had begun a few days ago, after government security forces had raided the Warsaw office of Solidarity, confiscating typewriters and other office equipment and arresting a union printer, Jan Narozniaka, for duplicating supposedly stolen, secret government documents (see *RW* No. 82). Already the workers at the large Rosa Luxemburg electrical plant in the center of Warsaw and the steelworkers at Nova Waza plant on the outskirts of the capital had gone out. Under such slogans as "Free Jana Narozniaka," "Today Jana, Tomorrow Walesa," and "Stop Political Repression," the strike began to spread across the whole central region.

The scene around Warsaw now was quite different from what I had encountered when I arrived in the city only a week before. Then there had been no outward signs of the mass movement that had rocked the rulers of this Soviet satellite. Aside from a few scattered posters around town announcing a fundraising auction of art works for Solidarity and some other signs on shop windows calling on people to "organize in Solidarity" or "Solidarity Today, Success Tomorrow," there was not much evidence of the wild upheaval that had shaken the Soviets' Eastern European empire. The government did its best to immediately cover over any graffiti and rip down any posters or

leaflets that were dispersed. At the University of Warsaw, the site of violent student demonstrations in 1968, I saw one small part of the long bulletin boards at the front gate given over to notices from the newly formed independent student union which was linked to Solidarity. I saw groups of students gathered around trying to read the newest leaflets put out by both the union and the student organization. But here too, there was no outward surge of events that revealed the true strength and depth of the political current surging through Polish society. When I arrived there were no demonstrations, mass meetings, public agitation.

But the calm was superficial. It was like that "intense calm" Lenin spoke of, when under the surface everything is boiling. After the raid on the Solidarity offices, all hell broke loose once again. Suddenly leaflets and small silkscreened posters began to appear everywhere, pasted on walls at main city corners, outside factories and the university and in the subways. Everywhere people would stop, read and discuss the latest events. At Warsaw University the representatives of the NZS (Independent Student Union) that I'd been trying to find for a week were all over the place. Since the government and university officials had not yet granted the student union a room, they set up operations in the main lobby of the administration building, making posters on the floor, typing leaflets on small coffee tables, calling on students to support the workers by striking themselves. The main offices of Solidarity in Warsaw were seething with activity: workers were coming and going, taking the various communiques and leaflets to their respective factories and offices.

Even the government news agencies and radio and TV were forced to report about the strikes relatively accurately and to recount the demands of the strikers. One student told me after hearing a news broadcast that in his whole lifetime he'd never heard a news report that objective.

The reasons for this, and for the government's generally conciliatory tone, were not hard to see. Since summer, the new unions had grown like wildfire, accounting for over 10 million of the

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Frame-up Stands in Geronimo Pratt Case

A California Appeals Court has upheld the frame-up of former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo Pratt. Pratt's lawyers had earlier been denied an evidentiary hearing which they needed as one step on the road to a new trial. They then appealed the ruling against the evidentiary hearing, and on December 3, the appellate court upheld the lower court ruling. The appellate court decision, in essence, expresses open glee at Pratt's outrageous 1972 conviction on a trumped-up murder charge.

Pratt, like other Black Panther Party activists, was the target of extensive COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence Program) activity by the FBI, in concert with the Los Angeles Police Department and others. A campaign waged by various forces over the last few years to free Pratt, focusing on the demand for a new trial, has brought to light many irrefutable facts and exposed the plot against Pratt. The evidentiary hearing pressed for by defense lawyers was aimed at entering many of these into the case, thereby paving the way for a new trial. But again, the judges slapped back in another in a long line of court rulings against Pratt and the struggle he has come to symbolize. This time however, the judges have been a bit more blatant in their pronouncements.

In 1969 alone the COINTELPRO "neutralization" efforts in Los Angeles resulted in the assassination of "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins at UCLA. Closely associated with this was

LAPD murders of at least four other BPP members in the streets of L.A. At least two attempts were made on Pratt's own life. And an assault by the LAPD on Panther headquarters followed 4 days after a similar raid in Chicago which left Fred Hampton and Mark Clark dead. COINTELPRO operations against the BPP are widely known: the printing of phony newspapers and leaflets, the attacks on Panther leaders and the lies spread about them, and the innumerable frameups on criminal charges like the ones for which Pratt is now serving a life sentence.

Pratt himself had been indicted on a total of 72 trumped up felony counts. He beat 71 of these, but was forced to stand trial in 6 other cases all of which resulted in acquittal. Then in late 1970, a mysterious letter suddenly appeared which fingered Pratt for a Santa Monica murder committed 2 years earlier. With this "break" in the case, a warrant went out for Pratt's arrest. The letter's author and key prosecution witness—Julio Butler—was later exposed as an FBI informant. Two years after the killing, Butler claimed that Pratt had "confessed" the killing to him.

Key witnesses suddenly became sure Pratt was the killer, even though they had originally said that the killer was tall and very dark, while Pratt is 5 ft. 6 inches and light skinned. Recently revealed is the fact that the prosecution suppressed evidence that one or more of these witnesses identified someone else as the killer in a police lineup a year

earlier. The lies and deception that are the substance of Pratt's conviction go on and on.

The appellate court decision raises all this to a new level. The court ruled that just because prosecution witness Butler supplied the FBI and LAPD with information on the BPP for years, it doesn't mean he lied when he testified at Pratt's trial that he wasn't an FBI informant. The court said that since this informant/witness apparently wasn't paid for his services, he wasn't really "working for" the FBI. It seems the FBI isn't lying either as it continues to insist that Butler has never really been an informant, even though the feds recently turned over 40 pages of information gathered from 33 meetings with Butler.

The court ruled that Pratt's defense was in no way compromised by the fact that there was—as the court admitted—"more than one person" on Pratt's legal team who "acted as informants to the FBI," reporting extensively on defense strategy.

Pratt's attorneys sought FBI records locked away in the files to admit in the evidentiary hearing—records which would prove that since the FBI had complete surveillance on Pratt, the agency was well aware that on the day of the murder, Pratt was at a meeting in the Bay Area. The appellate court called all this "Rank speculation and sheer conjecture" and stated that this and much more evidence proving the frame-up had "as little substance as a handful of fog."

At the same time, the court *admits*

that Pratt was a COINTELPRO target. The judges say in their decision: "Pratt became the subject of COINTELPRO's efforts to 'neutralize' him after his assumption of a leadership position in the L.A. BPP in April, 1969." All this apparently doesn't apply in the murder case, or so the judges imply. But just beneath the surface is their real point, a point made with eyes cast more toward the '80s than the '60s. The court explicitly defends COINTELPRO, stating that it was created "under the auspices of the federal government to serve its interests as a preventative measure against an organization perceived by FBI director J. Edgar Hoover as a militant, violence prone, hate group." The court explained why the Pratt case must be handled differently than others involving the same legal points: the Panthers, "schooled in Marxist-Leninist ideology and the teachings of Chinese communist leader Mao Tsetung..." were "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country."

Many people familiar with the Pratt frame-up were shocked by the appellate court's ruling, having clung to the notion that since the evidence in Pratt's favor was so overwhelming, no appellate court could let the lower ruling stand. But the trial court didn't need evidence to convict Geronimo Pratt and the appellate court doesn't need it to perpetuate this railroad. The latest ruling is testimony to the viciousness with which our rulers react toward revolutionary struggle. *This* is evidence that most concerns them.

Persian Gulf

Continued from page 7

with the Egyptian air force, and in November, 1400 GI's from the 100,000-man Rapid Deployment Force slated for use in the Persian Gulf were flown into Egypt to get some simulated combat experience in desert conditions alongside Egyptian units.

- Heavy equipment needed by the RDF has been shipped and prepositioned at U.S. facilities in Kenya, Oman, Egypt and on Diego Garcia Island in the Indian Ocean. The U.S. is, step by step, moving the bulk of this equipment, together with U.S. troops, closer to the central oilfields region.

- Finally, the U.S. is continuing to pour massive quantities of military equipment directly into the armed forces of its client states in the region, with Egypt and Israel being the largest recipients. At present 89% of U.S. arms sales abroad go to the Middle East. And with the current faceoff between Jordan and Syria that the U.S. is using as a pretext to speed up deliveries of M-60 tanks and other U.S. equipment to Jordan, the buildup is continuing to accelerate.

"U.S. intervention in other countries?" they ask. "Not us. We're just giving defensive aid to our allies." As they step up their attempts to suppress the Iranian revolution and other genuine revolutionary struggles in the area, and as they gear up for world war with their equally desperate and voracious rivals in the Soviet Union (who are themselves supplying 100,000 troops worth of "fraternal assistance" to Afghanistan), the U.S. ruling class will undoubtedly make many more Big Lies about their interest in "preserving peace and stability in the world" and "protecting the sovereignty" of other countries. U.S. troops may not be doing the fighting—at least not yet—but the U.S. rulers already have the blood of tens of thousands on their hands from the Iran/Iraq war, not to mention millions and millions around the world as they prepare for even more massive slaughter. They can say and do anything they want, making up the most preposterous lies, but they will never be able to cover up the blood dripping from their jowls.

"I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, viz., the question of the economic essence of imperialism, for unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics."

V.I. Lenin



V. I. LENIN

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The "100 Flowers" debate has greatly helped to lay the basis for this advance by sharpening up the understanding of our Party's central task of "create public opinion... seize power" among revolutionary forces. While this debate is now ending, it is important here to sum up what has been learned in the course of it about the plan for revolutionary work. As Mao put it, "Contradiction must be exposed, then resolved."

The Bridge to the Future

"Create public opinion... seize power" is no literary task. As Bob Avakian, the Chairman of our Party's Central Committee recently pointed out, "To underscore the significance of this advance in our understanding of central task—and of the newspaper as our main weapon, in its various aspects—it can be truly said that it is only with these advances that we have really arrived at and begun to develop an actual plan for how to make revolution, for how to make all our work concretely build toward the goal of an eventual armed uprising and civil war. This is not to say that previously we did not carry out revolutionary work (with whatever weaknesses and errors there may have been in our line and actions), nor that we did not have a basic strategy—the united front—for revolution (for the necessary approach to the question of the alignment of class forces). But it is to say that it is only with the forging of the line on central task, as represented by 'create public opinion... seize power,' and the wielding of the newspaper as the main weapon, that we could really begin to forge the links between our work in this period and the actual mass armed struggle for power in the future."

Marxism is a wrangling *ism*, as Mao said, and this understanding of our central task, and the role of the paper, has had to contend with opposing views. One such view is the strategy of terrorism, the belief that the system can be brought down in a war of attrition by the armed actions of a relative few, or, in another slightly different version, that the broad masses will be stimulated into revolutionary activity by the heroic armed actions of these few. While this strategy was not much argued for in the pages of the *RW* in the 100 Flowers debate, terrorism does have influence among revolutionary-minded people who are burning with impatience to see this system finished off. While without this kind of spirit of revolutionary impatience, nothing can be accomplished, and while having this oppressive imperialist system gone yesterday would be none too soon, still this does not make terrorism a correct revolutionary strategy and, in fact, is opposed to the most necessary work of creating public opinion to seize power, and is opposed to the building of a Party to carry out especially this urgently necessary political work. In all this, terrorism shares much with the rightist and economist forms of opposition to our central task which are today far and away the principal obstacle to revolutionary work. Precisely because of this, such rightist forms, not terrorism, are the subject of our main argument. A full reply to the strategy of terrorism is beyond the scope of the present article, but Comrade Avakian did recently address some of these questions in his reply to a letter from a "Black Nationalist with Communistic Inclinations" (*RW* No. 75, soon to be reprinted as a pamphlet). Still, it can be briefly said that a strategy of military attrition or "urban guerrilla warfare" misses the fact that an imperialist state such as this one can only be overthrown by the conscious action of great masses of people in the form of mass armed insurrection, followed by civil war. And as for "excitatory terror," Lenin, in his book *What Is To Be Done?*, replied in a way that not only hit the terrorists, but also, even today in this country, urges us forward to correct the shortcomings in our own revolutionary work:

"Are there not enough outrages committed in Russian life that special 'excitants' have to be invented? On the other hand, is it not obvious that those who are not, and cannot be, roused to excitement even by Russian tyranny will stand by 'twiddling their thumbs,' watching a handful of terrorists engage in single combat with the government? The fact of the matter is that the masses of the workers are roused to a high pitch of excitement by the abominations in Russian life, but we are unable to collect, if one may put it that way, and concentrate all these drops and streamlets of popular excitement, which are called forth by the conditions of Russian life to a far larger extent than we imagine, but which it is precisely necessary to combine into a *single* gigantic torrent." And Lenin goes on to call terrorism and economism "merely two different forms of evading the most pressing duty that now rests upon Russian revolutionaries, namely to organize comprehensive political agitation." (FLP edition, pp. 95-96)

This "most pressing task" is, of course, coming into being in the face of resistance. But it is being born. Like all new things, it is struggling to grow, and strengthening itself in the process. The "100 Flowers" campaign has performed the service of bringing opposing lines into the open and increasingly stimulating many comrades to raise their own understanding of our central task and join the struggle to uphold it in

theory, and carry out practice under this guidance. One such tendency that has appeared and been fought is the line that surveys the present situation and sees little going on, little basis for our revolutionary line. According to this view, we are "too far ahead" and the central task tends to be perverted into some sort of aimless process of patiently educating people, of "changing people's minds." Another view more openly loses patience with persevering in our central task, feeling that "in addition" we must undertake something "more concrete." Specifically, the argument has been raised, we need a "visible force" of advanced workers who the Party would call into action in various ways in order to awaken and stimulate broader ranks onto the revolutionary path. This, it is argued, is even key for raising interest in the newspaper.

It must be said that another virtue of the "100 Flowers" debate was to reveal how economism is not at all a "dead letter" in the revolutionary movement today, and, in fact, is the principal obstacle to be overcome in revolutionary work. And all this also shows how the campaign for 100,000 co-conspirators is a powerful blow in theory and in practice against this backward trend. For despite their obvious differences, both are economist. Both are marked by what Lenin termed "the principal feature" of economism: "... its incomprehension, even *defense, of lagging*, i.e., as we have explained the lagging of the conscious leaders behind the spontaneous awakening of the masses." Lenin goes on to say, "the characteristic features of this trend express themselves in the following: with respect to principles, in a vulgarisation of Marxism and to helplessness in the face of modern 'criticism'...; with respect to politics, in the striving to restrict political agitation and political struggle or to reduce them to petty activities...; with respect to tactics, in utter instability...; and with respect to organization, in the failure to understand that the mass character of the movement does not diminish, but increases, our obligation to establish a strong and centralized organization of revolutionaries capable of leading the preparatory struggle, every unexpected outbreak, and, finally, the decisive assault." ("A Talk With Defenders of Economism") Both these trends that have emerged are especially "a defense of lagging" in regard to strengthening the key link in all our work today: carrying out exposures of all manifestations of tyranny and oppression, here and internationally.

Preparing, Not "Patient Education"

To see our task as "some kind of patient education" is to miss the whole point. In this view the situation appears bleak, lifeless, empty of contradictions and empty of opportunities. This is a static and one-dimensional view of the situation today, to say the least. What about the developing crisis of U.S. imperialism? What about the "mini-shocks" that hit the system even now, as it moves toward war? What of the forces being drawn into political life today, the movements against the draft, nukes, women's oppression, and what of rebellions like Miami? Simply pointing out that things are not as advanced in the development of the mass movement as they were in Russia at the time Lenin wrote is hardly the point. It misses what is in store for U.S. imperialism. But even more important, it raises "Lenin's conditions" in a vain attempt to attack Lenin's revolutionary political line. Lenin laid stress on the fact that at all times, communists had to pay special attention to the advanced workers, and not remain fixated on the spontaneous level of the mass movement. Whatever the level of the mass movement, the masses would not go forward unless leaders for the struggle were trained—and Lenin stressed that the essential part of the training was learning through exposures, about all aspects of political life. With its flat and lifeless view of the present situation, one could hardly expect this "patient education" line to produce revolutionary exposure despite its pretensions about upholding the newspaper and the central task. This is not the revolutionary view of the central task as "the bridge from the present to the future" as our Party's draft *Programme* puts it. It is, at bottom, the economist view of marking time, waiting for a "big mass movement" to push things along.

This economist view "forgets" that the central task is not simply "create public opinion" but "create public opinion... seize power." This is not only a question for the future, but affects our work in the present. In this light, our work is not so much "changing minds" as it is "preparing minds and organizing forces" through the events of the day for the final assault ahead. Once again, topical exposure is key in this process. If our task is seen simply as "changing minds" and "patient education," this would amount to reducing our work to sterile, stale and sectarian activity separate from the diverse strands or streams in which the class struggle breaks out. Real revolutionary work today means being able to seize on and direct all these streams toward the revolutionary aim. In this, the paper is indispensable in building today for the revolutionary prospects ahead.

And what of the trend that says it "wants more action" in the form of a "visible force"? Is such a view more revolutionary, or at least more "action orien-

ted" than our Party's central task and main work around its newspaper? Not at all. Only more narrow in its conception of revolutionary activity. Lenin's remark (quoted earlier) about the striving to restrict political agitation and political struggle or to reduce them to "petty activities" is right to the point. Apparently the thinking is that somehow the existence of a force of people running about from here to there will somehow answer people's questions and inspire them. In this narrow view, people apparently have no political questions other than, "how do we get things moving," and the task is to present them with the "proof" that "something's going on after all." Well, how about the preparation for revolution represented by 100,000 *Revolutionary Workers*. That's no "small thing" going on!

All these economist views are proceeding from an entirely wrong idea of "what is the problem?". The problem revolutionaries have to address is not that the masses are not active enough and we have to concoct some activity for ourselves to substitute for them. The problem is, in fact, that we are lagging behind the opportunities in today's situation. Once again we see how economism is precisely an "incomprehension, even defense, of lagging." It is *our* activity, specifically activity of exposure centered around the newspaper, that must be raised. Although it is not now a period characterized by major upsurges of struggle, these are growing in intensity. And when they do occur, as around Miami or Iran, for example, inevitably the revolutionary forces lag behind.

In the important article, "Crucial Questions in Coming From Behind" (*RW* No. 68) Comrade Avakian refers to Lenin's example in *What Is To Be Done?* of an advanced worker putting political demands on communists and points out that "the real problem is not at all that such workers do not exist" but that those who deny it "do not know where to look for them or how to recognize them—even though and even when they pass by them or perhaps bump into them every day." Lenin's worker makes a very relevant point, "... talk less about 'raising the activity of the masses of workers'! We are far more active than you think, and we are quite able to support, by open, street fighting, demands that do not promise any 'palpable results' whatever! And it is not for you to 'raise' our activity, because activity is precisely the thing you yourselves lack! Bow less in worship to spontaneity, and think more about raising *your own* activity, gentlemen!" And the activity Lenin calls for here is activity centered around a newspaper "precisely in the form of live *exposures* of what our government and our governing classes are doing at this very moment in all spheres of life." (p. 92, FLP) It is precisely to raise this activity, to respond to this challenge, that the 100,000 *RW* campaign has been launched.

Exposures—The Key Link

Why is organizing political exposures such an important question—the key link, in fact, in carrying out our revolutionary preparation today? Because, as Lenin put it, "The masses *cannot* be trained in political consciousness and revolutionary activity in any other way except by means of such exposures." (*WITBD*, p. 85)

A newspaper is central to organizing the work of political exposure, which consists mainly in agitation (one or a few basic ideas presented to a mass of people) and secondarily in propaganda (many ideas which will be understood by only a comparatively few people). A newspaper constantly hounds and exposes the bourgeoisie and produces in its readers a clear picture of events in the society, arming hundreds of thousands simultaneously with a common revolutionary viewpoint. And, in addition, in relation to key outbreaks of struggle, a paper plays the role of guiding, and organizing further advances in these struggles toward the revolutionary goal, exposing the enemies' maneuvers and the twists and turns in the struggle and laying the basis for future advances. All this is exactly the "activity" required by the developing world situation.

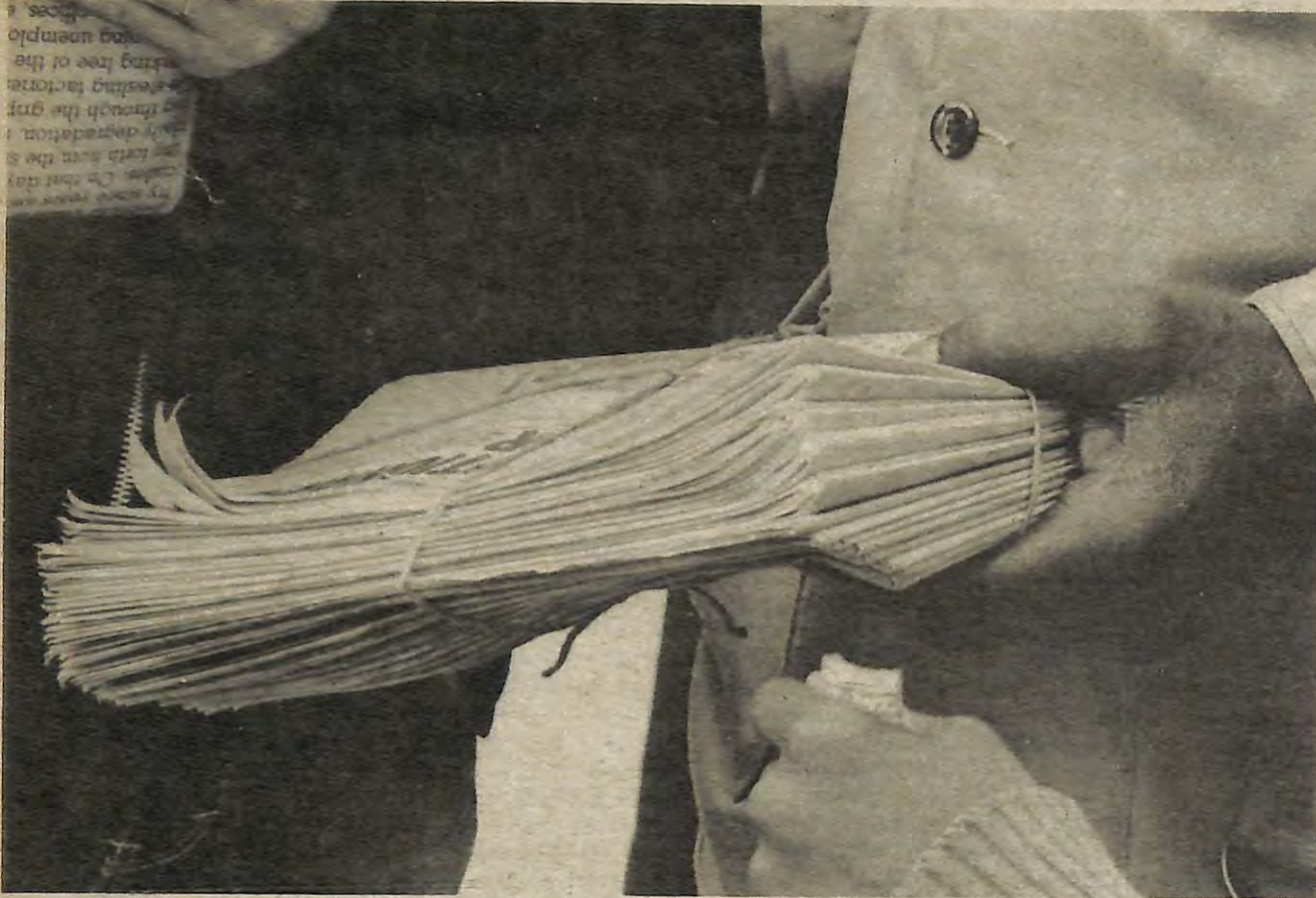
This exposure is very *practical* activity. It is well worth quoting at some length from *What Is To Be Done?* to make this point. In order to develop class consciousness, workers must gain a clear picture of the nature of the system here and internationally and of all the different classes in society, as Lenin says, "not so much with a theoretical as with a practical understanding." And he says this "cannot be obtained from any book. It can be obtained only from living examples and from exposures that follow close upon what is going on about us at a given moment; upon what is being discussed, in whispers perhaps, by each one in his own way; upon what finds expression in such and such events, in such and such court sentences, etc., etc. These comprehensive political exposures are an essential and *fundamental* condition for training the masses in political activity." (pp. 86-7)

Good exposure, or agitation, rouses discontent among its audience. And here lies the basic reason why these exposures, far more than any calls for a "visible force" or other sorts of "more concrete" activity are the key to all-around political activity, including mass political struggle. This is why, if the masses of people do not yet respond with intense revolutionary activity to various outrages of the system, then we must not blame them, but blame ourselves for, as Lenin put it "being unable to organize as yet sufficiently wide, striking and rapid exposures..."

In *What Is To Be Done?*, the important point is made that,

GOOD POINT

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clear that its overall significance in this period was its awakening and stimulating effect on the consciousness of the proletariat and oppressed worldwide—a “manifesto” written with fire and guns. Searching for something “more concrete” than this central task is a dead-end, and ultimately economist, journey. “Create public opinion . . . seize power,” with our main weapon today, the *Revolutionary Worker*, is both an urgent task and a description of a whole process—“the bridge” from the present to the future decisive revolutionary assault.

IN OTHER WORDS A STRATEGY

Great Potential

Today, while there are economist falterings before this great task, the overall trend is one of tremendous progress, both theoretically and in the realm of consciousness transforming matter. The influence of the *Revolutionary Worker*, the roots of the conspiracy, have extended far more broadly and deeply than before. The role of the networks of this paper as hubs of all-around revolutionary activity has begun to come into flower. In the wake of major events in society, most recently the “hunting license” innocent verdicts handed the Klan in Greensboro, *RW* distributors have been sought out by others to get down on the meaning of these events. In some cases, based on the exposures and line of the paper, these forces have initiated various forms of protest on their own, often reporting later to the paper.

Circles of revolutionaries have begun to form up around the paper, and other, already existing circles—a feature of the movement in the upsurge period of the '60s have been found and contacted through the work of the paper and have been influenced in varying degrees by its line (often these groups are studying the *RW* in relation to other political papers). Such circles have been contacted among many sections of the people, including youth, vets and immigrant workers. Progress toward drawing them toward a common line, a common conspiracy has been made.

The influence of the *RW* has been spread into various social movements in ways unheard of before. While in many cases our exposures are weak on the questions of the day with these movements, the paper has begun to change this situation by “stretching a line” into them, influencing people, learning more. Contacts have been established through the paper with immigrant proletarians and students, and initial steps toward more foreign language editions have been taken. These contacts have included recently arrived

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“As for calling the masses to action, that will come of itself as soon as energetic political agitation, live and striking exposures come into play. To catch some criminal red-handed and immediately to brand him publicly in all places is of itself far more effective than any number of ‘calls’ . . . (And Lenin also called for organizing) wide, striking and rapid exposures of all the shameful outrages. When we do that (and we must and can do it), the most backward worker will understand, or will feel, that the students and religious sects, the peasants and the authors are being abused and outraged by those same dark forces that are oppressing and crushing him at every step of his life. Feeling that, he himself will be filled with an irresistible desire to react . . .” (pp. 87-8)

The economist line that calls for a “visible force” reverses the actual relationship between a newspaper (with its basic content of exposures) and bringing a section of the masses into political action. It is not mainly, as this line would have it, the “visible force” of people acting that will provide the conditions for selling larger numbers of newspapers (as if this were the basic goal anyway, instead of preparing for revolution). Instead, it is mainly the other way around—the exposures in the pages of the paper that will bring forth revolutionary activity among the masses in many “unexpected” ways full of the revolutionary initiative and creativeness of the masses.

This, in spite of attempts to say otherwise, is precisely the point of the “Crucial Questions . . .” article by Comrade Avakian, referred to earlier. When he is speaking of the burning necessity of straining against the limits in “the sphere of political action, especially the class-conscious action of the advanced workers,” the Chairman’s point is not based on a “visible force” or mainly on “calls to action” outside the sphere of our central task, and separate from the ongoing work centered around the newspaper. Quite the contrary, he writes, “And, once again, in doing this the strengthening of the Party’s ability, politically and organizationally, to carry out work of this type—and especially to wield the *Revolutionary Worker* to the fullest, in the hands not only of Party members but also broader and broader ranks of the workers and other oppressed masses—is overall the most decisive thing.”

It is precisely through this process that a class-conscious force is called forth into action, around key events. This is a living, changing, force, something in motion. To view it any other way is frozen, stiff, metaphysical thinking. It was through this process, centered around the paper, that a class-conscious force took historic action on May 1st 1980 in this country. But it would be wooden and downright silly and turning the gains of May 1st into their opposite to think, “OK, this class-conscious force was born on May 1st. We know them all, we’ve got their phone numbers, so let’s call them into action.” No, the actions of a class-conscious force of proletarians are something far more dynamic and growing than that—in short, it is centered around that most broad and flexible work built around the *Revolutionary Worker*.

In addition to all this, and even more fundamentally, the line that a “visible force” and calls to action are key in bringing the masses into activity departs from the basic materialist law that “oppression breeds resistance.” Far more than any number of such “calls,” the very workings of this oppressive system, here and internationally, bring people into motion against it. This emphasizes all the more the crucial role of the conscious work of revolutionaries. This work, and exposures in particular, play the role of focusing up this struggle over key political questions, of sustaining it and of guiding the whole process toward the

ultimate revolutionary goal.

In this light it is clear that political action, mass struggle is not something separate and apart (or above) our central task of “create public opinion . . . seize power” but is in fact comprehended (included) in it. This is so in a number of ways. First and foremost it is because it is precisely on the basis of the exposures carried out as the main on-going work of revolutionaries that they are stimulated, guided and sustained through twists and turns. It is also true that revolutionary action, once undertaken, also plays the role in this period of creating public opinion for the seizure of power. In the wake of the Miami rebellion, for example, it is

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Burning Questions of Our Movement

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“The whole art of politics lies in finding and gripping as strong as we can the link that is least likely to be torn out of our hands, the one that is most important at the given moment, the one that guarantees the possessor of a link the possession of the whole chain.”

“ . . . In a word, the ‘plan for an all-Russian political newspaper,’ far from

representing the fruits of the labour of armchair workers, infected with dogmatism and literariness (as it seemed to those who gave but little thought to it), is a most practical plan for immediate and all-round preparations for the uprising, while at the same time never for a moment forgetting our ordinary, everyday work.”

Quotes from “What Is To Be Done?,” a pathbreaking work by V.I. Lenin.

(Below) Scene from the October Revolution



The first issue of the Bolshevik newspaper Iskra, “The Spark.”

Correction

In last issue’s article “Outrageous Press Lies on Gang of Four Trial” an error appeared which reverses the meaning of a sentence. Starting in column 2, line 5, a sentence began “The Chicago *Sun Times* headlined, “Chen was a bitter opponent of Mao and the

‘Gang of Four’ . . . The phrase “The Chicago *Sun Times* headlined” should be omitted. No such headline ever appeared, and as it reads it makes it sound as though the press was making it clear that Mao and Chen Bota were enemies. That was exactly what the press was hiding. []

100,000

Continued from page 11

Cubans and Vietnamese, who have life stories that are damning exposures of revisionism and imperialism—and blows to the self-serving U.S. imperialist propaganda around these “boat people.” All this is vital material for further educating the proletariat in this country about U.S. and Soviet imperialism, and the historic role of the international proletariat.

Advances are being reported and summed up, and there is a far more concrete sense of the areas where new, major advances can be made. All this has been accomplished along with more professionalization of the revolutionary ranks. A new situation, providing the basis for a new leap, has arisen.

Looking to the future, despite the puny voices of dismal pessimism, we—the revolutionary forces—are not at all in a bad position. True, there has not yet been the experience of an attempted revolutionary struggle for power in this country—and the task of revolution in any advanced imperialist country like this is unprecedented. But as Comrade Avakian has put it, “We are coming from behind, but we are not coming from nowhere.” As one important part of this, there has been the experience of the '60s in this country. True, the '60s was not a revolutionary situation or an attempted struggle for power. But it was a

significant revolutionary upsurge, which has left a revolutionary heritage that is part of today's situation.

Going back a dozen or so years, to the highpoint of the popular upsurge, and it was the popular movements, even the revolutionary forces within them, that had the initiative, with the ruling class definitely on the defensive politically. The way popular opinion was divided at the time was not at all unfavorable to the movements, and this was true even in the proletariat, where the movements of the time were not centered and where the ruling class still had enough material reserves to make significant concessions to keep things relatively quiet.

If one were to imagine transferring that kind of situation into the objective conditions that might be developing in the coming years, with a worldwide conjuncture of war, crisis and greatly increased chances of revolutionary opportunities internationally, then some interesting possibilities start appearing. Of course, the '60s did not open up the prospects of a struggle for power, in the U.S., but in a sense that is just the point: the position of the imperialists was less precarious then, it was not “all on the line”; they still had adequate reserves to fight a war and grant some concessions at home—and enough freedom to cut their losses and get out of the war before graver developments

took place for them internationally. But what of the coming conjuncture? And what if, into the “'60s alignment” of forces described above, were added a significant section of the proletariat, and a deeper crisis in the ruling class? What would be so terrible about *that* objective situation for the beginning of a serious revolutionary struggle for power? And isn't it just the point that the crisis ahead looms far deeper, making such developments all the more possible? So while there are no guarantees, and while we are definitely “coming from behind,” the situation is not bad at all.

So here enters what history has taught is the decisive element in any such ripening situation—the existence of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist Party armed with the correct line. The existence of such a Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, is another advance over the 1960s. The significance of the central task of “create public opinion...seize power,” the potentially crucial difference that 100,000 *Revolutionary Workers* a week could make, all this has to be seen in the light of the future struggle for power. Today we are making significant preparations for a future revolutionary possibility, should it arise, and to make our best contribution to the international proletarian revolutionary struggle. We are laying practical ground work and, politically, we are clearing away the obstacles and litter of reformism and economism that could stand in our path and even block our eyes from seeing a revolutionary opportunity if one arises. This political campaign for 100,000 *Revolutionary Workers* is another major road-clearing operation on the path to revolution. And it's time is *now!* []

Create Public Opinion ... Seize Power

This pamphlet was published on the occasion of the appearance of the first issue of the *Revolutionary Worker*. It contains two articles which originally appeared in *Revolution* magazine, organ of the Central Committee of the RCP, titled “On the Role of Agitation and Propaganda” and “Create Public Opinion... Seize Power.”

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

—Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA



DAMIAN GARCIA

Beautiful 4 color poster depicts Comrade Garcia raising the Red Flag over the Alamo, March 20, 1980. Inscription by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA reads: “Death comes to every man or woman—this is something that no one can avoid or change, but the content of people's lives, and

their deaths, the cause to which they are dedicated and given, this is something which people cannot only affect but something which makes a profound difference, not just or even mainly for themselves, but for the masses of people and ultimately for mankind as a whole.”

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Landlord, City Gov't. Collude in Eviction Attempted Banning of Revolution Books in Berkeley

On Thursday, December 4, Revolution Books bookstore in Berkeley, California was forcibly evicted from its location on University Avenue a few blocks from the University of California campus. This outrageous and openly political eviction was the culmination of a battle that has gone on for many months between Revolution Books and a substantial and growing number of supporters on one side, and the landlord, the Berkeley city government, and who knows who else among the bourgeoisie's political police apparatus on the other. The bookstore has been (and certainly will continue to be, in spite of this recent attack) an important and vital political force in the Bay Area. Like other Revolution Books around the country, this store has been a center where people can find a wide variety of revolutionary and progressive literature, as well as a base from which the staff wholesales revolutionary books to other stores throughout the region, takes this literature out to surrounding campuses and unites with other forces to widely promote and distribute revolutionary propaganda. It has also been an active political force in other ways such as building support for Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. At a time when more and more people are searching out revolutionary exposures and explanations to the crisis of this system, the activity and influence of these stores throughout the country is growing. Little wonder that stores in Boston, Seattle and New York are also engaged in eviction battles, and that many of the stores have had windows broken or telephoned threats of attack.

In Berkeley, in particular, given the desperation, time and energy with which the bourgeoisie has pursued evicting the store, it is apparent that all this has not only been taken extremely seriously by the clampdown, but that they have been panicked by it—enough to discard even a semblance of "democracy." In fact this is a vivid example of just what American democracy with all its bull about freedom of speech and the press is all about. As the landlord put it straight out, and with the ruling class as a whole speaking right through his lips, "I don't want your bookstore here. I don't like your politics."

On the day of the eviction, as supporters of Revolution Books passed out leaflets exposing the nature of the imminent eviction and calling on people to step up the struggle to prevent it, the landlord, working hand in hand with the authorities, had been lying in wait for the most opportune moment to carry out their pre-planned gestapo-style raid. Backed up by cops who ushered staff members quickly out the door, he rushed in and proceeded to change all the locks and padlock the building, carefully taping over the storefront's windows to hide the displays, which included a giant telegram signed in support of RCP Chairman Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung

Defendants, as well as the books written by the Chairman and another exhibit entitled "Mao's Line Indicted In Peking" that featured portraits of Mao's comrades currently on trial there. While the staff had already removed the bulk of the books to prevent them from being seized, they left inside one copy of every book carried by Revolution Books (no small number, all told) and huge wall portraits of Marx, Lenin and Mao to make it crystal clear that the bookstore was not being abandoned and that the battle was far from over.

Last week's move was the latest development in a long battle in and out of court that led up to eviction day. After the bookstore's original lease came up for renewal on June 20, the landlord served notice that they would be evicted by August 7, but this move was beaten back. A big red banner went up on the front of the bookstore announcing the intended eviction, and leaflets were broadly taken out declaring, "They want to see revolution banned in Berkeley," as the many in the San Francisco Bay Area who support this bookstore responded to this desperate political maneuver by the bourgeoisie. A wide range of forces rallied to the bookstore's defense, furious at this blatant attack. Among those sending letters and telegrams of protest to the eviction court judge were other bookstores like Cody's Bookstore, Moe's Bookstore, and A Woman's Place in Berkeley, and Lawrence Ferlinghetti's City Lights Bookstore and Modern Times Bookstore in San Francisco. Important support also came from several professors at U.C. Berkeley, including Charles Schwartz, a well known physics professor and anti-nuke activist, a band named the Two Tones, the Oakland Feminist Women's Health Center, the Iranian Students Association, and the Ashkenazi music and dance cafe. Over 500 people signed a petition demanding that eviction proceedings against the store be dropped. By the beginning of the fall semester, when Revolution Books distributors went to the U.C. campus to take textbook orders, the fact that the eviction had become a broad social question was apparent, as many professors and students alike wanted to know, "What's happening to the bookstore?"

While the Berkeley courts and the authorities at City Hall have tried to play like this whole affair is nothing more than a simple "landlord/tenant dispute," it is no secret that the hand of the state has been consciously guiding and directing this political attack. This was apparent early on when the store first came under the threat of eviction. At a meeting of the Berkeley Tenants Union scheduled to discuss the Revolution Books eviction, police managed to smuggle in one of their local provocateurs who screamed that "the RCP is the same as the CIA" in a transparent attempt to disrupt the meeting and

drive a wedge between the bookstore and the Berkeley community. This agent was the same one who had called the cops on a fundraising dance held to pay the expenses of a demonstration on July 4 against the aircraft carrier *U.S.S. Coral Sea* (the back-up ship used for the hostage rescue attempt in Iran, among other things), and who has frequently written anti-RCP letters which have conveniently been published in local newspapers.

That the ruling class has been going to considerable lengths in their attempts to wipe out the presence of Revolution Books in Berkeley became even more transparent at the eviction hearing held two weeks ago which put the final legal stamp of approval on their eviction plans. Judge Brunn flatly refused to allow store representatives to question, argue or even speak, threatening them with prosecution for "impersonating a lawyer." It was learned that this judge had personally threatened the owner of at least one major Berkeley bookstore who earlier sent a letter of support, calling up and demanding to know why he was supporting Revolution Books and whether he knew "just what he was getting himself into" by taking such a stand. Meanwhile, throughout the whole process, the landlord has never attempted to hide the openly political nature of this attack, and his collusion with the authorities, never even bothering to come up with a pretext for why Revolution Books was being evicted and, as mentioned earlier, openly stating, "It's not a question of money. I don't want your bookstore here. I don't like your politics." Right after the eviction, he could be heard shouting, "Are you going to take down that big red banner or am I going to have to tear it down?", and he seemed to display an undue interest in the future of Revolution Books, persistently questioning staff members about whether they had been able to find a new place. It turns out that he openly admitted to a lawyer for Revolution Books that he has already conspired with other landlords in Berkeley to prevent the bookstore from finding a new place—something which has been confirmed by the difficulty Revolution Books has been having so far in trying to find an alternative location should they eventually lose this particular battle.

The bourgeoisie was indeed concerned about the opposition to and exposure of themselves that they were going to be generating with this eviction. The day before, many store supporters were calling the judge to angrily register their protest, and though City Hall pretended it wasn't affecting them, they kept the switchboard open well past the closing time of 5:00 p.m., as operators attempted to interrogate callers with questions like, "How did you learn about the eviction?" and advised people to pursue their complaints through legal channels like "coming down and

filing a complaint"—an attempt both to cool out some of the anger and to identify supporters. On eviction day, squad cars and plainclothes cops in unmarked cars were sent to the bookstore at 5:00 a.m. to check out just who and how many would answer the call for people to come to an open house and take up the political battle to defend the bookstore. Surely they were dismayed to find that their actions were creating significant opposition to their plans, as many students and other supporters came to pass out over 2000 leaflets on the campus and in the streets.

Just how much the ruling class has staked on the outcome of this battle, and further evidence of their complicity in the eviction itself, was revealed the next day as staff and supporters of Revolution Books went out in front of the locked-up bookstore with a portable book table on wheels, and the controversy continued to rage over the events of the day before. An unmarked helicopter, apparently filled with federal agents, hovered low over the area the whole time, taking pictures with a huge telephoto movie camera.

All this is most definitely ample evidence of the desperation of the ruling class in its lashing out against the revolutionary politics that so profoundly threaten its rule. And it must be said that their efforts to stamp this threat out are futile. The most significant effect of this latest attack has been the exposure of their system and the growing broad opposition in Berkeley and throughout the Bay Area to this out-front piggery. While the bourgeoisie no doubt hoped that getting over with such a move as this in Berkeley of all places would set the tone for similar activity elsewhere, the very fact that this *is* going down in Berkeley is working to an even greater degree against them. This city is a very political place with a rich history of revolutionary activity continuing right up to the present. As has already been shown by the support demonstrated for Revolution Books in this battle so far, they are going to pay dearly for this and move many more people into open opposition to their rule. Right before the eyes of the masses of people, the ruling class is demonstrating one of the truths stated by Mao Tsetung: "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again... till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over..." This serious and outfront attack on Revolution Books will be met head on by a growing force, and whether the store is successfully reopened—which is now being fought for—or a new location has to be found in the future, revolutionary agitation and propaganda, including that of the RCP, will continue to be widely distributed by Revolution Books and others, and will be read avidly in Berkeley and all across the country.

RW Reader: Further Opinions On "Equality"

To the RW:

Following are some thoughts on what Bob Avakian says about equality in his reply to the letter from the "Black nationalist with communistic inclinations" in RW No. 75.

The Chairman starts this section of his reply, on page 25, by saying, "As a general category, equality is itself a phenomenon of the bourgeois epoch. Historically, in its struggle against the

feudal system, the bourgeoisie raised the banner of equality, by which it meant, as experience has clearly shown, essentially the equality of commodity owners in the marketplace." (p. 25) So therefore this bourgeois equality is purely formal, and expresses itself mainly as equality before the law, which, even if it were carried out in bourgeois society (which it isn't) would amount to the principle that, as one writer expressed it, "the law in its majestic equality equally forbids the rich and the poor to steal bread or sleep under bridges"—in other words equality before the law, formal equality, means preservation of material inequality, most fundamentally the inequality of classes. He then goes on to talk about how, under communism, equality will be actually superseded and gone beyond—"But, once the division of society into classes has been finally abolished, then the very concept of 'equality' will lose its meaning." Now I

want to talk about exactly what that means—equality losing its meaning under communism—but first there's another crucial question that leaps to my mind.

Engels has a chapter on equality in his work *Anti-Dühring*. In it he says that the bourgeois slogan of "equality" (meaning formal equality within the framework of capitalist society and the abolition of the feudal estates and privileges) was turned around by the oppressed in bourgeois society and particularly by the proletariat and turned into a battle-cry for (not just formal) but material equality—"The proletarians took the bourgeoisie at its word: equality must not be merely apparent, must not apply merely to the sphere of the state, but must also be real, must also be extended to the social, economic sphere." And this proletarian demand for equality, Engels adds, has as its real content the demand for the abolition of classes—in other words for commu-

nism. In other words it seems as if Engels is saying that there is not only "equality" as a bourgeois slogan and the superseding of equality under communism, but also "equality" as a proletarian slogan. If this is so, why doesn't Bob Avakian mention it? Especially since, as he says right afterward, before the achievement of communism, communists regard the question of equality as important and actively fight for social equality?

I think there's a definite reason why Comrade Avakian handles the matter in this way, and it's a reason that is very important and needs to be understood more deeply. Essentially "equality" is *not* a proletarian slogan, any more than "democracy" is—even, though socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, will bring far greater democracy and equality than is possible under the bourgeoisie, and even though communists and the proletariat actively struggle to

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"She lived out in the countryside where, before the Cultural Revolution, there was almost no medical care because all these big shots like Deng Xiaoping said that the people of the countryside have to wait until they modernize the cities and then they could send some medicine out to them, but in the meantime, let them suffer... This girl had a disease they said was incurable. She couldn't even lay down. She had to sleep sitting down. She was a young teenage girl. And now she has pictures of herself. She had an exhibit. She was exhibiting a lesson in class struggle. She had an exhibit of what she used to look like because now she was grown and healthy, and signs of her disease were hardly there. I remember we listened with tears running down our cheeks when she said, 'I hate the revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi. I hate revisionism.'" This story, recounted by Bob Avakian of a trip to China in 1971, is one of millions of what the revisionism of the likes of Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping meant for the masses of people in China, and only one example of why hundreds of millions rose up in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China to overthrow these capitalist roaders.

In Shanghai, they tried to pull the wool over the workers' eyes, saying, you're right you've been mistreated and to show good faith, we'll give you bonuses and back pay. Tremendous struggle ensued in the workers' ranks and they were led to return the money. They said, when we got the money, we forgot about state power, when we got the bonuses we forgot about revolution. We don't want this stinking bribe, we want state power and we want to make revolution!

Mao Tsetung said that the Cultural Revolution was "absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." It was a struggle for power, in which the masses were unleashed against revisionists at the top level of the Party, an unprecedented event, a revolution under conditions of working class rule. And the latest appearance of Chiang Ching and Chang Chunchiao in

THE TRIAL OF THE "GANG OF FOUR"

OVERTHROWING REVISIONISTS IS FIN

the revisionists' court last week to face charges of "persecuting" Liu Shaoqi, as the trial of the Four continues, only drove home all the more what the main issue in this trial is—the struggle for political power between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Mao's comrades are accused of "conspiring" to "persecute" top revisionist leaders like Liu and Deng and trying to "overthrow the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat." There is only one thing wrong with this—the indictment should read, "trying to defend and advance the political power of the dictatorship of the proletariat and overthrow the bourgeoisie, because this is what the clique of capitalist roaders, who usurped power themselves in their 1976 coup after Mao's death, really means in this outrageous trial. They mean to attack Mao Tsetung and everything he stood for, and this "conspiracy" they whine about is none other than the grand conspiracy of millions, led by Mao, in the Cultural Revolution.

The Four, as representatives of the proletariat, never hid the fact that they fought for power. The revisionists, as well as their U.S. imperialist masters, try to use this to picture the Four, especially Chiang Ching, as being "power-hungry." Chiang Ching's blast at the revisionists in her 181-page declaration written earlier this year

threw this back in their face: "You have power now so you can easily accuse people of crimes and fabricate false evidence to support the charges... I'm not going to admit to any crimes, not because I want to cut myself off from the people but because I'm innocent. If I have to admit to anything, I can only say I lost in this struggle for power."

Chang Chunchiao, in a speech made a few months before the 1976 revisionist coup, tackled this question head on: "This (the campaign against the right deviationist wind and Deng Xiaoping—RW) is a matter of great importance which concerns the future of the Party and the state, which may cause thousands or millions of heads to fall to the ground. Some say this is only a 'desire for power.' We told the Chairman about this saying. Chairman Mao says: 'Tell them our power is given by the workers, peasants and soldiers, is given by the broad masses of people who occupy (make up) more than 90% of the populace. The Communist Party will, for the existence of this political power, exercise dictatorship over those who oppose (our) seizing power, never wavering' The Chairman also says: 'What is desire for power? The proletariat has a proletarian desire for power and will never share a bit of its acquired power with the bourgeoisie.'

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The January Storm in Shanghai, 1967—one of the first fierce mass

The Cultural Revolution

The following excerpt is reprinted from Chapter 6, "Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," of Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA.

... in the summer of 1964, Mao had a series of discussions with his nephew, Mao Yuan-hsin (who was a close follower of Mao Tsetung and, as they now call him, a "sworn follower" and "sworn accomplice" of the so-called "gang of four"—he was arrested and/or apparently killed when the counter-revolutionary coup took place after Mao's death). In this series of discussions Mao raises a very important question:

Are you going to study Marxism-Leninism, or revisionism?

Yuan-hsin: Naturally, I'm studying Marxism-Leninism.

The Chairman: Don't be too sure, who knows what you're studying? Do you know what Marxism-Leninism is?

Yuan-hsin: Marxism-Leninism means that you must carry on the class struggle, that you must carry out revolution.

The Chairman: The basic idea of Marxism-Leninism is that you must carry out revolution. But what is revolution? Revolution is the proletariat overthrowing the capitalists, the peasants overthrowing the landlords, and then afterwards setting up a workers' and peasants' political power, and moreover continuing to consolidate it. At present, the task of the revolution has not yet been completed; it has not yet been finally determined who, in the end, will overthrow whom. In the Soviet Union, is not Khrushchev in power, is not the bourgeoisie in power? We, too, have cases in which political power is in the grip of the bourgeoisie; there are production brigades, factories, and *hsien* committees, as well as district and provincial committees, in which they have their people, there are deputy heads of public security departments who are their men.⁵⁵

Here, what Mao is saying, of course, is that even though we have the socialist form, and everyone claims to be a Marxist-Leninist, the decisive question is the content, the substance—whether the Marxists and the masses of people are in command and leading so-

ciety in the direction of communism, or whether the revisionists and a handful of bourgeois elements are in command and leading things in quite another direction, back to capitalism. Of course to take socialism back to capitalism requires a qualitative change. It requires having control not just over this or that area of the economy, this or that part of the superstructure, this or that institution or security agency, but rather it means seizing control of society as a whole and completely transforming it. But Mao is pointing out that even within the socialist system there are pockets—and not insignificant pockets—which fall repeatedly under the sway of those who take up the bourgeois outlook, take to the bourgeois style of life and the bourgeois way of doing things, and who therefore implement bourgeois policies and practices, and basically begin to institute capitalist relations under the signboard of Marxism-Leninism.

So this raises the fundamental question, which Mao insisted (with good reason) had not yet been solved: Who is going to overthrow whom? Even under socialism, Mao was saying, it is necessary for the proletariat to continue to overthrow the bourgeoisie. Not in the sense, of course, that the bourgeoisie has supreme power and runs society as a whole, but in the sense that continually and repeatedly the working class has to rise up, mobilize its forces and strike down the revisionists in positions of power, and thus regain control of those parts of society which have been usurped from proletarian control. And, of course, there may be certain parts of society where the working class has not yet, at a certain time, been able to gain real control, so in these areas it may be a question of the proletariat's asserting its power for the first time. This was the situation in China in the case of art before the Cultural Revolution (as seen in the preceding chapter).

This fundamental question was directly addressed in a central part of the Constitution of the Chinese Communist Party at its 9th and 10th Congresses (in 1969 and 1973):

The basic programme of the Communist Party of China is the complete

overthrow of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in place of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the triumph of socialism over capitalism. The ultimate aim of the Party is the realization of communism. [Emphasis added.]⁵⁶

And, indicating the great significance of this point, when the revisionists did seize supreme power after Mao's death they of course rewrote the Party Constitution, and on this fundamental point—the basic programme of the Party—they took anything about overthrowing out of the Constitution, so that now it merely says that they will "eliminate the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes step by step."⁵⁷

Now it might seem at first glance that this change is not all that significant, or even that the new version of the basic programme is more correct. It might seem that the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes has been accomplished and now the task is to eliminate them. But that ignores, or really denies, the all-important fact that so long as the bourgeoisie continues to exist it will not only repeatedly attempt to overthrow the proletariat and restore capitalism, but will succeed, as part of this, in usurping portions of power even in the conditions where the proletariat holds power overall in society. And this becomes all the more an urgent question when it is grasped that the core of the bourgeoisie and the commanders of the reactionary forces in society consist precisely of revisionists in the Communist Party itself, especially at its top levels.

In order to deal with this problem and to continue to consolidate its dictatorship and advance toward communism, the proletariat must not merely suppress the bourgeoisie (and other exploiting class elements) but must continually seize back the portions of power usurped by the bourgeoisie. And this means overthrowing those die-hard revisionists who occupy these positions of power and are determined to take the capitalist road. In other words, eliminating the bourgeoisie means repeatedly overthrowing it, by

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Mass struggles of the Cultural Revolution.



1976—Workers and staff members of the Shengyang Machine Tools Plant during the struggle against the right deviationist attempt to reverse the conclusions reached in the Cultural Revolution. They are putting up big character posters to criticize Deng Xiaoping.

mobilizing the masses to seize back from below those portions of power the bourgeoisie repeatedly usurps in socialist society. This is the point Mao was stressing when he insisted (in his conversations with his nephew Mao Yuan-hsin) in 1964 that the question of who will overthrow whom was not settled.

It was at this same time that Mao clearly pinpointed who it was that posed the main danger to the continued advance of socialism to communism, and hence who it was that constituted the main target of the revolution at its present stage. Speaking with reference to the Socialist Education Movement then in progress, Mao said:

The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.⁵⁴

In other words, the main target was no longer the bourgeoisie in society in general, or outside the Party in particular, but had become Party persons in power taking the capitalist road, or "capitalist-roaders," as they came to be called.

It can be seen that this was another significant advance in the understanding of class struggle under socialism. And this understanding was deepened in the course of the next few years, as the class struggle in China sharpened. For of course, with Mao opening the attack on revisionists in the Party, and making them the main target, the revisionists were going to fight back. They tried in every way possible to block the propagation of these policies by Mao and their adoption by the Party, and where they couldn't do that they tried in all sorts of ways to block their implementation. In particular at that time they did everything they could to sidetrack the Socialist Education Movement and turn it into a fight among the masses.

Cultural Revolution

Things were coming to a head, and they erupted two years later

with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. It will not be possible here to recount the history of this unprecedented and earth-shaking revolution and the different events and twists and turns which it involved. The important thing for the purposes of this chapter is the theoretical underpinnings of the Cultural Revolution, how the theory that guided it represented the greatest of Mao's immortal contributions to the science of Marxism-Leninism.

Mao explained in 1967 why this Cultural Revolution was a necessity in the following words:

In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below.⁵⁵

This statement brings out many things, one of which is that the Cultural Revolution was unprecedented, not only in general or in China, but in the history of socialism. It went against all the "norms" of what socialism was supposed to be, what a communist party is supposed to do, and so on. This, of course, is true only in a superficial sense, because in reality the sole purpose of a communist party is to lead the proletariat in making revolution to achieve communism, and this is what Mao was leading the Communist Party of China to do. But it was something that went against all the traditions and the force of habit that had been built up and had in fact become obstacles under socialism. The force of habit cannot be followed in making revolution, including under socialism. Social habit and tradition has been built up by thousands and thousands of years of class society, and following such tradition will not lead toward classless society.

And, of course, it was unprecedented for the chairman of a communist party to call upon the masses to rise up and strike down

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The Cultural Revolution

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powerful persons in the party. But revolution does not work on precedent, and in fact within the Party there were two headquarters. The capitalist-roaders had their own machine and their own headquarters, and this was what was necessary to dislodge them in order to prevent China from being taken down the road to capitalism.

Thus Mao summed up that it was not enough to talk about upholding the leading role of the Party, etc. It was a question of constantly revolutionizing the Party as part of revolutionizing society as a whole. Of course overall the Party had to play its leading role. Even when the Party in China was being shaken to its very roots and ceased to exist in many areas, it never ceased to exist nationally, and Mao had every intention of reconstituting the Party. The Cultural Revolution was also the form for reconstituting and strengthening the Party, and doing it unit by unit, area by area, from the base up, by relying on the mass action of the people. And unless such revolutionization of the Party was carried out, unless the masses were mobilized to recognize, to drag into the light of day, and strike down top leaders of the Party who were trying to turn it into a bourgeois party, and to subject to mass criticism and supervision the leading cadres in general, then through the force of habit and the conscious action of revisionist high officials the Party would become an instrument of the bourgeoisie and society would be taken "peacefully" down the capitalist road under its leadership.

So Mao summed up this most important point from the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat both in China and internationally, particularly the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, and began to develop the ways and means of reconstituting and revolutionizing the Party, driving out of its ranks those in authority taking the capitalist road. And, again, the form, the method, that was found was basically *reliance upon the masses*. The Party was in fact reconstituted by bringing the Party leaders and members before the masses to receive their criticism and supervision. In this way, together with guidance from the proletarian headquarters in the Party led by Mao, the Party units on the various levels were reformed and linked together according to democratic centralist organizational principles. As indicated above, such a rectification of the Party was, like the Cultural Revolution as a whole, completely unprecedented. For with regard to the Party, as well as the society as a whole, it was determined that the so-called "normal way" of doing things was not sufficient to root out revisionists and shake the upper levels of the Party, in particular, out of the bureaucratic mold into which they were being increasingly cast. A party in power, Mao summed up, must continue to be the vehicle for leading the proletariat in the continuing class struggle under socialism, but it can also become the vehicle for a bureaucratic stratum to pursue bourgeois interests. Only mobilizing and relying on the masses, under the guidance of a Marxist-Leninist line, could solve this problem. (This is very much related to Mao's analysis of the bourgeoisie in the Party itself—which will be dealt with in detail later.)

Through this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution further transformations were made not only in the Party but throughout society. Here again, the working class and masses of people, led by Mao and other communist revolutionaries, carried out changes which were unprecedented. Divisions and inequalities were reduced between different strata and sectors of society, including between the country and the city. The people rose up in their hundreds of millions, developing and strengthening not only new economic and social relations and the revolutionization of culture, of people's thinking, etc., but also the different forms of struggle so characteristic of the Cultural Revolution—big-character posters, public mass criticism of persons in power, the organization of brigades of youth, which came to be called the Red Guards, and so forth.

Mao warmly supported the struggles and initiatives of the masses and constantly urged them on to persevere in their revolutionary upsurge. He wrote an open letter to the Red Guards, for instance, saying that their actions

... express your wrath against and your denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs, all of whom exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups. They show that it is right to rebel against reactionaries. I warmly support you.⁶⁰

To provide leadership and guidance to the masses in this momentous mass struggle, in August 1966 the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was issued. (All quotes below are from this pamphlet of the same name.)⁶¹ Commonly known as the "16-Point Decision," this was worked out under Mao's personal guidance and obviously represented a victory of his line over fierce opposition on the leading bodies of the CCP. There are many important points in this decision, and it warrants the close study of all communists. Some of the points it covers were brought out in previous chapters. What should be emphasized here are the following:

The "16-Point Decision" highlights the fact that "the outcome of this great cultural revolution will be determined by whether or not the Party leadership dares boldly to arouse the masses." The title of this section expresses what might be called the motto of the Cultural Revolution: "Put Daring Above Everything Else and

Boldly Arouse the Masses." The article points out in the same vein in the next section: "In the great proletarian cultural revolution, the only method is for the masses to liberate themselves, and any method of doing things in their stead must not be used."

The "Decision" reaffirms that "the main target of the present movement is those within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road." It gives basic guidance on correctly handling both contradictions among the people and the question of cadres, as well as the policy towards scientists, technicians and "ordinary members of working staffs" (i.e., those not in authority). It talks about the line on education and the armed forces. It emphasizes the real connection between revolution and production:

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country. Any idea of counterposing the great cultural revolution to the development of production is incorrect.

But, perhaps most importantly for the subject of this chapter, the "16-Point Decision" also talks about the organizations created by the masses:

Many new things have begun to emerge in the great proletarian cultural revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby the masses educate themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the proletarian cultural revolution.

These groups became, through a process of development in the Cultural Revolution, the Revolutionary Committees which were set up at many different levels of society. These creations of the masses were, of course, hailed by Mao. And just as predictably, the capitalist-roaders who have usurped power for the time being in China have hastened to do away with them on the basic levels of society and to transform them into bourgeois-bureaucratic devices where they have been retained in form.

Through the course of the Cultural Revolution, Mao did not stand still, but continued to both sum up the practice of the revolution up until that time and to map out the strategy and tactics for its further advance. The Cultural Revolution itself went through many twists and turns, during all of which Mao provided guidance in the struggle, but what will be concentrated on here is the overall sweep of the revolution and the *general* theoretical lessons which Mao drew from it.

One of the deepest and most important of these lessons is that it is not enough to conduct struggle against revisionists only "at the top"—that is, only on the leading bodies of the Party and state—or only "from the top down"—that is, deal with revisionists and other counter-revolutionaries by decision of the leading bodies first and then conduct education among the ranks of the Party and the masses about why a particular person was purged, what the issues and questions of line, etc., were. Instead it was necessary, as Mao said, to arouse and lead the broad masses to wage struggle and defeat the class enemies *from below*. And the mass upsurge of the Cultural Revolution was an unprecedented example of exactly this. It represented, on a broad and deep scale, a new form and method, as Mao summed up, for defeating die-hard capitalist-roaders and further revolutionizing society, including the Party.

Mao often stated that the Cultural Revolution was "absolutely necessary and most timely." In speaking at the 1st Plenary Session of the 9th Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in April 1969, he gave an important indication of why this was so:

Apparently, we couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our base was not solid. From my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority—leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people in the leadership of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among the Party branch secretaries. But they followed that line of Liu Shao-chi's, just resorting to material incentive, putting profit in command, and instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth. But there are indeed bad people in the factories. This shows that the revolution is still unfinished.⁶²

And it follows, as the last sentences make clear, that the Cultural Revolution, while preventing a revisionist seizure of power and capitalist restoration right then, did not and could not solve this problem once and for all. The revolution must be continued under the dictatorship of the proletariat for a long time—in fact throughout the long transition period of socialism, during the entire course of the dictatorship of the proletariat, until the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes are completely extinguished and classes as a whole have been abolished along with the basis for them to arise. And, as Mao insisted, many more mass upsurges, like that of the Cultural Revolution in its first few years, would be necessary in the future in order to accomplish this historic mission, together with the people of the entire world.

And this in turn has to do with the deeper purpose of the Cultural Revolution. In 1967, in the midst of this upsurge, Mao had this to say:

Here I'll ask you a question: Tell me, what is the object of the great proletarian cultural revolution? (Someone answered that it was to struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party.) The struggle against the capitalist roaders in the Party is the principal task, but not the object. The

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The Cultural Revolution

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object is to solve the problem of world outlook and eradicate revisionism.

The Center has repeatedly stressed the importance of self-education, because a world outlook cannot be imposed on anyone, and ideological remodeling represents external factors acting on internal factors, with the latter playing the primary role. If world outlook is not reformed, then although two thousand capitalist roaders are removed in the current great cultural revolution, four thousand others may appear the next time. We are paying a very high price in the current great cultural revolution. The struggle between the two classes and the two lines cannot be settled in one, two, three or four cultural revolutions, but the results of the current great cultural revolution must be consolidated for at least fifteen years. Two or three cultural revolutions should be carried out every hundred years. So we must keep in mind the uprooting of revisionism and strengthen our capability to resist revisionism at any time.⁶¹

In the course of the Cultural Revolution, and most especially during the mass upsurge of its first few years, the profound truth that Lenin expressed—that masses of people learn in a few weeks of struggle in a revolutionary period what they could not learn in years of "normal times"—was once again powerfully demonstrated and proved to be of decisive importance not just for the struggle in capitalist society but in socialist society as well. All this has everything to do with the fundamental question of who is to be relied on in advancing society to communism. Reliance, Mao insisted over and over, could only be placed on the broad masses. The dictatorship of the proletariat can only be really that if it is dictatorship exercised by the broad masses themselves, which means mobilizing and arming them with a Marxist-Leninist line to fight against the class enemy—and enabling them to distinguish the correct from the incorrect line and the actual interests of the proletariat from those of the bourgeoisie through the course of their own struggle and the study of Marxism-Leninism to master its basic stand, viewpoint and method.

If any other method is used, Mao summed up, then if revisionists seize leading positions and are able to put the official "stamp of approval" on a counter-revolutionary line—in the guise of Marxism—the masses will be in a passive position politically, and, in the name of adhering to the line of the Party and loyalty to its leadership, they will be led back to the hell of capitalism. In short, the dictatorship of the proletariat must not be treated metaphysically—in a static and absolute way—or it will be lost. Exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, Mao showed, means, and can only mean, *continuing the revolution* under the dictatorship of the proletariat, continuing to wage the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes through reliance on the broad masses. This does not mean that the kind of mass upsurge characteristic of the first few years of the Cultural Revolution is always necessary and possible. What it does mean is that, through different forms, the masses must be politically mobilized and led to wage the class struggle and that, repeatedly through the socialist period, at certain points in the development of the class struggle such mass upsurges will indeed be "absolutely necessary and most timely."

As noted, Mao stressed many times that the Cultural Revolution which began in 1966 could not be the only one if China was to remain a socialist country. At different times Mao gave somewhat different estimates of how often such a thing would be necessary, and possible, but the important thing, of course, is not the exact timetable, which will be determined by the twists and turns of the class struggle both within the country and internationally, but the fact that such a revolution is necessary repeatedly, again and again, throughout the historical period of socialism. And Mao also indicates above *why* this is so. Of course, the people who are the targets at a particular time, individual capitalist-roaders, may be overthrown and cast down—and certain ones may even be won over. But throughout the period of socialism new individuals (or sometimes the same ones again) will come to the fore as revisionist leaders constituting the core of a new bourgeoisie, and they must be continually overthrown. That is why the real object of the Cultural Revolution, as Mao points out here, is not just to overthrow those capitalist-roaders who have, at that time, entrenched themselves in the party of the proletariat; rather, it must be to remold the world outlook of the masses of people, so that they take up the stand, viewpoint and method of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, and thus are increasingly armed to recognize, isolate and strike down revisionists whenever they raise their heads, while at the same time strengthening their mastery of society (and nature) and their ability to win over and remold the majority of intellectuals, cadres, etc.

The same point is stressed again when Mao talks, a year later in 1968, of the victories which have been won through the Cultural Revolution:

We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around and this class still exists. Therefore we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts.⁶⁴

Here Mao makes clear that final victory cannot be achieved for a long time both because exploiting classes still exist in the world as a whole and because the bourgeoisie still exists in China itself. And, with regard to the second point in particular, Mao is not merely describing a phenomenon—that the bourgeoisie still exists in China—but is emphasizing again a fundamental *objective law of socialist society*: that, as he had summed up several years earlier, socialism is not an end in itself or something which can be fully consolidated as such, but is precisely a long period of transition, all throughout which the bourgeoisie will continue to exist and with it the danger of capitalist restoration; and that the key link in continuing the advance toward communism is class struggle, in unity with the struggle of the proletariat and oppressed people the world over.

At this point in the Cultural Revolution—1968-69—Mao also summed up the need for a change in the form of struggle and gave leadership to this process, building on the achievements and transformations that had been made and carrying them forward, further developing and consolidating them. Mao acted here in accordance with the law that the class struggle does not proceed in a straight line and always at the same level of intensity, but in a wave-like fashion, or in spirals. The 9th Party Congress in 1969 represented the consolidation of the struggle, and the achievements of the Cultural Revolution so far, at a certain stage and laid the basis for carrying forward the struggle and building on these achievements in the next period. But at the same time, Mao warned again that, even though the form of the struggle might change, this did not mean that the struggle was over or that there would not again be a need to overthrow a bourgeois headquarters in the Party. In fact, right after the 9th Congress, Mao stated that such an all-out battle would probably have to be fought within a few years.

55. Mao Tsetung, "Talks With Mao Yuan-hsin," in Schram, p. 243.
56. "Constitution Of The Communist Party Of China," Documents From The Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party Of China, FLP, Peking, 1973, p. 61.
57. "Constitution Of The Communist Party Of China," Documents From The Eleventh National Congress Of The Communist Party Of China, FLP, Peking, 1977, p. 121.
58. 9th Party Congress Report, p. 25.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
61. Decision Of The Chinese Communist Party Concerning The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, FLP, Peking, 1966.
62. Mao Tsetung, quoted in *On Exercising All-Round Dictatorship Over The Bourgeoisie*, pp. 9-10. Reprinted in *And Mao Makes 5*, p. 213.
63. Mao Tsetung, quoted in *Peoples China*, Milton and Schurman ed., pp. 263-264.
64. 9th Party Congress Report, pp. 64-65.

Letter to Chinese Embassy Protests Trial of Four

To the Revolutionary Worker,

Enclosed please find a letter I sent to the Chinese Embassy and their mission to the UN. I don't know if it will help the Four but maybe it will. Maybe you could urge others to do the same. Like Iranians who had Hua eat with the Shah. Different exposures could help. You are internationally known for your active ideological and practical upholding of Mao and the Four. Many people are looking to you at this time to aid the Four. Maybe letters could be part of that aid. Also I would like you to know I will donate to Bob Avakian's defense soon. His arrest stems from a police attack on a demonstration to uphold Mao Tsetung Thought and to expose Teng's politics. All those who looked to China as a sign of the future should try to help Bob Avakian in whatever way they can.

a former member
U.S. China People's
Friendship Association
New York

Sirs:

I would like to protest the trial of the so-called Gang of Four. This trial is nothing but a trial of the Cultural Revolution. Despite the vile slander nothing can hide the truth that the

Cultural Revolution was a great advance for Mankind. Many new forms of culture, education, science, and organization were developed. The source of all this was the masses seizing political power and uprooting capitalist and feudal ways and all those who would dare uphold them. This trial is nothing but another attempt to destroy what Chairman Mao, the Four and the masses created in socialist China. This trial shows clearly that the current sets of rulers are not continuing Mao's politics but are still the capitalist-roaders he declared them to be over ten years ago.

Sirs, continuing this trial will only more clearly expose your regime to be counter to the interests of the Chinese people, the growth of socialism, and even against the norms of abstract justice. You have truly picked up a boulder only to drop it on your own feet.

**DROP THE CHARGES
FREE THE FOUR**

Sirs. History has already passed a true verdict:

**LONG LIVE THE FOUR
LONG LIVE THE CULTURAL
REVOLUTION**

a former member of the
US-China People's
Friendship Association

**"Coming
from Behind
to Make
Revolution"**

by Bob Avakian

(This major analysis originally appeared in *RW* issue No. 49 under the title of "Is Revolution Really Possible this Decade and What does May First Have to do with it?")

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OVERTHROWING REVISIONISTS IS FINE

Continued from page 14

What is the bourgeoisie's desire for power? It is that they will never give a bit to the proletariat. We have learned this from them, but we have learned it better. The 55 years of struggle by the Chinese Communist Party is for its political power. For creating this political power, we have shed our blood and sacrificed ourselves; and in order to protect this political power, we are prepared to shed blood and sacrifice, at any time, until the communist revolution has won a thorough victory."

In the indictment against the Four, in the first of 48 charges, Chang Chun-chiao is accused of saying in Shanghai in January 1967, when millions of workers rose up in the January Storm to seize power, "Our aim in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution has always been to seize power, from the grassroots to the central organizations, including the powers of the Party, the government, as well as in the financial, cultural, and other fields." "We must seize power everywhere." He is also accused of saying on many occasions that the Cultural Revolution led a "change of dynasty." But what did Chang Chun-chiao mean by "change of dynasty"? Why, when China was a socialist country, would the proletariat have to "seize power"?

At the start of the Cultural Revolution, the capitalist-roaders had their own headquarters and own machinery in the Party and the state. They controlled key areas such as culture and education. As Mao pointed out in 1969 in looking back at the situation, "Apparently we couldn't do without the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for our base was not solid. From my observations, I am afraid that in a fairly large majority of factories—I don't mean all or the overwhelming majority—leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the masses of workers. Not that there were no good people in the leadership of the factories. There were. There were good people among the secretaries, deputy secretaries and members of Party committees and among the Party branch secretaries. But they followed that line of Liu Shaoqi, just resorting to material incentives, putting profits in command, and instead of promoting proletarian politics, handing out bonuses, and so forth. . . . But there are indeed bad people in the factories. . . . This shows that the revolution is still unfinished." The Cultural Revolution, which was a mass struggle to identify the capitalist-roaders, throw them out and repudiate their line, was an absolute necessity in order to prevent China from following Khrushchev and the Soviet Union down into the swamp of capitalist restoration.

Mao recognized that these capitalist-roaders appear not out of some accident; the contradictions inherent in socialist society constantly give rise to them. There existed birthmarks of old society, or "bourgeois right," in the economic relations—the existence of the commodity system, inequality in wages, etc. Because of bourgeois right and the existence of bourgeois ideology and a revisionist line in the superstructure, a new bourgeoisie inevitably arises, and gains some positions of power. Because of the position of leadership that the Communist Party occupies within socialist society, this newly generated bourgeoisie finds its most concentrated and powerful expression within the top ranks of the Party. As Bob Avakian points out in the book *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions*, "It is precisely the top leaders of the party who take to the capitalist road that constitute the greatest danger to socialism and must be the main target of the revolutionary struggle. It is they who can give support to more privileged strata in society in resisting further transformations that strike at this privilege, and who can play upon the negative aspects—the bourgeois thinking and style of life—that tend to arise among these strata on the basis of these privileged positions. Further, it is they who are in a position to coordinate opposition to the advance of socialism throughout society, who can unite the forces of such opposition around a common line and program, give them leadership and direction and actually mobilize them for an attempt to usurp power. And, of course, it is they who not only act as the commanders of these forces, but can provide the best cover for counter-revolution, since they are leading members of the party and can capitalize on the respect that the masses have for the party and its leadership."

The list of top party and state leaders—from Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, and Peng Dehuai to Deng Xiaoping—supposedly "persecuted" by the Four is precisely a list of these capitalist-roaders in power. As we wrote in an article on the trial in last week's *RW*, "The revisionists began the trial by concentrating on the charge that the Four conspired to prevent Deng from being named First Vice-Premier in 1974 by telling Mao: 'Although the Premier (Zhou—*RW*) is ill and hospitalized, he is busy summoning people for talks far into the night. Almost every day someone goes to his place. Deng Xiaoping, Ye Jianying, and Li Xiannian are frequent visitors.'" The revisionists never deny that these meetings took place—they were actively planning an attempt to seize power, which they carried off two years later. The only 'crime' committed by the Four was to struggle resolutely to prevent this from happening.

The revisionists make a big deal about how these leaders "persecuted" by the Four were "veteran cadres" who

The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung

by Bob Avakian

Text of the speech given by Bob Avakian at the historic Mao Tsetung Memorial Meetings which were held in New York City and in the San Francisco Bay Area in September, 1978. These programs were held on the second anniversary of the death of Mao Tsetung at which time the RCP made public for the first time its analysis of the reactionary October 1976 coup in China. *The Loss In China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung* gives a blow-by-blow account of the class struggle in China leading up to the coup and analyzes why the reactionaries were able to gain the upper hand after Mao's death. It also goes into the effects of the coup on the international situation, and its implications and lessons for the revolutionary movement worldwide.



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Announcing Meetings to Uphold Mao's Revolutionary Comrades

In a number of cities across the country, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA will soon sponsor meetings to uphold the revolutionary stand being taken by Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, to go deeply into Mao's revolutionary line and the significance of events in China to the world proletarian revolution.

The exact times and places will be announced. Watch coming issues of the *Revolutionary Worker*.

made great contributions to the revolution. But leaders of the proletarian revolution all must keep on advancing, not "settle in" or get stuck at any stage, or they will become obstacles to the revolution. And this general point, which applies to all revolutions takes a special form in countries like China, where the revolution involves a long stage of democratic struggle against feudalism and imperialist domination as a prelude to socialist revolution. Many bourgeois democrats, who did make contributions to the democratic stage of the revolution, joined the Communist Party because it was the leading force against foreign and feudal reaction. But many of these bourgeois democrats never changed to embrace proletarian ideology. Instead, as Mao pointed out, "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture, there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois right, they resent it. You are making a socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party—those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the

capitalist road."

The biggest of these capitalist roaders, and the main target of the Cultural Revolution, was Liu Shaoqi. It is no surprise that "persecution to death" of Liu is the second, and one of the longest, charges against the Four in the indictment. In Chiang Ching's latest appearance in court on December 3, this charge was the main focus. According to a *New York Times* report, a tape recording of a speech Chiang Ching made in September 1968 was played in court. The tape was reported to say, "I am in charge of the first big special case. Now I can tell you that Liu Shaoqi is a big counterrevolutionary, a big hidden traitor, a big renegade and a big enemy agent with all the evils. I think he deserves a thousand cuts, ten thousand cuts." After twice listening to the tape, she is reported to have said, "That is my voice." (One UPI report said she was smiling when she said it.) Then she was presented with a stack of correspondence directed to a special group in charge of "persecuting" Liu Shaoqi. She reportedly looked over the letters and admitted that they had her handwriting.

The U.S. press immediately tried to
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All Legal and Up to Code

110 DIE IN HOTEL FIRES

In the last two weeks, the country has been hit by some of the most devastating hotel fires since many can remember, fires which shed searing light on the capitalist system.

On November 21, the facade of luxury and opulence, the felt-topped "21" and craps tables, the flocked wall coverings and the very structure of the MGM Grand Hotel in Las Vegas became a raging inferno, leading to the deaths of 84 people (534 more were injured). Then a couple of weeks later, on Dec. 4, 26 people, most of them corporate executives, were killed and 40 others injured in the worst fire in the history of New York's Westchester County at the Stouffer's Inn.

The fires at MGM and Stouffer's Inn occurred in relatively modern buildings that were built completely "up to code." While it is common knowledge that most big building contractors ignore these codes and pay off the fire inspectors to cut costs and increase their margin of profit, even if they do adhere to fire regulations, these codes are so loosely designed that they obviously don't make much difference anyway. The MGM Grand had no automatic fire alarm system, and sprinklers only in a few areas on the first 26 floors—all quite "legal." The manual alarm, located in a room in the basement, was not hit. Not that it mattered—the amplifier was burned out almost immediately anyway.

The fire, started by an "electrical malfunction," smoldered behind the walls for from 2 to 8 hours before bursting into a ball of flame consuming the entire casino area (140 yards long) in 90 seconds. Fire Department officials were forced to admit that alarms probably would have detected the fire long before it broke out into the open.

The result was that dozens of people reported waking up choking in their rooms. The black smoke was so dense, that one couple on the 22nd floor said, "We couldn't see a thing." Others never woke up, dying of carbon monoxide poisoning. MGM Board Chairman, Fred Benninger, claimed all this was actually a "blessing in disguise," since if there had been an alarm, "many people would have gone into the hallways and suffocated"! Many *did* suffocate in the hallways, trying to escape the smoke and carbon monoxide *being pumped into their rooms* by the air conditioning system that remained on the whole time. One person on the 24th floor said smoke "was even coming in the bathroom drain."

Of the 84 deaths at MGM, only 10 were from the flame itself, while the vast majority suffocated. A few fell to their deaths in last desperate attempts to escape down makeshift ropes made of sheets. Three-quarters of the deaths were on the upper six floors of the 26-floor structure, while the flames never reached past the second. Together with the air conditioning ducts, the elevator shafts became giant chimneys packing the upper floors with smoke and toxic fumes. The elevators themselves had plummeted to the basement, but when the doors on the 1st floor "malfunctioned," sticking open, the smoke just poured in and up.

Many smashed furniture through windows to get fresh air as their rooms filled with smoke. Yet MGM officials had the audacity to suggest that *this* was the cause of many deaths because, somehow, the open windows drew the smoke from the elevator shafts into the hallways and rooms! *Anything* to fix the blame for this disaster on the victims. But the fact is that those attempting to escape through the hallways found most

of the stairway exits locked; the ones that were open became death traps for many. One woman on the 8th floor said, "All the exits were locked, except for one at the end of the hall..." Those that went down the emergency stairwells from the upper floors were met with a wall of smoke rising from the floors below. Turning back, they found the doors they had entered through would not re-open, that they had automatically locked behind them. Many died right there.

A great many people who stayed at the MGM, like the other hotels in Vegas, are from other countries and speak no English. Yet, there are no emergency instructions or signs in any other language—why spend the money? As helicopters arrived on the scene and gave evacuation instructions over their PA's, hundreds had no idea what was being said.

But MGM officials tell us to look at the "bright side," since there were 8,000 people in the hotel when the fire broke out—so 84 dead is only 1%!

According to insurance experts, "they're covered." Well, at least the property and profit losses are covered, by an estimated \$250 million. It turns out the MGM got its insurance "OK" only after a few state-sponsored "hearings" convinced insurance companies to ignore an insurance adviser's opinion in 1973 that the hotel's fire-proofing was inadequate. The MGM's initial insurance rating was "very, very low."

An article in the *San Francisco Examiner* disclosed that a Nevada State fire marshal had asked MGM to add more fire prevention measures in the hotel a month before it opened in 1973, calling on them to install an automatic sprinkler system throughout. A fire inspector's report filed at the time pointed out that

the plush furniture, wall coverings, etc. would "readily burn and emit heavy concentrations of black smoke." MGM officials, citing the fact that the hotel "exceeded the requirements of the fire code when it was in effect in 1973," now explain that they didn't bother to look into automatic fire alarms that were on the market at the time, and that even after the fire code was changed requiring them for new hotels, "We really didn't consider adding sprinklers." Why should they?! To these "gaming" magnates, these "guests" are just so many marks to be fleeced for all they're worth. The "very far-reaching" impact, as the governor of Nevada said of the fire, is that the MGM closing will "leave a gaping hole in our sources of revenue."

The fire at Westchester's Stouffer's Inn was virtually identical in its death-trap features. The blaze spread "with the speed and intensity of a flamethrower." A 100 foot section was gutted—without sprinkler systems, it was engulfed in minutes. As at MGM, all legal and "up to code." Seven of 26 people were found dead in a closet, which they mistook for an exit since no other doors were clearly designated. Another three bodies were found under a Christmas tree, near a deadbolted exit door. Since news of this locked door has spread, the whole thing has been impounded for evidence. Whether it will be used or not remains to be seen. And again, Stouffer's attempted to indict the victims. It was asserted that it was a computer being used by the Arrow executives that started the whole deal. This was later disproved when one of the survivors said that the computer was never even plugged in. An added feature of the Stouffer's blaze (at least this wasn't reported at MGM), was that when the plastic cushions on the furniture burned they emitted deadly cyanide fumes.

It is another crying indictment of this so-called "advanced" technological country, that the U.S. has the *highest*

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"Equality"

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bring about greater equality and democracy. But nonetheless these are the concepts and ideals brought into the world by commodity production and the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie, however, can never put these ideals completely into practice, because it is an exploiting class and always has the necessity of trying to keep secure its position on the backs of the masses of people, and particularly because right from the beginning it is (as Engels says) "always and inevitably accompanied by its shadow, the proletariat," which has the very real potential of overthrowing it and ruling. So the bourgeoisie always and inevitably generates this contradiction between its ideals and its practice. The proletarian revolution can resolve this contradiction in a fairly immediate way, instituting democracy and equality among the people in general. But yet the proletarian revolution is not a revolution *for* democracy and equality, but for their supersession. The historic task of the proletariat is not to fulfill the broken promises of the bourgeoisie, but to move through and beyond this to a society in which they don't even have meaning any more.

But what does this mean—democracy and equality being superseded and not having meaning any more? Take democracy first. Democracy is a form of the state in which the principle of the subordination of the minority to the majority is recognized (as Lenin says in *State and Revolution*). In other words, democracy is a form of *rule*, and at bottom this means it comes down to a form of the rule of one class over another. Bourgeois democracy is a form of the rule of the bourgeoisie (so it's also necessarily a form of bourgeois dictatorship). Proletarian democracy (which is also proletarian dictatorship) is a more complete democracy—it extends further. What would it mean to have a "pure" democracy, one not a form of the rule of a class? There isn't any meaning to such a term; it doesn't de-

scribe any possibility—this is one of Lenin's important points against Kautsky in *State and Revolution*. Communism doesn't mean "pure" democracy; it means the superseding of democracy because it means the disappearance of classes and the withering away of the state.

Then take equality. "Equality" as a political demand is the demand for equal rights. As such, it is closely connected with freedom (bourgeois freedom)—since equal rights boil down to the equal right of everyone to do what he pleases with himself and what's his own as long as he doesn't infringe on others' freedom to equally do the same. This is the way that "equality" and "liberty" functioned as watchwords in the French and American bourgeois revolutions and in the writings of philosophers like Locke and Rousseau who formulated the concepts before they were put into practice. This was how these ideals and slogans came into political life, in connection with the revolutions through which the bourgeoisie began to make itself the ruling class. Now the fact that these concepts and ideals came into existence and into play had to do with commodity production and the way in which capitalism makes the production of commodities principal, making everyone a buyer and seller of commodities, and the ideology that's necessarily generated from that. But that's not what I want to get into. The question I want to go into is this: If this is what equality and (bourgeois) freedom mean, what does this imply about what humanity and society are all about?

This is a view of society as a collection of atoms, of isolated monads, of essentially private persons, of egotistical individuals, each one striving to carry out his own will and desires. As Marx says in one of his early writings, this view of society "reduce(s) citizenship, the *political community*, to a mere means for preserving these so-called rights of man and... the citizen thus is proclaimed to be the servant of the egotistic man, the sphere in which man acts as a member of the community is degraded below that in which he acts as a fractional being, and finally man as bourgeois rather than man as citizen is

considered to be the *proper* and *authentic* man."

Of course, bourgeois society is never really this collection of atoms with equal rights, because some atoms own the basic productive capacity of society, and the whole thing is a social system basically determined by that fact, and not by the interaction of the individual wills and actions of all the different atoms. But the point is not just that they can't carry it out, but that this is the highest ideal and vision that the bourgeoisie has to offer—and *it ain't worth shit!*

This is not the proletarian vision or ideal, nor does it disclose the real possibilities of human history. The proletarian revolution offers the prospect of the individual realizing himself as a communal being, of the resolution of the contradiction between collective and individual, between public and private, the vision and possibility of the expression of individual life and desires in and through the collective and public life of humanity.

That's why Comrade Avakian says, "But, if we set our sights no higher than the goal of 'equality,' if we failed to grasp that it is impossible to achieve in a society divided into classes and that it can only be a subordinate part of the world-historic battle for a much higher goal, then we would be incapable of actually advancing to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the replacement of the bourgeois epoch by the epoch of communism and therefore incapable of actually eliminating social inequality along with all the other evils characteristic of capitalism (and exploiting systems and backward societies in general). Thus, the theories of Marx, Lenin and Mao are not 'components of equality' but the guide for the revolutionary proletariat in emancipating not only itself but mankind as a whole from class society and achieving something far beyond the historically conditioned and confined horizon of 'equality among men.'"

For isn't this exactly what has happened in the revolutions that have been reversed? Take the most recent and vivid example—the counter-revolution in China, from socialism back to capitalism after Mao's death and the impi-

sonment of the Four. A very important aspect of the class struggle which raged all during the period of socialism, and especially accelerating from the late 1950s right through 1976, was the struggle over the question of whether to consolidate the gains in democracy and equality won through the war of liberation against imperialism, or to revolutionize society still further, restricting rather than expanding bourgeois right in both the economic and political spheres. This was the issue—whether to see socialism as a consolidated stage of development which redeems the broken promises of the bourgeoisie, or to see it as a transitional stage of development which must constantly move forward toward communism in every way on pain of falling backward into capitalism.

So the stakes are high—and not only in China or other countries where the revolution has a two-stage character (it's true that this insured that the Chinese Party would have plenty of bourgeois democrats in it, and this was one of the biggest obstacles for Mao and other revolutionaries to fight against). But the role of bourgeois ideology is tremendous—for somewhat different reasons—in the countries of advanced capitalism. Aren't we steeped in it here in the U.S.A.? It's not just that this is the historic home of the most unfettered capitalism, but (closely connected to this) it's one of the imperialist superpowers, which allows the imperialists to grant not only some material privileges, but some democratic privileges, to large sections of the population here. Imperialism provides an extremely powerful material base not only for bourgeois democratic illusions, but for bourgeois democratic *aspirations* as well. And finally, even if we weren't in the belly of an imperialist superpower and all the rest, we'd still have to fight this ideological battle very vigorously, for bourgeois society in any form produces bourgeois ideas in the heads of its members and, as Marx and Engels say in the *Communist Manifesto*, "The Rupture with traditional property relations; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas." □

Statements Demand:

Continued from page 3

The attack on Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants is another example of U.S. imperialism's fear of the growing revolutionary movement. Here and all over the world, the revolutionary forces grow in strength in the battle against imperialism and its reform lackeys. Keep your bloody hands off Greece, Iran, Turkey, and the rest of the world! Keep your bloody hands off Bob Avakian, a revolutionary fighter for the international proletariat.

Greek comrades of Bob Avakian and the RCP

As the Haitian people step up their struggle against U.S. imperialism and its Duvalier regime, we demand these same imperialists drop the charges against the revolutionary leader Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants. Free all press men and political men in Haiti.

90 participants and supporters in an anti-Duvalier demonstration at the Haitian Consulate, New York

To the U.S. Court of Appeals:

The Afghan Support Committee condemns the attacks launched against Bob Avakian by the U.S. government. The people of Afghanistan know the meaning of political oppression by the USSR and have experienced its intensification leading up to the war which began two years ago in Afghanistan. Now our comrades in America are increasingly being targeted by their own bourgeoisie as the crisis in the U.S. is deepening. Persecution of the Chairman and his comrades testifies to the need for revolution by the U.S. working class led by its vanguard party, the RCP.

Sincerely,
The Afghan Support Committee

December 1, 1980

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

We the undersigned Iranian students condemn the outrageous action of the Court of Appeals.

We strongly urge you, "the court of injustice," to drop this scandalous conspiracy, this so-called trial against Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants.

Your vindictive charges against the Mao Tsetung Defendants will bring more and more derogatory world opinion to your imperialist system, while Bob Avakian's revolutionary image and integrity is profoundly carved in the minds of people all over the world. It is time you, "the court of injustice," and the servants of imperialism understood that your servilities have reached the utmost; so has our abhorrence.

We are united. The united fists are ready to land right in your fist. You better know that "The people united will never be defeated."

34 Iranian students!

D.C. Court of Appeals:

As educators and students at a school that came as a concession of the militant Black liberation struggles, Malcolm X College, we know about the repressive nature of the state. We know the attack on Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants is an act of political repression by a state which is desperately trying to maintain its rule over a people who once again are beginning to stir. If this railroad is carried through the tremors of the '60s will give way even sooner than expected to the quake of the '80s. Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian! Drop the Charges!

**5 teachers at Malcolm X
10 students at Malcolm X
Chicago**

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

To a bleeding cornered beast, nothing is more threatening than a prey who picks his (the beast's) wound and refuses to cooperate with any blood transfusion. U.S. imperialism, the most heinous beast who ever stalked the earth, has never hesitated to mete out "justice" to rebellious prey all over the world. Particularly dangerous to them are those who endeavor to open the eyes of imperialism's victims for clear and long-range sight to avoid traps and resist the fire-and-light beckoning of the enemy, and to see the road to freedom.

It comes as no surprise to us, foreign students, who are seeing American justice at work hundreds of times in our own country, that the black-robed mummies are continuing their pursuit of Bob Avakian. After all, when a dying class all over the world rubbed its hands with satisfaction at the temporary defeat of revolutionary China, telling us all: "See, your efforts have come to nothing," who, defying all demoralization, dared to point out MAO'S IMMORTAL CONTRIBUTIONS? When the American bourgeoisie tried to sweep the country in a sea of reaction, who led the most progressive sections in defiantly declaring, "IRAN, IT'S NOT OUR EMBASSY"? Who is right now, in the face of your persecution, talking about and acting for unleashing the conscious, dynamic role of people? Bob Avakian is indeed, for you, bourgeoisie, a great threat, but for us, he is a beacon light. In intensifying your pursuit, you are running a great risk, because once the prey's eyes are open, not only will it defend itself, but it will go on the offensive. Drop the re-indictment of Bob Avakian! Workers and oppressed peoples of the world, unite!

2 Turkish students in the Bay Area

To: D.C. Court of Appeals

Subject: Chairman Bob Avakian/Revolutionary Communist Party

It has come to our attention that Chairman Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party are being slandered and disturbed. And this letter is to warn you that we are going to be watching the outcome of the Bob Avakian railroad. And that if you try and pull any Greensboro type foolishness, then you will definitely be hearing from us again. All of us here know that Chairman Avakian is being hounded and punished because of his political beliefs and righteous revolutionary stand against the diabolical dictates of the greedy United States ruling class. It is still fresh in the minds of many how the filthy underhanded F.B.I., C.I.A. and other stinking cowardly groups went about crushing the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army. I am very aware of the Government's COINTELPRO operations that are still in effect today. But I don't think those divide and conquer type tactics are going to work in your dirty conspiracy to destroy Chairman Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party. It has

become apparent by your strenuous efforts to put Chairman Avakian in prison that his revolutionary ideology has begun to penetrate the minds of the masses and to move them forward into intelligent action. The ruling beast in this country don't bother an organization unless it has the real interest of the poor men and women at heart. And I am one of those poor men. And so I'm going to do whatever I can to see that Chairman Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party are allowed to operate freely among the masses. And I'm going to do it by any means necessary.

**Power To The People!
Mechlenburg Prisoners
Boydton, Virginia**

With Mao's guidance hundreds of millions of Chinese people proved the truth of his line that working people everywhere are fully capable of understanding and mastering the running of society. Their struggles and accomplishments inspired people on every continent. Just as we oppose China's new capitalist rulers in their attempt to slander Mao, we condemn the U.S. government's political persecution of Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party. By raising the banner of revolution of Mao Tsetung, Bob Avakian has provided valuable leadership to the U.S. working class and oppressed people around the world.

Genuine revolutionary leaders are crucial to winning the struggle for emancipation and for that reason we will not let their repression go unchallenged as we head into a period of crisis and more revolutionary opportunities. Drop all the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

**70 Foreign Students in Portland, Oregon
from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iran, Palestine
Nigeria and Jordan**

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

We condemn the trial of Bob Avakian and his comrades in unjust court of imperialism. From the point of view of internationalism we care about any masses' revolution and their revolutionary leadership in any part of the world. The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) which led the struggle of the masses of Kurdish people in Iraqi Kurdistan gives all its support to the RCP and the Chairman Bob Avakian to stop the railroad against them in the courthouse of your imperial capital of Washington, D.C.

**The Patriotic Union of Kurdistan
U.S. Organization**

Telegram to D.C. Court of Appeals:

We took part in the struggle in the '60s. Vietnam opened our eyes more fully to your imperialist nature. The Black liberation struggle challenging and exposing your system of oppression. Your empire is coming apart at the seams as you desperately prepare to fight your imperialist rivals in Russia.

You've been wounded by the Iranian people, Miami, Chattanooga, this is why you are forced again to try and rip off Bob Avakian's revolutionary leadership. We've learned from the murder of Fred Hampton, from Chairman Mao Tsetung the importance of defending revolutionary leaders. Last year tens of thousands forced you to retreat and this time you will be delivered a more telling defeat.

**KEEP YOUR BLOODY HANDS OFF BOB AVAKIAN!
FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS!**

**17 workers at the Main Post Office
Chicago, IL**

My little boy was in the day care center at Bowen Homes when it exploded. Then you let those Klansmen who murder people go free in Greensboro. Food costs so much that we can hardly eat, and I don't think people should go to the war you are planning. You should give the people of Iran back all the wealth the Shah stole from them and get out of their business. Look at all the guys who fought in Vietnam and came back all messed up. If my son was old enough, I would tell him not to fight in your war. I'd rather he went to prison. This is why I think we need a revolution. Keep your hands off Bob Avakian.

**A woman resident of Bowen Homes, and reader of RW
Atlanta**

(The following letter, written by a Native American woman, was signed by 50 people.)

Comrades:

In reference to the railroading of our Chairman Bob Avakian by these imperialist pigs, we must not allow this to happen. The only crime the man has committed is to wake us and educate us through the RW as to how this capitalist system is dividing us and keeping us at each other's throats through illiteracy, discrimination and total ignorance of not being able to see how the system is implementing its powers to keep us apart. How many of our loved ones, fathers, brothers, and husbands have been uprooted from our community to be sent to jail for crimes that have been committed? The crime was committed by this system by allowing these deteriorating conditions. Who will be their judge and jury for their crimes? We the people from the ghettos, the barrios, and every strata of life must be their judge and jury. We must find the decadent system guilty of every crime mentionable. Through their educational system they have raped our children's minds. They teach them Columbus discovered America, but America was never lost, Columbus was. George Washington is the father of our country, if so, who is the mother? This system is the MOTHER and I mean MOTHER. It has created a monster that we must not allow to survive any longer. We must reverse their psychology and use their ways and methods until the opportune time to gain and keep control of our goals for the good of our people, our children, and our future.

Sincerely,
A Comrade Native American Sister from Berkeley, CA

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

We, members of the medical profession, denounce your actions in reversing the dismissal of charges against Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. Clearly your decision is part of the escalating world war preparations, an attempt to destroy leadership that is mobilizing people to understand and act against the system which is generating war.

For too long, "professionalism" has meant finding a niche in the medical hierarchy, an elite corps in lilly-white coats, soon to be enlisted in the task of patching people up in the battle for U.S. world domination. We will not be professionals in the service of U.S. imperialism, but against it. We demand that the charges against Bob Avakian and the 16 others be dropped!

9 Medical workers

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Statements Demand:

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To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

The Klan and Nazis get off free and conscious people like Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants face three lifetimes in jail. It only makes clear for the people what they can expect from the legal system. Our eyes in El Paso are on you. . . .

Concerned people of El Paso

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

We are outraged at the government's political attack against the RCP Chairman Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. As we head into the 1980s, a decade of upheaval around the world, where your whole criminal rule may be swept off the face of the globe by the storm of revolution, there is little doubt why you are viciously pursuing the railroad of a revolutionary leader like Avakian. Eleven years ago today your class of parasites stole Fred Hampton from us. You will not get Avakian. The stakes are indeed higher for you and for us. We have learned the people will defend Avakian, and those same people will ultimately defeat you. We demand that you immediately drop all the charges against these revolutionaries.

25 strikers from Schwinn Bicycle Factory, Chicago

You think you've weathered storms.
Think again.
Everywhere news of this railroad
Is heard,
Outrage and determination gather.
You think you can steal our Chairman.
Think again.

12 musicians from the L.A. area

(Please forward this to the D.C. Court of Appeals)

The continued prosecution of Bob Avakian and his co-defendants, more than anything they could say or do, exposes the myth of freedom and justice in America. This is blatant political persecution which cannot be tolerated. As a citizen and a sergeant in the U.S. Army, I strongly urge the court to stand in defense of political liberty and free Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

A Ft. Lewis soldier

On Thanksgiving Day 1980—when we are supposed to give thanks to our forefathers for this great nation—we didn't. . . today, friends, family, strangers, Blacks, whites, Chicanos, men and women came together and wrote this statement. You jerks. . . don't you know we see through your bullshit? You are really showing us your dictatorship. It is shining through as you throw out your laws, praise the Klan for murder, unleash the CIA to tromp the world in coup after coup perpetuating your murderous crimes against the people, and as you plan out the criminal act of World War 3. We will keep Bob Avakian free. We are not going to have World War 4. . . . We are going to try to stop this one. Drop the charges now. . . . Get your hands off Bob Avakian, Free the Mao Defendants.

10 Workers from Seattle

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED, CONDEMN THE RECENT RULING OF THE D.C. COURT OF APPEALS WHICH REVERSED THE DISMISSAL OF THE POLITICAL PROSECUTION OF BOB AVAKIAN AND THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS!

In November 1979, the trial judge had dismissed the indictment, saying that 25 felony counts of "aiding and abetting" against each defendant was "prosecutorial vindictiveness." This dismissal, however, was the result of a nationwide campaign which awakened and aroused the support of many thousands from all walks of life who came to see the case as a very serious case of political repression much like the COINTELPRO campaigns against the Black Panther Party in the '60s.

In the face of their serious crisis and preparations for World War 3, the rulers of this country cannot afford to have Bob Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party exposing their every move and preparing people to make revolution when the system is at its weakest and most vulnerable—a time which may come in this decade. Thus they have to try to reactivate this case as their situation is even more desperate than it was a year ago, and the RCP has not backed down but has increased its revolutionary activity—mainly through the increased distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.

We will not let the government put Bob Avakian behind bars for the rest of his life. This is an attack on all the people which we oppose and condemn.

55 people attending a "Thanks for Giving" dinner sponsored by American Indian Movement, Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, and the Alliance for Survival, Nov. 30, 1980

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

The impact and the ridiculous and petty charges that have been stacked against the Mao Tsetung political prisoners and the Chairman of the RCP shows me quite clearly the background of fear the U.S. government has of freedom of speech. I am now convinced by this shameful action that this government is no better than any of its flunkey dictatorships in its suppression of opposing views.

I will now energetically demand to hear much more of what this man and this party has to say. What it has to say must be tremendously important and timely to be suppressed in such a gross manner by the U.S. government.

I am an honorably discharged vet of World War 2, who fought for this country to destroy the monsters of oppression and suppression. And god damn if these two monsters aren't alive and well here in the U.S.A.! Down with war blocs! Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

Julian Costello, Houston

To the D.C. Court of Appeals and those who they really represent:

You have always used your courts as an instrument of oppression when the elite NEED to justify their rule. So now, you act out of desperation to try and crush revolutionary leader Bob Avakian in particular, and revolution in general. You are acting like a cornered rat. . . cornered by rebellions and revolutions

around the world, from MIAMI to IRAN. . . Cornered by the necessity to go to World War 3, ready or not. . . It is out of desperation that you send your cops out to suppress our music; when that music has gotten so "uppity" and "out of hand" . . . you must be getting weak when you grant impunity to the Klan.

We consider your charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants to be the foaming of a rabid dog. . . vicious, yet diseased and dying. . . and everyone knows, rabid dogs must be destroyed. Drop all charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants now!

Mike Manifesto, a fan
Michael O'Sullivan, a fan
Lauchlin O'Sullivan, drummer, "Jerx"
Craig Regine, singer for Regine
Jess Bale, writer for Damage magazine
Bliss Blast, artist/musician
Peter Fogel, guitarist, Area Nation
Peter Urban, member of IU 630 IWW/Urban management, manager of Zeros and Toiling Midgets, etc.
Hector Penalosa, bassist for Zeros and Wolverines
Rude Fontaine, guitarist, Break Out
Rocket Appliance, musician, and
Robert Appliance, bass & drums, Appliances

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

We are some revolutionaries in Atlanta. We think it's pretty funny how you keep having to move the McDuffie trial from city to city because you're so scared of the people's anger and rebellion. Trying to railroad Bob Avakian anywhere in the U.S. will send your so-called democratic train straight to hell. You better stop it now, for we the supporting people of the RCP and all the thinking people of the world will defend our leaders and will not tolerate this class action against Bob Avakian.

Written by a Black Vietnam vet
and signed by 11 others, Atlanta

Dear Judges:

We urge you to grant the hearing request of the defendants whose heavy penalty felony indictments were ordered reinstated by a panel majority. It would seem like the dissenting judge is quite correct that the standard for review where the courts below found "as a matter of fact" that prosecutorial vindictiveness justified dismissals would be to show the finding was clearly erroneous. Our courts should not have a different standard for politically unpopular defendants. You may recall that all the charges initially made were misdemeanors and then were upped the following day to felonies with substantially increased bonds by the U.S. attorney himself. For a mere demonstration?! (Ah, but against that good U.S. friend Deng!)

Respectfully yours,
Al Horn
Reber Boulton
Barry Hazen
Amy Totenberg
Members of the Law Project in Atlanta

I really feel that Black freedom is at stake. I, as an individual, have just sat back and listened and watched all that's happened. So I really believe that it's just set up for the rich white man. No one person can do it. There's got to be a revolution. I think Bob Avakian should be freed.

2 Residents from the Bowen Homes Housing Project, Atlanta

The trial of Bob Avakian is only one of a quickly growing number of clearly "political trials" waged by the state against any person or group who dares to take up a progressive stance during this period of economic and political crisis. While the state frees the KKK murderers of the Greensboro progressives in an attempt to stall a growing leftward movement of workers in general and Black workers in particular, it is stepping up its war against anyone who is trying to unmask the contradiction, exploitation and oppression prevalent in American society today. That is why all, who are opposed to escalating right-wing terror, must oppose this state's efforts in the trial of Avakian whether they agree with his party and principles or not.

3 Professors at Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Statement to the Court in Washington, D.C.

We are outraged that the very courts who let the Klan scum go free in the massacre of 5 people in Greensboro, are now being used to railroad and rip away Bob Avakian from the revolutionary movement.

From those of us who have been in your imperialist army, and seen that your freedom and democracy is nothing but the freedom to rape and plunder, as you did in Vietnam—from those of us in your army today who you hope will blindly fight in your next world war, we send this message—KEEP YOUR BLOODY HANDS OFF BOB AVAKIAN!

10 GI's, Ft. Bragg
4 Veterans
3 Dependents

To the U.S. Court of Appeals:

It was with great chagrin that we heard of the intention to reverse the dismissal of the case of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. We appeal for an end to their harassment. Further persecution (prosecution) can serve no worthy end.

December 1, 1980
Women's Graphics Collective
Women & Children 1st

To the Washington, D.C. Court of Appeals:

We protest the reinstatement of charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Just as the U.S. rulers attempted to crush and suppress the Iranian people's revolution so do they try and rob the American people of revolutionary leaders. They will not succeed in Iran or the U.S.A. Long live the unity of the peoples of the world! Free Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

25 people at the Iranian Student Day Celebration, Cincinnati

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Statements Demand:

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(The following statement that was sent to the D.C. Court of Appeals was part of a collage with a picture of a Vietnamese girl running with her back on fire, a picture of the Statue of Liberty and a picture of the cops beating somebody.)

To the Court:

Your precious Miss Liberty stands naked: COINTELPRO operations against dissidents, daily police terror, your hated war in Vietnam, the creation of monster fascist regimes around the globe—all this has been shown to be her reality. And now you continue to hound and harass and railroad Bob Avakian. Your foolish actions only serve to show more people the true nature of your sham liberty, freedom, and democracy. You can stop your persecution of these people's heroes or you can persist in your folly. It is your choice. Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian.

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

I have been a proletarian and a communist all of my life and will be to the end. I love that word "communism." I have been in all the parties and movements (CP, IWW, CPML and Civil Rights). But now I devote my life to being a supporter of the RCP. The RCP is the party I've been looking for all my life, especially the leadership of Bob Avakian.

I've been looking for strong leadership. Bob Avakian says now is the time to prepare for revolution, now is the time to prepare an uprising to overthrow the system that is sick, rotten, and stinking—it's eaten up by cancer and on its deathbed. The RCP will soon lead the people to push it in its grave where it belongs.

When I was marching through the streets of Atlanta on May Day, I felt like we were the proletariat in Russia in 1917 and in China in 1949. That's when I knew that this was the party that would lead in raising the red flag of the international proletariat.

Bob Avakian is being framed up on these charges for leading the masses of people to the bright road of revolution. The system is trying to destroy the party by getting hold of Bob Avakian, whose line is the line of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung.

Keep your goddamn hands off our comrade and leader Bob Avakian!

Comrade Joe Young

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

I write this to condemn the reinstatement of charges against Bob Avakian and the other Mao Defendants. Your desperate attempt to continue the railroad of our revolutionary leadership will only further expose your criminal rule. Class-conscious workers will not sit passively and allow you to rip off our future. No. We will expose you, we will organize and rally thousands and ultimately millions to beat back this attack as we move closer toward the day when we rise up and strike down your whole rotten system.

Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian! Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

A revolutionary worker from the oilfields of northeast Ohio

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

I know what living under this system means for the masses of poor, oppressed and working people, and I know this degradation has historically been met with resistance. Because of your very nature, you must do whatever is necessary legally (the laws are yours anyway) or illegally, to stop resistance and, in this case, revolution. I remember what you did to the revolutionary Black leaders like Fred Hampton, a Black Panther member. I remember what you did to Malcolm X. I will not forget your long history of attacking the people's struggles. Your land of the free, home of the brave lies don't hold weight any more. Bob Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party have shown us the way out of this madness. Because the Mao Tsetung Defendants can see what enslavement means, they did right by demonstrating against that present-day Chinese emperor and slavemaster in communist clothing. I am proud of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

Clerical worker from Los Angeles

U.S. Court of Appeals
Washington, D.C.

November 29, 1980

Dear Sir:

I am writing due to concern that Bob Avakian is being tried for political views rather than for crimes actually committed. I am also concerned with the possibility that heavier charges have been leveled against him because of his political views.

In considering the case at hand, the reasoning of the lower court which led to dismissal of the case seems to be in accord with the preservation of First Amendment rights. It is my hope that this decision will be upheld.

**Sincerely,
Educator**

Archdiocese of Chicago School System

D.C. Court of Appeals:

The same U.S. imperialists that put the Shah in power in Iran and were dealt a crushing defeat when the Iranian masses rose up and kicked the Shah and U.S. imperialism out of their country, are trying to jail Bob Avakian and attack the struggle of the masses in this country. Just as they have not been able to stop the Iranian masses in their struggle for liberation, they will not be allowed to railroad Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. The masses of oppressed people internationally will stand shoulder to shoulder in opposing all attacks on the masses and their revolutionary struggles. Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian! Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

9 Iranian students at Compton College, Los Angeles

The decision of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals in *United States vs. Schiller* is an unwarranted green light to the government that they can do anything they want to to try and stop movements they disagree with. It is a blow to the idea that even the government is not above the law in this country, and this only serves to highlight the fact that the laws in this country serve a political end, having nothing to do with justice. The decision must be fought.

**Ralph Goldberg
Atlanta attorney**

United States of America!

I believe we need revolution in this country, so that we can be prepared for anything this world dishes out! (I am from Aviano, Italy!)

Laurie Nelson

We demand: Drop the Charges Against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants! We will not allow you to crush the revolutionary struggle with this outrageous and blatant political frameup.

5 people at the Ohio Bureau of Employment Services

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

It is not a coincidence that the trial of the Gang of Four in China and the escalation of the U.S. government's attack on Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants are both taking place at the same time in history. I uphold and respect Mao Tsetung and the Gang of Four along with Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants as revolutionary leaders who will stand up and fight for the inevitable and only way forward for all mankind. Stop this injustice against the masses of people. Drop all charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants.

Priscilla Welles

To the Washington, D.C. Court of Appeals:

We, the undersigned, attending the reading of the play "The Chicago Conspiracy Trial," in Seattle, Washington protest your recent ruling to reinstate the charges against Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants. We recognize the court's and the government's motivation as a highly political move to try to stifle revolutionary leadership. And, we recognize this attack as escalation by the government in their attempt to threaten and silence the masses of people who are looking for a way out.

**James David, Actor
S. Kahli, A video filmmaker
William Hall, Jr., Actor
Michael J. Suoff, Community activist
Scott Caldwell, Actor**

To the District of Columbia Court of Appeals:

We have learned of the U.S. government's renewed attempts to railroad RCP Chairman Bob Avakian and 16 other Mao Defendants to jail for as long as 241 years.

This is outrageous! As government workers ourselves, we know that there are political trials and political prisoners in this country.

We consider Bob Avakian a political prisoner.

We demand:

**DROP THE CHARGES AGAINST AVAKIAN AND THE OTHER DEFENDANTS NOW!
FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!**

**Gary Clark
Bernadette Foley
Michael Keating
Delia Lewis
Theresa Ann McMahill
Susan Appel
Janet W. MacKenzie**

Free Bob

—Thinker, leader, fighter of the future to alleviate the great suffering of the masses.

M.R. Nelson, Poet

Get your bloody hands off Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. We know why you're bringing back the charges against the Mao Defendants now. You can't afford a Bob Avakian because he means leading us to make revolution right here in Amerikkka . . . As the dying ruling class moves toward World War 3, the stakes are much higher. Bob Avakian is the fuse igniting us to unleash the revolutionary storm of the '80s.

3 students at Fremont High School, Oakland, CA

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

Keep your bloody hands off Bob Avakian. Drop all the charges. You, who promote and publicize and unleash dogs like the Klan, Nazis and murderous police, are not going to get away with this attack on revolution and the revolutionary future.

18 workers at Bethlehem Steel, Seattle

(The following is a letter that is being circulated by the man who wrote it to all his friends to build this battle.)

Dear Friends:

Enclosed you will find a copy of the flyer concerning the railroading of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. As you will see in this flyer, Bob Avakian and his co-defendants are totally dedicated to the change of our political system, so that it may work equally without prejudice, for the poor and down-trodden people, who make up the vast majority of the country.

It may also be noted that I have heard Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, speak several times and have talked to him personally, and I find him to be one of the most articulate and knowledgeable men of our revolutionary movement.

Because of the revolutionary changes that Bob Avakian represents in our society, 25 felony charges totaling 241 years in jail were brought against him and his 16 co-defendants for demonstrating against Deng Xiaoping, one of the current heads of China who, after Mao Tsetung's death in 1976, reversed the revolutionary road that the Chinese people were on and brought an oppressive capitalist system back to that country. The demonstration was held on January 29th, 1979 in Washington, D.C. when Deng Xiaoping came to the U.S.

We the supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party cannot and will not stand idly by while the U.S. government wrongfully tries to destroy the RCP, the poor people's party.

Rise to the challenge! Send letters and telegrams that denounce this railroad to the D.C. Court of Appeals, 500 Indiana Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. Also send a copy of the statement to the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Funds are also urgently needed to fight and defeat this railroad. Please send all donations to the National Committee Headquarters in Washington, D.C.

**Yours truly,
Charlie Bates, Buffalo**

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Statements Demand:

Continued from page 22

We will not let you rip off our revolutionary leadership. Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian. Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

Annette Watson
Chuck Grigsby

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

We are once again writing to demand the dropping of the charges on the 17 Mao Defendants. From the very beginning, the police attack, the escalating charges and the whole political proceedings that followed, showed the government's intent of persecuting these individuals, and the organization, the Revolutionary Communist Party.

As residents and social workers in the San Francisco area, we are outraged that the government continues this harassment. It is, as the National Lawyers Guild has said, a thin veil for political repression.

What is the government afraid of? Why do they persist in such a manner that shows their true nature ever more clearly? Don't they know that they can't win, and more and more people already are aware of the government's nature, and have no confidence in it?

Drop the charges, drop the government's appeal!

Staff and participants in
Community Educational Services

To the Washington, D.C. Court of Appeals:

Your recent decision to overturn the dismissal of the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, as well as the escalation of attacks that have continued over the past year since the dismissal last November, shows that in fact the government takes the explosive potential of the situation very seriously indeed, and is reckoning with the real possibility of a revolutionary situation developing, and the need on that basis to go after revolutionary leadership.

Just as you were forced to back down once before as thousands of people from all over the world joined the battle to derail this railroad, influencing millions, so again your actions will backfire, as many more come forward to stand against these attacks.

DEFEAT THE APPEAL! DROP THE CHARGES ONCE AND FOR ALL!!
KEEP BOB AVAKIAN AND THE MAO DEFENDANTS FREE!!!!

20 students at the University of Massachusetts in Amherst

STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN!

FREE THE MAO TSE TUNG DEFENDANTS!

Major Events in the Mao Tsetung Defendants Case

In October, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals reversed a lower court ruling and reinstated a 25 felony count indictment against Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. This latest move is a serious escalation in the government's attempt to cripple the RCP. From its beginning, the case has represented a sharp political attack:

- * The charges stem from a police assault on a January 1979 demonstration protesting the U.S. visit of Chinese revisionist leader, Deng Xiaoping. Initiated by the RCP, the demonstration upheld the revolutionary banner of Mao Tsetung, denounced the revisionist coup d'etat which had taken place after Mao's death, and protested the enlistment of China into the U.S. war bloc.
- * Originally, 78 people were arrested. Six months later, 17 were indicted, then shortly after, reindicted, the charges mushrooming to 25 felonies and possible jail time of 241

years. The government tried to hide the political nature of its attack behind blatantly fabricated criminal charges.

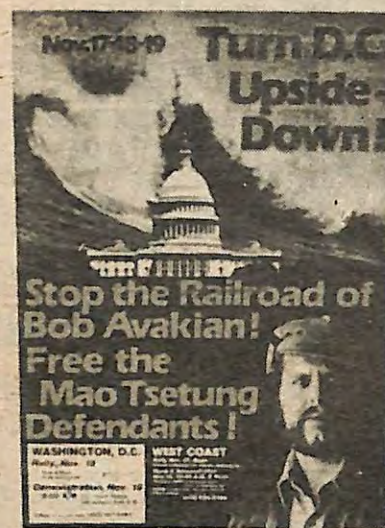
- * On November 14, 1979, the charges were dropped before the case had gone to trial. "Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian—Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants" had become a battle cry in the months prior. The political support of thousands and thousands of people had been mobilized, and in the face of this, the bourgeoisie was forced to temporarily retreat. But events that followed showed that the enemy was also maneuvering.
- * Immediately following the dismissal, government prosecutors filed an appeal. This appeal was actually an escalation of the political attack. It admitted what they had been denying all along, that they were prosecuting the case on the basis of political conspiracy.
- * Throughout the year that the case hung in the appeals court, the bourgeoisie stepped up attacks on the

RCP on other fronts. The Secret Service was unleashed on Bob Avakian, over 800 RCP members and supporters were arrested, especially in connection with Revolutionary May Day, 1980, and RCP member Damian Garcia was murdered by police agents.

- * On October 21, 1980, the charges were reinstated.

With the reinstatement of the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, the stakes have again been raised. A major counter-offensive is called for, and ever broader forces must be mobilized in the battle. Join the struggle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants! Contact the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants or the RCP in your area.

Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung
Defendants
Box 6422 "T" Station
Washington, D.C. 20009



Washington, D.C., November 1979.

Italy

Continued from page 4

lodge them in the luxury hotels on the Mediterranean. Out of the nearly 300,000 people without homes, only 524 have accepted the offer! The media makes it appear that these people want to stay in what's left of their villages because they have some liking for living in ruins, or that everyone wants to recover their relative's bodies. Nothing but lies!

In fact, when you read further on in the *Times*' article a bit more than they probably had in mind is revealed. "They want us to go down there because they want us out of the way. Then they can do what they want here," a woman survivor is quoted as saying. What she is pointing to here is that the government's strategy is simply to get the people out of the area, do something with them for a while and then simply bulldoze over their homes and everything, covering up and attempting to bury and smooth over their crimes leaving the people with nothing but promises to rebuild their villages. For example, the survivors of the 1976 earthquake that believed the government's lies are now living in squalor in a "village" of tin huts, waiting for the government to make good on its promises. Given this past practice and the current inability and unconcern of the rulers in even providing minimal food and other aid, it is little wonder that

people would face the winter weather and risk staying in the death-trap ruins rather than putting themselves at the mercy of the "authorities." Who knows where they will actually be taken or how they will be provided for once there. And even if they were given these "luxury accommodations," for a few weeks, what would be done as soon as media attention slackens or the tourist season starts up? Then these people would again be shuttled from place to place until the government finds a convenient place to dump them. It is these realizations that are being called "superstitions" by the press—a strange feudal custom called the desire to stay alive.

Besides the vultures of the Italian ruling class that have been circling the quake area, various similar breeds of jackals have also descended upon the villages and towns. These are the black-market dealers—who sell the supplies that the government is unable to provide, like food and medical supplies, at double or triple the price. There is even sales of coffins which are in great demand, for three times their usual exorbitant price. Given the outlook that is fostered and promoted by the present social relations of imperialism—dog-eat-dog and screw everybody for the biggest buck—it is not surprising that vermin such as this have swooped in to make a profit from the death and destruction; after all, they have the world's greatest teachers in the capitalist class itself, which is likely even directly involved in this black-market

activity.

In the midst of all these conditions in the wake of the Italian earthquake and all the massive crimes of the Italian rulers, it is not surprising that the masses of people are rebelling—they are being forced to take things out of these parasites' hands and into their own. So while the Mount Vesuvius Seismologi-

cal Observatory, near the ancient ruins of Pompeii, continues to record the aftershocks of the earthquake, it is the political turbulence brought on by the sputtering failures of the bourgeoisie and the continued resistance of the masses of people that has them most concerned. It is these aftershocks that they are monitoring very closely.

FIRES

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rate of death by fire of all the industrial countries. Most of these occur in inner-city ghettos—many the result of slumlord arson. In fact, the same day of the fire at Stouffer's, nine people including five children, were killed in a fire that raged through a tenement in Brooklyn. But despite all this, there are very few major hospitals in the country that are outfitted with burn units adequate to handle a case load from any significant fire—too costly. It is also true, but hidden by the immediate casualty statistics that many victims of smoke inhalation also suffer from severely and permanently damaged lungs. In this weakened state, many of these people die after escaping from fires. Every aspect of these murderous fires can be traced to the workings of capitalism and its sacred and insatiable drive for maximum profits.

When the MGM opened in 1973, at a

cost of \$120 million, with its 600 chandeliers, marble columns, statues carved in Italy, Hollywood memorabilia, two swimming pools, 40 stores, two auditoriums, a 2100-seat jai-alai fronton, 2076 rooms, and on and on, it was the world's "biggest and best" resort hotel. They were adding on still more as the casino burned two weeks ago. One of the Strip's most profitable hotels, officials immediately announced the MGM will re-open July 1, 1981.

The one, and only, "emergency system" that did not fail to function was the one designed to protect the casino's money. As a security guard said, "When the fire started, they took the money from the (cashier's) cage and put it in the (fireproof) vault." Early reports indicated that some of the five casino employees killed in the blaze may have died trying to save some of the casino's \$1 million bankroll.

All the tinsel and glitter became a flaming and smoke-filled death trap, but the casino's money was safely stashed in the fireproof vault and 84 people were killed for the capitalists' "take."

the Storm

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country's 14 million industrial workers. Shipyard workers in Gdansk told me that sailors in the Polish navy had begun to organize their own unions, which had spread rapidly until the government was forced to come down with a direct order forbidding such activity in the military. When I visited Czestochowa in the southern agricultural area, I was told that a similar order had been issued for workers in the armaments industry after independent unions began to spring up among these workers.

And already links have begun to be established between the industrial workers in the unions and the farmers and agricultural workers. I attended a meeting in Czestochowa where 200 farmers and representatives from 45 provinces met with representatives of Solidarity in order to establish a formal link. For the most part these were not agricultural workers from the state farms, but the small farmers, and even

a few small capitalist farmers, who together still make up almost 80% of the agricultural population. It was a vivid example of how the upsurge draws many different class forces into motion, and in the process exposes and reveals to the working class how these different class forces see things. One of the first debates clearly reflected the rather narrow petty-bourgeois interests of the farmers in attendance. It was over whether workers from the state farms should be included, since the demands of many of these small farmers centered around cheaper land, lower rents and higher prices for their products. Several of the Solidarity workers expressed their amazement at what they termed the "egotisticalness" of these farmers.

On the other hand several stories I heard at the meeting indicated how the power of the mass upheaval that had swept the country in past months had changed some of the relationships that had existed and in particular had affected the attitude of quiescence and acceptance that many of the rural population took towards officialdom. One example was of the group of farmers

who had long been irate at the policies of local party and government officials. After the strike wave began, they also moved, storming into one of these official committee meetings and calling the authorities to account, with one farmer holding up a noose to drive home the point.

This momentum unleashed by the actions of the workers, which is now sending vibrations into all spheres of society, is profoundly disturbing to the Polish leaders and their Soviet masters. At every step they have been forced to make concessions, they have worked mightily to restrict and get the workers to impose limits on their own struggle. After this last strike outbreak, Kania declared that distributing leaflets out in the streets is far beyond the limits of purely trade union activities and complained that the Warsaw Solidarity bureau was too political, ordering Walesa and the presidium of the union to keep their members in line with the government agreement signed in September. But the agreement of Kania and Walesa to keep politics out of the union and to prevent the unions from

becoming a counterforce to the party and classes forces that now rule the country has proven to be rather hollow in practice. This is not the result of the union leadership going back on its word. They definitely do not want to risk their newly acquired position of union leadership by pushing the government to come down hard or bring in the Russians, arguing that many important reforms have been won which should not be jeopardized. In fact, many of the workers I talked to complained of the union bureaucracy already becoming a haven for opportunists looking for a quick ride to the top. And they pointed out that at least some of the current leaders of the new unions are people who had just transferred over from leading positions in the old government unions.

The situation reminded me of Lenin's remarks on the concessions and reforms offered by the Czar during the 1905 revolution. "The...liberals, the opportunists," he said, "were ready to grasp with both hands this 'gift' of the fright-

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OVERTHROWING

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create the impression that Chiang Ching had broken down and "confessed." The *New York Times* China "specialist" Fox Butterfield reported a dramatic reversal in the trial but Mr. Butterfield himself was forced to make a quiet reversal the very next day, saying that, "the New China News Agency, the Peking newspapers and television carried different accounts of what Miss Jiang said when she was asked whether she had directed a special group that persecuted the former chief of state, Liu Shaoqi. Whether she confessed, as the press agency reported is not clear. There reportedly was difficulty editing her testimony." According to *Ta Kung Pao* newspaper, a Hong Kong revisionist mouthpiece, "She was very disrespectful of the court, from the start interrupting the prosecutor's speech, and carried on a deceitful argument. She was very arrogant and was aiming to disrupt the court, which stunned the observers." And just what is this "deceitful argument" that the revisionists were mysteriously unable to print? A BBC report let a little bit slip out, reporting that Chiang Ching responded to the charges by saying that these were Mao Tsetung's directives and Mao Tsetung's line. None of this was reported in the Chinese press. Thus from all available evidence it seems quite clear that Chiang Ching has not "confessed" anything. Rather she appears to be pursuing the difficult course of throwing the revisionists' accusations back in their faces and exposing their attacks on Mao. *Ta Kung Pao* reported in a huff that "When asked about the special group to investigate Liu, she replied that, 'It was all according to law.'"—Thus exposing their "legalisms" and throwing it back at them. Indeed, only one month after the speech, played on tape in the court, was given, the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee declared, "With full supporting evidence," that Liu was a counterrevolutionary, and expelled him and his accomplices.

Liu was Mao's greatest foe, and he stood for everything that the revisionists in power are actually carrying out today—turning China into a capitalist country under the yoke of imperialism. This is a man who told some national capitalists in 1949, right after China's liberation, that "Exploitation by capitalists today is not only not criminal, it has merit. Today it is not the case that there is too much exploitation, rather there is too little. The suffering of the workers and peasants lies in the fact that there is no one to exploit them. Your ability to exploit is of great use to the state and the people." No wonder he was vilified by millions as "renegade, hidden traitor and scab," "China's Khrushchev."

In direct opposition to Mao, who stressed that "The question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is

not really settled," and therefore that it was necessary to continue the revolution under socialism, Liu preached the dying out of class struggle. "The question of whether socialism or capitalism will win out in our country has already been resolved," he declared at the 8th Party Congress in 1956. In refuting this revisionist line, Mao later pointed out, "Liu Shaoqi advocated a theory of 'dying out of class struggle,' but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. In Piao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempt a coup. Did class struggle die out?"

Of course, the class struggle did not die out, and the bourgeois forces, led by Liu and later by Deng, waged a fierce struggle against Mao and the rule of the working class. As Chiang Ching said in her 181-page declaration, "Looking at Party history, you can ask how many people in China were destroyed with trumped-up charges by Liu Shaoqi, Deng Xiaoping and Peng Chen before the Cultural Revolution. Didn't many outstanding cadres become victims?"

The revisionist clamorings about how the Four "persecuted large numbers of cadres and masses" is just a ruse to cover up how Liu, faced with a mass struggle directed at him, tried to turn the spearhead down toward the lower-level cadres and the masses. In 1963, Mao launched a Socialist Education Movement, sort of a warm-up for the Cultural Revolution, against the capitalist-roaders in power, Liu Shaoqi, a target of the movement, took over the SEM in one locale, Tao Yuan. Liu's wife, Wang Guanmei, took direct charge. 35 out of 45 cadres were interrogated behind closed doors and forced to "confess." The masses were left politically unaroused, and the movement was sidetracked from its real target. The revisionists pushed Tao Yuan's experience all over as an example to be followed.

Liu tried the same methods at the start of the Cultural Revolution. He was put in charge of the work teams, a group of cadres sent to different units to help give leadership to the Cultural Revolution. Needless to say, in Liu's hands these work teams became a vehicle for stifling the Cultural Revolution. One of them, sent to Qinghua University in Peking, was again led by Wang Guanmei, clandestinely. The work team instigated a reign of terror, making leftist students the target instead of Liu.

As the Cultural Revolution progressed, Liu became more desperate and resorted to more blatant counterrevolutionary methods. For example, the Lientung, a rightist, para-fascist group of youth organized among children of higher cadres, created counterrevolutionary disturbances and put up posters condemning the Cultural Revolution and Chiang Ching and supporting Liu.

In Shanghai, a Red Workers Army, a group of reactionary workers with links to Liu, beat up and killed revolutionary workers.

One of the charges against Chang Chunchiao is that he ordered the smashing of the Red Workers Army. Also Chang is accused of leading an intelligence organization named "You Xueto Group." A report on this group's work, signed by Chang, says, "Over the past year our work has been mainly covert struggles against the enemy...from the central down to the local levels, we have directly or indirectly tripped the backsides of many bigshots." What these charges show, to the credit of Chang, is that he took heed of Mao's words when Mao criticized the initial commune form that was set up in Shanghai after the January Storm: "Communes are too weak when it comes to suppressing counterrevolutionaries. People have complained to me that when the Bureau of Public Security arrest people, they go in the front door and out the back."

Following Chiang Ching's December 3 appearance in court, Chang Chunchiao was also brought back into court the next day. He continued to defy the revisionists by remaining silent throughout the whole proceedings. Faced with this kind of defiant sign, all the revisionists can come up with is an explanation that "he already knows what he did was counterrevolutionary crimes," and that he is "prepared to be beheaded." As "evidence" of this, they cite some statements he made, among them to his daughter that "Tell your intended that if he marries into our family, he should prepare to be beheaded." Also it is claimed that he told leaders in Shanghai who were planning an armed uprising after Mao's death: "If anything happens to me, you'll be implicated...No telling when you'll be beheaded." If Chang really did make

these statements, it certainly does not prove that he considers himself "guilty."

In fact, Chang's statement is reminiscent of a poem that Mao is supposed to have written to Chiang Ching before his death, in which he says, "In the struggle of the past ten years, I have tried to reach the peak of revolution, but I was not successful. But you could reach the top. If you fail, you will plunge into a fathomless abyss. Your body will shatter. Your bones will break." What Chang's statement shows is a recognition of the life-and-death struggle that the Four were waging against the Right, and their courage in the face of the great danger that they face.

The revisionists have also whipped up a "debate" over a death sentence for Chiang Ching. *Chen Wing*, a pro-revisionist Hong Kong monthly, even has an opinion poll in its December issue, "Asking Readers to Vote for immediate execution, delayed execution, indefinite prison sentence, or other for Chiang Ching." It was also reported that Wan Renkung, head of the propaganda department, said in an interview with the *Melbourne Times* that, "Many people demand that she be sentenced to death, but that there are some people who think she should be treated with lenience, because she is now a widow."

To the revisionists, Chiang Ching and Chang Chunchiao's refusal to kneel down in the face of threats of execution is another proof of their "bloodthirsty" nature. For the proletariat, it means they have not abandoned Chang Chunchiao's pledge that "For creating this political power (of the proletariat—RW) we have shed our blood and sacrificed ourselves; and in order to protect this political power, we are prepared to shed blood and sacrifice at any time until the communist revolution has won a thorough victory."

Available Soon—Order Now

Party Chairman Responds to Letter from:

"BLACK NATIONALIST WITH COMMUNISTIC INCLINATIONS"

A Black worker from California wrote a while back to Bob Avakian. In the letter he made some sharp statements about the RCP's line, particularly on the national question, armed struggle, and what revolutionaries should be doing now to move forward towards revolution.

Comrade Avakian's response addresses the important points raised in this letter—questions which are on the minds of thousands of revolutionary-minded people in this country.

—Originally published in the *Revolutionary Worker*.
—Now available as a new pamphlet

ORDER FROM: RCP Publications P.O. Box 3486
Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654

JORDAN

Continued from page 7

Thus, the Syrian military demonstration was very much a calculated response to indicate that the Soviets and their friends don't like being squeezed so hard, and are ready, willing, and possessed of the means to strike back.

King Hussein: Complete U.S. Mouthpiece

The Syrian military build-up began while the meeting in Amman was still in session. Syria concentrated over 30,000 troops and 1,000 tanks at its border with Jordan and openly threatened invasion. Jordan responded with its own military mobilization, and Jordan's King Hussein issued an "urgent plea" for U.S. arms, while charging that the Syrian build-up was inspired by the Soviets. In words which clearly reflect his role as a propagandist for a wider role for U.S. imperialist intervention, Hussein stated on December 1 that, "What I see at stake is the freedom of the Arab world and the future of the Arab world as against ambitions from the outside to dominate this area and to destroy this nation and to deny us all our rights. . . This is a critical area, and the battle for it is on." In particular, Hussein has strenuously objected to the Soviet "friendship treaty" with Syria: "We have our views on treaties with the outside world that may somehow polarize this area. . . I wouldn't blame the Soviets as much as I blame some within this Arab world who have chosen to link themselves with outside powers."

It is quite bold for the King to carry on in this vein, for his own regime

is not only "linked with outside powers," but is in fact a virtual creation of the U.S. and British imperialists. It is only kept on its feet through constant transfusions of aid in order to carry out the political and military wishes of the Western imperialists. Last year, more than 75% of Jordan's budget revenues came from Western aid grants, including pro-Western regimes in the Middle East. This is the highest percentage (per head) of any state in the world! This is how Jordan is "paying" for 200 Chieftain tanks from Britain, 35 Mirage F-1 fighters from France, and 200 M-60 tanks and assorted ammunition from the U.S. Such payments allow Jordan to carry out its U.S.-assigned role of controlling the struggle of the Palestinian people and send in its mercenary military officers throughout the Persian Gulf, occupying key positions in the armed forces of Oman, North Yemen, and the United Arab Emirates (including their Chief of Staff).

Of course, the Soviet Union is itself engaged in imperialist aggression and intrigue throughout the Middle East. The Soviet imperialists have an occupying army of 100,000 in Afghanistan; they have their own Indian Ocean fleet of more than 20 ships; and they have just signed a military pact with Syria that is expected to lead to a rapid expansion of the current Soviet "advisory mission" of 6,000. But what Hussein is trying to do—like his U.S. masters—is to point to Soviet actions to hide the fact that it is the U.S. imperialists who have been on a fast and furious offensive in the region—unleashing Iraqi military aggression against Iran, continued Israeli attacks against the Palestinians in Lebanon and the West Bank, setting up de facto military bases throughout the area, and in general openly preparing for war. This latest pushing against Syria is also directly related to undercutting possible Soviet involvement in Iran through Syria. The Soviet imperialists, who have never been dominant in the Middle East-Persian Gulf arena, have been thrown even further back on the defensive—a position from which they are attempting now to rally and strike back. Syria's aggressive posturing is certainly a part of this.

Hussein's statements have also served as a rationale for fresh new U.S. initiatives designed to push the Soviets to the wall. The U.S. has relied heavily over the past year, and in particular since the beginning of the Iran-Iraq war, on "pleas for help" by its allies in the Persian Gulf to provide a pretext for tightening the U.S. military net around the area. The transfer of airborne warning and control system (AWACS) battlefield command posts to Saudi Arabia, remember, came "at the request of the Saudis." Jordan's urgent plea for accelerated arms delivery is being met with eagerness by the United States. A few days later, Egypt sent a high-level military mission to Washington to urge both the Carter administration and representatives of President-elect Reagan to stockpile weapons throughout the Middle East and speed up arms deliveries to "friendly regimes" to "match a build-up of Soviet arms in Libya, Ethiopia, and Southern Yemen."

Thus, the current situation in the Middle East is a full-court press mounted by the U.S., which is taking the offensive under the guise of "responding to unjustified Soviet intervention." And this is a deadly serious offensive, for the U.S. imperialists know very well that control over the Middle East (which in addition to its strategic military location in relation to both Europe and the USSR, provides over 2/3 of West Europe's and Japan's oil imports, and nearly 40% of their own) is absolutely critical to its ability to go to war with their Soviet rivals.

One of the official reasons given by Syria for its military mobilization was to demand that Jordan cease its support of the right-wing Moslem Brotherhood, which has for some time been carrying out activities aimed at the overthrow of the regime of Syrian President Assad. There is no question that Jordan has lent its support to efforts to destabilize and overthrow the Syrian regime, including providing bases and support to the Moslem Brotherhood, which led an aborted rebellion against the Assad

government over the summer. This in itself is a good example of one aspect of U.S. imperialist moves in the region: not content with strengthening their own areas of dominance, they are attempting to topple pro-Soviet governments such as Syrian President Assad's and freeze the Soviets out of the Middle East altogether. Naturally, Jordan has to continue to issue bland denials of any complicity in the activities of the Moslem Brotherhood, or any other anti-Syrian activity.

The Syrian government is no stranger to this game either. Several weeks before the Arab League summit, Syria demonstrated its growing subservience to Soviet aims by providing a home in exile for the newly formed "Iraqi Democratic National Front," which is openly calling for the overthrow of the pro-Western Iraqi government. This assortment of Iraqi revisionists and bourgeois nationalists holing up in Syria includes the pro-Soviet Iraqi Communist Party.

Syria's Reactionary Record

As for Syria's pose as "best defender of the Palestinians," this is truly the height of hypocrisy. Syria, it is true, has a long record of self-serving "pro-Palestinian" bluster, bluster which has gone hand in hand with efforts to turn the Palestinian liberation struggle into an appendage of Syrian interests, and squabbling with Jordan over the rights to "leadership"—either overt or *de facto*—of the movement. But when, in 1976, the Palestinian struggle emerged as a definite threat to Western imperialist financial and political control of neighboring Lebanon (as well as threatening Syria's own "right" to hegemony in Lebanon and its plans for a "Greater Syria"), Syrian troops invaded openly on the side of the pro-Western right-wing Christian falangists to crush the Palestinian and left-wing Moslem guerrilla units. The Syrian military then set itself up as a permanent reactionary "peace-keeping force" in Lebanon. At that time, Syria was already closely identified with the Soviet Union; but it still maintained important connections with Western imperialism, and was widely praised by the U.S. government and others in the West for its "responsible peace-keeping role" in its bloody slaughter of the Palestinian liberation fighters (who had been forced into Lebanon following their violent ouster from Jordan in 1970 on U.S. orders by King Hussein's troops).

For many years Syria has resisted taking the step of penning a formal "friendship treaty" with the Soviets, preferring to keep an "open line" to the West and maintain enough maneuvering room to deal with both sides. In none of Syria's wheeling and dealing, however, has there been the slightest flavor of genuine "independence," only a willingness to flirt with both imperialist blocs. Syria over the years has been a party to a whole series of abortive "merger" schemes with other Arab states, including Egypt, Iraq, and Jordan, and is now making the initial moves of merging with Libya. Syria's goal in these merger attempts has been to resolve its own desperate economic and political problems through hooking up with a rich, oil-producing country.

Most of all, Assad's willingness, at long last, to sign a formal treaty with the Soviets reflects the dramatically changing political situation in the Middle East, where the inter-imperialist rivalry and preparations for war now overshadow and shape all other considerations. There is not as much room any more for playing both ends against the middle.

However, this does not mean that the U.S. bloc has "given up" on Syria, or that—even now—Syria is "irrevocably" and safely under the Soviet thumb. While Syria receives most of its military aid from the Soviets—and has for many years—Syria also receives huge financial subsidies from oil-rich Saudi Arabia, the U.S.' main financial instrument in the Arab world. It was no accident that as the Syria-Jordan crisis peaked last week, it was Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia who travelled to Damascus, Syria to meet with Assad in a "mediation" mission. Abdullah's mission is being widely credited in the Western press with helping to lead to an "easing of the

crisis"—undoubtedly some pretty heavy arm-twisting went on. At the same time it is notable that not only Iraq, but Israel threatened to come to Jordan's aid in the event of a war with Syria. Within days, the crisis demonstrated the potential to erupt into war, and strikingly revealed the stakes being played out in the region today by both superpowers—and how close the two camps actually are to direct military confrontation.

Syria's military moves coincided not only with the Arab League's summit meeting in Amman, but also with the visit to Syria of a high-ranking Soviet delegation, which travelled to Damascus to formally adopt the "friendship treaty." Syria's military show of strength and the Soviet visit are obviously related. One clear aim of the exercise was to engage in a little muscle-flexing by a pro-Soviet power in the region as a reminder that the U.S. is far from the only game in town, and that Soviet "rights and interests" can only be ignored at peril. Another aim was to provide the Iranian government with a further signal that the Soviet Union is trying to arrest their moves towards the West and is still interested in "providing aid and assistance" in their war with Iraq; Syria has proclaimed its verbal support of Iran in the war, while Jordan has, in theory at least, placed its military at the disposal of Iraq and has called for the overthrow of the Iranian regime.

Despite recent reports of an "easing of tension," all the ingredients continue to exist for the confrontation between Syria and Jordan to erupt into open warfare. The imperialist press has half-heartedly attempted to keep up the pretense of "amused puzzlement" over "obscure Arab rivalries." But the conflict here, as throughout the region, is not mainly one of narrow local differences, but a reflection of the developing confrontation between the two main imperialist camps which is leading inexorably toward world war.

The situation in the Middle East is already very far advanced in this direction. Petty reactionary regimes such as those of Syria and Jordan are being sucked into the vortex of this imperialist rivalry and are forced to line up with one camp or another in search of a "haven"—not only from the "the other side," but from the rising popular discontent at the increased misery and oppression that the superpowers' maneuvers and war preparations are producing in their countries.

Already the U.S. and the USSR are facing serious problems in dealing with both the continuing revolutionary struggle in Iran and the Palestinian resistance. And their inexorable drive towards a third imperialist world war that will certainly engulf the Middle East is only hastening the day when the masses of people in Syria, Jordan and the other states dominated by the imperialists are thrown into rebellion and revolutionary struggle against the Husseins, Assads, and their imperialist masters.

STUTTGART

Continued from page 5

giant P.A., but all the speakers were drowned out by the demonstrators.

The authorities have gone overboard with disclaimers that these ceremonies are a throwback to Prussian militarist traditions, and more recently, those associated with Hitler. Earlier, Defense Minister Apel had said, "I find these ceremonies are very much in the democratic tradition. In swearing an oath of allegiance to the constitution and republic, the inductees are in no way pledging to follow a Fuhrer or Kaiser." In chorus, the West German rulers are pleading: "We're not the same imperialists who led you to the last war. This time, we're the democracy who has to fight the fascists to the east." But imperialism is imperialism, imperialist war is imperialist war. The pants have been ripped off the German bourgeoisie within recent memory, and now they're finding it difficult to dissociate the "defense of the fatherland" of the '80s from that of the '30s and '40s.

This was strikingly illustrated in Stuttgart when, at one point, an official had the nerve to state from the podium that the presence of angry demonstrators was "proof" of the grandeur of democracy in Germany and all the more reason to have a strong army to "defend" it. In response to this point, an explosive roar from the demonstration met the officials, as one group of 16 and 17-year-old youth began to chant, "Fuck you and fuck the army!"

The chanting and yelling reached a crescendo when 200 soldiers marched into the darkened courtyard. They were carrying burning torches. The 1200 recruits (most of whom are actually draft-ees) were ordered to pledge themselves to kill and die for the greater glory of German imperialism. Hundreds of demonstrators issued an appropriate response to this pledge: the one-finger salute, a common greeting internationally. The West German national anthem was played to end the proceedings, but it too was completely drowned out.

Reporting on actions prior to Stuttgart, the *Economist* (cited earlier) concludes its article with the following remark: "Mr. Schmidt said a few months ago that the world situation reminded him chillingly of 1914. But the mood of the German people is dramatically different."

Amen.

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In the Eye of the Storm

Continued from page 24

ened czar. Like all reformists, our reformists of 1905 could not understand that historic situations arise when reforms, and particularly promises of reforms, pursue only one aim: to allay the unrest of the people, force the revolutionary class to cease, or at least slacken, its struggle."

The profoundly political character of the workers' struggle that has broken loose, despite the fact that its stated aims remain principally economic, is a result of the tremendous surge of power that the actions of the working class have shown in their defiant acts of resistance to the state capitalist rulers, or the "red bourgeoisie" as they are commonly referred to by workers throughout the country.

Despite the efforts of the U.S. "red, white and blue" bourgeoisie to turn the upheaval in Poland to its own interest and characterize it as an "anti-communist" revolt, the workers I spoke with, and I was told that this was the general sentiment, understood that Poland is not a "workers' state." I asked many of them straight out if they thought that the capitalist system as it existed in the West was better, if that's what they were struggling for. Generally the answer was an emphatic negative. And though, to one degree or another, they saw their own ruling class as capitalist, they said they did not want a system of private capital and private ownership of the means of production. At the same time there was no clear understanding expressed as to just what the goals of this movement were or should be, or even how to view the significance of the strikes. Workers I spoke with in Warsaw and in the Baltic region talked more in terms of striking back at their rulers, of finding ways to exert some control over society. They saw the formation of the new unions as a big step in this direction, but as to where things go now, there didn't seem to be much more than the idea of getting the unions together and preventing successful government counterattacks.

It struck me as very similar to the left economism and revolutionary syndicalism of the IWW that fostered the illusion that the working class could accomplish the goal of seizing state power from the bourgeoisie through radical unionism. The 10 million workers in the new unions now grouped around Solidarity would certainly have come close to the old IWW dream of "one big union."

At the same time Marxism-Leninism is held in low esteem among most of the workers since it is allegedly the official ideology of Poland's capitalist rulers and their Soviet imperialist masters. In fact, they have gutted the revolutionary content out of Marxism-Leninism and instead of it being a weapon in the hands of the proletariat, it is used as a club by the rulers to try to beat them into submission. Most of the workers I talked with said they seldom even looked

at a volume of Marx or Lenin after the perfunctory and very dogmatic study that is required in the schools. This was borne out by visits to a couple of bookstores in Warsaw, where the Marxist volumes were stuck away on high shelves accumulating dust. There did seem to be at least one exception to the workers' aversion to studying Marxism and taking it up as a weapon. In Gdansk I saw several quotes from Lenin on the walls of the strike headquarters, and someone told me that the workers did often go through volumes of Lenin looking for quotes that exposed the government.

Yet the thing that struck me time and again, everywhere I went, was that the working class was in motion and that there was a tremendous thirst for knowledge among the rank and file, a desire to have a broader understanding of their struggle, where it was going and its implications. One of the most interesting discussions I had with workers occurred in one industrial city where I showed a group of guys I was talking with several copies of the Polish translation of an article on the strike from the *Revolutionary Worker* that I happened to have with me. The article, which had been passed out among Polish-speaking people in the U.S., analyzed the strike in the context of the global contention between the two superpowers and viewed the strike from the point of view of the seeds of revolutionary struggle of the working class. The leaflet generated heated discussion and great excitement among the workers I was talking to. Not all agreed with everything it said, but everyone said it was the first thing they had seen which attempted to put the strike in a broader context. They asked for copies of the leaflet, saying that they were going to try to reproduce it. On another occasion several workers I was talking with, along with some students, expressed great interest in the copy of *Revolution* I had with me with the article on the unity of the International Communist Movement. Since it was the only copy I had, one of the guys took it and xeroxed the issue, saying they would get it translated.

The government, of course, has tried to paint the militant workers as "anti-socialist" and has made much of the close connection and ties that exist between much of the new unions' top leadership and the dissident intellectuals in the group known as the Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR). KOR members have been called CIA operatives and agents for U.S. imperialism. From the conversations I had with their members in Warsaw, this is undoubtedly true—whether or not it is actually the case that the majority or even a high percentage of its membership are. While not attempting to deny that the U.S. is an imperialist country, they argued that it was the "lesser of two evils." "At least you have democracy," one of them told me. One of them even

tried to defend the ridiculous position that Iran, under the Shah and U.S. domination, couldn't have been worse than Poland is right now.

The KOR members were keenly aware of the government's efforts to attack the unions through them and, even more so, of efforts to isolate and discredit them among the masses. Several KOR members told me that the organization was not really that strong, or even that well known outside some key cities in the Baltic region and Warsaw itself. And they admitted that the government's charge that they were "anti-socialist" and agents for the West had managed to turn workers against them in some areas, like Silesia. I thought their remarks were more interesting for what they reflected of the attitudes of these workers than for KOR's efforts to cover over their own pro-U.S. imperialism line.

But if large numbers of workers were not taken in by KOR's open activity on behalf of U.S. imperialism, the same was not true of the extent to which the main agent of U.S. penetration of Poland, the Catholic Church, influenced the masses. Religion seems to be consciously given a very big role in the life and organization of the Polish working class, and the Church, together with its forces in the working class, like Lech Walesa, are playing this to the hilt to make inroads and to keep control of the powerful forces that have been unleashed through the actions of the workers. In all the Solidarity offices that I visited, including those of the local strike committees inside the factories, shipyards and mines, there were what now seems the three symbols of the union: the cross, the Polish national emblem and flag, and a picture of the Pope, all openly displayed. One worker I spoke with explained this influence of the Church on the basis of Polish nationalism, arguing that the Church represented the Polish people's opposition to Soviet domination. Another, himself a practicing Catholic, tried to argue that the Church had always stood up for the in-ticing Catholic, tried to argue that the Church had always stood up for the interests of the Poles. When I pointed out that during World War II the Catholic Church had, in fact, sided with the Nazis against the Poles, he tried to make a distinction between the Polish church and the Vatican. Now, of course, many Polish workers look on the current occupant of the Vatican as "their pope." But also significant was the opinion of a woman worker I spoke with in the Silesian coal mining region. She was also a practicing Catholic. She said that "We (the Poles) are a very religious people but we also realize that the Church has played politics in the past, maneuvering around for its own advantage in contrast to those of the people as a whole." And in fact it is more common today to see workers arguing heatedly with local parish priests, pointing their fingers in their faces when they feel that the Church is trying to interfere or put the brakes on the movement. In many ways, although

the Church has consolidated its strength through the months of this upheaval, it has also been somewhat exposed, and perhaps its foothold has already started to erode. Cardinal Wysinski was sharply criticized by many workers, Catholics as well as atheists, when he came out in the early days of the summer strikes urging moderation, even though he later claimed that the government had distorted his statements.

Of course, the other thing to remember about the strength of the Church, and through it the influence of the U.S., is what it stands in opposition to: revisionism. Since it is revisionism that is in power, it is hardly surprising that opposition would tend to coalesce around the Church, particularly in a country where much of the population still lives and works in peasant-like conditions and much of the industrial workforce, though large, is not more than one or two generations removed from the same peasant roots.

Given the tremendous animosity towards the Soviets, the one thing I did find surprising was the rather casual attitude that most of the workers I talked with seemed to have towards the possibility of a Soviet invasion. I often heard the sentiment expressed that the Soviets would not invade because it would be too costly, or that if they did it would mean civil war. When I asked one worker how they would wage this civil war, how they would organize for it and carry it out, he shrugged and asked me if I knew how to survive in the woods. When I said no, he said that many Poles did, that it was a skill passed down from their fathers who had had long experience in resisting oppressors. The implication was obvious, they would find a way to do it. Others would say, "So what if the Soviets invade, how are they going to force us back to work?"

While there is much to admire in this courageous determination to stand up to the Soviets, I felt that this attitude coincided with, and in a sense flowed from, the general lack of understanding of the drive towards war of the two superpower blocs and the importance of seeing the struggle in Poland in that context. The tendency to view the struggle narrowly as between the masses of Poles and the Soviets fostered illusions about the nature of such a confrontation.

When I did raise the question of World War 3 directly, I frequently got a laughing response, or a shrug and the answer that Polish soldiers would not fight. But at one plant in the Baltic region, I pulled out a Free the UN 2 button I had with me and explained to the workers I was talking with what it represented, how two revolutionaries had targeted the superpowers' war moves for the world with red paint. Everyone was tremendously interested and thought that this was just great, a very significant action. One of the workers wore the button around the next day, explaining to still more people what it meant.

The question of what the Polish army would do in the face of a Soviet or Warsaw Pact invasion is a critical one. One significant development that occurred while I was there, but did not come out in the press until a few days ago, was the report of a letter sent to the government and signed by 30 Polish generals and 200 staff officers, declaring that they would consider it an act of war if East German soldiers invaded Poland. Nothing was said of a Soviet invasion, but the implication seemed clear, since the East Germans would not come in unless sent by the Russians.

There is no question that there is a great hatred for the Soviet imperialists among the masses of the Polish people and the working class. But it certainly did not preclude the immediate recognition and appreciation of a dramatic act of proletarian internationalism that occurred during the summer strike, when workers in Gdansk received a postcard that had somehow managed to get through from workers at a factory in the Russian town of Minsk, offering solidarity and encouraging them to stand steadfast in their struggle. It was an indication that the Soviet imperialists may find opposition to their dreams of expanding their world empire through war a lot further east than the Polish border.

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(DRAFTS FOR DISCUSSION)
1980





LETTERS ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME & DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF THE RCP, USA

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

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

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

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

On Anarchism

Comrades:

I wish to bring up a few points dealing with contradictions in the proposed line of the RCP.

I submit the following:

1) pg. 14, 3rd paragraph: "eliminating the mad *anarchy* of capitalism..." This confuses Kapital Fascism with Anarchism, Anarchism being revolutionary (that is, true, or progressive, Anarchism; as opposed kapitalist fascism, which only outwardly resembles the militant phase of Anarchism, and then portrays it in reverse)

2) pg. 15, parag. 2: "the progress to socialized state ownership—" implying control and stewardship to be placed in the hands of the party leadership. This is bad medicine—we have already seen what happens when industry is placed under the control of a small group of political zealots (even my *own* group of political zealots should be suspect in this situation). Ownership of the means of production should rest in the hands of those who work in the individual factories, as it is their blood, sweat, and tears which have built the north amerikan industrial megagolem.

3) pg. 34, parag. 1: "and the majority of criminals are themselves victims of this system who can and will be remolded through this... revolutionary struggle..." and again, pg. 34, parag. 2: "In the process of seizing power, the revolutionary movement will storm the prisons, guns in hand, break open the prison doors and offer the masses of prisoners the chance to join the revolutionary army;..." All I can say is that any mother fucker I see endangering the lives of the families of the revolutionaries, let alone the revolutionaries themselves by releasing all prisoners indiscriminately from their incarceration is going to find out first hand how well Uncle Sam taught me to shoot back in 'Nam. I wholeheartedly support the release of political prisoners, but will fight to the death to protect my three daughters from the murderers, rapists, and psychopaths one often finds in incarceration.

4) pg. 36, parag. 2; first 5 lines: And just how do you tell the advanced from the backward during full military revolution? Do revolutionaries wear a particular uniform? You're being too goddamn vague!

5) pg. 40, parag. 1&2: dealing with the question of post-revolution leadership. You seem to take the opinion that the RCP is the sole possessor of the truth, the light, and the way. I have yet to hear Chairman Bob's mantra, but I feel assured that there is someone, yet to come, who will be more politically astute, and furthermore, will carry a more correct line. Just please don't turn into the Marxist Catholic Church, and don't turn a great revolutionary leader into an unnecessary Ikon. The same thing happened to a fellow named Jesus a while back, and you see what it did to his line.

6) pg. 43 & elsewhere: you speak venomously of "counterrevolutionary crimes." I'd really appreciate a set guideline as to just what you mean. Without this, crimes against the revolution could be anything from "aiding and abetting the enemy" to "having one ear longer than the other"... Clarify, goddamnit, CLARIFY!!

7) pg. 45, parag. 2: see notes numbered "2."

8) pg. 51, parag. 2: "... just as the... bourgeoisie was able to 'surround' the farmer through control of the input and output sectors, so too the proletariat (read party controlled) state will be able to use its control... to influence (accent on 'influence') the farmers in the direction of socialization." This is coercion, plain and simple. "... meet the new boss, same as the old boss."

9) pg. 54, parag. 2: "The prolet. state, in nationalizing the land... will also take account of and make provision for the right to land of the Native American Peoples..." I will settle for nothing less than the handing over of state power over the Pacific West and Southwest to the Native American Nation.

10) pg. 55, parag. 2: "... planning cannot be left to planners..." Some individuals have years of training behind them in planning, unification, and low-level leadership. To waste this talent would be both counter-productive, and counter-revolutionary in its implications.

11) pg. 56, parag. 2: "Upon coming to power, the U.S. prolet. will renounce all wars of (imperialist) aggression and plunder in word and deed." Sounds nice on paper, but it will take massive effort to refrain from war, being the only revolutionary state in an imperialist world.

12) pg. 67: Please identify exactly who you mean as capitalist flunkies.

13) pg. 71, parag. 3: dealing with the question of education—Will students be instructed in disciplines other than Marxism-Leninism/Mao Tsetung thought? Or are the students to meet the same oppression as before, simply from a different ideological standpoint? "meet the new boss..."

14) pg. 73, parag. 3: "... the criteria for admission to colleges will be based first and above all on the demonstrated devotion to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat, as determined through discussion of the masses UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY." (Writer's emphasis—RW) Acceptance to college, therefore, hinges on parroting the party line—this is fascism! I, as an Anarcho-Syndicalist, would be barred from receiving an advanced education. We have already shown our loathe for the restrictive educational practices of imperialism. Don't hand us a re-run of Columbia University.

15) pg. 73: on sending high school students directly to the factories: NO! The student has the inalienable right to demand, and receive, an advanced education, within the limits of her or his own personal capabilities. We shall not stand for student oppression.

16) pg. 83, parag. 2: "... the most basic right of the masses... is the right to be the masters of society, in every sphere, and to transform it in their interests." I do hope you are guaranteeing the right of the people to petition for the redress of grievances and the twin right of the people to decide their leadership via the process of election/selection (the old "one man-one vote" concept of government).

17) pg. 83, parag. 2: "... views and opinions expressed by the masses that are contrary to those of the party will not be suppressed, unless they represent the attempts of actual counter-revolutionaries to bring about the overthrow of the prolet. political power and restore kapitalism." You also say that you shall "make an example of" opposing viewpoints; how dare you assume that all opposing lines will be anti-prole... if a more correct line should be formulated, and taken up by the broad masses, what right would the party have to belittle this superior line, let alone belittle the voice of the people?

18) pg. 84 (very fitting) Do you intend to blatantly hand pick the prole leadership? Are you going to use the same criteria as for hand picking college students?

19) pg. 84, parag. 2: "the masses will have the right... to criticize their leaders on any level, to organize demonstrations, put up posters, pass out leaflets, and so on... again, with the exception of actual attempts to promote counter-revolution." This sounds very familiar... I wonder if this is the way the U.S. imperialists would word it. Constant struggle between opposing political ideologies, and nothing else, will ensure a nearly correct line for use by the people, and the people's party alike.

20) pg. 85: "... the bourgeoisie and their agents... and all proven counter-revolutionaries..." Just who the hell gets to decide who is "counter-revolutionary" and who is not?

21) pg. 93, parag. 2: "The genuine communist will lead the masses in this decisive battle to revolutionize the party... as part of the process of... advancing toward the goal of abolition of all class distinctions, and with them the need for the party itself," i.e., Anarchism. Is the party a lemming? Will the party elite commit political suicide? Tune in again tomorrow for another episode....

22) After seeing the effect of the poster and graffiti guerrillas, I have a question: Is Bob Avakian going to become our answer to "Big Brother"?

23) Why does the party refrain from speaking out on progressive Anarchism, and why do the individual party membership denounce Anarchism & Anarchists generally, without admitting that there is a majority of progressive, revolutionary Anarchists? Contrary to your practices, we of the Anarchist Eclectic unite wholeheartedly with the correct segments of the party's draft line. MORE POWER TO REVOLUTIONISM! DOWN WITH IDEOLOGICAL EXCLUSIONISM! DEATH TO IKONS!

We, the undersigned, do hereby support the RCP, and unite for revolutionary struggle over the revolutionary line. UPHOLD MAO AND THE GANG OF FOUR! DEATH TO IKONS, AND THE PUPPET LACKEYS OF IKONOKLASM! FORWARD TO REVOLUTION!!!!

your comrades in struggle,
(signed by 32 people)

Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions

by Bob Avakian

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- Revolutionary War and Military Line
- Political Economy, Economic Policy and Socialist Construction
- Philosophy
- Culture and the Superstructure
- Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
- Conclusion: Mao Tsetung, The Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time



Mao Tsetung in Yen-an, 1938...

...at Tien An Men, Peking, 1965



See page 14 of this issue for excerpts from Chapter 6: Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat

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