Supreme Inequality

High Court OKs Anti-Affirmative 209

See page 5

UC Berkeley march for affirmative action, October 13.
As of November 9, 1997 Chairman Gonzalo (Abimael Guzman) has been held in isolation for...

5 Years, 26 Days

In October 1992, Chairman Gonzalo—leader of the Marxist Communist Party of Peru—was sentenced to life imprisonment by a military tribunal. The Peruvian government charged Chairman Gonzalo and several other revolutionaries with terrorism and crimes against the state.

The Peruvian government insisted that Chairman Gonzalo has made a call for negotiations from prison. In this situation, what possible excuse can Fujimori now offer for continuing to deny Comrade Gonzalo independent contact with lawyers, doctors, and visitors? The Constitutions, made official last year, reestablished the death penalty, which is a political Party that can lead such a struggle, a political Party that speaks and acts for those with nothing to lose but their chains: The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

The whole system we now live under is based on oppression and exploitation. And all over the world a completely worthless and no basic changes for the better can come about until this system is overthrown.

Three Main Points
by Bob Avakian
Chairman of the RCP, USA.

1) The whole system we now live under is based on oppression and exploitation. It is completely worthless and no basic changes for the better can come about until this system is overthrown.

2) Many different groups will protest and rebel against things this system does, and these protests and rebellions should be supported and strengthened. Yet it is only those with nothing to lose but their chains who can be the backbone of a struggle to actually overthrow this system and create a new system that will put an end to exploitation and help pave the way to a whole new world.

3) Such a revolutionary struggle is possible. There is a political Party that can lead such a struggle, a political Party that speaks and acts for those with nothing to lose but their chains: The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA.

The Party has the vision, the program, the leadership, and the organizational principles to unite those who must be united and enable them to do what must be done. There is a challenge: all those who would like to see a radical democratic revolution with a burning desire to see a drastic change for the better, at those who do desire this vision and are acting on that vision, and at those who will support this vision and the leadership of the Revolutionary Workers Party (the Party that is fully dedicated to creating an international political climate which compels the Peruvian government to grant access to Comrade Gonzalo by his legal representatives and other friends who can meet with him directly and unimpeded. This heightens the urgency of the fight to create an international political climate which compels the Peruvian government to grant access to Comrade Gonzalo by his legal representatives and other friends who can meet with him directly and unimpeded. This heightens the urgency of the fight to create an international political climate which compels the Peruvian government to grant access to Comrade Gonzalo by his legal representatives and other friends who can meet with him directly and unimpeded. This heightens the urgency of the fight to create an international political climate which compels the Peruvian government to grant access to Comrade Gonzalo by his legal representatives...
The U.S. imperialists boast that they are again trying to bully the way in the Persian Gulf and are making new military threats toward Iraq. This latest confrontation began to heat up in late October when the United States pushed a resolution through the United Nations Security Council to continue the economic sanctions against Iraq. The U.S. and its closest allies were unsuccessful in their attempt to further tighten the sanctions against Iraq, Russia and France—those who have their own imperialist agendas in the Persian Gulf—resisted new sanctions. But the UN did threaten to step up sanctions in the future if the Iraqi government did not show more cooperation with the “weapons inspection teams.” These teams operate as spies inside Iraq for the Western powers.

The inspection teams are part of the same coalition that the U.S. is leading against Iraq. They are based on the 1990 Gulf War. The inspectors have said that the Iraqis have been blocking them from finding out more. The U.S. claims that the Iraqi government is secretly developing banned weapons and uses this as justification for the continuation of economic sanctions. The sanctions have been having a devastating effect on the people of Iraq. According to a 1993 report from the UN’s own Food and Agriculture Organization, malnutrition and medical shortages caused by the sanctions have already killed more than 1.5 million children in Iraq.

Shortly after the October UN resolution on continuing the sanctions, the Iraqi government ordered U.S. and international weapons inspectors to leave the country. And Iraqi officials have also warned that anti-Iraqi weapons might be used against the U-2 spy plane. A top U.S. official immediately declared that these moves were “outrageous” and that the U.S. would consider “serious consequences.” U.S. Defense Secretary Cohen said that Saddam Hussein’s behavior was a “serious consequence.”

The U.S. rulers have even refused to sign a new agreement between the UN and Iraq to continue the sanctions. The U.S. and its allies are trying to maintain their control over Iraq by continued economic sanctions. The U.S. is using this as a justification to maintain its military presence in the region.

Who is the Biggest Aggressor?

With little actual evidence to back up their claims, the U.S. government claims that Iraq is developing “weapons of mass destruction.” U.S. officials say that this is a sign of Iraqi “aggression against its neighbors” and that it is “unsustainable.”

The U.S., while insisting that it is “aggressive” and “aggression” and “weapons of mass destruction,” has not taken any steps to prevent Iraq from developing such weapons. The U.S. has not taken any steps to prevent Iraq from developing such weapons. The U.S. has not taken any steps to prevent Iraq from developing such weapons.

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The Off Duty Murder of Charles Campbell

NY Jury Finds NYPD Cop Guilty

"I don't know what DiGuglielmo thought he was doing," stated the prosecutor at the trial. "He seemed to have no idea what he was doing. He just went out and killed a man." The trial lasted for three weeks, and the jury deliberated for three days. The verdict was unanimous: the cop was guilty of second-degree murder.

Friends and family of Chaz Campbell formed the Charles Campbell Committee for Justice and conducted weekly vigils outside the deli. In the days after the killing, almost 100 people came to the deli to stand in silent protest. Weeks later, the three men involved in the beating were charged with assault and DiGuglielmo Jr. was charged with second-degree murder.

During this trial’s more than a dozen eyewitnesses testified that DiGuglielmo Jr. had killed Campbell while he was holding the baseball bat. "But it's not as clear as that," said the defense attorney. "The video shows that the cop was swinging the bat, not holding it."

When DiGuglielmo Jr. testified, he said he had killed Campbell "in self-defense." He claimed that he was trying to protect himself from Campbell, who was a Black man with the audacity to challenge the cop.

The Campbell family is bringing a $100 million suit against DiGuglielmo Jr. and the city of New York. "We want justice for Chaz," said his sister, Vanessa Campbell. "We want the police to be held accountable for their actions."
On November 7, the United States Supreme Court rejected legal challenges to California's anti-affirmative action Proposition 209. Passed one year ago, Proposition 209 bans affirmative action programs in state hiring, contracts, and education.

Proposition 209 follows a pattern of narrowing rights for racial and gender minorities. The American Civil Liberties Union of California has challenged the ballot measure in court, but the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear their appeal. The decision was seen as a victory for those who believe in open access to all schools, regardless of race or gender.

The Supreme Court's decision was based on a constitutional argument that affirmative action programs violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Court ruled that the programs were discretionary and not necessary to achieve a compelling state interest.

As a result of the Supreme Court's decision, affirmative action programs at the University of California and other public universities were abolished. This included programs that had been in place for more than 50 years, such as the UC's College of Arts and Sciences, which had a long history of affirmative action.

The legal challenge to Proposition 209 is expected to continue. The California Constitution was amended in 2010 to allow voters to reject the decision of the Supreme Court. If voters reject the Supreme Court's decision, Proposition 209 would be overturned.

The Supreme Court's decision has sparked controversy and debate. Some argue that it is a setback for civil rights, while others see it as a victory for states' rights. The decision has also raised questions about the future of affirmative action programs in the United States.

Students Against 209 Blocking the Sather Gate entrance to the UC Berkeley campus, November 6.

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The sequence of court rulings on Proposition 209 shows the depth of the legal challenge to affirmative action programs in California. The Supreme Court's decision was seen as a victory for those who believe in open access to all schools, regardless of race or gender.

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torture to punish or coerce by inflicting severe pain—The Merriam-Webster Dictionary

Northern California—On October 16, protesters opposed to the logging of the ancient old-growth redwoods in Humboldt County, California, were spray-peatedly pepper-sprayed by the Humboldt County Sheriff’s Department. A federal judge issued a preliminary injunction to the Humboldt County Sheriff’s Department preventing them from spraying protesters with the pepper spray.

The Peper-Spray Torturer

Throughout the 1990s, pepper spray has become an important weapon in the arsenal of police forces nationwide. Police and pepper spray manufacturers have downplayed the hazards of pepper spray. Use of pepper spray by police has been linked to at least 80 deaths nationwide, two “Pepper Spray Lawsuits.” Use of pepper spray by the Humboldt County Sheriff’s Department has been linked to at least 8 deaths nationwide, one “Pepper Spray Lawsuit.”

The demonstration took place on the Humboldt State University campus, where police had to be called in to remove the protesters. The protesters had locked their arms together with metal pipes and were sprayed with pepper spray directly into their eyes. It also shows the pepper spraying of a police officer in front of the university. The painful screams of the demonstrators can be heard.

This was the third time in recent weeks that police in Humboldt County have used the pepper spray chemical against protesters. On September 25, at Pacific Lumber Company offices in the town of Scotia, pepper spray was applied directly to the eyes of seven protesters who were staging a sit-in. On October 3, two protesters arrested themselves to a Pacific Lumber billboard. When the police arrived they tore the protesters’ masks off, using pepper spray to disperse them.

The police officers involved in the incident are on a paid vacation while the incident is being investigated. The Novato Police Department has refused to even release the names of the police involved in Prosser’s murder. John Crew of the ACLU told the San Francisco Chronicle that “this contradicts how the manufacturers say that pepper spray is designed to cause less harm.”

Debatable Damage

According to reports, the FBI has interviewed European police chief Arnie Millsap and Humboldt Sheriff Dennis Lewis as part of their “investigation.” Millsap said that he was preparing to meet with the FBI to show that this is not an investigation of the criminal behavior of the police. “I felt very comfortable with them,” Millsap told the San Francisco Chronicle. He welcomed them if they had not come to him.

The FBI already had an ongoing investigation of the Humboldt Department for their use of pepper spray in the 1990s.

A FEDERAL INVESTIGATION—OF WHOM?

In response to the national exposure of the videotapes, the FBI has sent a team of investigators to Humboldt County to investigate the pepper-spraying incident and the murder of Brian Prosser.

The Police Murder of Brian Prosser

Brian Prosser was 39 years old. He was an accountant and lived in the upscale community of Novato in Marin County. Prosser suffered from asthma, for which he used a nebulizer and inhaler. He was a member of the San Francisco Examiner’s editorial board.

The police officers involved in the incident are on a paid vacation while the incident is being investigated. The Novato Police Department has refused to even release the names of the police involved in Prosser’s murder.
Photos taken from a Humboldt County Sheriff's Dept video showing deputies applying pepper spray directly into the eye of a protester.

Facts on Pepper Spray

At least 80 people have died nationwide after being sprayed by police with pepper spray. In Northern California alone, Brian Prosser, Mark Garcia, Aaron Williams, Dustin Clark, Dennis Wallace, Charles Mann, Tony Johnson, James Parkinson, Sammy Marshall, David Del Real, Jeffrey Scott, Gerald Jasminii, Jose Martinez and Richard Garcia all died after being pepper-sprayed by police.

What is commonly referred to as “pepper spray” is Olooresin Capsicum (OC). OC's active ingredient is capsicum, one of a family of chemicals called capsaicinoids that are common to pepper plants. In the body capsaicinoids release a brain-signaling compound called Substance P which helps govern pain recognition and sensitivity to heat. High capsaicin levels in the body cause the body to release too much Substance P. When a person is sprayed with OC, high levels of Substance P reach the brain and spinal cord. This causes immediate, excruciatingly painful symptoms in the eyes, bronchial passages and other respiratory organs. Breathing becomes almost impossible and the eyes are forced closed. Pepper spray is much more painful than mace. Being sprayed with OC is like being sprayed with a substance 600 times hotter than capsaicin pepper. The pain caused by OC is so intense that the National Coalition on Police Accountability has called for monitoring police use of pepper spray as a form of torture.

OC was initially developed as a bear repellent and was used by the post office for dog control in the 1980s. When cops in Australia and Britain tried to use OC, activists argued that it violates the Chemical Weapons Convention.

OC was approved with almost no scientific studies indicating its effects on human beings. In fact, there seems to have been more tests on OC's effects on dogs than on humans. There are no studies indicating how OC affects people with asthma or other respiratory disorders, heart disease, high blood pressure, people with mental disorders, or pregnant women. There have been no studies on how it interacts with other drugs.

There are no studies of long-term damage to organs from exposure to OC. There have been no studies indicating what levels of OC are effective and what levels are toxic.

The scientific studies that do exist indicate that OC is very dangerous. A study by a U.S. Army team of researchers at the Aberdeen Proving Ground in Maryland concluded that capsaicin “is capable of producing mutagenic and carcinogenic effects, sensitization, cardiovascular and pulmonary toxicity, neurotoxicity, as well as possible human fatalities.”

The Defense Technology Corporation of America (Def-Tech), California's largest pepper-spray supplier, wrote in an unpublished paper quoted in a report by the ACLU that any use of OC of more than one second “would be an overexposure, which may cause added health risks.” The Def-Tech report also stated that OC could cause problems in people with respiratory problems, nerve damage, and that capsaicin has caused liver damage in laboratory animals. A 1994 paper by the California Environmental Protection Agency's Office of Environmental Health Hazard Assessment concluded that "reactions to OC may have been a contributing cause of death or exacerbated underlying conditions, such as pre-existing disease or drug use, to cause cardiac or respiratory failure."

The FBI began pushing for approval of pepper spray in the late 1980s, citing studies by FBI Agent Thomas Ward at their crime lab in Quantico, Virginia. In 1996 Agent Ward pleaded guilty in federal court to taking over $60,000 in payoffs from a pepper-spray manufacturer. Despite the escalating death toll pepper spray continues to be used by police departments nationwide.
October 22, 1997: In 50 towns and cities across the U.S. people took action. Thousands stepped out Wearing Black determined and unafraid, demanding justice, protesting police brutality and murder.

In city after city, people took the microphones to read the hundreds of names of people murdered by police—from the newly published report of the STOLEN LIVES project. Families of police victims raised the pictures of their loved ones—surrounded by supporters and friends. The Blue Wall of Silence was challenged. And people rose to defend the youth—to denounce a sick system that denies many of this new generation any chance for education or jobs, and that railroaded them into prison by the hundreds of thousands.

The National Office of the Coalition wrote: “October 22nd actions have succeeded in building the bridge for people to walk across—clergy, lawyers, artists, prominent people stand together with youth from the neighborhoods and families of victims and shout: NO MORE POLICE BRUTALITY! The October 22 actions also stated loud and clear that this is a NATIONAL EPIDEMIC of police violence and that people want to get organized to deal with it.”
Against

Los Angeles

36th anniversary. San Francisco

Watts drum contingent, L.A.

Los Angeles
by Bob Avakian

A new series by RCP Chairman Bob Avakian on the so-called “death of communism” and the revolutionary struggle for communism worldwide. The series takes up strategic problems in the struggle of the proletarian revolution in particular countries and on a world scale to “get over the hump” and defeat the imperialist system.

Let’s talk more about the “death of communism.” This theme is a big part of the current political and ideological terrain, and it has definite negative aspects that we have to deal with—and transform. On the other hand, running counter to the tactical gains that the ruling class and reactionaries have realized from the so-called “death” or “demise” of communism—which they have attempted to magnify through their propaganda barrage and the use of all their technology and media—is that now the reality of open and more unbridled capitalism has set in for the former Soviet empire, and masses of people have begun to rebel in various ways against this.

This is very strikingly revealed in places like Poland. Now look, let’s face it, I don’t give a good god damn about the guy who is head of state of Poland right now. He is just like Poland. Now look, let’s face it, I don’t “get over the hump” and defeat the “demise” of communism— which they have attempted to magnify through their propaganda barrage and the use of all their technology and media—is that now the reality of open and more unbridled capitalism has set in for the former Soviet empire, and masses of people have begun to rebel in various ways against this.

Finding Out About Capitalism

I remember one of the passages I really liked in the statement the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement put out to the masses in these Eastern European countries once the Soviet empire started unraveling a few years back. (And, to my understanding, various vehicles were found to get this statement out to the masses in Eastern Europe pretty broadly, and it got some favorable response there.) Now one of the parts of that statement that I really liked was where it addressed itself to the masses along these lines: If you think that there is going to be all these wonderful things happening now with the advent of open capitalist rule, you are going to be in for a big shock and it is not going to be a pleasant shock. And it added something to this effect: If you want to know what’s in store for you, now you can go and ask someone living in a housing project in Chicago or one of the equivalent places in London. A few other examples were mentioned, and then came the part I really liked: “Or you can just wait and find out for yourselves!” That was one of my favorite parts of the RIM statement—it had just the right pizzazz and the right substance to go with that pizzazz, the right content.

And that is exactly what is unfolding now—people are in fact beginning to find out for themselves what this more undisguised and unbridled capitalism is all about and the horror it really means. And they didn’t have to wait very long to find this out. Not that capitalism was any better for the people, but with this undisguised, unbridled capitalism has come not only a lot of chaos and breakdown economically but also direct attacks on the old “social welfare” measures that were extended as concessions to the working class in the Soviet Union. What is going on in Russia now parallels in some significant ways the process in the U.S. whereby the “New Deal” and “war on poverty” social contract and social programs are being gutted and the ruling class is moving to get over the hump and defeat the “demise” of communism—which they have attempted to magnify through their propaganda barrage and the use of all their technology and media—is that now the reality of open and more unbridled capitalism has set in for the former Soviet empire, and masses of people have begun to rebel in various ways against this.

A Lowing of Sights

Still, in the short run, one of the things that has happened as a result of the collapse of the Soviet empire—is that it has come about precisely because of the genuine, authentic, revolutionary reduction of capitalism in the former Soviet Union and in the countries of its bloc, but more broadly throughout the world. People have been propagandized with the success of the so-called “triumph of capitalism” and they feel the effects of what’s happening with the economy in the former Soviet bloc—the immediate spontaneous reaction is not to say: “We want revolution to overthrow this system and bring back socialism, real socialism.” People go in many different directions spontaneously—including, as a significant social phenomenon, a number of people moving toward the right. Or they almost become more passive, more paralyzed politically and ideologically. They lower their sights in terms of what they think is possible and therefore desirable. And this applies not just in the former Soviet Union and the countries of its bloc, but more broadly throughout the world. People have been propagandized with the success of the so-called “triumph of capitalism” and they feel the effects of what’s happening with the economy in the former Soviet bloc—the immediate spontaneous reaction is not to say: “We want revolution to overthrow this system and bring back socialism, real socialism.” People go in many different directions spontaneously—including, as a significant social phenomenon, a number of people moving toward the right. Or they almost become more passive, more paralyzed politically and ideologically. They lower their sights in terms of what they think is possible and therefore desirable.

Many people have lowered their sights the result of all this—lowered their vision as to what is possible, and what is desirable—because there is a unity of opposites between how people view possible and desirable. What is considered to be important tends to get lower priority in people’s heads, being regarded as not desirable in certain ways. If you get your sights lowered, even things you might abstractly or in another context think are good ideas become not good ideas because you regard them as not possible, and to put your energy into that is not desirable and it is not possible. This is the negative dialectic that can set in. Of course, this is far from the universal reaction. Everyone responds this way, and even for those who do—or certainly for many of them—this reaction is not permenent.

It is perhaps ironic that precisely in the countries of the former Soviet bloc, after only a few years of more open unbridled...
and undisguised capitalism, masses of people are revolting by and revolting against this in various ways. Yet still, this phenomenon is not a new one politically and ideologically, is an important aspect of the current "social termi
This affects how we have to work and what we have to do to win the rights, rights, to a qualitatively different vision. Here, obviously, we cannot rely on spontaneous, on spontaneous uprisings. It requires people a correct understanding of this so-

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nately have something going for us on the political front. And we have to think about how to maximize this. Because with all this we're talking about consumerism, it is an important modification that's going on, including in the culture and other aspects of the super-
structure, people are becoming sickened by it, even where they don't have a scientific understanding of it. Everything is openly and explicitly a commodity these days, even in a qualitatively different way than before. Everything has a commercial tag associated with it very directly, brutally. Put simply, everything and everybody appears to be for sale. This is the going "ethos" or spirit of the times—

Against the "Everything is For Sale" Morality

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A Dramatic Contrast

We should do this especially as we grap-

ly and working on these questions, but it's a dialectical process. We don't want to go off into a corner and refine all our understanding and only then speak to the masses. That would result in another case of the more we do that the wider we'll get, it's a back-and-forth process of refining our understanding while speaking to the masses about the world his-

tical problems that have been encoun-
tered by the international proletariat to this point in the struggle to move from the bourgeoisie epoch to the epoch of world com-
munism, in other words, to carry forward the world proletariat revolution. We have to be speaking to the masses about these questions, moving beyond them. Strategically we should welcome these problems. We should welcome the fact that

Realistic Buddhism William Issacs' "Virtues, Or We Need Morality, But Not Communist Morality" (Part 2) "Excerpts from these essays—including a series on "What Is Communist Morality"—appeared in the RF from January 28, 1990 through May 31, 1990.

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Against the "Everything is For Sale" Morality

A related point here, which I think is potentially very important, is that we cer-
nately have something going for us on the political front. And we have to think about how to maximize this. Because with all this we're talking about consumerism, it is an important modification that's going on, including in the culture and other aspects of the super-
structure, people are becoming sickened by it, even where they don't have a scientific understanding of it. Everything is openly and explicitly a commodity these days, even in a qualitatively different way than before. Everything has a commercial tag associated with it very directly, brutally. Put simply, everything and everybody appears to be for sale. This is the going "ethos" or spirit of the times—

A Dramatic Contrast

We should do this especially as we grap-

ly and working on these questions, but it's a dialectical process. We don't want to go off into a corner and refine all our understanding and only then speak to the masses. That would result in another case of the more we do that the wider we'll get, it's a back-and-forth process of refining our understanding while speaking to the masses about the world his-

tical problems that have been encoun-
tered by the international proletariat to this point in the struggle to move from the bourgeoisie epoch to the epoch of world com-
munism, in other words, to carry forward the world proletariat revolution. We have to be speaking to the masses about these questions, moving beyond them. Strategically we should welcome these problems. We should welcome the fact that

Realistic Buddhism William Issacs' "Virtues, Or We Need Morality, But Not Communist Morality" (Part 2) "Excerpts from these essays—including a series on "What Is Communist Morality"—appeared in the RF from January 28, 1990 through May 31, 1990.

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**80th Anniversary**

The 1917 October Revolution

**How the Bolsheviks Seized Power**

**Part 2:** Leninist Tactics: Triple Audacity and Relying on the Masses

On the night of October 10-11 the Bolshevik Central Committee voted 10 to 2 to set the course for armed insurrection. The Central Committee took this decision amid a rapidly fracturing social order. Kerensky had ordered the removal of the naval fleet from Petrograd. The masses feared that Kerensky was planning to hand over Petrograd to the German army and give them the job of crushing the revolutionary movement.

The people resisted accordingly. The garrison units proclaimed that they would refuse any order to evacuate Petrograd, and the soviets—over the opposition of the Menshevik and Socialist-Revolutionary leadership—voted to back the garrison committee. Moreover, the soviets moved to form a "revolutionary defense committee." The committee's avowed purpose was to resist German attack, but it could also fight against further treachery by the Kerensky government. The garrison and soviet were now in virtual open mutiny against the government. This could not last long and could ultimately only be settled by force of arms.

All this did not mean, however, that the Bolsheviks had a sure shot for insurrection. Important problems still had to be solved, and quickly.

First, military preparations for insurrection were lacking. The master had demoralized (and fought) with arms in hand during July and had defended Petrograd against Kerensky in August. But insurrection requires something on another level altogether. It means developing an offensive strategy for seizing power, marshaling forces to strike, setting targets, coordinating attacks, etc. It means welding the
masses organizationally to function as an army, to wage war, and to take the offensive. This is qualitatively higher than even the mass armed defense of a city—it is a leap of the highest magnitude. And to effect this the party had to move from the sphere of dealing with political problems to the related but qualitatively different military sphere.

Taking the Offensive and Relying on the Masses

All during this period Lenin's leadership made the crucial difference. He hammered on two main points. First, the Bolsheviks could not wait for more favorable conditions, they had to move immediately to rally the masses onto the offensive. And second, above all else they must place their reliance on the proletariat in arms. Writing shortly before the insurrection, Lenin noted Marx's insistence that insurrection is an art, and not a spontaneous happening. He then elaborated on the rules of this art:

1. Never play with insurrection, but when beginning it realize firmly that you must go all the way.
2. Concentrate a great superiority of forces at the decisive point and at the decisive moment; otherwise the enemy, who has the advantage of better preparation and organization will destroy the insurgents.
3. Once the insurrection has begun, you must act with the greatest determination, and by all means, without fail, take the offensive. "The defensive is the death of every armed rising."
4. You must try to take the enemy by surprise and seize the moment when his forces are scattered.
5. You must strive for daily successes, however small (one might say hourly in the case of a town), and at all costs retain "moral superiority."

Marx summed up the lessons of all revolutions in respect to armed uprising in the words of "Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known:

Marx's "audacity, audacity, encore de l'audace" (audacity, audacity, yet more audacity). What was the key to such tactical audacity? The organized strength of the masses. Lenin wrote:

The most determined elements (our "shock forces" and young workers, as well as the best of the sailors) must be formed into small detachments to occupy all the important points and to take port everywhere in all important operations, for example: to encircle and cut off Petrograd; to seize it by a combined attack of the sailors, the workers, and the insurreictors which requires triple audacity, to form detachments from the best workers, armed with rifles and bombs, for the purpose of attacking and surrounding the enemy's "centres" (the officers' schools, the telegraph office, the telephone exchange, etc.). Their watchword must be: "Better die in a man than let the enemy pass!" (Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. XXVI, 180-181, "Advice of an Onlooker."

To carry through this orientation would require a breakneck race from behind. Lenin's line required a drastic rupture, a leap into the unknown and unprecedented. Everything that had been won up until then would be risked; but only this line and orientation could win everything.

Meanwhile, events continued to move at a machine-gun pace. On October 19 the Provisional Government, emboldened by a public letter from the Bolshevik leaders Kamenev and Zinoviev opposing (the insurrection (1), began to concretely prepare for a clampdown. Armored cars mounted with machine guns positioned themselves in front of the Winter Palace (the government headquarters) Reinforced patrols of cadets cruised the city streets. The government ordered the arrest of agitators in the barracks. That night the high chiefs of the military divided the capital into special districts and laid plans for raids on and occupation of local factories.

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Red Guards leave to carry out the orders of the Military Revolutionary Committee, October 25, 1917.

Red Guards of the Voskan factory pose outside the plant, October 1917.
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key points, including the Soviet headquarters at the Smolny Institute.

The Red Guard

But the Party and the masses were also moving. Since very early on in the revolution, the masses had been organizing themselves into Red Guards—organizations of proletarians which took on self-defense and some policing responsibilities in their factories and neighborhoods. In October the Bolsheviks had moved to transform these Red Guards into the backbone of a proletarian army. Their strongest base was in the Vyborg District (a district being something on the order of a large proletarian neighborhood—like Harlem or L.A.’s Pico-Union in the United States).

On October 21, in the face of what was shaping up to be a massive reactionary demonstration the next day, the Vyborg District Red Guard ordered some factory units to go on full alert. On the 23rd, the Vyborg Red Guard staff sent a secret order to all units to maintain themselves in full fighting readiness and to stay at the factories.

A book about the Red Guard recounts the following:

“...a worker at the Vulkan Factory, F. A. Ugarov, wrote that after the ‘Day of the Soviet’ [an October 21 demonstration called in support of the Soviets], the mood of the workers was intensified... An order from the staff of the Red Guard was received to prepare the Red Guard for action. The bolts of rifles clicked. In the yard of the factory they fitted the trucks with sheet armor and mounted machine guns. The factory ceased to be a factory and became an armed camp.”

Another worker recalled that in the last days before the revolution some armed workers did not leave the factory but slept there instead, with their guns, turning the factory cafeteria into a barracks. In fact at a number of plants in Vyborg the Red Guard went on “barracks status.” This was a very important measure of making the qualitative leap from an organization of armed workers into an army.

Winning the Troops

Lenin relied overwhelmingly on the masses of proletarians, organized into Red Guard units, but he also wanted to win over or neutralize as many government troops as possible before the uprising.

The Bolsheviks had politically organized among the troops since the very beginning of World War I. This was extremely dangerous underground work. It included encouraging fraternization between the Russian soldiers and those of the hostile imperialist powers; agitating to reveal the true class interests of the majority of soldiers (peasants) in the army; distributing the Bolshevik newspaper aimed at soldiers; and developing Bolshevik cells where possible. The government punished civilian Bolshevik organizers by sending them off to the front to die. But this often backfired, when the Bolsheviks so drafted or organized new revolutionaries on the very front lines of the war.

As the war went on, the Russian army suffered severe defeats. Slowly it began to disintegrate as a unified and disciplined fighting force. This took a leap during and after the February revolution, when political turmoil throughout society erupted within the army itself. Since then the Provisional Government had fought to restore discipline and again send the army off against the Germans; the Bolsheviks sought to increasingly widen the gulf between the majority of soldiers and the government and to develop support for the revolution.

Agitation and organization among the troops grew crucial to the insurrection approach. In early October the Petrograd Soviet had formed the Military Revolutionary Committee, or MRC, to serve as a command center for the proletarian forces. On October 21 the MRC began to dispatch commissars to the garrison units. In what amounted to a direct challenge to the army command, these commissars called on the troops to obey only those orders approved by the MRC. Such an initiative could help win the neutrality and even support of at least some of the troops in event of an uprising—but it could not and would not prevent the use of loyal and reliable troops for preemptive strikes against the masses and their leaders.

The barracks went into an uproar, debate and struggle preceded the arriving commissars in almost every unit and went on virtually nonstop. As demand for these commissars/generals grew, the MRC pressed into service every force it could find: early arrivals for the Congress of Soviets, Bolshevik cadres just sprung from jail, radical rank-and-file troops all streamed into the barracks. The political struggle waged among the troops could not in itself substitute for the need to defeat the government army in battle, militarily. But it could and did render some of the government forces unreliable and ripe for further Bolshevik agitation, and actually won some key units to participate in the insurrection on the side of the Bolsheviks.
High Court OKs Anti-Affirmative 209

Continued from page 15

From a revolutionary perspective it is clear that affirmative action programs have been a failure. They have failed because they are not based on any kind of clear understanding of the root causes of the problem—systemic racism and sexism—and they have failed because they are designed to be temporary and temporary solutions are not enough. What we need is a radical transformation of society—a transformation that would lead to an end of all forms of capitalism and imperialism and a transformation that would result in a world where all people are equal and where the basis of society is based on the needs of the majority of people rather than on the needs of the minority of people.

The following excerpt is taken from a special pull-out section on affirmative action in RH 9012:

Powerful centers of the U.S. ruling class are moving to discredit and dismantle affirmative action. From a revolutionary perspective it is clear that affirmative action programs have been a failure. They have failed because they are not based on any kind of clear understanding of the root causes of the problem—systemic racism and sexism—and they have failed because they are designed to be temporary and temporary solutions are not enough. What we need is a radical transformation of society—a transformation that would lead to an end of all forms of capitalism and imperialism and a transformation that would result in a world where all people are equal and where the basis of society is based on the needs of the majority of people rather than on the needs of the minority of people.

In many places the power structure has already moved to destroy programs that open up school admissions, hiring and government contracts to people who face discrimination. It is nothing less than a plan to justify inequality—to reinforce and intensify white supremacy and male supremacy in this society.

The issue here is really what kind of society do you want to live in? Do you want a society that is based on the needs of the majority of people rather than on the needs of the minority of people? Do you want a society that is based on equality and justice for all people? Do you want a society that is based on the needs of the majority of people rather than on the needs of the minority of people? Do you want a society that is based on equality and justice for all people?

In many places the power structure has already moved to destroy programs that open up school admissions, hiring and government contracts to people who face discrimination. It is nothing less than a plan to justify inequality—to reinforce and intensify white supremacy and male supremacy in this society.
There's a war raging on the streets—this high-tech modern slavery system is eating the youth alive, offering them no future but a desperate hustle... building prisons instead of schools... turning housing projects into jails instead of making repairs... criminalizing the poor... declaring war on immigrants... but where there is oppression—there is resistance. The RW brings you NEWS FROM THE FRONTLINES OF STRUGGLE—here and around the world.

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