Prisoners at Pelican Bay End Hunger Strike...

The Struggle Continues

Birds Cannot Give Birth to Crocodiles, But Humanity Can Soar Beyond the Horizon

PART 2: BUILDING THE MOVEMENT FOR REVOLUTION (continues)

by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
What Is Communist Revolution?

It is this system that has got us in the situation we're in today, and keeps us there. And it is through revolution to get rid of this system that we ourselves can bring a much better system into being. The ultimate goal of this revolution is communism: A world where people work and struggle together for the common good...Where everyone contributes whatever they can to society and gets back what they need to live a life worthy of human beings...Where there are no more divisions among people in which some rule over and oppress others, robbing them not only of the means to a decent life but also of knowledge and a means for really understanding, and acting to change, the world.

This revolution is both necessary and possible.

From: The Revolution We Need... The Leadership We Have A Message, And A Call, From The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Who Is Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party?

In Bob Avakian, the Chairman of our Party, we have the kind of rare and precious leader who does not come along very often. A leader who has given his heart, and all his knowledge, skills and abilities to serving the cause of revolution and the emancipation of humanity. Bob Avakian came alive as a revolutionary in the 1960s—taking part in the great movements of those days, and especially working and struggling closely with the most advanced revolutionary force in the U.S. at that time, the Black Panther Party. Since then, and while many others have given up, Bob Avakian has worked and struggled tirelessly to find the way to go forward, having learned crucial lessons and built lasting organization that could continue the struggle, and aim to take it higher, while uniting with the same struggle throughout the world. He has kept on developing the theory and strategy for making revolution. He played the key role in founding our Party in 1975, and since then he has continued the battle to keep the Party on the revolutionary road, to carry out work with a strong revolutionary orientation. He has deeply studied the experience of revolution—the shortcomings as well as the great achievements—and many different fields of human endeavor, through history and throughout the world—and he has brought the science and method of revolution to a whole new level, so that we can not only fight but really fight to win. Bob Avakian has developed the scientific theory and strategic orientation for how to actually make the kind of revolution we need, and he is leading our Party as an advanced force of this revolution. He is a great champion and a great resource for people here, and indeed people all over the world. The possibility for revolution, right here, and for the advance of the revolution everywhere, is greatly heightened because of Bob Avakian and the leadership he is providing. And it is up to us to get with this leadership...to find out more about Bob Avakian and the Party he heads...to learn from his scientific method and approach to changing the world...to build this revolutionary movement with our Party at the core...to defend this leadership as the precious thing it is...and, at the same time, to bring our own experience and understanding to help strengthen the process of revolution and enable the leadership we have to keep on learning more and leading even better.

From: The Revolution We Need... The Leadership We Have A Message, And A Call, From The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
Out to the summer concerts and festivals with BAsics
“This is something my generation needs”

Over the next six weeks, there are some significant summer concerts and festivals where tens of thousands of youth will converge. This will be an important and exciting opportunity to connect them with the BAsics.

Someone who picked up BAsics, from the talks and writings of Bob Avakian at a local festival said, “This is something my generation needs.”

They went on, “To say the least, I wish I had had a copy of BAsics in high school so that I could counter the bullshit that is taught in school. I wish I had been more aware of that at the time, but there are millions of students today who need to hear the voice of Bob Avakian so they can join the fight. BAsics presents an essential challenge to all that is oppressive and intolerant. It paints not only a picture of a new world, but it leaves room for innovation and growth, as a communist future will have, as Bob Avakian says, ‘a solid core with a lot of elasticity.’”

Being at the upcoming shows with BAsics and a very radical, revolutionary presence is a chance to connect with some of those millions of students, to introduce them to Bob Avakian, the movement for revolution he is leading, and the whole different society that this revolution is aiming to bring into being. It’s a chance for them to connect, to subscribe to Revolution newspaper (via print or online), to pick up copies of BAsics for themselves and their friends, to buy one for a prisoner, to check out Avakian’s memoir and to get the Constitution for the New Socialist Republic in North America (Draft Proposal).

Many of the musicians who are performing are doing work that’s up against the status quo and they attract young fans who are sick of the degrading culture, consumerism, and passivity towards this system’s crimes. We shouldn’t underestimate the active yearning for a whole other way, even as most of these youth have never seriously considered the potential for real revolution, or have been told it’s not possible or desirable. These festivals are a chance for people to hear their favorite band, to step out of the day-to-day, have fun, dance and meet others of like minds. They’ll draw forward a range of youth—from the suburbs, immigrants, some youth among the basic masses, high school and college age.

There are all kinds of ways to have a big impact, and we should be learning a lot as we go—both about how to have the biggest impact but also about the mood and concerns of the young people in attendance. We should find forms that embody a sense of radical revolt against a revolting culture, that are lively and compelling, and involve volunteers and others who are new to the work that we do.”

Proposal).

We shouldn’t underestimate the active yearning for a whole other way, even as most of these youth have never seriously considered the potential for real revolution, or have been told it’s not possible or desirable. These festivals are a chance for people to hear their favorite band, to step out of the day-to-day, have fun, dance and meet others of like minds. They’ll draw forward a range of youth—from the suburbs, immigrants, some youth among the basic masses, high school and college age.

As part of your plans:
When going to concerts and festivals, take palm cards with quotations from BAsics on one side and how to order the book on the other. Go to revcom.us/basics, click on the Production/Distribution tab, and download the artwork for palm cards for professional printing.

Take BAsics out to the shows below and to others you find out about!

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Artists</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 30</td>
<td>LOS ANGELES</td>
<td>LA Rising</td>
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<td>Aug 5-7</td>
<td>CHICAGO</td>
<td>Lollapalooza</td>
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<td>Aug 13</td>
<td>SAN FRANCISCO</td>
<td>Outside Lands</td>
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<td>Aug 19</td>
<td>NEW YORK (Governors Island)</td>
<td>Lupe Fiasco</td>
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<td>Aug 20</td>
<td>LOS ANGELES</td>
<td>Rock the Bells</td>
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<tr>
<td>Aug 26-28</td>
<td>NEW YORK (Governors Island)</td>
<td>Dave Matthews Band</td>
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<td>Aug 27</td>
<td>SAN FRANCISCO</td>
<td>Rock the Bells</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sept 3</td>
<td>NEW YORK (Governors Island)</td>
<td>Rock the Bells</td>
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<td>Sept 10</td>
<td>BOSTON</td>
<td>Rock the Bells</td>
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Regardless of whether some of the revolutionaries can get tickets to be there, there are all kinds of ways to have a big impact, and we should be learning a lot as we go—both about how to have the biggest impact but also about the mood and concerns of the young people in attendance. We should find forms that embody a sense of radical revolt against a revolting culture, that are lively and compelling, and involve volunteers and others who are new to the work that we do.”
Deeply Interested in the World...
Actually aware This System Has No Future for Them

The first part of this correspondence appeared in the previous issue of Revolution.

End-of-Year Conversation with Black High School Students

Deeply Interested in the World... Actually aware This System Has No Future for Them

Determination decides who makes it out of the ghetto—now there is a tired old cliché, at its worst, on every level. This is like looking at millions of people being put through a meatgrinder and instead of focusing on the fact that the great majority are chewed to pieces, concentrating instead on the few who slip through in one piece and then on top of it all, using this to say that “the meatgrinder works”!

Bob Avakian, Basics 1:11

The photos on this page were taken by the photographer credited and are not photos of the individuals in this story.

Revolution reader said he upheld the right to abortion and went on to point out that the most likely thing for a child born to a mother who doesn’t want it is that the kid’s life will be miserable and so will the mother’s. So we went on around this for a while—including how all those “trashed” sperm and eggs that men and women are continually spinning off also contain the potential for life, so why not allow women to decide when are the times that are best to bring that potential into reality. And by the end of this, the one who argued abortion is “destroying a life” was saying, “I’m hearing what you are saying about abortion.”

I made the point here that I thought the question at the root of this whole discussion was whether they as Black men wanted to end a lot of the oppression they face, but when it came to women they just wanted in on being the “head of the household.” This made them all stop and think—in part because of the logic of what I was saying, but I also think because they saw that I cared just as deeply about ending the oppression of women as I did about all the other horrors this system rains down on people—including the oppression of Black people that we had talked so much about.

At one point one of them said, well I heard this expert say that the Bible is 70% true and 30% false. So I said, “That’s great, how do you know whether you are reading the 70% or the 30%?” And this got us off in a whole discussion of “salad bar” Christianity where you just picked the parts you liked and ignored the rest. What kind of “word of god” is that? But one point I continually came back to was that there are many religious people whose beliefs lead them to fight against injustice and that was a good point. I said that the yardstick with people should be whether they are fighting to end oppression, and the role of their religious beliefs should be judged on that basis. But also I said that this is a real contradiction because to change the world you have to understand it—and here you ultimately do run into conflict with religion. They all said that they thought this was the right way to look at it—“changing the world is the key thing.”

One of them said early on in our discussion that he felt like he was from Mars because of the things he heard about were so different from most of the other students. And one theme of our discussions had to do with whether there were any other youth that felt and thought the way they did. On a later day I brought the issue of Revolution with the article about the Comed West/Cari Dux Dialogue at UCLA. They were amazed—especially because the U.S. has fucked up the rest of the world worse. The Revolution reader read this out loud and said “Yes! That is so true.” There was also an ad for Barack in the paper and I was explaining what the book was—lots of quotes like that and some longer essays about the key questions involved in making a revolution. This got them all excited about the idea of talking quotes like the one they had read and putting them up around the neighborhood so others would see them and so they could get into discussions with people about this stuff and find out more who was coming from where. One of them had told me awhile back that he really liked the idea of putting up revolutionary posters that told the truth around the community. So at one point after we talked for a while about what a difference doing stuff like this could make, he asked me: “Do you think it would piss people off if we did stuff like this?” I thought a minute and said, “If you did it well, yes it probably would piss off certain powerful people.” I was wondering if he was worried about taking chances.

Continued on page 15
Birds Cannot Give Birth to Crocodiles, But Humanity Can Soar Beyond the Horizon

by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA

Accumulating Forces for Revolution

In that framework, let’s talk more about the strategic orientation and the actual content of “hastening while awaiting,” and specifically let’s turn to the question of, as the Chinese communists once put it, in a very important and helpful formulation: accumulating forces for revolution.

Or, as we have also formulated it, drawing from Lenin as well: preparing minds and organizing forces—for what?—for revolution: working consciously in anticipation of—and, once again, to actively influence things toward—toward a major qualitative change

with the ripening of a revolutionary situation and the emergence of a revolutionary people, in the millions and millions; working to affect, continually and repeatedly, the “political terrain” and dynamics so that the forces and factors favorable to revolution are increasingly strengthened—even in the face of, and in opposition to, heightening repression and the fostering and supporting of counter-revolutionary forces by the ruling class, or sections of it (a phenomenon we are now witnessing on a significant level, and which has serious implications which I will return to later, before the conclusion of this talk).

“This itself concentrates a great deal, in terms of strategic orientation, and I want to emphasize particularly the last part: strengthening the understanding and determination of the advanced, revolutionary-minded masses in particular to take up our strategic objectives not merely as far-off and essentially abstract goals (or ideals) but as things to be actively striven for and built toward.” This has everything to do with whether we are actively influencing and working to shape the political terrain and the overall conditions as much as possible, at any given time, or whether we are merely passively awaiting.

To go on to the second part of “Some Principles for Building a Movement for Revolution”:

"The objective and orientation must be to carry out work which, together with the development of the objective situation, can transform the political terrain, so that the legitimacy of the established order, and the right and ability of the ruling class to rule, is called into question, in an acute and active sense, throughout society; so that resistance to this system becomes increasingly broad, deep and determined; so that the ‘pole’ and the organized vanguard force of revolutionary communism is greatly strengthened; and so that, at the decisive time, this advanced force is able to lead the struggle of millions, and tens of millions, to make revolution.”

Think of what is being put forward, in a very concentrated way: here, the transformation of “the political terrain, so that the legitimacy of the established order, and the right and ability of the ruling class to rule, is called into question,” not just in a general sense but “in an acute and active sense, throughout society”; the importance of doing this “so that resistance to the system becomes increasingly broad, deep and determined; so that the ‘pole’ and the organized vanguard force of revolutionary communism is greatly strengthened.” And then the conclusion, pointing to what this is all building for: “so that, at the decisive time, this advanced force is able to lead the struggle of millions, and tens of millions, to make revolution.”

Enriched What Is To Be Doneism

This is really what “Enriched What Is To Be Doneism” is about: a means for revolution: why is a certain kind of struggle and a certain kind of revolutionary process leading to the abolition of the existing state—and, yes, the establishment of a radically different state—why is that the road to actual emancipation? Why do you need a vanguard, and what is the role of that vanguard? How does this vanguard relate to the overall revolutionary process and to different sections of the masses who, in one way or another, are part of that process? These are decisive questions spoken to by Lenin in What Is To Be Done?

To this we have added some elements, or given additional emphasis to certain elements, including the importance of putting the questions and problems of the revolution before the masses, drawing them into struggling with this and contributing to the process of developing the answers to this, in practice as well as in theoretical conception. This is the reason we have used the formulation “Enriched What Is To Be Doneism.” And, once again, all this is about “hastening while awaiting.” It’s not about something else. It’s not an academic exercise. It’s about carrying out what is concentrated in “Some Principles for Building a Movement for Revolution”: it’s about preparing minds and organizing forces—accumulating forces—for revolution.


2 The formulation of “Enriched What Is To Be Doneism” is discussed in a number of recent works by Bob Avakian, including “Unleashing the Driving Forces for Revolution,” in the section headed “Resistance and Building a Movement for Revolution.” This talk is available online at revcom.us/avakian/building, precisely, a movement for revolution. In What Is To Be Done? Lenin spoke to the need to reveal how all the outrages and injustices that people do abhor, and which they do rebel against in various ways (or talk about even in whispers perhaps), are rooted in the same system; to bring forward our communist aims and convictions, and to show that there is a basis to bring into being a radically different world, to illustrate how and why different strata react the way they do to different events, more or less spontaneously (and, again, without being reductionist about that) and what therefore are the driving forces of revolution and what is the strategy for rallying broader forces to that revolution, as well as what is, of necessity, the character and nature of that revolution: why is a certain kind of struggle and a certain kind of revolutionary process leading to the abolition of the existing state—and, yes, the establishment of a radically different state—why is that the road to actual emancipation? Why do you need a vanguard, and what is the role of that vanguard? How does this vanguard relate to the overall revolutionary process and to different sections of the masses who, in one way or another, are part of that process? These are decisive questions spoken to by Lenin in What Is To Be Done?

To be continued
Abortion Doctor LeRoy Carhart Is a Hero—Operation Rescue Threatens Him

Why YOU should be in Maryland July 31–August 7

by Sunsara Taylor

A determining focal point in the battle for abortion rights and the lives of women begins July 31 in Germantown, Maryland. One of the most courageous and prominent women doctors in America is being targeted by one of the most hateful, fascist, anti-woman groups in the country. Anyone who cares about the future for women needs to be there or find a way to support those who will be.

Dr. LeRoy Carhart is a hero. He provides abortions. As simple as that may sound—and as simple as that ought to be—he means that every day for more than two decades he has risked his life for the lives of women. He’s been threatened. He’s been stalked. His family has been harassed—even receiving calls “informing” them of his murder. Once, his farm was burned to the ground.

But that is not all.

Two years ago, Dr. George Tiller, a fellow abortion provider, colleague and good friend of Dr. Carhart’s, was assassinated while attending church. In the face of this devastating loss, LeRoy Carhart stepped up even more. He expanded his practice. He opened new clinics. He spoke boldly to the national media. He not only performed, but has taken responsibility for training others in performing, some of the most complex and life-saving abortion procedures for women late into troubled pregnancies.

For all this, he has been targeted as “Enemy #1” by the very forces responsible for Dr. Tiller’s death. From July 31 through August 7, Operation Rescue will be bringing anti-abortion fanatics from across the country to hound and endanger Dr. Carhart, his staff, and the women he serves.

Operation Rescue is an organization of woman-hating, alteration-denying, theocratic fascists. They oppose all abortion. As in: in even cases of rape, incest or the life of the woman. They oppose birth control. As in: they not only oppose pre-marital sex, they also oppose marital sex that is not aimed at procreation. And for more than two decades they have systematically targeted, prosecuted, weaponized, character assassinated against, and whipped up an atmosphere that has led to the actual assassination of some of the most selfless and heroic abortion providers in the country.

That’s right. According to the Washington Post, just months before Dr. David Gunn of Pensacola, Florida was murdered by an anti-abortion fanatic, “an old-fashioned ‘wanted’ poster of Gunn was distributed at a rally for Operation Rescue leader Randall Terry,” complete with a home phone number and photo of Dr. Gunn. In 1992, Operation Rescue targeted the clinic of Dr. Barnett Slepian. Later, Dr. Slepian was assassinated in his own home by a fanatic who had traveled with Operation Rescue for years. In 1991, Operation Rescue declared a “Summer of Mercy” and brought thousands of anti-abortion fanatics to blockade Dr. Tiller’s clinic, demonize his person, and create an intimidating anti-woman spectacle in the national media for weeks. Just months after Dr. Tiller was assassinated, Operation Rescue began making efforts to purchase a television spot to “reach every American.”

This is the shameful and numerous history. Operation Rescue is invoking as they gear up for their “Summer of Mercy 2.0” at Dr. Carhart’s new clinic in Germantown, Maryland.

Why do they do all this? Not because they give a rat’s ass about the so-called “life of the fetus.” They do this because they are driven by the biblical mandate that women have babies—lots and lots of babies—and obediently submit to men. According to the Bible, everything evil that has ever happened is because Eve tempted Adam into eating the “forbidden fruit.” Not only that, there was a “special curse” brought down on women. Here it is in 1 Timothy 2:11-15: “Let a woman learn in silence with full submission. I permit no woman to teach or to have authority over a man; she is to keep silent. For Adam was formed first, then Eve; and Adam was not deceived, but the woman was deceived and became a transgressor. Yet she will be saved through childbearing, provided they continue in faith and love and holiness, with modesty.”

It is this total submission of women to men that Operation Rescue is dead set on. As Dr. Carhart himself pointed out during an interview I conducted with him earlier this year, “Most women today don’t want to be a second class citizen. They want to enjoy all the rights and privileges that the world has to offer. I think the very thrust of the anti-abortion movement is to deny women those very rights. Abortion is a vehicle they are using to do much greater damage.”

The only “good” thing that can be said about Operation Rescue is that they clarify the issue. The movement against abortion has never been about anything but forcing women to submit to men and have babies against their will. This is true of the Christian fascists—or seeking-political-office, from Michele Bachmann and Sarah Palin to Sam Brownback and Tom Coburn. This is true of those who have introduced the largest onslaught of legislative restrictions on the federal and state level in history over just the past few months—from mandatory ultra-sounds, to requiring women to undergo “counseling” at Christian fundamentalist “clinics,” to imprisoning women whose newborns do not survive! (Yes, you read that right; several states are currently prosecuting women for the natural deaths of their newborn babies. See “Outcry in America as pregnant women who lose babies face murder charges,” Guardian UK, June 24, 2011.)

And this is a truth that is being lied about or covered over by all those—most significantly prominent Democrats like Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, but also much of the pro-choice movement leadership—who are refusing to call out this fascist woman-hating for what it is. As the World Can’t Wait so aptly put it several years ago, “This whole idea of putting our hopes and energies into ‘leaders’ who tell us to seek common ground with fascists and religious fanatics is proving every day to be a disaster, and actually serves to demobilize people.”

If women are to be free they need the right to decide for themselves when and whether to have children. They need abortion on demand and without apology. They need fully scientific sex education. They need birth control available without shame or stigma. These things are not “tragic” or “unfortunate.” They are tremendously liberating—and they are long overdue.

All of this is essential not only for women, but for humanity as a whole—since how can anyone be free when half of us are enslaved?

The future of abortion rights, the lives of women and of the safety of heroes like Dr. LeRoy Carhart cannot be left to politicians or law enforcement or “someone out there who isn’t me.” It is time—long past time—for all those who care about women to confront the fact that the future will hinge on what each of us will do.

From July 31 to August 7, World Can’t Wait and others are organizing a Summer of Trust to be a strong abortion rights presence countering Operation Rescue and standing up for the lives of women. I add my voice to theirs in calling on you to BE THERE in the streets to show your support. If you cannot be there, reach deep into your bank account and make a donation to this effort commensurate with your concern for the future.

For more information on the Summer of Trust: abortionmorality.net/?p=34.

Send checks or money orders, payable to “World Can’t Wait” (Summer of Trust in the memo): World Can’t Wait, 305 West Broadway #183, New York, NY 10013

Listen to my interview with Dr. LeRoy Carhart, Carole Joffe (author of Dispatches From the Abortion Wars: The Cost of Fundamentalism in Doctors, Patients, and the Rest of Us), Merle Hoffman (President and Founder of Choices Women’s Medical Center), and Debra Sweet (National Director, World Can’t Wait), here: equaltimeforrebirth.org/2011/01/12/show-375-the-morality-of-abortion.

Sunsara Taylor writes for Revolution newspaper and sits on the Advisory Board of The World Can’t Wait.
The Struggle Against the Inhumanity of Solitary Confinement Continues

by Li Onesto

On Thursday, July 21, prisoners in the Security Housing Unit (SHU) at Pelican Bay State Prison (PBSP) were about to enter the fourth week of their hunger strike to end conditions of solitary confinement. Hundreds of prisoners in other prisons had joined them in solidarity, refusing food. That morning, the California Department of Corrections and Rehabilitation (CDCR) announced a release saying the strike was over. And later that night, Marilyn McMahon from California Prison Focus reported that she and Carol Strickman, an attorney working with the mediation team representing the hunger strikers, had spoken with four of the hunger striker leaders who were eating again. McMahon said the prisoners had “extended their deeply heartfelt thanks to all their supporters outside” and “emphasized that that support was responsible for their wins and their safety from retaliation. Above all, they hammered home the message: This is just the beginning.”

The heroic struggle of prisoners from the most brutal hellholes of the U.S. prison system is an infinitely significant and extraordinary development. These prisoners have set a courageous example and inspired people all over the world. Prison Hunger Strike Solidarity (PHSS), a coalition based in the Bay Area committed to amplifying the voices of and supporting the hunger strikers, listed some of the gains of the hunger strike: “While the CDCR rigorously dehumanizes prisoners, and refused to negotiate, saying (we don’t negotiate with prisoners), they were effectively forced into offering an array of changes; this historic strike has demanded everyone who is against torture in any way to recognize prisoners as human beings, to act on their beliefs that no one should ever be tortured, widened and intensified international/international and national/international solidarity in prison conditions and policies in California, and around the United States, as well as through new and renewed efforts by the CDCR ‘business as usual’; (re)inspired prisoners to work together in struggling for their human rights to be recognized; (re)connected to family members, former prisoners, advocates, lawyers, faith-based and religious organizations, media, community members, and organizations that we can and need to continue to work together in the struggle to change the conditions we live in, and to transform the devolution and disappearance of prisoners cause in our communities; re-energized rigorous and collective prisoner-led resistance (‘It’s not Over’) and ‘...re-invigorated rigorous and collective prisoner-led resistance’ in the U.S. [‘It’s Not Over’] posted July 22, 2011 at https://prisonerhungerstrik solidarity.wordpress.com]

Danger of Retribution

The press release from the CDCR reflected what has been the attitude of prison officials toward this hunger strike from the very beginning—that prisoners in the SHU are the “worst of the worst” and deserve what they get. The statement repeated the lie the CDCR has used to try to invalidate the prisoners’ demands: “This strike was ordered by prison gang leaders, individuals responsible for terri ble crimes against Californians.”

The CDCR press release also implied there is going to be retribution—that they are going to punish the prisoners for daring to demand to be treated like human beings. It said: “We will now seek to stabilize operations for all inmates and continue our work to improve the safety and security of our prison system statewide.” Many prisoners have talked about how, on a daily basis, prison officials and guards exact retribution for all kinds of things they consider “uncooperative behavior.” For example, there are the “cell extractions,” where gangs of guards snatched back, leading to further impoverishment the prisoners accomplished around the strike—and put in the SHU.

Support Must Be Amplified

The CDCR press release says the prisoners stopped the strike after “they better understood CDCR’s plans,” developed since 2006, to impose some policies regarding SHU housing and gang management. These changes, to date, include the following: adding a TV to each cell; calendars and some educational opportunities, and extraordinary development. These prisoners have set a courageous example and inspired people all over the world. Prison Hunger Strike Solidarity (PHSS), a coalition based in the Bay Area committed to amplifying the voices of and supporting the hunger strikers, listed some of the gains of the hunger strike: “While the CDCR rigorously dehumanizes prisoners, and refused to negotiate, saying (we don’t negotiate with prisoners), they were effectively forced into offering an array of changes; this historic strike has demanded everyone who is against torture in any way to recognize prisoners as human beings, to act on their beliefs that no one should ever be tortured, widened and intensified international/international and national/international solidarity in prison conditions and policies in California, and around the United States, as well as through new and renewed efforts by the CDCR ‘business as usual’; (re)inspired prisoners to work together in struggling for their human rights to be recognized; (re)connected to family members, former prisoners, advocates, lawyers, faith-based and religious organizations, media, community members, and organizations that we can and need to continue to work together in the struggle to change the conditions we live in, and to transform the devolution and disappearance of prisoners cause in our communities; re-energized rigorous and collective prisoner-led resistance (‘It’s not Over’) and ‘...re-invigorated rigorous and collective prisoner-led resistance’ in the U.S. [‘It’s Not Over’] posted July 22, 2011 at https://prisonerhungerstrikin solidarity.wordpress.com]

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Who Are the REAL criminals? Those who have no future under this system except jail, the "underground economy," or the military? Or those who oversee the system that created this situation?

* For more, see the special issue of Revolution, "The Oppression of Black People, the Crimes of This System, and the Revolution We Need" online at revcom.us/a/144/BNQ-en.html. Check out coverage of the prisoners' hunger strike at revcom.us/s/pelicanbay-hungerstrike-en.html.

Support the Prisoners! Re
These men are, or were, enforcers for a criminal system that has ruthlessly exploited billions of people all over the world and literally enslaved hundreds of millions, including small children ... that has killed countless tens of millions in horrific wars, from the genocide of Native peoples, to two world wars, and right down to the multiple unjust wars of today ... that has created the global environmental emergency threatening the very future of the planet, because of the headlong rush for profit, wealth, and power.
There is a place where epistemology and morality meet. There is a place where you have to stand and say: It is not acceptable to refuse to look at something—or to refuse to believe something—because it makes you uncomfortable. And: It is not acceptable to believe something just because it makes you feel comfortable.
Cold-Blooded Murder in San Francisco... Enough Is Enough!

From a reader in the San Francisco Bay Area:

Editors' note: The YouTube video “SFPD Ruthlessly Shoots and Kills Unarmed 8yr old man over $2 Bat Fair” documents in horrific detail the police murder of Kenneth Harding on July 16. It has been viewed by hundreds of thousands of people. As the video begins, shots are heard and the camera focuses on Kenneth Harding being on the sidewalk with three police officers pointing guns at him. There is a small pool of blood beneath him which grows much larger as the video continues. People are yelling at the police. “What did you shoot him for? man. He was running away.” Another person is yelling. “Where was his gun?” You see a cop with a machine gun order people back. More people from the community are coming from across the street and you hear angry voices, “Fuck that police! A cop approaches Kenneth, with gun drawn, as Kenneth lies on the ground. The cop nelks Kenneth on his side and handcuffs him. People are yelling, “Call an ambulance!” The following correspondence describes the reaction of people in San Francisco to this outrageous police murder.

On Saturday, July 16, at 4 in the afternoon—in broad daylight in front of many witnesses—the San Francisco police shot down Kenneth Harding, a 19-year-old Black man, in the predominantly Black and Latino Bayview-Hunters Point district of San Francisco. In the video, while he was running away from a bust for supposedly evading his bus fare, this execution was witnessed by many people, including people who videotaped what went down, and outrage exploded right then and there.

This was the second murder by police in San Francisco in less than two weeks. On the evening of July 3 two Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) cops shot and killed Charles Harris at Third and Palou in San Francisco, the corner where he was running away from a bust for supposedly evading his fare. This was followed by SWAT teams which patrolled the neighborhood with machine guns. People were yelling at the police. “We’ve had enough of this constant police presence,” and “we have a constant boot on our back.” And, “I knew something like this was going to happen.”

We had the paper out there that day and people reacted positively to the back page (the 3 Strikes quote from Bob Avakian), and that this incident is part of the new Jim Crow. Another point of anger is that the cops visibly did not come to the victim’s aid in any way, for example to stop the bleeding. Several people told our crew that the ONLY presence of the police was for crowd control; or to search for a gun; and NOT to attend to Kenneth Harding’s wounds.

Third and Palou in San Francisco, the corner where the murder happened, is full of masses both young and old, regular denizens, and these people are seeing themselves as the possible victims in this incident. Some people told a Revolution Club member that if someone is stopped by police in the neighborhood, people bring out their cell phone cameras, etc.

This incident happened very close to the doors of the San Francisco BayView newspaper, which serves the African-American community, and which, together with activists called a press conference for Monday, July 18 under the slogan ENOUGH IS ENOUGH; NO MORE STOLEN LIVES!

Protests against the police killing of Kenneth Harding broke out on Saturday night at 11 pm at 18th and Valencia in San Francisco’s Mission District, among the activist crowd in that neighborhood. Police arrested dozens of them.

Monday, July 18

We went to the rally at Third and Oakdale at 11 am. There was a lot of press. I arrived with papers and a display with Oscar Grant and Brownie Palk with the quote “these days must be gone and they can be...the whole damn system is guilty”... and this display caught a lot of attention. I talked not only about Brownie but the current issue of the paper, as well as the back page about the new Jim Crow.

Before the rally, a woman approached me and said how she was harassed by the police after she witnessed the police killing in the ’90s of a Sambo boy with a squirt gun in Potrerito Hill. The cops openly threatened her to the point where she had to leave the state temporarily.

Willie Ratcliff, publisher of the BayView, spoke via a bullhorn about the outrage and the need to resist these crimes. Then other victims of police murder spoke bitterly, including Lois Drake (mother of Raheim Brown, killed by the Oakland Police Department near Skyline), Anita Wells, Mesa Irizarry, whose son was shot and killed by the SFPD, and others.

There is a lot of anger in the Bayview. As one person said, the murder was "bound to happen." What purpose is served in having the police search people’s bus transfers except to down-press the people?

Wednesday, Night, July 20

Some of us went to the Bayview Hunters Point Opera House where there was a town hall meeting over the shooting. People told us, “We’ve had enough of this constant police presence,” and "we have a constant boot on our back." And, “I knew something like this was going to happen.”

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Wednesday, Night, July 20

Some of us went to the Bayview Hunters Point Opera House where there was a town hall meeting over the shooting. This meeting was called by Rev. Graves of the Double Rock Baptist Church and the Dollar Store across the street. They invited the police. There were 400 very angry people in a building meant to hold about 500. (Assumingly, I saw a TV news report later from Amber Lee where she interviewed a couple of people who were pro-police and none of the protesters! If you had been there, you would have realized how skewed the TV news presented the meeting! Nevertheless, they did report accurately that the crowd would not let SFPD Police Chief Greg Suhr speak.)

We held up the banner from Stolen Lives, while I was simultaneously selling the paper. There were a few people who were hostile... one man threw down the Revolution paper when he saw it was about Pelican Bay saying "This has nothing to do with this here, I don’t care about this!"

HOWERVER, we also got a lot of positive response, including a boy about 12 years old who passed out about 100 copies of the Message and Call from the TCP. "The Revolution We Need... The Leadership We Have." Lots of locals took pictures of the banner and the mother of a young man killed by the SFPD also held it with us.

Inside, the revolving door to the meeting said: "We’ve had enough of our young people dying in the street. My own son was gunned down, I don’t know what I’m talking about. This city needs to pay attention to giving our youth jobs... I see these jobs going to outsiders... we need to get with Jesus." Then he tried to bring up Pelican Bay. The cops who just matter-of-factly claimed that the cops were firing in self-defense. He was booed down, with people calling him "killer" and other names. Rev. Graves then read the things down with "let him speak," but it didn’t work.

Some of the things people said:

"Why you gotta kill a man for $2?"

One man said poignantly, “I don’t do nothing wrong, but I get criminalized every day.

"Why you gotta be machine guns around where children are?"

This was both in response to the fact that on the day of the shooting, cops fired up to 10 shots at a running man 4:30 in the afternoon... and in the following crowd control; they brought out machine guns to intimi-

date the masses.

"I don’t think this is over yet." "Come on, he was executed over a far evasion. There really is a sentiment of “enough is enough.”

A speaker was held on Saturday, July 23 by friends of Revolution and representatives of the October 22nd Coalition. The anger of the people continues, as well as the constant intimidation by police. Some spoke bitterly about being criminalized. One poet said he’s stopped whenever he’s walking with more than two friends. We closed with a reading from BAsics 3:16, which we had been passing out in addition to a leaflet.

October 22, 2011

Join and Build the National Day of Protest Against Police Brutality, Repression, and the Criminalization of a Generation
Prisoners at Pelican Bay End Hunger Strike...

Continued from page 7

overall inhumane conditions of long-term solitary confinement in the SHU. This press release does not say anything about removing the violence or changing conditions. Where prisoners are kept in windowless cells with no human contact for 23 hours a day. It does not say anything about the fact that prisoners in the SHU are subjected to conditions that experts have said cause serious psychological disorders.

A statement posted at the Prisoner Hunger Strike Solidarity website said: "We believe that it is absolutely clear: the five core demands have not been met. Long-term solitary confinement is still being used. Supporters everywhere must amplify the prisoners voices even more fiercely. The goal of supporting the hunger strike was that we make sure prisoners continue to starve, rather to support the prisoners in winning their demands to change conditions of imprisonment. This struggle is not over."

This IS Just the Beginning—The Struggle Must Continue

"We all realize that it took over 20 yrs of state sponsored torture and discrimination for us (prisoners) to come together and challenge this system under one banner: that of liberty, justice, and that if we don't hold our ground and win this fight, not only will that keep the chains on us, but more importantly, it will allow future generations to remain forever enslaved to this injustice as well. So for this purpose we remain committed to see this through until the bitter end."

From a hunger striker at Pelican Bay Prison, written to the Prisoners Revolutionry Literature Fund.

The struggle does continue. The hunger strike shined a light on an absolutely intolerable, inhumane situation. It has built awareness and rallies in support of the hunger strike. And many statements of support, from legal, religious, and community organizations, family members, actors, prominent intellectuals, and others. Many people took a clear stand that NO human being, no matter what they have done, should be tortured, should be subjected to this kind of long-term solitary confinement.

The day after the strike ended at Pelican Bay, the L.A. Times reported that "California corrections officials acknowledged more than 500 inmates continue to refuse meals at three other state prisons."

It is important to find out what is happening with other prisoners who have been on the hunger strike. And it is a real need to find out the medical condition of all the prisoners who participated in the strike.

Especially as it becomes clear that some of the hunger strikers were in a medical crisis, many people on the outside saw this was a life-and-death situation and recognized the urgency of supporting the prisoners’ demands. This has been extremely important—and must be built on and developed even further into a mass, determined movement to end this prison torture chambers.

The fact is: tens of thousands of prisoners are being held in the kind of barbarous conditions that the prisoners at Pelican Bay have so courageously rebelled against. These prisoners are dying a slow, horrible death. The fact is: a life-and-death situation exists for these prisoners every day. And it is in the interests of those who oppose injustice and oppression to wage a determined fight to put an end to this. Whatever the outcome of any particular battle in this struggle to put an end to the torture going on in U.S. prisons, the challenge from the prisoners to people on the outside remains. We cannot stand to see this injustice as well. So for this purpose we remain committed to see this through until the bitter end."

What Kind of System Needs to Torture Prisoners?

Continued from page 7

today all Black people more than ever, but could no longer do this in the naked, openly racist forms it had in the old Jim Crow days. It is in this context that in 1969, H.R. Haldeman, President Nixon’s top assistant, wrote in his diary that “[Nixon] understood that you have to face the fact that the whole problem is really the blacks. The key is to devise a system that recognizes this while not appearing to. It is in this context that the "war on drugs" was launched—which has been the biggest factor behind the exponential rise in mass incarceration.

Why are prisoners routinely tortured in U.S. prisons? The kind of extreme torture being carried out in places like the Pelican Bay SHU is a function of the whole way this system has criminalized, demonized and dehumanized a whole section of society. It has to do with repressing those who this system fears; those this system sees as this system has criminalized, demonized and dehumanized a whole section of society. It has to do with repressing those who this system fears; those this system sees as a threat to its power. It is in this context that the "war on drugs" was launched—which has been the biggest factor behind the exponential rise in mass incarceration.

The terror carried out by KKK lynching and the violence of the South meant that any Black person had to walk in fear. Today, police brutality and murder, the practice of racial profiling and random "stop and frisk," and mass incarceration targeting Black people and all the terror that entails—means that today any Black person has to walk in fear.

Today, mass incarceration is the leading edge of the oppression of Black people. This continues to have a devastating impact on those who are imprisoned. Many lives are ruined; many youth are literally thrown away, their potential wasted. It is almost impossible for those this system has branded a "felon" to make any kind of life for themselves if they ever get out of prison. Having a criminal record means you will face legal discrimination in things like employment and housing for the rest of your life. All this is not only horrible for the individuals involved—it is a terrible thing for society. And all this is a broader devastating effect on mothers, fathers, spouses, children, and other loved ones; on the Black community as a whole. The "war on drugs"—and all it means in terms of taking away the rights and ability of Black people to get jobs, decent housing, etc.—is a way to continue the oppression of Black people, but with the veneer and appearance of equality.

The United States goes around claiming it is the "leader of the free world" and protector of democracy and human rights. But the prisoners’ hunger strike has objectively exposed the complete illegitimacy and hypocrisy of this system. This system is responsible for the torture of prisoners. The very needs and workings of this system have led to the mass incarceration of so many Black and Latino people. And getting rid of this system is the only way we can get to a whole different kind of society where there will no longer be the living hell of mass incarceration and the hypocrisy of this system. This system is responsible for the torture of prisoners. The very needs and workings of this system have led to the mass incarceration of so many Black and Latino people. And getting rid of this system is the only way we can get to a whole different kind of society where there will no longer be the living hell of mass incarceration and the hypocrisy of this system.
What Is Counter-Revolution?

Revolution is a serious matter. It is not something to be played at.

Exactly because revolution means bringing to an end the power held by the capitalist-imperialists over the lives of billions, those who hold that power will oppose it in every way they can—via direct representatives of the state and working with other “freelance” operatives. There will also be organized reactionary forces, who, though the system is threatened by the possibility of revolutionary change—they too will actively work against revolution and revolutionary organizations. This is to be expected. Revolution will bring counter-revolution. But then there is another type of counter-revolution—people who emerge from within the camp of opposition to the present order and pose as revolutionaries, but whose sole, or essential, purpose and reason for existence is to destroy genuine revolutionary organizations and revolutionary leaders—leadership that is necessary if there is to be a revolution.

To be clear, then, counter-revolution means active opposition to revolution, with the intent to destroy the revolution, revolutionary group, or individual.

Those serious about making revolution must set and insist on standards for the revolutionary movement that favor revolution and oppose all forms of counter-revolution.

There is a very important distinction that must be made between struggle, even sharp struggle, carried out in a principled way over differences in line and approach as opposed to wrecking activity which is objectively counter-revolutionary. Carrying out principled struggle is very different from efforts centered on spreading lies, innuendos, provocations which not only do not bring clarity but are designed to spread confusion and derail revolution—and can only benefit the state.

In the world today, revolution led by communists is both desperately needed and as yet still too rare. Different communist parties who have taken responsibility for making revolution in the particular countries they work in have to distinguish between the friends and the enemies of the revolution. In making revolution there is real importance to bending every effort to forge the broadest unity on a principled basis as these masses into the process of determining how to go forward toward revolution and the emancipation of humanity—and steering clear of false paths. And from the kind of wrecking work done by those forces who in the name of revolution make it their business to traffic in anti-communism, and encourage anamorphy directed at communists or communists who are sympathetic. There are real dangers that the world can and must be radically changed—and are dedicating their lives to that end. Those who speculate on and foment differences, putting themselves forward as the voice of so-called “authoritative information” regarding matters that they either know nothing about or consciously distort, not only do not contribute to achieving clarity on line and the path forward—they aid the efforts of enemies of the revolution to isolate and attack revolutionary leadership.

The world of cyberspace has made it all the more possible for vicious attacks on revolutionary organizations and leadership to circulate and find a foothold. While there are many positive things that have been made possible with the Internet—like the ability of people all over the world to have access to information and the thinking of people today as well as from the past, and the ability to communicate with speed all over the globe—there are also very dangerous trends that have come with this new freedom. For example, anyone with a computer can make a site or blog which they use as a mouthpiece for the uttering of falsehoods. They can establish themselves as so-called authorities and drop their poison on all kinds of websites, blogs and list-servers—it’s all bytes of data equally available, equally valid. There are the direct agencies of the government, imperialist-oriented think tanks—all up to right—and various freelance reactionaries who make their business to troll the Internet for tidbits they can utilize in order to oppose revolutionary forces. And note well that in the 1960s the government—even without the ease of the Internet—took “official” and speculation and literally destroyed lives, as they worked to disrupt and destroy revolutionary organizations. Leaders who have a broad understanding of this time, among those seeking change, of the need for high standards.

The whole culture these days is shaped way too much by tabloid voyeurism, made up of superficiality plus “narratives”—my personal story, my personal reality. The more sensational the better. Unfortunately this same mentality also has been taken up by people playing at revolution. We get National Enquirer sensationalism in the “movement” fired by personal careerists who build themselves up by posturing as “those in the know”—which fosters a climate where people think it is OK to publish and broadcast lies about people, to ask about people’s whereabouts, to speculate and gossip about the role of different individuals, and try to provoke people into responding to this level of discourse.

All this may be disgusting to people who are new to the revolutionary movement. Why would people who claim to be for revolution act in such a way? Unfortunately this type of counter-revolutionary activity is an inevitable part of making revolution—but that does not mean it should be excused, or shrugged off. While not getting pulled off course or disoriented, we have to be very clear that the kind of thing does real damage, providing a climate where the forces of the state in power can bring down vicious repression on the revolution. This is one way you can tell the difference between people who are raising, even sharply, principled differences with revolutionaries, on the one hand, and counter-revolutionaries on the other. Rather than dedicating their efforts toward bringing forward any kind of revolutionary line, program or strategy, their sole unifying feature is to attack and tear down revolutionary leadership. These are life and death matters which affect the lives millions. Serious revolutionary movements have to raise their standards and learn to reject and have nothing to do with anyone who carries out these kinds of counter-revolutionary activities.

All those who want to see the end of the role of the monsters who run this country and wreak havoc all over the globe need to draw clear lines of distinction between honest, principled struggle over line and program and the wrecking activities of those who can only take pleasure in vilifying and tearing down the only people that have the masses as their only party in the U.S. that is determined to stick to the principles of communism and to make that liberating vision a material force in society. We need to rally the people who yearn and hope for a radically different and better world can work toward, with leadership that knows how to go there.

Reprinted from Revolution #446. October 26, 2008.
Long Suppressed Photos on Exhibit from the U.S. Nuclear Attack on Japan

From a reader:

By 1945, World War 2 had devastated Europe and the Pacific. More than 20 million people in the Soviet Union alone had been killed in this war. On February 13, 1945, U.S. allies firebombed the German city of Dresden, 135,000 people were killed. Then on August 6, a U.S. Air Force plane dropped the world’s first nuclear bomb on the Japanese city of Hiroshima. They killed an estimated 140,000 people. Three days later they dropped a nuclear bomb on Nagasaki, killing 74,000 people. Between 1945 and 2002, around 100,000 nuclear bombs were built. Today, according to the Obama administration, the U.S. nuclear arsenal holds over 5,000 weapons. The U.S. continues to expand and maintain its power in the world by threatening to use these weapons.

Why is the impact of the U.S. nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki not scarred into our minds today?

In New York City a small but very powerful exhibit of photos gives a cold, hard glimpse into this horror: “Hiroshima Ground Zero 1945” at the International Center of Photography (ICP). This exhibit not only shows photos never before made public of the nuclear terror rains down on the people of Japan and a sense of the threat that this arsenal holds today, but the story of how this exhibit came about gives an idea, at least in part, as to how and why this outrage is not just a part of our consciousness today.

On exhibit are the once-classified postcard-size prints of photos of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey, Physical Damage Division, the group of 1,150 military personnel and civilians, including photographers, sent to record the destruction. You can see from the notes made by those involved that the purpose of this survey was to evaluate the effects of the blast and determine what kind of structures and materials could withstand a nuclear holocaust and apply this to developing policies for combating bomb shelters, promoting suburbanization and improving construction materials and practices to better ensure the survival of the U.S. in a nuclear war.

The photos show the annihilation of Hiroshima, flattened out with the wrecks of just a few twisted structures left as far as the eye can see; most of it is just indistinguishable rubble. It takes a while to realize what is missing. People. It was a huge city, but you don’t see anyone. The captions to the photos tell only the story of what is useful to the imperialists: “Honkara Grammar School. Looking south along corridor of third story showing partial construction and buckling of panel wall. Note cracking of roof panel. Also destruction of combustible floor, partitions and content by fire.” Content. That would mean books, chairs, and children. There are a few photos that hint at what this means to people. One, a schoolboy’s jacket on a chair. Others, ghostly shadows burned on the wall, the imprint of the rubber sole of someone’s shoes that kept the asphalt on that spot of a bridge from burning, no other hint of the person.

After these cities were destroyed, the U.S. government confiscated all photos of what happened and restricted their circulation. No images were to be published “which may be directly or by inference, disturb public tranquility.” It was years before Life magazine published a few photos. The photos shown in this exhibit are part of a collection of 700 that had been held by Robert L. Conlee, an executive officer of the Physical Damage Division who died in a house fire in 1967. They were left in a basement for over 40 years before being acquired by the ICP in 2006.

What has become clear is that unleashing nuclear war on Japan was not, as stated, some kind of supreme act of mercy to end the war in the Pacific once and for all. It was a cold, calculated, murderous move to claim the might, directly or by inference, disturb public tranquility. The above captions are taken from the material collected as part of the survey conducted by the U.S. government in the wake of the horrific destruction and death in Hiroshima as a result of the U.S. nuclear attack. They reveal and reflect the mission of the survey— to learn from this horrible war crime in order to commit more war crimes. The captions above are part of the exhibit.

Recently I was reading an essay called “Disarming Images” about an exhibit of art for nuclear disarmament which was held in the early 1980s. And I noticed that the author of this essay points out that according to the dictionary, Webster’s Third International Dictionary, the name “bikini” given to the bathing suit comes from comparing “the effects of a scantily clad woman to the effects of an atomic bomb.” When you think about this, and you think about the horrendous death, destruction, mutilation and suffering alive before dying that was caused by the atomic bombs that the U.S. dropped on Japan, and what would result from the much more powerful nuclear weapons these monsters have today—when you think about all that, and you think about the reasons for naming the bikini after all that, and what kind of view of women this promotes—do you need any other proof about how sick this system is, and how sick is the dominant culture it produces and promotes?

Bob Avakian, BASics 1:17
Dear Reader,

In the week of August 1, the next print Issue, #242, will appear in the week of August 8. Check regularly at revcom.us for updates.

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July 30, Saturday, all day
Discussion of Chapter 2 of 1648. No experience needed, just come to share your favorite quote and talk about: "Communism: A Whole New World and the Emanicipation of All Humanity—Not! The Last Shall Be First, and the First Shall Be Last."

August 2, Tuesday, 7 pm
Discussion of Chapter 2 of 1648. No experience needed, just come to share your favorite quote and talk about: "Communism: A Whole New World and the Emanicipation of All Humanity—Not! The Last Shall Be First, and the First Shall Be Last."

Your Revolution Books

Contact your local Revolution Books for ongoing discussions on Bob Avakian's talk "Birds Cannot Give Birth to Crocodiles, But Humanity Can Soar Beyond the Horizon" Parts 1 and 2, and on the Constitution for the New Socialist Republic in North America (Draft Proposal).

Note to readers on our schedule: No print issue of Revolution will appear in the week of January 24. February 7, February 14, March 7, March 21, April 11, May 2, May 30, June 4, June 11, June 18, June 25, July 2, July 9, July 16, July 23, July 30.

July 27, Saturday, 7 pm
Discussion of Chapter 2 of 1648. No experience needed, just come to share your favorite quote and talk about: "Communism: A Whole New World and the Emanicipation of All Humanity—Not! The Last Shall Be First, and the First Shall Be Last."

July 31, Sunday, 3 pm
Discussion followed by the film showing: Recent Attacks on a Woman's Right to Abortion and Birth Control.

August 6, Saturday, 3 pm
Panel discussion with Victor Menotti (International Forum on Globalization) and Carolyn MacKenzie (Revolution Books)."
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