

Bob Avakian on HOW MAN CREATED GOD p.5



# REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH

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**England:**



**CELEBRATE THE REBELLIONS**

# Milwaukee Fury of 1000's over Racist Pig Murder



July 30 demonstration of 6000 in Milwaukee against police murder of Ernest Lacy.

In the last two weeks of July, thousands of people, mostly Black but also many whites, have twice taken their fury at the ruthless police execution of Ernest Lacy to the streets of Milwaukee.

Lacy had taken a break from painting an apartment to go for a loaf of bread at a local food mart in the evening of July 9. Suddenly he was facing three members of the local TAC squad, each weighing in at 200 pounds of pork. A call had just come over the police radio about a rape case—as far as they were concerned, Ernest Lacy fit the suspect description just fine: he was Black.

As ten cops gathered at the scene, the three man squad threw Lacy to the sidewalk, pressed him down and handcuffed him, with one cop putting his full weight with his knee on the back of his neck until Ernest Lacy, 22-years-old, was dead. They then tossed his body onto the floor of the police van and cruised around “to pick up someone who had some outstanding parking tickets.”

Within a few hours, the police had arrested and charged another man, supposedly identified by the victim, with the rape. Ernest Lacy was innocent of any crime—except being Black in America.

At this point the forces of justice and law went into high gear. The County Medical Examiner did an autopsy: he could not discover the cause of death. The Chief of Police did an “internal investigation” and concluded, “I see no reason for anyone to believe there was any wrongdoing on the part of the police officers involved.”

A massive wave of anger swept the Black community and others more broadly in Milwaukee. Many considered this the last straw in an endless string of murders, harassments and whitewashes

by the pigs. Only a few days following the murder of Ernest Lacy, a verdict had come in from a federal court which fueled the flames. In 1967, in the middle of a rebellion in Milwaukee, the police had shot and killed a young Black brother, Clifford McKissick, saying that he was an arsonist. McKissick, it turned out, had been shot in the hallway of his own home, killed by a bullet which went through the front door as cops opened fire on three homes next to each other in an act of cold-blooded murder and brutal intimidation. After fourteen years, in July 1981, an all-white jury had concluded that Clifford McKissick was “negligent and responsible for his own death.”

It was the same vicious slanders they’d used in Atlanta—blaming the victims for their own murder. And now they turned their venom on Ernest Lacy. They said he was a dope addict—but that wouldn’t stand the light of day. Then they said that he was mentally unstable, and that he’d gone berserk because he didn’t take his medicine. The basis for this: several years back Lacy had been prescribed tranquilizers twice, less than the average high society matron takes every day. Among the masses, all this was widely ridiculed as “flim-flam” evidence: if you don’t take medicine they use that to blame you; and if you do take it they say it was the medicine that killed you.

Sweating through the days of mounting outrage, the authorities finally allowed another autopsy by a doctor chosen by the family. This doctor’s examination concluded that Ernest Lacy had died of “compression strangulation” caused by four or five minutes of heavy pressure on his neck—in other words, the cops had

crushed his windpipe into the sidewalk until he’d choked to death.

Up to that time the three TAC squad members in on the arrest had made a big show, quoted in the press, about how they hadn’t beaten Lacy and how eyewitnesses could confirm that all they’d done is “kneel on his back at one point to hold him down.” Now this cynical cover for their method of murder lay exposed. So just as cynically, they quickly changed their stories, and, without a peep from the press on this reversal, invented a new account where no one had knelt on Lacy’s back.

But the dam had burst. On Monday, July 20, 5000 people marched through the streets of Milwaukee, defying a massive show of force from the cops, including six paddy wagons, helicopters, and members of the all-white 700 man TAC squad in high-visibility. The Chief of Police himself who’d so loudly defended his thugs showed up, as if in support—only to be booed off the scene. One person described the scene as very much like “Richard Nixon standing up on a car giving the peace sign to students who were protesting the Vietnam war.”

The city officials now scurried in fear. There was open talk of “the situation deteriorating to rioting as is now occurring in England and Miami.” More than a few among the masses hoped so—and the bigshots knew it. A city council committee recommended that the city refuse federal funding for a police-community relations program that would have sent cops on speaking programs throughout the city. As one councilman gloomily conceded, “It would be foolish of us to think this program has any chance for success”—certainly an understatement of the actual situation.

The mayor appointed an “Investigations Committee” to monitor police brutality. In an unusually candid statement as to its real purpose, one of the heads of this commission, a former FBI agent, remarked that “These things happen periodically, so that a formal procedure is needed so people are assured justice is done”—in other words, we’re going to periodically murder some more so let’s set up some bureaucratic routine for siphoning off the outrage.

A few days later the three officers were suspended—with full pay. Pitiful little stories appeared about the families of these poor peace officers and how they were suffering, with the implication that they were being victimized by a lynch mob, referring to the demonstration.

But the cops were not unduly worried by this. The Milwaukee police force hasn’t even bothered to fire a single cop for police brutality, ever. And these three cops had already gotten off for beating several Black youth the year before; one had even managed the previous summer to put a Latino man in a wheelchair, paralyzed for life, because he’d been “disturbing the peace.” These are certainly exemplary pigs who had acted “fully within the scope of their employment”—as the current legal defense for police brutality runs—a fine exposure of the cops’ role as enforcers of capitalist order.

As the second demonstration shaped up on July 30, the police made an all-out attempt to intimidate the people with an even more massive show of force.

But in the factories and community and even the Army in the Milwaukee area, anger was mounting even higher. In one factory, 25 Blacks on day shift took off work early to attend the march, even though all were reprimanded. A Black soldier from the Army who had gone AWOL to attend the first march was unable to attend—he was being court-martialed. But thousands of others took his place. At least two white motorcycle clubs helped to act as marshalls.

The ruling class of Milwaukee has been forced to do some fancy back-pedaling. They are now urging a “calm dispassionate search for truth” and the “duty to avoid hasty judgements”—even as their press advises their blue-coated thugs that “evidence will need to be developed fully to ascertain whether the police used only the force necessary”—a word to the wise is sufficient, right? But even as they speak of the “confusion” and the “clouds of doubt” hanging over the Lacy case, they are already feeling more than a little thunder from the people’s wrath.

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# Israel Rains Death and Terror in Lebanon

On Friday, July 17, the U.S.-supplied planes of the Israeli air force bombed the crowded slum quarters of Beirut, Lebanon, where the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) maintains its command center and offices. This terror raid on a densely populated section of the city left more than 300 dead and 800 wounded. In the eight days which followed Israeli jet fighters struck at targets across southern Lebanon, in raids aimed at blasting every bridge, highway, and Palestinian military position in the region.

In the wake of the Beirut bombing spree the U.S. press, while initially covering the mass murder and destruction in Beirut, quickly focused in on the very small numbers of Israelis in the border settlements near Lebanon. Buried altogether or censored were reports of continued massive Israeli bombings on refugee camps in southern Lebanon and another on a bridge which killed 50 civilians driving in private cars. The imperialists' view is clearly that Arab casualties really aren't worth reporting on in depth because, after all, the Arabs have a "lack of respect for human life."

The U.S. imperialists had their own reasons for coming out and publicly criticizing the Zionist raid on Beirut. Despite continuing tactical differences within the U.S. ruling class over how to advance its strategic interests in the Middle East, sentiment is growing that, for the time being, their chief attack dogs like Israel should be put on a somewhat shorter leash.

Of course they are still expected to attack on this leash. Moral concern over "civilian casualties" has nothing to do with U.S. concerns. The fact is that Israel is armed by the U.S. exactly for the purpose of using its military strength to crush the Palestinians and to serve generally as a brute force instrument of U.S. interests—but it is becoming increasingly important that the exercise of this role is carried out in tight coordination with U.S. imperialism's broader

strategic objectives. Increasingly these objectives, especially in the Middle East, are being played out on a global chessboard of confrontation with the Soviet imperialists. A major incident in the Mid-East immediately involves and effects the worldwide strategic interests of U.S. imperialism, including their presently complicated relations with their imperialist allies in Europe. These "facts of life" have been a source of friction between the U.S. and Israel (which has its own agenda and its own "nest to defend") for some time, but the contradiction here has burst more publicly as the stakes mount and the scramble to prepare for a U.S.-Soviet military showdown intensifies. And the U.S. ruling class recently, especially in the aftermath of the Beirut raid, is starting to lay its cards out on the table: Israeli "security" is fine and necessary, but exactly because it serves the central U.S. interests—so the U.S., not Begin, will decide what serves Israeli "security."

"The lesson of the Beirut bombing," the *New York Times* remarked in the wake of the ceasefire, "was that Israeli and American objectives in the Middle East are frequently in conflict. Washington's current paramount interest is to stabilize the region to protect Persian Gulf oil supplies, keep the Russians at bay, and strengthen security relationships with Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, and Israel. To do this, the administration wants to revive talks on Palestinian autonomy, building on the Camp David framework."

"Israelis were delighted when President Reagan included their country in his grand design for an anti-Soviet alignment in the region; they were gratified to be counted a 'strategic asset.' But many overlooked the fact that the term implies a utilitarian relationship that can be debated, bargained over, and even traded away if its functional value declines. Thus, Israel's value to United States foreign policy can vary with circumstance. Israeli military strength is a

virtue, except when it is used, as in recent weeks, in a way that damages Washington's tenuous relations with the more populated, oil rich Arab world. Yet if it is not used and Israel is weakened, the country becomes less of an American asset."

Here is an admirable (if somewhat exaggerated in its statement of differences) capsule summary of cynical U.S. imperialist analysis, stripped of both the gushings about the eternal U.S. commitment to "tiny democratic Israel" and hypocritical concern over Israeli outrages against "innocent civilians." Yes, Israel is a "strategic asset," and yes, Israel's U.S.-supplied military might is there to be used—but only when and how United States foreign policy dictates it is to be used. In U.S. imperialism's strategic objectives in the Middle East, Israel does indeed play a central role—that of a murderous enforcer.

Begin responded to American criticism of the Beirut raid with a revealing rejoinder: "I don't want to hear anything from the Americans about hitting civilian targets. I know exactly what Americans did in Vietnam." He should—the Israelis were right there in Vietnam acting as counter-insurgency advisors both to U.S. forces and to the Saigon regime. Begin's analogy was clear enough. He supported and still supports what the U.S. did in Vietnam. His point is that when you are waging a war against a nation (Palestine or Vietnam) you have to kill its population. You can't let qualms about "world public opinion" upset your basic and agreed-upon plan. Implicit in Begin's "wounded" response is a dig at the U.S. for striking a moral pose toward the very clients assigned to do its dirty work.

Even more sickening, though along the same lines, was the comment of the Israeli Air Force chief of staff, who claims that the strike had, after all, "proved more devastating than expected." This of course is a lie, designed as a cynical cover-your-ass routine. It

was admitted by Begin himself that civilian targets were consciously included. The general's "cure" reveals this. "The fact is," he explained, "we don't have enough experience in bombing cities."

## World-Strategic Interests

The U.S. raised no noticeable hue and cry over the earlier Israeli bombings against Palestinian targets. But the Beirut strike not only threatened a new crisis in Washington's relationship with the so-called "moderate" (pro-U.S. reactionary) Arab regimes, all of whom have to contend with large Palestinian populations with broader revolutionary influence on other Arab masses. These are states whose own survival is literally at stake, one way or another, if the fighting in Lebanon slides out of control. In addition, the raid took place in the midst of the Ottawa Summit between the U.S. and its NATO allies, as well as Japan, who have already been putting pressure on the U.S. to clamp down on Israel, and enforce a settlement including recognition of the PLO and the establishment of some kind of Palestinian autonomy—an arrangement, of course, with suitable safeguards against anything that might pose a real threat to imperialist-imposed "stability and security."

There is a rising chorus within U.S. policy-making circles that the U.S. must find some means of "defusing" the Palestinian question and the Arab-Israeli confrontation relatively quickly, and that failure to do so may steadily undermine the whole attempt to knock together a stable anti-Soviet alliance system in the Middle East. What must be accomplished, the imperialists write in their journals, is a "strategic consensus," which by necessity must include sections of the Palestinians, including from the PLO. Various plans are being prepared to have contact with the PLO, for instance, made through West European channels, with various "solu-

Continued on p. 17

## Joint Communique of an International Meeting of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations

**TO THE MARXIST-LENINISTS, THE WORKERS, AND THE OPPRESSED OF ALL COUNTRIES**

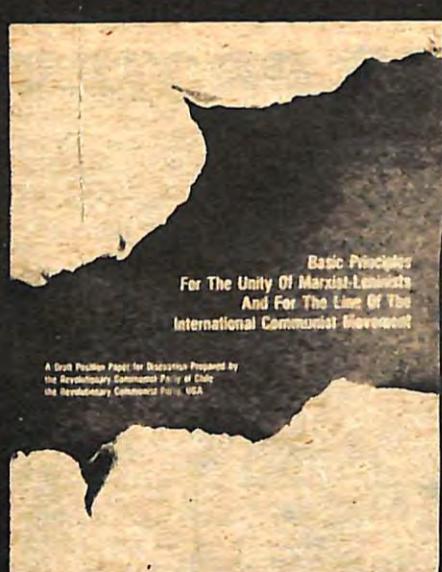
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### Dublin Demonstration Rocks Ireland

On July 18, all hell broke loose in the Republic of Ireland's capital city of Dublin. 15,000 demonstrators filled the streets in support of the Irish political prisoners on hunger strike in the infamous H-Blocks of the Long Kesh Prison near Belfast, Northern Ireland. As the demonstration headed towards the symbol of British imperialism in Ireland, the British Embassy, 1,000 police (Gardai) moved to block the procession and re-route the march away from the embassy. It proved to be their worst mistake of the day. Demonstrators were determined to sack the British Embassy. They attempted to go through the Gardai (see above). Failing that, they tried to scatter the police, hurling bricks, cobblestones, bottles, and even bicycles (see accompanying photo) in a steady stream for nearly a full half an hour. Reports estimate that "tons of debris" descended on top of the police lines. Suddenly the police sallied forth with a baton charge in an effort to disperse the crowds. What followed was four hours of street war; with Gardai brutally beating down anyone in their path and demonstrators staging hit and run actions up and down the streets and alleys. Even some house-to-house fighting took place as police fought room-by-room to dislodge demonstrators from an abandoned house. Out of 160 reported injuries, 120 were Dublin police. It was the most intense day of political rioting since 1972, when, upon news of Bloody Sunday (where British paratroopers shot and killed 13 marchers in Derry, Northern Ireland) reaching Dublin, thousands of outraged people took to the streets. That time they burned the British Embassy to the ground.

It was apparent from all the newspaper accounts in the Republic, that the outbreak came as quite a shock to the ruling class there. For 60 years they have been able to pass themselves off as "free" Ireland. But now they are increasingly standing exposed in relation to the intensifying struggle in Northern Ireland as lackeys of British imperialism, with their Gardai dispensing truncheon rule in an effort to crush resistance to Britain. This latest action outside the British Embassy in Dublin is a powerful illustration of the growing struggle against British imperialism's domination of all of Ireland.



### New Zealand SO. AFRICAN RUGBY TEAM MET with FIERCE PROTEST



July 10, Auckland, New Zealand: "The Bok Stops Here"

Tens of thousands of people in New Zealand are giving a very hot reception to the rugby team from racist South Africa as well as the New Zealand government which is protecting the team's tour in the country. Ever since the "Springboks," as the South African team is called, arrived at Auckland Airport July 19, massive and increasingly militant demonstrations have taken place, the largest protests in New Zealand since the Vietnam War years.

The Springboks, an all-white team with one token "colored" (mixed-race) player, touched down on their flight from Honolulu to a crowd of 3000, barricaded behind an 8-foot fence. Chants and banners went, "The Bok Stops Here," "Shame,"

"Remember Biko" (the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania murdered in police custody in 1976). Cops were all around, on the other side of the fence, in mini-vans, and in the air, trying to prepare for anything.

A number of protesters organized by HART (Halt All Racist Tours) broke away from the main body of police and onto the runway before being stopped. 30 minutes after the plane touched down they tore down the fence. More than 17 arrests were made just that morning.

On July 22, according to the very few accounts in the U.S. press, there was a large and militant demo at the first match to be played, while another match was cancelled altogether after demonstrators stormed the rugby field. The movement against the Springboks tour was clearly stepping outside the bounds of protest tolerated by the authorities. Two of the best members of the All-Blacks, the name of the New Zealand team (for the color of their jerseys), including the captain, refused to play. Also, hundreds of students at several Catholic schools held mass meetings before the South African team arrived and voted to withdraw their teams from the New Zealand inter-secondary school rugby competition to show their opposition to the apartheid regime and their government's complicity.

The vast majority of people taking part in demonstrations and other forms of protest are doing so on the basis of opposing the racist system in South Africa. Among them there are people who see the struggle in broader terms, striking a blow against U.S.-led imperialism and its world-strangling empire. While there are sections of the bourgeoisie who are opposing the tour too, they are doing so because in persisting in the tour the rulers in New Zealand are only exposing and weakening themselves more. This is particularly true as the line that the country is "democratic and freedom loving" is run out as the reason for allowing the South African team to tour. The Prime Minister and Foreign Minister have voiced their "personal opposition" to apartheid and the tour, but say that they cannot deny the Springboks visas or passports for political reasons, because this would go against New Zealand's "democratic tradition."

Democracy for the ruling class and dictatorship for the masses is what they are really talking about, of course. New Zealand and South Africa, the Prime Minister said recently on national radio and TV, fought together against a "monstrous tyranny" in the last war. Apparently South Africa today is not a monstrous tyranny—a white settler dictatorship in which 15% of the people live parasitically off the super-exploitation and fascist terror against the Azanian masses. Also very much to the point is that New Zealand is part of the U.S. war bloc, and the time is more and more one when all pretenses about "personally disliking, etc." South Africa are being dropped to make way for the grand Western imperialist war preparations. Apparently this next inter-imperialist war of unprecedented mass carnage in which New Zealand is enlisting as a naval base and source of manpower for the U.S. bloc is not an example of monstrous tyranny either.

In addition, the next stop of the Springbok's tour is set for guess where...you guessed it, the good old freedom-loving USA. The U.S. is of course leading the way in trying to patch up the image of South Africa, and this will be the real purpose of the rugby matches now scheduled for Chicago (Sept. 19), Albany (Sept. 22), and New York City (Sept. 26). Plans are already being made to stop the tour here in the U.S., and there's certainly a lot to build off given the reception the Springboks received in New Zealand.

# HOW MAN CREATED GOD

## Part 1: The Christians

In the July 1980 RCY we printed excerpts from a speech in Chicago on religion, given by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, in 1979. In those excerpts, focusing on the ideological and political role of religion in general, Chairman Avakian pointed out how "ideologically the essence of religion of any kind is to tell people that there are forces above and beyond them, all powerful, they cannot and must not challenge, that there are things in this world and of other worlds that are beyond their reach, that set the limits of what they can do, that they must not challenge and must be obedient to. That in fact they must not think of taking their fate into their own hands, or uniting with others to do that, but must leave that to some other supernatural force, and in fact leave that in almost all cases to the next world, while suffering in this world." An important part of breaking this hold of religion on man is showing that far from there being an all-powerful being, "god," standing above man, it is man himself who projected his distress at his suffering in this world and his hopes for a better world into the next world—in short, that it was man who created god, and not god who created man.

The excerpts printed below deal with the origins of Christianity, how it developed out of the historical conditions of Rome, and how it was that man created the Christian god of the Bible. Next month, the RCY will print excerpts which deal with Islam.

Well how was it that Christianity developed? We know that about two thousand years ago, a religion calling itself after the Messiah, or the Christ (which was just another way from Greek of saying it, saying Messiah) did develop out of one strand among the Israelites, among the Jews. And as I've said, much, a great deal in fact, of the Judeo-Christian beliefs, were borrowed almost wholesale or in large part from other previous legends, from other countries, and incorporated almost in their entirety or in slightly changed forms into the Old and New Testaments in the Bible.

And often along with that as historical investigation has shown very clearly, a number of times as was common to all these religions and is common today, you would find that a book that appeared in the Bible would be dated several hundred years earlier than it was actually written in order that it could predict things that already happened. One outstanding case of this is the book of Daniel, who supposedly lived in the time of Nebuchadnezzar several centuries before Christ, but the book has been proven to have been written only 150 years before the alleged birth of Christ so that it could predict the rise of the Roman empire which had already happened. How miraculous! And what better way to win followers to your cause than to be able to write a book which predicts things by forgery, by pretending to be written before the things happen when in fact it was written after them. This practice is also commonplace today, there are many charlatans who engage in this kind of practice as well as other kinds of forgeries in



Bob Avakian

order to win followers.

And the time when the person who was referred to as Christ, whether he actually lived or not, was to have come into the world, was a time of, as I've said, great turmoil in the Roman empire. The empire was declining, there were civil wars, battles between different generals to control Rome. Rebellions of the slaves, although they were crushed by that time, had taken place earlier, such as Spartacus. There were fights or rebellions of the provinces against the central authority of Rome. Rome was in disarray. And there was among the Jews, among the Israelites, almost daily civil strife, uprisings, wars, attempts to throw off the yoke of Rome, battle between different sections of the people among the Israelites about whether to collaborate with or fight against the domination of Rome.

And because along with this it was a period of general dissolution, decay, much like we experience going on now—and if you think about our experience today, you can understand this phenomenon, you can see as you look around you the same thing going on in some ways today. Religious messiahs, quacks, soothsayers, visionaries, healers, all kinds of other people who are a dime a dozen, they were crowding each other out of the landscape, running around trying to win followers among people who were trying to figure out what in the world's going on here, and whose lives were being uprooted by the decay and the falling apart of the society that they were forced to live in. Today you see much the same thing with the decay and the decline of this society, with the economic crisis and the development toward war. It's no accident all of a sudden you see all these sects developing, billboards going up "At Times Like This, Turn to the Bible," and other various forms of quackery, scientology, all this other stuff—it's abounding all over the place. If you think about what's going on around you today, you can't go to the airport without being accosted by the Hare Krishna—this is what it was like walking around in the Roman empire at that time: there were all kinds of saviors all over the place, there were many to a block, and they were carrying on the fiercest struggle for survival, to win followers and push the other ones out and declare themselves the true prophet or even the true messiah. This is why I say, because historical records are not clear, that there may or may not have been a particular person named Jesus or referred to as Jesus, there may have been several people of whom this figure down through the ages was concentrated into one figure as part of the legend that developed, or there may have been a single figure, but at that time it was definitely an obscure figure known to very few people.

But out of this whole decay and dissolution Christianity did have one strong advantage going for it; it was monotheistic. This it took from the Judeo—the Jewish, the Israelite, represented in the Old Testament—religious traditions. And this monotheism was very important because the Roman empire had crushed and leveled all the different peoples that it had conquered over the centuries. And each of these different peoples tended to have their own national god or gods that they prayed to—but what good was your national god or gods if he didn't defend you from the Roman empire, if the Roman gods were invoked as the Roman chariots rolled over your nation and crushed you into slavery? What good were your gods, you might as well get rid of 'em. So a lot of these different national gods—they shrank in significance, the people no longer believed in them because, as we know, the real purpose of religion from the point of view of the masses is to try to find some consolation or some way out of the misery they're in. And if their national gods wouldn't provide them with that then perhaps the Roman religion—the religion that was coming to the fore in Rome—would in fact fill the bill.

And more than that, the reason that people rallied increasingly around one god is because things were leveled. The national distinctions were wiped out, and people could then find a common bond in the fact that they were *all* under Roman oppression, they were *all* living in the Roman empire and so the idea of having many different gods no longer corresponded to the actual situation. And with the development and the strengthening of the Roman state as such, the idea of *one* god, not needing any other, arose in people's minds. Not, you see, that there was one god that then created society in his image but that as society developed and went a certain way the image that people created in their minds and projected outward of god corresponded to the way in which society was developing and people were finding themselves in the circumstances that they were in.

And, just as these different preachers, soothsayers, visionaries, miracle workers, and so on were everywhere to be found, so also were those who declared that they in fact would be resurrected and lead their followers out of the misery of the present world and into a bountiful and blissful life in the future world. This was not a unique thing; in the legends and myths of the times, certainly the person referred to as Jesus was hardly the only one whose followers made the claim that he had been resurrected from the dead. This was also extremely commonplace, and even exists down to today in the decaying conditions that we see where we see new messiahs arising in the world all the time, some of them claiming to actually be god, and others only acting like it.

### A Time of Rebellion

So the time when Jesus was supposed to have been born and lived was a time of great turmoil in the Roman empire, a time of a great deal of rebellion, a great deal of turmoil, and in particular of rebellion among the Jews, whose city of Jerusalem where the tribes had lived had been taken from them and who'd been put under the bondage and domination of the Romans and who longed to be free of this and to get retribution against the domination and the plunder, the exploitation and the oppression and degradation they were suffering at the hands of the Romans. And so we see developing out of this not only people who claimed that they were the messiah, that they would be resurrected. You see, I grew up with religion too, and when I first started thinking this stuff wasn't true, I'd say, "Yeah, but look here, this guy's describing this situation, you know, five fish and a couple of loaves and four thousand people, I mean, god was there." But he wasn't there. These were all just legends that were passed down, word of mouth, just like many other legends, and written up decades and usually centuries later when some more educated, more upper class people got hold of the religion and shaped it the way they wanted to to conform to the way things were going.

I remember one of the first things that got me thinking about this whole religion thing. We used to have this thing in school—this is another way, supposedly we've got separation of church and state—we used to have this thing called "Release Time Education" when I was

Continued on p. 16

# Top Secret New Design for MX-Missile Sites Revealed

**Code-named:  
Preying Silos**



# Proletarians Lay Siege to Over 30 British Cities

For proletarian youth of all nationalities across the rotting carcass of imperial England, it was a festival of riots against the whole stinking set up and those who rule it. For weeks in July, more than 30 cities and towns across England and Scotland—and some twenty neighborhoods of the sprawling metropolis of London—exploded in rebellion. Working class neighborhoods where the most oppressed sections of British society live, many of them black and Asian and many of them immigrants, became centers of struggle.

For Britain's rulers, the situation was indeed grim. Cities and neighborhoods rose up almost faster than they could keep count, and certainly faster than they could deal with them. More than 800 cops were injured by the end of the two weeks, having spent much of that time *on the defensive*. And as political infighting broke out among the ranks of the British bourgeoisie over how to deal with a situation the likes of which they have never before faced, their response in the streets was a wave of repression including the use of CS gas, water and other "riot control weapons," and the opening of an army base to hold the thousands arrested. "Troops might have to patrol British cities," Home Secretary William Whitelaw stammered.

At first they tried to call it a "race riot," pointing to the beginnings of the riots in the Southall section of London, where Indian and Pakistani youth righteously took on attacks by white "skinheads" (named for their closely cropped hair)—attacks which had all the earmarks of having been organized by the white-supremacist National Front, which organizes among white youth in Britain just as the Nazis and KKK do in the U.S. The skinheads had gone on a rampage in the mainly Asian community, and were only saved from the wrath of the neighborhood residents by the arrival of the police who covered the skinheads' retreat. But this "race riot" line had to be dropped as millions across Britain could see in person and on the news the truly multi-racial character of the riots, in which black, Asian and white youth joined together to go on the assault against the pigs. These uprisings are of international and historic significance for many reasons, not the least of which is their multi-racial character. And more than a few revolutionary-minded proletarians in the U.S. felt this itself was a sign of the 1980s, of things to come.

Then there was vague talk, and a few unclear promises, of reform combined with a heavy dose of what all of Britain's rulers of whatever party could readily agree to—repression. British police chiefs were rushed to Northern Ireland to take lessons in how to suppress riots from British and military officials already stationed there, who have had plenty of such experience in recent years. Prime Minister Thatcher said the only issue was restoring law and order, and that was that. And her party prepared a new Riot Act, which would allow for the arrest of anyone in a declared riot zone as well as making it easier to bring down heavy sentences against those arrested.

But in the end you could tell how bad things really were when the only thing Britain's rulers, and their press, could point to with any positive expectations was the upcoming wedding of Prince Charles. Hoping, as *Newsweek* echoed the British ruling class' sentiments, that "during those few hours of pageantry, the nation can lose itself in a royal fairy tale—and a celebration of the way England used to be."

Indeed, Britain's rulers do harken back to the "way things used to be," when they ruled the world's largest empire and could afford to spread around just enough crumbs from the wealth looted from their vast holdings to maintain "social peace" at home. But those days are no more. Britain's industrial cities are rotting and decaying, and most of its colonial possessions have been lost

to imperialist rivals. And still millions of immigrants are forced to Britain by the ruinous conditions imperialism has wrought in their countries.

What worries Britain's rulers, and its Western imperialist partners, the most is not whether they can bring this particular wave of riots under control eventually—but what it portends for the not too distant future, not just in England but throughout the bloc. Things may be particularly acute in Britain right now, but all bloc members are staring similar and very fundamental troubles right in the face, and things are getting worse. The only way out for them (as for their Soviet bloc rivals) is a favorable redivision of the world by waging and winning a world war. The explosive combination of a deepening crisis and growing sections of real proletarians with nothing to lose and a burning hatred for the way things are in Britain—this is the stuff that imperialist nightmares are made of. England's "troubles" are not going to die down—they will mount.

## A Festival of the Oppressed

While it would be impossible to describe the events in each of the areas where outbreaks occurred, certain general features stand out. What went down was a true festival of the oppressed of different nationalities and races, together. This festival mainly, but not entirely, involved youth, sometimes as

young as 10, 11 and 12 years old. While the Southall rebellion (which began July 3) was a situation that pitted Indian and Pakistani masses against the police and mobilized reactionary white youth, the character of the other rebellions from Liverpool to Manchester to other neighborhoods of London was very multinational, with large numbers of blacks and other oppressed nationalities joined by white working class youth. All this was vividly brought home in interviews with whites taking part in the rebellions, when they made a point of telling journalists that 1) conditions for the great masses of all races were shit, and 2) that the conditions of the blacks and Asians were the worst. This wasn't the moralistic comments of some liberal whites—this was the materialist understanding of some righteous rebels!

In many cases, a particular focus of the struggle was the police, both in general as representatives of Britain's rulers and specifically for their long history of repression, abuse and harassment and their enforcement of national oppression. This was especially the case in Liverpool and Manchester (two of England's largest industrial cities) where organized offensive actions against Her Majesty's thugs took place. The Chief Constable of Merseyside described the situation in Liverpool this way: "The hooligans were hellbent on attacking police, who are so readily identified as

symbols of law and order. Their fight is with us."

One black youth described the situation in Liverpool to the *London Times*: "I feel good after the riots. Living with the police here is like having phlegm on your chest, you have to cough it out. When you've done that, you can sleep sound at night."

"Our fight is with the Merseyside Police. They are a bunch of racists. Two years ago, one of their chiefs said the blacks in Liverpool were the result of liaisons between black seamen and white prostitutes. That's how they think. If you have a car in this town it must be stolen. If you have a white girl she must be a prostitute. If you are coming from a club you must be carrying drugs."

"My aim was to kill a policeman. We wanted to leave a few of them in the middle of the road with their arms and legs broken. We warned them weeks ago that this town was about to go up."

As the outbreaks spread the masses in many more areas sensed a real opportunity to strike out against the established order. As one London youth told reporters about an uprising there: "I hope this counts as a big riot like Liverpool." Within the more or less spontaneous organization that develops in mass struggles such as these, there were many cases of more conscious elements

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## Chicago: A Call to Take Up the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism

The following call was issued by a resident of Cabrini-Green housing project in Chicago:

### TO THE PEOPLE OF CHICAGO:

In the beginning of August, the third in a series of 5 hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunals will be held in Cabrini-Green, to expose the crimes of U.S. imperialism against the people of the world. Crimes like napalm-ing Vietnamese people, and arming and advising U.S. puppet troops to terrorize the people fighting for liberation in El Salvador, and unleashing our government's "man" in the Middle East, Israel, to attack the Iraqi nuclear reactor. Crimes like the space shuttle, solely for military purposes, and like the murder of Fred Hampton, to try to wipe out our revolutionary leadership, or like today they are trying to get rid of Bob Avakian, who leads the people to overthrow this warring system.

These crimes and millions more must be exposed to let the people know that the U.S. government is getting us ready for war again. Did you see "The Defense of the United States" on Channel 2, trying to prepare public opinion for nuclear war? An example of the way the U.S. government tries to cover up their crimes is here in Cabrini. Behind the 660 Division building the city painted the poles of the swingsets and the basketball poles to try to look good, but they didn't put up any swings or hoops on the poles! This is what they do with their system—try to paint it over with words like "defense"

and "freedom" and "democracy" to hide the rotten system underneath.

By the way, the city also painted the merry-go-round, half red and half blue, like their own personal joke to say the people in Cabrini can't raise their heads above anything but gang mentality (red and blue are two different gang colors). But this is a lie, and having this War Crimes Tribunal here in Cabrini is the proof that Black people in Cabrini are concerned and are standing up, to understand and change the whole world.

I didn't go to Vietnam when they tried to draft me. Why should I have went to Vietnam? The Vietnamese haven't done anything to me but fight against the same system that's kicking me in the ass. The only thing the red, blue and white is good for is a brainwashing tool of the government. When I was going to grammar school and had to rise every morning, put my right hand over my heart, say the pledge of allegiance every day of school, I thought the red, blue and white meant something, but it dawned on me later it wasn't good enough for a snot rag.

I invite you to come to the War Crimes Tribunal, to testify against U.S. war crimes and to learn, and to take part in building for it.

Signed:  
A resident of Cabrini-Green



**RCY note:** We received this correspondence on this page recently and wanted to call on our readers to write in on the subjects raised, or on other points of importance in developing a class-conscious movement of revolutionary youth in this country. In particular, we would like to hear from our readers about the letter in the top right about the old "Quit Marking Time" call. While we don't agree with everything in this letter, we definitely unite with its overall thrust and many of its specific points. Send letters, poems, drawings, etc., to: RCYB, P.O. Box A 3836, Chicago, IL 60690.

## White Pages

This poem was written by a white revolutionary from St. Louis.

Good day to the wings on the right  
Congressman's lamps burn in the night  
To flank in battle of your endless fight.  
When we followed just, sane men in to the sea,  
From the chill of the first hill with wind in our tears.  
When we walked home alone with our face to the floor  
From the weight on our arms of the land of the free.  
When awards were given with solemn captions  
But families cried from what really happened.  
From the sighs saying stop. "What an ornery lot."  
You laughed at our fears.

Though you kneeled down and prayed  
you just worshipped gain.  
An angel is named to carry the flame  
for minds at market to scatter you came.  
So Coca Cola taught the land  
And you held out your trash, balanced in hand.  
Like reservations you'll rewrite history books  
With commercial settings of cancer plans,  
For your guilty complex when you smile  
and shake hands.  
Greetings captain, camera action  
Behold to eyes, a man of passion.  
Liars and whores teach kids on wide screens  
While you believe your own stories  
of worlds never seen.

When we lined up alike on this, our own side  
But a shot in the dark made more whites qualified  
From honky jobs, quickly created  
From hospitals, churches and children you traded  
And you boarded and left but return when you're ready  
Here's a bus ride not spoke of to where  
projects hold plenty.

Now a Red Flag for brothers, gathered we'll stay.  
From when we fought in torn shoes  
you stood in before  
Yea, dressed for vengeance with no place to go.  
Like dolly, like baby, like someone you know.  
You say you're from the west end  
of our lovely redone city?  
Then soon you'll be acquainted  
with the courts of Cabanne.<sup>2</sup>  
Tell your hired, eyes are now on you,  
Who needs your fake commercial girls,  
Stares misunderstood mean  
NO MORE EVENING WHIRLS!!<sup>3</sup>

© Tom, St. Louis

1) The West End is a section of St. Louis where Blacks and other poor people are being forced out and high class condominiums are replacing apartments.

2) Cabanne Courts is a housing project with a reputation for being "the lower depths." It's only a stone's throw from some of the "redevelopment."

3) The Evening Whirl is a little tabloid that tells of all the local murders, rapes, etc., in gory detail.

## Old "Quit Marking Time" Didn't Seem Right

Dear RCY,

A friend and I were sitting around thinking about creating some public opinion about the RCY and we decided to put up some material that'd lay out the role of the paper and the role of youth. We got out some old RCYs looking for the "Quit Marking Time" call. But in the course of reading it, it didn't seem right (which is quite possibly why it isn't in the RCY anymore.) My first reaction was that it underestimated the masses (they definitely know the source of their misery and what the solution is) and therefore talks about "educating" them. As Lenin once said (somewhere), it's us who have to step up *our* activity, because the masses are already actively struggling things out. Another point about the call is that although it says the possibilities of revolution are very real, the focus of the call is on suffering, war, imperialism and billionaires. It also de-emphasizes internationalism (is even

chauvinistic: "as rebel communists in the U.S.") by not bringing out how every blow struck against the system pushes forward the worldwide struggle for Communism. And finally, and most importantly, the RCY itself isn't even mentioned. Is the paper so lethal we don't even want to talk about it?

Anyway, the call to Rebel Youth (in the Feb. 1981 RCY) is a really good contrast to Quit Marking Time. It takes the offensive, mocks the "old fogeys" and definitely stresses that we're REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST YOUTH. I'd like to see a "QUIT MARKING TIME" done with the same line as "REBEL YOUTH." Afterall, doesn't it seem important to get youth into the RCY since it exists specifically because youth have a key role to play in revolutionizing society and the world?

Sincerely,  
I. M. D'Ranged

## Where Anarchists and Marxists Agree and Disagree

Dear Comrades:

I have been watching with some considerable enthusiasm the dialogue initiated by the RCP a year or so ago, first in the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker* and later in the RCY, between anarchists and marxists. I, myself, contributed to this discussion in the January 23, 1981 *RW* with my article, "An Anarchist Speaks Out on the Trial of Chiang Ching and the Cultural Revolution."

The May, 1981 RCY contains an article by the Chicago affiliate of the Anarchist Communist Federation, and a reply from the RCY. Between them one can reasonably assess where anarchists and marxists both agree and disagree. Obviously, the issue turns not on revolutionary goals (a stateless, classless, communized society) but on revolutionary means. I don't think that you have a comprehensive understanding of just what anarchists propose as an alternative to the revolutionary party and the socialist state, namely, the revolutionary organization and the federation of free communes. This difference is discussed in some detail in the Spring, 1981 issue of the Washington-based anarchist journal FRONT LINE in "Anarchy is liberty, not disorder." I also feel that you have yet to adequately address the central question raised for marxists by the anarchist critique, which is: Can a socialist state be erected which will not

degenerate into a bureaucratized, classist and eventually quasicapitalist order? The RCP, perhaps more than any other marxist tendency in the United States, should be able to at least appreciate the question, since your criticisms of the so-called "socialist world" are well known and you are keenly aware of the failure in China, even with the extreme and desperate efforts to avoid that failure that characterized the latter years of Chairman Mao's life. To merely pass this off as a "temporary setback" is to avoid the question.

At any rate, I am pleased with the high-minded and comradely tone that has thus far characterized the anarchist-marxist discussion in the *RW* and *RCY*, and look forward to further debate. As a student of trends in the broad left in America, I have noticed that your party has even been characterized by rival marxists as "anarchists" by which I assume they refer to your uncompromising and militant devotion to the cause of revolution and of communism. We anarchists, too, are so devoted, and in that respect you may find in us a closer potential revolutionary ally than you will among many of the other groupings claiming to be "marxists."

Sincerely,  
A.G., Atlanta

## An Art Show

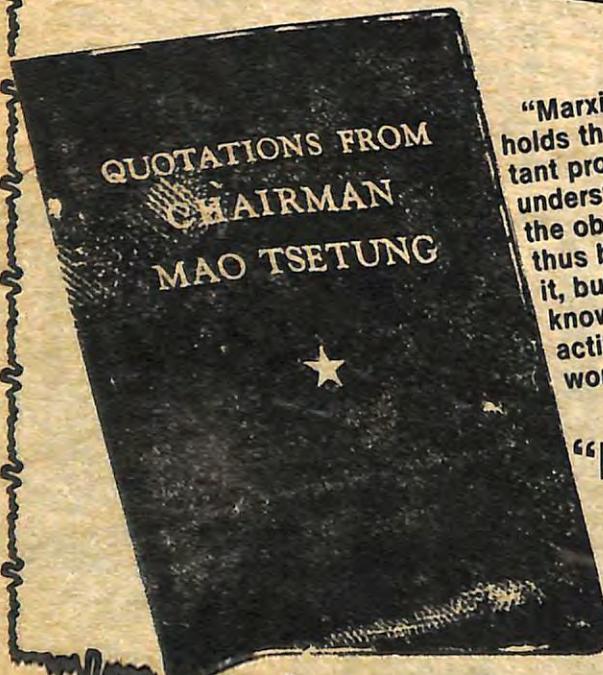
Comrades—

Hi. I am a young revolutionary artist. Recently I attended an Art Show where four black artists were exhibiting. They were amidst old white rich ladies talking with them about prices and money. On the wall hung several sketches of Black women, the sketches were titled "House Slaves." There were murals with a series of Afrikans weaving baskets. All these works were about "Black Heritage" so the signs read. I started thinking—first these works were supposed to be saying something to the people, but what people? What was the purpose of creating the works? So they could hang in some old snob's mansion? The prices on the art pieces clearly showed who they were intended

for. Were they named "House Slaves" to please the old fools? I did not see one painting of a black revolutionary, not one of a proud young person, only tired old slave faces. How could they leave out the revolutionary minded of Black Heritage? I see now that many people view art as another show thing or piece of property—Well they are wrong—it's a force and can be used as a revolutionary force to wake up all the slaves of capitalism. I am white, and you can bet I'll be fighting along with my black and spanish and any other comrades to overthrow these pigs. Art is a creative tool not to be squandered by a few rich people and used as a topic for discussion in their stupid social rings.

—comrade in Columbus, O.

## Quotations from Chairman Mao



"Marxist Philosophy holds that the most important problem does not lie in understanding the laws of the objective world and thus being able to explain it, but in applying the knowledge of these laws actively to change the world."

—The Famous "Little Red Book"

\$1.50

Order from:  
RCYB  
P.O. Box A 3836  
Chicago, IL

# Election Scam Latest U.S. Ploy In El Salvador

When U.S. government spokesmen in mid-July hinted at the possibility of U.S. support for a "political solution" to the struggle in El Salvador, the bourgeois press rushed to praise the "reasonableness" of the Reagan administration.

But inside El Salvador, the U.S. trained, armed and advised troops of the Salvadoran fascist junta were demonstrating just what sort of "political solution" the U.S. imperialists have in mind—give up, give in and maybe we'll allow those few "opposition leaders" who prove their capacity for bootlicking to have a few positions in yet another U.S. puppet regime.

Almost at the same moment Thomas O. Enders, Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, was making his speech in Washington about a "political solution," a specially-trained Salvadoran counter-insurgency unit was airlifted across the border into Honduras to launch an offensive against an area held by guerrilla forces. Few details of this operation have come out, but similar ones in recent months have been accompanied by the wholesale roundup of the population of villages and towns supporting the guerrillas, who are then herded into government-run concentration camps known in counterinsurgency rhetoric as "strategic hamlets."

This type of operation is called "pacification," and it has been widely used by the U.S. imperialists and their lackey regimes around the world, most extensively of course in Vietnam where millions of peasants were forced into barbed-wire encircled "strategic hamlets" while their villages were razed, crops and animals destroyed and the surrounding area turned into "free fire zones" where U.S. troops, artillery and planes could—and did—shoot at anything that moved.

But "pacification" wasn't the only U.S. tactic to ring a familiar bell last month. In fact, the "political solution" the U.S. imperialists were floating out as a possibility turned out to be none other than imperialist sponsored elections. This was another tactic employed by the U.S. in Vietnam, not once but repeatedly. Under the gun—literally—of the puppet regime's army, "the people" are

supposed to freely choose their rulers. It is the sort of election at the point of a gun that always guaranteed U.S. puppets like Thieu and Ky in Vietnam 99% of the vote.

The plan for elections in El Salvador, according to the *New York Times*, excludes virtually all elements opposed to the current junta and its president, José Napoleón Duarte. Not only will the various guerrilla groups and leftist organizations be excluded, but even the Democratic Revolutionary Front, mainly led by bourgeois forces opposed to the junta, wouldn't be allowed to participate.

But interestingly enough, and revealingly, Enders stated that the U.S. is leaving the door open for one "opponent" of the junta to participate—Guillermo Ungo. Ungo just happens to be a main leader of the pro-U.S. forces opposed to the junta that the U.S. has been alternately wooing and trying to terrorize into joining up with the junta. The U.S. has made clear to these forces that it is sticking with the junta—period—and that the only way that they are going to get any of the action is to sign up. An election could provide an opportunity to try to bring in some of these forces.

In particular, the idea of elections has been raised in opposition to negotiations involving any or all of the opposition political forces in El Salvador. Elections can be held under the junta's control, with the junta (under U.S. orders as always) deciding who can run, who can vote, what votes are going to be counted, etc. Even before elections are scheduled, the head of the junta's Electoral Council has already cited the "ambience of violence" in the countryside as a basis for excluding most of El Salvador's peasants (who happen to be the majority of the population) from voting—naturally enough especially in those areas where guerrilla forces are based and have the strongest mass support.

Negotiations were rejected as an option in El Salvador long ago by the U.S. Clearly there are pro-U.S. forces in the opposition—like Ungo—that the imperialists would like to be able to sit down and "negotiate" with in an effort to broaden the base of support among

these bourgeois elements for what is a very isolated and therefore none-too-stable junta.

It is also true that the opposition leadership in El Salvador today is heavily laden with pro-Soviet elements, most notably the "Communist" Party of El Salvador (PCS). As things move toward a decisive showdown between the U.S. and Soviet war blocs, the U.S. imperialists are determined not to do anything which might give the Soviets, through their local agents like the PCS, a foot in the door—all the more so in an area the U.S. has long considered and treated as its "backyard."

All of this brings out the complexity

of the struggle in El Salvador in the present international context. Not only is this popular struggle—which has continued to blast away at U.S. domination despite huge amounts of U.S. aid, training and advisors for the junta—a powerful example of one of the streams of revolution currently striking at the imperialists' crisis-ridden empires. But also of significance, it is occurring in a period of intense and intensifying imperialist rivalry and maneuvering, in which both imperialist blocs directly and through their local agents are trying to manipulate the struggle to their own strategic advantage with an eye to the coming global military confrontation.



## In a park in Paris

We just received word that Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, was in a park in Paris and what did he see? Someone wearing the RCVB T-shirt! We knew these shirts were being worn by more and more youth throughout the U.S.—now it seems so internationally!

### CALL TO RCVB READERS—

## Testify in Connection with Bob Avakian's Demand for Political Refugee Status in France

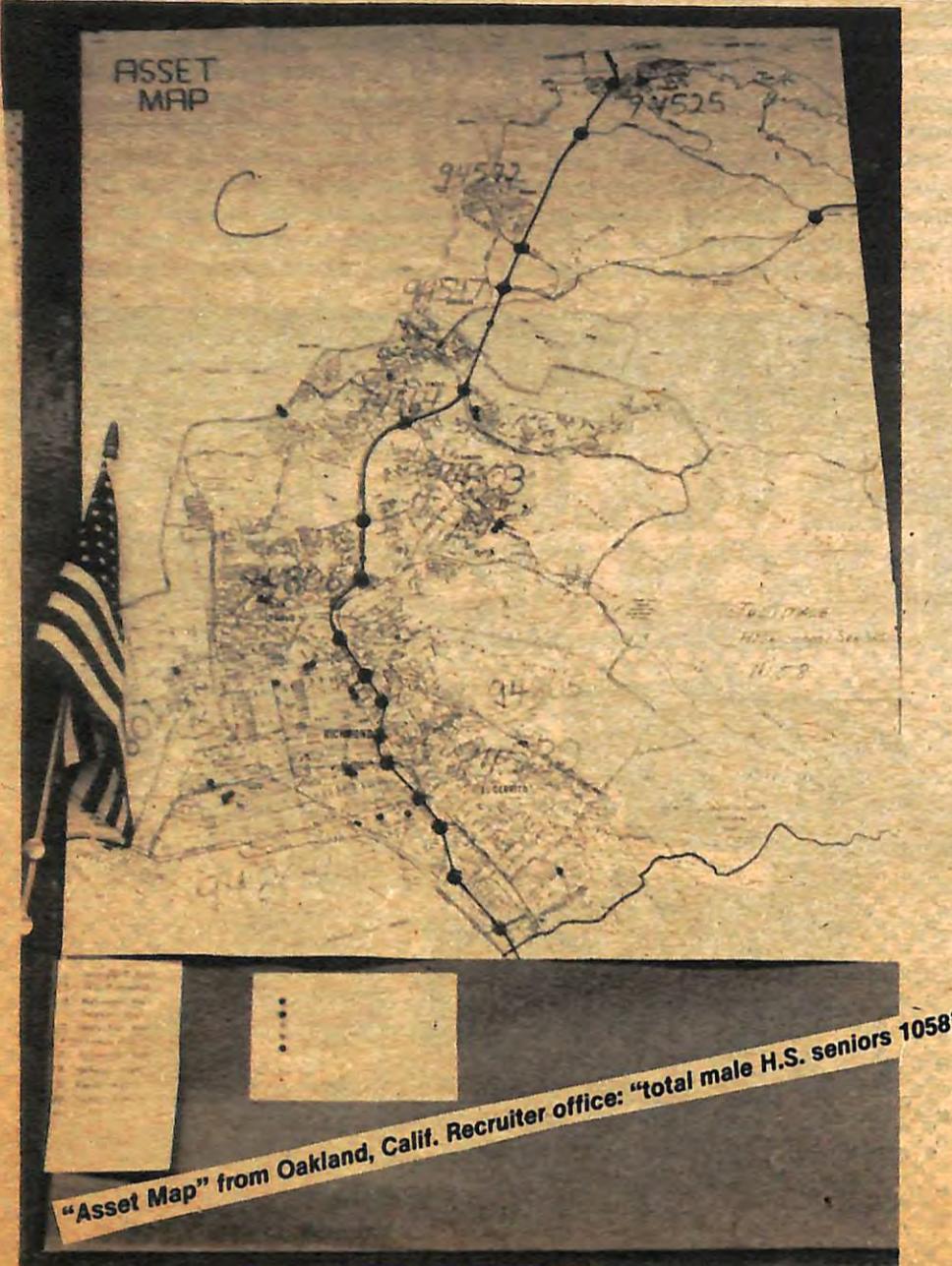
Astounding though it may be, some people are unable—or unwilling—to recognize that the much advertised democracy in the United States is in reality no more than a big joke. This problem will have an important bearing on the procedure involving Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status in France. Already in the initial stages of this process it has been said that political persecution has not been proved—that it has not been established that the difficulties encountered with the authorities of his country of origin (the U.S.) were of political origin, in the sense of the Geneva Convention. As this case now moves into the next and more decisive phase, the RCVB is calling on its readers to provide from their own experience, and to help organize on a grand scale, information and evidence which will clearly demonstrate two basic facts:

1. That the U.S. ruling class (which has been responsible for the war in Vietnam, Pinochet, the Shah of Iran, South Africa, El Salvador and on and on) in fact exercises a vicious repressive dictatorship within the U.S. as well.

2. That, in particular, through its various government agencies (and in cooperation with various "private" reactionary forces) it is carrying out systematic and increasing repression aimed against revolutionaries in the U.S. and specifically against the RCP and its Chairman Bob Avakian.

Statements that illustrate the above two points should be written down and, if at all possible, notarized (this can be done in many cities at banks, currency exchanges, and many other small business offices.) These statements should then be handed over to the local Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants in your area, or if that is not possible, be mailed directly to the National Office of the Committee (P.O. Box 6422 "T" Street Station, Washington, D.C. 20009). If necessary, statements can also be handed over to a regular RCVB distributor. The kind of statements needed are those pertaining to such things as firings and harassments, frameups, brutality, threats, murders, etc. at the hands of police or government agents and especially as these incidents relate to Revolutionary Communist Party members and sympathizers (including people who sell the RCVB) and above all as they relate to Bob Avakian. There is a certain amount of urgency about collecting these statements, and the bulk of them should be in the hands of the National Office of the Committee right away. Please note if your statement could also be used (with or without signature) for publication in the Revolutionary Communist Youth and/or Revolutionary Worker.

# Draft Resisters: “CATCH ‘EM IF YOU CAN”



Wondering how the government plans to get the names of people who were supposed to register for the draft but didn't? While in June the Selective Service System in D.C. told the RCY this kind of thing has not yet been worked out, there are numerous moves afoot at both national and local-state levels to compile lists of “eligible males.”

With much fanfare the SSS announced recently that they had turned over the names of 134 “non-registrants” to the U.S. Justice Department for “possible prosecution.” SSS says they got these names in a variety of ways, especially from mothers of sons who did register sending the SSS the names of neighbors’ sons and friends of their sons who didn’t register. Sound familiar in a weird kind of way? Don’t they always teach students in schools that “Russia is a totalitarian place where people report others for illegal activities, and oh, my isn’t this a horrible thing...” Just goes to show that imperialism is imperialism is imperialism.

Rumors abound that the legal wizkids at Justice will pick a few of the 134 names they get and try to prosecute the hell out of them, not so much to get the particular individuals necessarily, as much as to set an example for the “officially” 30–35% who didn’t register but legally had to this year. They’ve made it clear that they don’t think the problem is that people don’t know they’re supposed to register, but that people don’t want to and don’t think the government has the ability to catch them all. So here comes the latest scare, intimidation, and bluster tactics, mixed of course with the usual dose of patriotism. An example of this can be seen with local state governments which are determined to do their share for war preparations.

In Massachusetts, for instance, the state legislature has been voting on the “Hall Bill.” This bill would require all public schools in the state to sell lists of graduating seniors to military recruiters. These recruiters, as is well known, use the same computers the SSS will (does??), thereby helping to “solve” one of the foremost technical problems plaguing the SSS: how to find out just exactly who are the half-a-million youth who were supposed to register but haven’t.

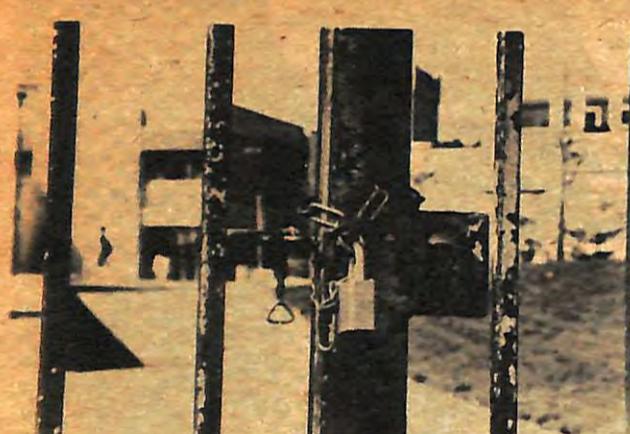
The author of the bill, Rep. Robert Hall, even claims with a straight face that, “This bill is really an anti-draft bill, because anything that helps recruitment for the armed forces lessens the need for a draft.” Sure, and the U.S. Army is in El Salvador to bring peace and freedom to the people there. Hall said he got the idea for the bill from *Marine Gazette*, in the annual readiness report to Congress by the commandant of the Marine Corps.

Dealing with the widespread opposition to not just the draft but registration itself has proved to be quite a task for all the bourgeoisie’s politicians. Yet deal they must, as an essential part of war preparations overall. Other states like California, Pennsylvania, and New Hampshire are taking up similar legislation, as is the Armed Services Committee of the U.S. Congress.

The Hall Bill in Massachusetts is presently sitting in some State House committee (having been passed 20-11 in the State Senate) as the ruling class rep’s maneuver following the popular outrage over the bill and general militarization. Undoubtedly, however, the “requirements of war” will “necessitate” this law as well as others in the overall clampdown on anti-war sentiments and activity throughout the country.

## ONE HIGH SCHOOL’S

## RULES AND REGS



We recently received a copy of the “Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School Student Handbook” and wanted to share some highlights of these rules and regs with our readers. Incidentally, Bethesda and Chevy Chase, Maryland, are populated by middle and upper class sorts, including a lot of government politicians and bureaucrats. It seems that even here there are some problems keeping students “in line.” What’s the world coming to....?

What follows is a list of various topics under the “Discipline Plan.” In the Handbook each is accompanied with a paragraph explanation, only a few of which we’ve quoted.

\* \* \* \* \*

ARSON AND EXPLOSIVE DEVICES  
CHEATING/PLAGIARISM...  
DANGEROUS WEAPONS...  
DESTRUCTION, LOSS, THEFT OF  
PUBLIC PROPERTY, VANDALISM  
DISRUPTIVE CLASSROOM  
BEHAVIOR...  
DRUGS/INTOXICANTS...  
EXTORTION...

FALSE FIRE ALARM...  
FIGHTING...  
FORGING DOCUMENTS...  
GAMBLING...

GRAFFITI...

HALL CONDUCT...

INSUBORDINATION: Insubordination is defined as deliberately questioning or defying the authority of a school official

(teacher, administrator or counselor) or acting in a manner which connotes such defiance. When a school official makes a request of any student it is imperative that he/she comply unless doing so would cause bodily harm or injury, or the request is clearly unreasonable. Failure to do so shall constitute insubordination. Failure to identify oneself to a staff member upon request is insubordination...

INTIMIDATION...

PARKING LOT...

PHYSICAL ABUSE...

PROFANITY; OBSCENITY...

REFUSAL TO IDENTIFY ONESELF  
TO A SCHOOL OFFICIAL...  
SAFETY HAZARDS...

SMOKING...One is considered to be smoking if observed holding a lighted cigarette...or found behind an obstruction from which smoke was observed....

VERBAL ABUSE: Verbal abuse is defined as willfully intimidating, insulting, or in other manner abusing verbally a member of the school staff....

\* \* \* \* \*

Rumor has it that school officials are also toying with the idea of setting up a firing squad or simply the “rack,” to be used at the lunch break on particular “problem students.” Maryland prison officials should be brought in for advice on this matter.

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**3 TO 10 FOR HAMMERING U.S. WAR PLANS**

# VINDICTIVE SENTENCE FOR PLOWSHARES 8

(Reprinted from the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.)

On September 9, 1980, the Plowshares 8 entered a local GE assembly plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, destroying two of the government's prized nosecones for their Mark 12-A nuclear warheads and symbolically pouring blood all over the premises in a powerful exposure of the U.S. rulers' intensifying preparations for nuclear war. Last week after a lengthy kangaroo trial that compounded this exposure, the Plowshares 8 were sentenced. The government exacted its revenge. All received prison terms on charges of burglary and 5-10 year probation terms (to go into effect after the sentences are served) for "criminal conspiracy." The stiffest sentences were meted out to Philip and Daniel Berrigan, Rev. Carl Kabat and John Schuchart, who were given prison terms of 3-10 years. The other four—Molly Rush, Sister Anne Montgomery, Elmer Mass and Dean Hammer—were given sentences ranging from a minimum of 1 1/2 years to 5 years, and all were ordered to pay the prosecution costs for their convictions as well. Sentences for convictions on additional charges of criminal mischief were suspended—the government having made its point.

The harshness of the sentencing was a shock to many around the country for whom this trial has increasingly become an eyeopener—including local townspeople in Norristown, PA where the trial was held, the lawyers, and legal

clerks. The government's early attempts to portray the 8—well known for their pacifist views—as terrorists had run dry and fooled no one. As some 200 supporters who waited on the courthouse steps heard the announcement of the sentence, the reaction varied from open weeping to furious outrage.

While many began to pray and sing, sparks of anger erupted from the crowd. "Down with the judge!" shouted one woman. "Bring that judge down here! No bombs, no war, open up the prison door!" As some attempted to quiet her, she responded, "Unless you get angry, you're always going to get trampled on in this country." Inside the courtroom one supporter stood and shouted, "This sentence is outrageous and I stand in opposition to it!" For once, the bailiffs did not pounce at the first sign of another outburst. After all, as far as the government was concerned, the case was closed.

This case, however, is hardly closed—most especially the case made by the Plowshares 8 against the criminal plans of the U.S. rulers to plunge millions into the inferno of a third imperialist world war, something the 8 have struggled to bring out throughout the trial despite the efforts of the state to cover this all up with every means at its disposal, short of outright binding and gagging the defendants. Significantly, after the government had repeatedly refused to allow the defendants to present expert witnesses—whose testimony on the ef-

fects of nuclear weapons, U.S. war preparations, and other questions could have proved most embarrassing for the U.S. rulers—they suddenly felt compelled to afford two of these witnesses (Dr. Robert Lifton, a Yale professor and a specialist in the psychological consequences of mass destruction, and Dr. Richard Anderson Falk, a Princeton professor and expert on international law) the "right" to testify at the sentencing in a feeble attempt to paper over their heavy-handed conduct of the trial itself. The sentences, however, had already been prepared well in advance during Judge Salus' consultations with a number of his "honorable" colleagues.

During the sentencing procedure, the judge mentioned his extreme displeasure that Daniel Berrigan had travelled to Ireland to express solidarity with the struggle there and attempted to visit Bobby Sands before his death, and that Philip Berrigan had been photographed by the newspapers at a demonstration in Washington. Not only were these actions possible violation of bail terms, Salus explained, but they "show intransigence and a penchant for professional protestations." He went on to make allegations that one of the Plowshares 8 supporters had spat on a juror, that the Plowshares 8 were somehow responsible for the press "harassing" several jurors and that one of the defendants had personally called up and "hassled" one of the jurors as well. When several of the 8 demanded that he corroborate

his charges, he sneered, "I don't have to."

That the government has been particularly wounded and angered by this whole affair was revealed in the vengeful remarks of Judge Salus as he outlined his own "personal choices" for sentencing: "My first choice would be to send all 8 to a leper colony in Puerto Rico and have them minister to the people there. The second choice is to send them to Soviet Russia to make them commit a similar protest to the one they committed here and let them appreciate the democratic system they have...they would certainly end up in Siberia." The judge went on to mandate the prison terms as well as revoking bail in a move that one of the lawyers described as "highly unusual."

As it turns out, Siberia was unnecessary to make the 8 "appreciate the democratic system they have here." Indeed, this was an all-American sentence, and proof that the U.S. rulers wanted to see an example made of the Plowshares 8. The 8 have declared from the outset that it is their accusers who have been on trial. Judge Salus admitted as much stating, "The court is in a no-win situation. The court, the system, the accepted policies, the majority are all on trial here."

"Our aim during the trial," said Philip Berrigan, reflecting the defiant stand of all 8, "was to tell the truth, not to win exoneration or acquittal...GE is not only a corporate pirate, but a corporate war criminal as well."

# 12th "Seditious Conspiracy" conviction Alleged FALN Member Delivers Denunciation of U.S. Imperialism

(Reprinted from the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.)

**Chicago.** "This is not even a trial, it's a kangaroo court. All the people here represent the government and the FBI which has already tried me." With these words Oscar Lopez-Rivera made his opening statement as the defendant in yet another railroad of a Puerto Rican political prisoner, on July 21. "Puerto Rico is a colony by U.S. military conquest. Its people live under military rule, under genocide," continued Lopez-Rivera, an alleged member of the FALN.

Refusing to recognize the authority of the court, he delivered a burning 20 minute denunciation of U.S. imperialism's oppression of the Puerto Rican people: the U.S. government's "birth control" program which has left 40% of the women of childbearing age sterilized; the unemployment rate which stands at 40%; the forced migration of over half the population to the barrios of U.S. cities because there is no livelihood for them on the island. He detailed the plunder of the once self-sufficient Puerto Rican economy by U.S. capital, the expropriation of huge amounts of arable land by the U.S. military while the population can't feed itself, the almost daily bombings of the inhabited island of Vieques, which has been turned into a target practice field

by the U.S. Navy. Lopez-Rivera stated, "I got my military training in Fort Knox and Fort Hood. I served a year in Vietnam. I served in the imperialist military and this is where I first saw people fighting back against imperialism and colonialism." After his statement, Lopez-Rivera refused to participate in the trial.

U.S. Attorney Jeremy Margolis, with sheer hypocrisy, instructed the jury that, "This case is not about equality and opportunity. (Apparently Mr. Margolis feared even mentioning the liberation of Puerto Rico in the court—RW.) It's about the way Lopez went about trying to achieve those goals through armed robbery and armed takeover." However, one of the main charges against Oscar Lopez-Rivera was the openly political charge of "seditious conspiracy." "To oppose by force the authority of the government of the United States...for the purpose of obtaining independence for Puerto Rico" is how the indictment on the seditious conspiracy charge reads. What is this except a bald-faced statement that the real crime here is the "conspiracy" to free an oppressed country from the clutches of U.S. imperialism?

This law had not been invoked in decades until the indictment of Lopez-Rivera and twelve of his comrades here last December. While 11 were tried and

convicted earlier this year, Lopez-Rivera was not arrested until more recently when a racist cop, suspicious of a Latino in the all-white suburb of Glenview, stopped him and ran a check. William Morales, the 13th person named under the indictment, has not been caught. The seditious conspiracy law, conceived as a broad catch-all to convict anyone for revolutionary opposition to the government, has historically been aimed heavily at the Puerto Rican independence movement. This was the charge used to jail the leadership of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party in 1936 and again in 1954 as a means to quell the popular uprisings at that time. But the catch-all phrasing of the law means it can be used very broadly and it was also invoked against the draft resisters of World War I.

As with the previous cases, the trial was a farce from beginning to end. The prosecution in the case relied heavily on the testimony of Alfredo Mendez, one of the 11 alleged FALN members already convicted last December, who has since turned State's evidence in exchange for a lighter sentence. Mendez was extremely cooperative with the government, saying all he had been instructed to say, not only testifying against Lopez-Rivera but also pointing out supporters in the courtroom (thus providing a basis for further government attacks) and telling of a supposed

FALN plot to kidnap Ronald Reagan's son in order to make an exchange for the freedom of the 11 jailed prisoners. In the weeks leading up to this trial there was a flurry of FBI and Secret Service harassment in the Puerto Rican community in Chicago using this supposed plot as a pretext. The main target of this harassment were members of the Movimiento de Liberación Nacional (MLN) which gives political support to the FALN. In a single day six members were visited by the Secret Service. During each visit the government agents were loud and obnoxious in trying to create a scene and provoke incidents. At more than one location they pounded on doors and snorted, "Open up this door or we'll kick your ass!" One woman committee member had to endure the threats of these goons as they shook their finger in her face saying, "Tell your people to leave our man alone." The "man" they were referring to was Reagan.

At the conclusion of the trial, Oscar Lopez-Rivera was pronounced guilty of all charges and the bourgeois press went wild including making a big point of interviewing some backward Puerto Rican masses on TV not only supporting the verdict but opposing the struggle to free Puerto Rico generally. The main thrust of the TV presentations was that such things as fighting for the liberation of Puerto Rico are irrelevant and the movement toward this end is insignificant. However, the very fact that such a big effort was made to make this point on prime time TV is clear proof that just the opposite is the case and that the government is not only well aware of this fact, but is more than a little uptight about it. In Chicago, for example, the demand for independence for Puerto Rico has increasingly been taken up, as evidenced by militant outpourings during recent Puerto Rican Day celebrations. This growing sentiment is one of the reasons for recent waves of police crackdowns in the Puerto Rican community, including the gestapo-style shutdowns of many stores and taverns by the cops. Far from stamping out the struggle of the Puerto Rican people, such actions are only adding fuel to the fire. The imperialists have seen many examples of the "irrelevance" and "insignificance" of the struggle to free Puerto Rico and they are certainly going to see many more. □

# Fear of the ~~12 VOLTS~~ LORD



Kids these days! They just don't have the proper respect for god and religion.

Well one Christian magazine recently found an answer, and a Baptist minister in Michigan couldn't wait to try it out: THE ELECTRIC CHAIR!

He sits'em on a stool charged with 12 volts of electricity and ZAPS'em. Works like a charm.

Now when he says:  
"God wants to speak to you,  
are you listening?"  
Hey! They quiet down!

Of course, all this can't compare with the Main Man himself, the god of the Bible: He's the one who tested Abraham's faith by ordering him to bind his son to a rock, slit his throat, and then burn him. Later "He" got Job's attention by slaughtering his wife, his sons, and his daughters and then giving him boils and sores all over (VD?) So hey, what's all the fuss about 12 volts anyway?



# Decrepit Empire Finds Royal Virgin

former colonies of the "empire the sun never sets on."

So while the Western imperialist press had their biggest media orgy since the hostage release, there was more involved than simple fairytales which "everyone can relate to because it has nothing to do with the otherwise gloomy goings-on in the world." In Britain, for instance, where rebellion has rocked and rattled the already crumbling empire for weeks, the "decline of the family" is a hot issue these days. "Lack of parental authority" and the breakup of the home are being widely blamed by the government and the press for these uprisings of the oppressed. So here comes the perfect family to tout. Prince Charles always respects his momma, you know; actually, he even bows to her. Now wouldn't it be nice if more kids acted like that...

It is difficult to imagine an uglier illustration of the deformed essence of the institution of marriage, stripped of its "modern" make-up than the royal wedding. It gave a clear picture of the real social origins and class function of marriage: securing a male heir; passing down the property and the power; building alliances between propertied families. This royal marriage had the virtue of providing a reminder that marriage too, is not something "above class, above mortality," but an institution that arose with class society, has had a history and will have an end in the future in a deeper stage of humanity's progress, as the roots of the oppression of women are really dug at and as class society itself recedes into the past.

In Britain today, of course, it's not feudal nobility that rules, but the capitalist class in its most moribund and decadent state, imperialism—a class which not only expended its last ounce of revolutionary energy many, many years ago, but has witnessed the collapse of its once mighty empire. Clinging to the shabby remains as viciously as they once plundered the world, gnashing their teeth at the loss, the British ruling class is gripped by a morbid obsession with the past, and a fanatical, neurotic attention to the symbols, the trappings, and the protocol of power.

The monarchy in Britain today is a symbol of the empire of days gone by. Its chief purpose, other than promoting an escapist, fairyland vision of the world, is in trying to pump some jolly good patriotic nationalism in to the minds of the proletarian masses. This is true especially within Britain itself, but it's also true among the vast legions of oppressed peoples in the far-flung

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—from the Introduction to the New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, USA

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# 'Guest Workers,' Deportations, and Racism

## NEW IMMIGRATION POLICY: INTENSIFY SUPER-EXPLOITATION

On Friday, July 31, Attorney General William French Smith unveiled a proposal for a new policy to deal with immigration. As expected, it included a two-year trial plan for bringing in 50,000 Mexican immigrants to legally work in the U.S. on a temporary seasonal basis, as well as what the government is calling an "amnesty" plan. Also included are a much publicized proposal to fine employers who knowingly hire illegal immigrants and a call to have the Coast Guard turn back at sea boats loaded with immigrants bound for the U.S.

The bourgeoisie has been working hard to guide the controversy stirred up by these proposals into two equally reactionary camps: on the one hand portraying this as a continuation of "America's humanitarian tradition of welcoming the poor huddled masses, etc., and on the other hand running out the chauvinist line, raised by Ted Kennedy among others, questioning why tens of thousands of Mexicans should be let in and given jobs when 7 million Americans are unemployed.

The truth is that the only tradition the U.S. is continuing and the only thing they're giving out here is their world famous exploitation. The imperialists are caught on the horns of a dilemma: through the 50s and 60s immigration and the superexploitation of legal and illegal immigrants was one major way they were able to expand their economy and stave off economic crisis. But today the extent of immigration is causing them grave difficulties. Besides this, immigration serves as what the *New York Times* termed "a badly needed economic safety valve for Mexico." In the process of dealing with all these contradictions, the imperialists have tried to use every division their system fosters—like the dissension they sowed in Miami by blaming Haitian and Cuban immigrants for Black unemployment.

Taken as a whole, Reagan's plan tries to steer a precarious middle course between these contradictions. In particular, the new program is an initial attempt to begin to rationalize and regularize immigration from Mexico. This is the significance of the "guest worker" program—which is not at all the same as the European programs it is compared to—as well as the proposal to double the quota on legal immigration from Mexico. Although from a strictly economic viewpoint the imperialists would perhaps fare better by resorting to somewhat more drastic measures, the new plan does not resort to wholesale deportations at this time—although some of its provisions lay a basis for doing this later should it prove necessary. At the same time, sharp attacks are leveled at immigrants and there are attempts to politically weaken the whole proletariat by fanning the most rank racism and patriotism.

### Imperialism and Immigration

Lenin noted that "Capitalism has given rise to a special form of migration of nations. The rapidly developing industrial countries, introducing machinery on a large scale and ousting the backward countries from the world market, raise wages at home above the average rate and thus attract workers from the backward countries." This is intensified manyfold as capitalism develops into the worldwide system of imperialism with the extremely important feature of the division of the world into oppressed and oppressor nations.

What this has meant in the U.S. is that, based on its world domination after WW 2, the expansion of capital in the U.S. both called forth a massive wave of immigration and very much needed it as a condition for further expansion through super-exploitation of foreign born workers in this country. This has resulted in the U.S. today being the largest employer of immigrant labor

in the world.

These immigrant workers are overwhelmingly concentrated in what can be called the lower tier (level) of the economy—in medium and small plants, like electronics, garment, etc., service industries, and agriculture where pay is low, work generally less-skilled and non-union. And it was particularly through the expansion of this tier of the economy—as opposed to the upper tier, with more capital intensive plants, generally higher-skilled and better paying jobs—that the U.S. was able to temporarily offset the economic crisis to the extent that it has. Even so, much of this took place through deepening parasitism, expansion of non-productive sectors of the economy like service and credit institutions, real estate, etc., which laid the basis for even greater cataclysms later. (This division of the economy into two tiers can only be summarized here—for more, see *RW no. 111 "U.S. Immigration Policy—Bloated Beast on the Horns of a Dilemma."*)

In light of this, the U.S. imperialists did not have the same necessity as did the Western European countries to export large numbers of immigrant workers (legal and "illegal"), though this began to be a problem and certainly some form of restriction had to be adopted sooner or later. They even had the flexibility to initially encourage the Vietnamese "boat people" and Cuban refugees to come here for largely political purposes, though the extent of this migration, especially that of Cubans, was not anticipated and has turned out to be a big problem of increasing dimensions for them. All this is now turning into its opposite and forcing a greater emphasis on restricting immigration or face grave economic and political problems. This pressure will increase though the U.S. bourgeoisie still has some room to maneuver here and is still able to offset its crisis somewhat by expansion of the lower tier of the economy.

In addition to all this, the imperialists face the very serious fact that increasing numbers of immigrants come from nations seething with revolution. Applications for political asylum have skyrocketed by five times in the last two years.

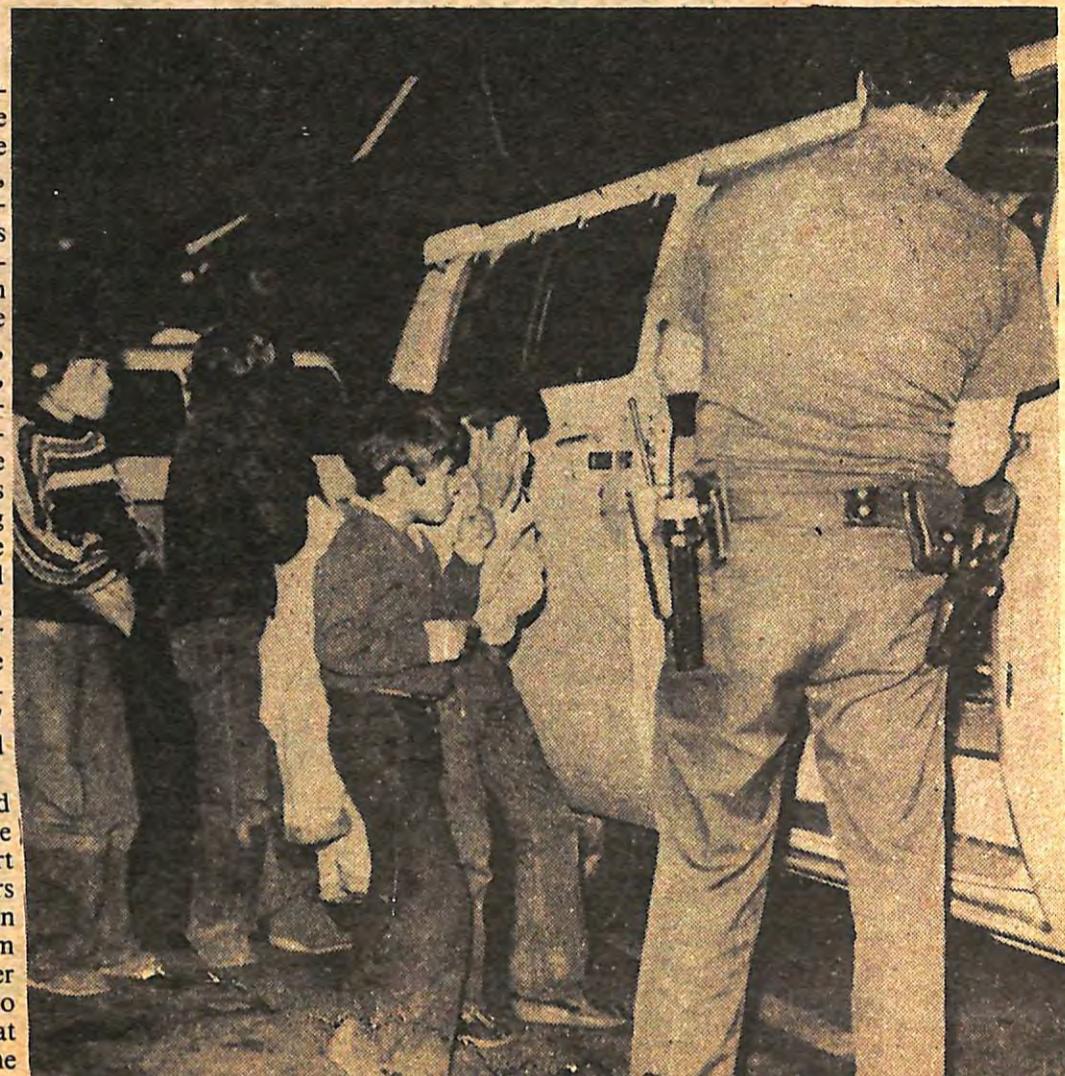
All this—the two-tiered economy and the deepening crisis, the parasitism of the U.S. economy, the need to stabilize Mexico, and the political impact of the immigrants—underlies the new immigration policy.

### Rationalization and Reaction

From the preceding it is clear that what is being referred to as the "guest worker" program is not a duplicate of the European programs which oversaw a massive influx of immigrants. The U.S. rulers aren't really feeling too hospitable towards "guests" these days. What this program does represent is a move towards controlling and directing the seasonal influx of Mexican farmworkers with the government acting as a virtual slave labor contractor. It is this in part that Reagan was referring to when he stated that "a number of our states have special needs, and we should take these into account."

It is also important to note that their highly-touted granting of "asylum" to immigrants already here is not so much a gift as recognizing reality. But here too it is the imperialists' special way of recognizing reality that stands out. To qualify for "asylum" an immigrant must have come to the U.S. before Jan. 1, 1980, must then reside here for 10 years, during which time he is not allowed to bring his or her spouse or children into the country. (It's enlightening to recall that this is the plan of men who never tire of extolling the virtue of the family.) Only then will he be eligible for permanent legal resident status.

This ten years is up from the original



U.S. border patrol, La Migra, deporting Mexicans from San Diego

proposal of five years, which was obviously not a long enough penalty for the imperialists. Immigrants will also be required to pay all taxes, including Social Security, income tax, etc., and will be eligible for almost no benefits—no Medicare, no food stamps or welfare, etc., throughout the ten year period. The sole enticement to come into the program is the hope of some kind of relief from the gestapo-style tactics of the U.S. Migra border patrol—but the imperialists clearly have every intention of keeping their fangs as deep or deeper into the lives of the immigrants.

In contrast, while talking very tough about the plan to impose fines on employers who hire illegal immigrants, this is little more than demagogic fluff, an effort to appear as if their attacks are not directed at immigrants alone, but "even-handedly" at business too. Besides the escape clause that states that to be guilty employers must "knowingly" hire illegal immigrants, such laws have been in existence in a number of states, including California, for years—and you don't exactly need a digital calculator to count the number of wheeler-dealers who've been busted on this. To clue their readers in on this, the *New York Times* quotes food-canning executives, who rely heavily on immigrant labor, stating that they don't think "operations will be hampered" by the law.

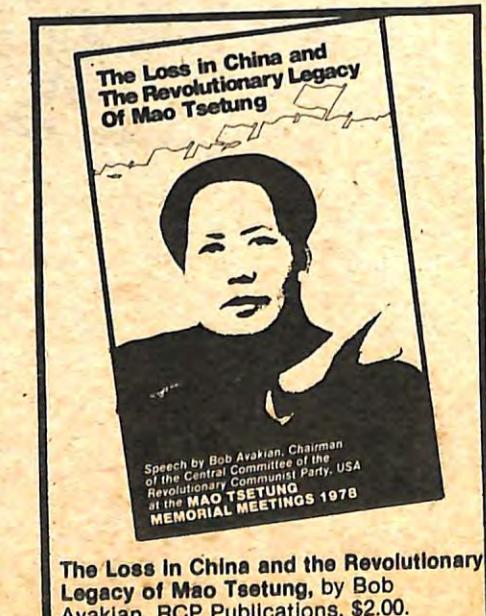
No, they won't—the mailed fist will inevitably be directed, in the time-honored American tradition, straight at the oppressed. The proposal includes \$75 million for border enforcement, including a massive new detention facility and hundreds more border patrol guards.

Much of these more heavy-handed plans are highly political, like the proposal to have the Coast Guard stop boats with immigrants bound for the U.S., hold a hearing on the spot at sea, and then turn them back (no other possible outcome is ever even raised in discussing this issue). The fact that this goes blatantly against established international law which only a few months ago was the object of devout worship by the bourgeoisie is neither relevant nor even mentioned.) The purpose here is not so much to stop the wildly exaggerated Haitian immigration (last year there were only 20,000) as it is

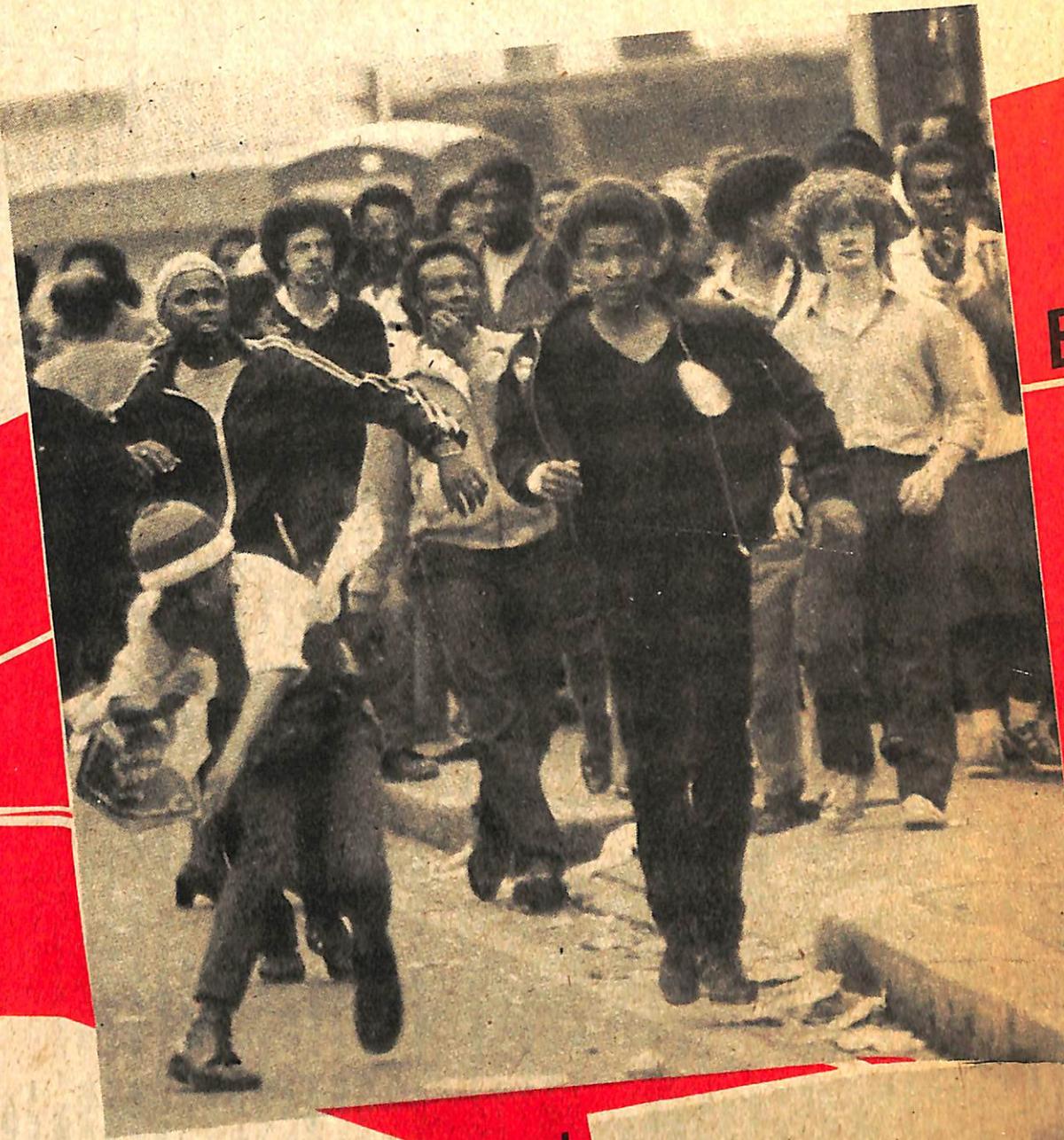
to give teeth to the imperialists' backing of their puppet dictators in the Caribbean region—the only place where boats would really be from, and to cut off the highly embarrassing flight of refugees from such places as U.S.-dominated Haiti.

But whatever steps the bourgeoisie take will ultimately do nothing to resolve the mounting contradictions they face around their immigration problem. Even if, for example, they were able to slow significantly the immigrant flow from Mexico, this would have a dramatic effect on the stability of Mexico, not to mention the immediate political ripples this would have among the masses of Mexican people, Chicano people and others on this side of the border.

As U.S. Attorney General William Smith moaned as he presented the new immigration policy, "We have lost control of our borders." And indeed they have, as capital wrenches people from all parts of the globe, hurling them under the force of severe economic and political compulsion into the advanced industrial states, inevitably battering down barriers of national isolation. This is proving to be a profound curse for the bourgeoisie, but a great strength for the revolutionary movement of this country, for the proletarians of all nationalities, hastening the day when they will unite their ranks to end all national borders, divisions and inequalities.



The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung, by Bob Avakian. RCP Publications, \$2.00.



"To tell the truth, if someone around here saw a policeman on fire they wouldn't even stop to piss on him."  
—a white from Liverpool

England July 1981

"We saw looters of all ages and both sexes. Youths, both black and white, wearing masks tied cowboy style across their faces. The savagery of the pitched battle went beyond anything most experienced observers had ever seen before. The mob screamed, the buildings roared in flames and a hail of missiles beat a non-stop drum roll on the police shield wall. Few mobs can have got so close to a determined police line without faltering at the last. Not so at Toxteth...."

*—from a very freaked out London Times news report*





# HOW MAN CREATED GOD

Continued from p. 5

a kid in school. We used to get an hour out of school to go sit in a portable bus and be filled full of religious propaganda. Now I went, because I'd do anything to get out of school for an hour. So I sat there, and this woman one time she just told us about this big battle they had (I'll never forget this, when I tell you the name you'll know why), they had a thing called the Diet of Worms. I can't even remember the century but it was quite a few centuries after the time that Jesus was supposed to have lived. And the teacher is sitting up there straightforwardly telling us, "Now this book is in the Bible and another one's not in the Bible because see they had this Diet" ("Diet" didn't mean they sat down and ate worms—you see a Diet was a Congress and Worms was the place it was held). They had all these religious leaders at this Diet and the ones that got there first and had the most arms locked the other people out and put the books they wanted in the Bible and left some others out. Now I'm sitting here saying, "This is supposed to be the 'Word of God'—you mean it was decided by who got there first and padlocked the door?!"

So you see this stuff is not the "Word of God"—I'm gonna talk about that a little bit more. If you think about it, and I'll talk about why, it's obvious it's not that, first of all because there ain't no god, but second of all even on its own terms it's obvious it can't be. But this is the way these scriptures got passed down, as legends, as myths, and they finally got written down as formalized legends, and then people battled over which legends they wanted in there because this reflected the politics and the economics of the time in which these religious battles were taking shape. And all these religious battles in society, whether it was the Crusades, which was fought with religious fervour but was fought over who would control certain trade routes, all these religious battles actually had their source, like all ideas and all events in society, in the economic relations of the time and the contending forces.

So this was true also at the time when the legends began to be passed around about the so-called resurrection of this prophet, this messiah, or whatever, Jesus; about the shroud on the third day—by the way, "third day" is very common for resurrections. For the Egyptians it was almost always the third day—there's nothing new about the third day, this was almost lifted directly from some of the earlier Egyptian legends about resurrections. So all this stuff is invested today

when we read it like eyewitness accounts, here was St. Luke sitting there, watching...No, uh-uh. He came a long time later, well, he was one of the earlier ones, but he came long after the deal was over with and wrote it down, if his name was even Luke.

## Wait 'Til the 'Next World'

But anyway, so here was the situation where you have the Jews trying to wage different rebellions and in fact waging rebellions almost daily, especially the masses of Jewish people, not the upper classes, the aristocracy among the Jews who tended to collaborate with the Romans and get what they could out of the deal, just like we see today in various colonial relationships, you know they had their Shahs too among the Israelites of that time. But the masses of people were rising up in rebellion all the time; and they were getting crushed, and they were looking for revenge, they were looking for a way out. But as their rebellions one after the other would get crushed, the idea would grow among them that some kind of deliverance from this was not possible in this world under this Roman empire, but revenge would come from a messiah who would deal with them in the next world. And this is how the Christian thing developed, it developed among the lower classes of people, first of all and most immediately among lower classes or sections of the lower classes, actually a small number of followers among the Jews.

And if we look at what has been historically established as the first book that's written in the New Testament, the so-called *Revelation of St. John*,—now everybody that's ever had anybody knocking on their door about religion has had to hear about *Revelations*, or if you've ever been to work, you had to hear about *Revelations*. Now *Revelations* you understand me is very prophetic, it predicts earthquakes, it predicts that there'll be wars, and other brilliant things that're about as equal to if I stood up here and tell you there's going to be a lot of snow here in Chicago next winter. I mean, you can't walk out the door without having to hear about the book of *Revelations*. Now historical research has established that the book of *Revelations* was written in the year 68 or 69 A.D., that is after the year when Jesus was supposed to have been born. And that has been done on the basis of both indirect analysis and also direct analysis of certain disguised codes, that were put down around certain numbers of the ruler that was ruling in Rome when all this was going on.\*

Now this whole *Revelation* was propaganda/agitation, not the kind we carry out today, but it was propaganda and agitation for an uprising against Rome; this is what it was calling for. You see you talk about the whore that's mentioned in there, the seven heads and all, that was Rome, with its seven hills. But it was all done indirectly because to openly call for an attack on Rome and destruction of Rome would bring a lot of ruin down on you, and people had been trying that and getting crushed. So the whole thing was a disguised agitation and propaganda for Jerusalem, which is mentioned directly, in other words, the Israelites, to rise up and smash Rome, that which is also referred to in the book as Babylon, and the whore of cities and so on.

Now it's ambiguous in there whether this rebellion's supposed to take place in the real world or in the after-world, but increasingly of course it's been interpreted and the most correct or reasonable interpretation is the thing was supposed to happen not in this world but with the coming of the next world, with the second coming and the whole thing that's laid out in there, because people recognized by that time that the Israelites, the Jewish people, were not strong enough to rise up and overthrow Rome, they had tried it many times, so they were going to get their revenge in the next world.

But it wasn't like today, where y'know like the song says, "Pie in the sky by-and-by," it was right at hand. You see this was supposed to happen in the next few years. And if you read and analyze *Revelations*, it's saying that this is going to happen in the next few years, that all this misery and madness is going to be over with because Rome's going to get it when the heavens are going to open. And what's going to happen? There's going to be people saved, and it's going to be, first of all, 144,000 people saved, all of them are going to be Jews, they're going to be the first ones in line. Then other people can come next. Now see this makes very clear that at this time, that was the first book of the New Testament, the first Christian documents that have been retained in the Bible, so it's very clear that this was at this time still a sect and a small sect that existed among Jewish people almost entirely. And we'll talk a little about how it developed beyond that in just a little bit. But this is what was being called for, and being predicted then. If you look at other sections of the Bible it's very contradictory, sometimes it says "the kingdom of God is at

hand"—and I used to love it, man, when I went to church, because I'd always try to understand this stuff: "It's harder for a rich man to get to heaven than a camel to go through the eye of a needle." And I tell you, the people in my church, some of them were rich, so they had an elaborate explanation for that one, I won't bother to go into it—but man, this "at hand" stuff got out of hand. It got to be interpreted: "Well at hand, you've got to think in God's terms, that might be thousands of years." But the book of *Revelations*, no, it was talking about right then...it predicted it in terms of who was going to see it, it all had to do with...well, I can't go into all of it...it had to do with Nero who had been killed but there was a legend going around that he actually hadn't been killed, but only wounded, and according to *Revelations* he was supposed to reascend the throne and that would be the time when the whole deal would go down because Nero was a big persecutor of Christians and what better timing. So this was supposed to happen right quick, see, not some time in the sweet by-and-by thousands of years from now.

But it didn't happen. In fact, among the Jews, there were at that time people who organized themselves for rebellion against Rome called the Zealots who existed during the lifetime of Jesus and also afterwards, and they attempted, right about that time—and this shows you that *Revelations* was the actual reflection of what was going on right at the time and not some godly "word" brought down through the scribes or what have you—about that time the Zealots did attempt an uprising and were smashed. And this was sort of like a last death kick of an attempt on the part of the people of Israel to get out from under Roman domination.

So after this, after the time called for in the book of *Revelation* and after the suppression of the Zealots and others, as time passed, the Christian religion became increasingly passive and later books that are set down in the gospels and the acts of the apostles and all these other things become increasingly passive, become increasingly ones that project a patient attitude toward the future salvation in another world, and not to expect it so soon and to submit to the temporal, to the earthly authorities over you and to go along with them. So you find in some of the gospels the thing: render unto Caesar that which is Caesar's and unto god that which is god's. Pay your taxes. Pay your taxes, don't rebel against it, but keep the faith because some day all this shit will be turned around.

You see, that's why the Bible is so contradictory because some of the earlier scriptures that were written when the idea of an early redemption—perhaps on this earth, but certainly a quick redemption in the next world—when these ideas were still alive, there was a lot more fire. Revolution—I mean, *Revelations*—see, it's almost revolutionary, it's full of fire—but a lot of the other stuff that comes in later, not so much fire.

## How A Sect Grew

And what happened increasingly is that Christianity had to deal with the fact that if it was going to spread it had to spread among more than just the small number of Jewish followers that it had. It had to spread among the other people of Rome who'd been crushed down and leveled and oppressed under the domination of Rome. And so, you see, for example, if you read the *Epistles* of the apostle Paul, the letters he wrote to the different churches, some of which are real and some of which are almost certainly forgeries—but if you read them, they were written by somebody having to do with the Christian religion and that's the important thing—because I don't care if Paul wrote them or not, it doesn't make any difference. But the point is that these things began to talk very directly about this contradiction, I mean, it's all in this early language and a lot of it is deliberate double-talk to conceal the politics that's going on, but what is going on here is a struggle that he's waging about the question of gentiles and Jews and whether only Jews can be followers of this religion or whether other people can—the whole question of circumcision comes in, if you check over these *Epistles*, you'll see this (I'm not telling people they have to read the Bible but there's nothing to fear in reading it, in fact if you have a Marxist understanding, you'll learn a great deal from it).

So I think that if you check these out, you'll see that there was a struggle being initiated and carried out here by Paul to say that the Christians got to go spread out more among other people, they can't restrict themselves to Jews because they're not going to be able to survive that way. Because you see the early Christian settlements were suppressed under Rome and they were considered seditionary, treasonous and what have you. They were persecuted and also in order to survive they had to carry out a very primitive, kind of communalistic way of life. And you will see passages in the Bible, for example, in one of the gospels, I can't remember which, but one of them, it says that basically Jesus gets mad because somebody says I'll follow you after I go say good-bye to my folks, he says, if you're going to do that forget it, come with me right now. See, this was a fanatic. This was a fanatical sect, because they had to be survive.

And the reason that they survived is an accident of history, it might have been some other guy—we might be today, instead of calling it "Christianity," might be "Barbalooconon." See, it might have been some other prophet named Barbaloocon, it might be Barbalooconism that we would be having to read about today. But the Christians were organized, they managed

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**REBELLION**

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

"Communists are, in their essence, innovators and most of all rebels...." In this letter to his parents, Bob Avakian discusses Philosophy, Religion, Morals and Continuous Revolution. He points out that revolutionaries must lead continuous rebellion against all things old and reactionary and guard against "settling in." "If you're afraid of losing what you've got—and this goes for state power, too—then how can you be a revolutionary!"

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\*At that time, Jewish religious writers assigned each letter in their alphabet a number, which was supposed to have some sort of divine significance. The numbers that correspond to the letters of the Roman emperor Nero's name add up to a total of 666—the same number which *Revelations 13: 16-18* says is "the number of the name" of the beast which was to arise at the time of the events called for or predicted, the "second coming," etc.—RCY

# How Man... Continued from p. 16

to survive by very stringent measures, by sharing what they had, if rich people were among them, as some came later they had to at least give people food, at least give people the common meal. Sharing a meal so that people would have their basic necessity to live taken care of was a basic requirement of the early Christian communities. And as it developed you'll see that Paul and these other leaders were also saying, "Hey, you've got to support us. We've got to go around and spread the faith, you can't expect me to work, I've got to go out and agitate, so when I come into your ranks, give me something to eat."

So this is how they went on to spread their religion out. And Paul said, "We've got to set aside all this narrowness, all this Jewish only sect, because we can't survive unless we get followers from all over." And in fact there was a basis for them to bring followers from all over, because the monotheistic, the one-god, religion was in fact a thing that could take root as I've said because these other national gods had proved their worthlessness, and therefore there was a basis for them with a tight organization, surviving the persecution—not owing to the grace of some supernatural being but owing to their own efforts, they were able to go out and begin to recruit followers, first among the slaves, or the poor people hanging around with no work in the cities, the people who were the ancient proletarians, different from us today, but people without any property in the Roman empire as it decayed. These people took up this religion, and gradually so also did the upper classes of Rome. You know you can only carry on this decadence for so long, you can only go through these orgies and all the rest of this until, you know Engels once wrote "after the debauchery comes the blues"—and people can only engage in this debauchery for so long until it gets empty, they want something else. So even among the upper classes people started being drawn to this very ascetic, this very austere but very disciplined and seemingly purposeful life that these Christians were carrying out. And as more and more well-to-do people in the Roman empire began to come into the religion, the religion began to accommodate itself to these people in order to win more followers.

Now earlier it had done this in relation to people from other nationalities, (and it continued to do this), who still had some remnants of belief in their own so-called pagan god—you see a pagan god is the one that somebody else believes in, not yours, everybody else's is pagan no matter who you are. Those are the infidels. Well anyway, these so-called pagans, these people who believe in their own national gods or still maybe said, "I have one foot here and one foot there; you've got to keep a little bit of faith in the old national gods," in order to accommodate the remnants of sort of a belief in more than one god, the Christians were slick—they came up with the saints. So you can have one god but you can still have the saints come marching in. And this is the way they accommodated themselves to these different religions, to the people who say, "OK, I can dig this mono—whaddya call it—theism stuff, but I don't

know, man, maybe we should have a few others just in case." So they kept the saints; see this is the way they dealt with that.

## Did God Change His Tune?

Well also when they started to get the more well-to-do people in, then they had to accommodate them, they had to tone down all this stuff about the rich man can't get to heaven more easily than a camel going through the eye of a needle. So you will find that while that's in *Luke*—which is the first gospel written, though it doesn't appear first in the scriptures, it's the first one written—it's not in some of the other gospels. And here a question arises which I think anyone who wants to promote religion and particularly the Christian Bible has got to answer. Now supposedly this is the "Word of God" dictated. And yet you got two gospels of the life of Jesus, or four of them really, and all of 'em have got different versions. How come they got different versions of the same event if they're all dictated by god?

For example, you take the Sermon on the Mount—now that's where all the "blessed's" came, "blessed are this, for they'll do this and that," right? Now you look at *Luke*, that's the first one, when the religions was still mainly among the poor people: "Blessed are the poor," see? Then you get down to *Matthew*, which comes a little later: "Blessed are the poor in spirit." You see? And all the fire and thunder and damnation against the rich people is watered down or taken out of *Matthew*—it's in there in *Luke*, but you won't find it in *Matthew* and some of the later ones, or it'll be watered down and you'll find contradictory things, some condemnation of the rich and some things that let'em off the hook.

And why is this? Because—well, I think it's fair to say this—that we have every right not to believe in a god, or a so-called god, that's supposed to dictate scriptures, and either can't remember what he said from one saint to the next, or else is such an opportunist that he'll change it to get rich people. Now we got every right to say that's no god, that's *people*, trying to get followers, and changing their tune to try and bring in other people and accommodate them to the religion. Because if it's god he shouldn't forget, he's supposed to be all-knowing. Now I'm sure they got some reason for that, he did that so you'll have to struggle your whole life to figure it out. But after a while even the most credulous believer, even the most blind follower has got to stop and think what is going on here, how come it condemns the rich in *Luke*, but don't condemn them so hard in *Matthew*? How come the same...This is supposed to be the Sermon on the Mount, by the Son of God, one of the Three of the Trinity—and yet they can't even get the same version down in two gospels?!...No, something's wrong.

And this tells us very clearly, this, the Bible, is not the embodiment of god's word, it's created by people as they're struggling in society and carrying out religious activity as part of that struggle. And so we see, in the fourth century, in the early part of the fourth century, as many of the legions, the troops of Rome, were won over to this Christian religion, because there was nothing else that could provide any kind of a vision of a way out....Just like you see today. I knew this guy, he

got shot and killed later on in a petty gangland fight, he was a friend of mine from high school, he had no future and he got crushed by the time he was thirty, he got shot in a bar and bled to death. But about five years before that I went to talk to him, and, he'd been everything, he'd been a little bit of a junkie, he'd been a pimp, and his family wasn't together...and I went to see him. He had a nice apartment and had his wife and his son with him, and he was into the Jehovah's Witnesses, told me all about the 144,000, I think they practice that, but anyway he was in there with the 144,000. He was telling me about this. And so I asked him why? He'd never been particularly religious. And he said, "Look man, I've been through dope, I've pimped, my family's been wrecked, I'm trying to get my life together."

How many people do you know like that, see? Because this world's such madness and they don't see a way out yet. Well that was the same thing happening in Rome in many ways. So a lot of the soldiers, too, were turning towards this new religion, which had such fanatical followers and was spreading. And so if a general or if a ruler wanted to ensure the loyalty of his troops, the slickest thing he could do was to take this religion over himself and make himself the head of it, which is exactly what the Emperor Constantine did, and officially inscribed Christianity as the official religion in the fourth century.

Well by this time, all the early kind of primitive communistic tendencies, the sharing tendencies—which were bound to be crushed and bound to be wiped out anyway because they didn't rest on any economic foundation of society that could support them in the long run, because the basis for classes to be eliminated had not yet come into the world by a long shot—all these tendencies were on their way out if not long gone, or only remnants, like alms-giving, charity, like Rockefeller does, this was what was left of those early tendencies. And this became a religion of the state, became increasingly the religion of plunder. And down through the ages since that time, the Christian religion, like others, like all others in the world, has fundamentally and overall been waved as a banner and used as a means to incite the masses of people and to win the populace to go out and carry out the will of the ruling classes for exploitation and plunder, and at the same time to keep the masses of people in a passive position, looking to the next world, and enslaved in this world under the humiliating and degrading conditions that they're forced to endure.

And this has been the history of Christianity since that time, and of course it's had an immense influence, because the Roman empire had an immense influence. It spread over much of what is today Europe and other parts of the world as well. So naturally a religion which was officially promoted by the state was handed down and it had tremendous influence over the whole Western world and other parts of the world, and continues to play an extremely reactionary role in the world. It's a major chain, a major weight on the back of the people and a chain around their minds, to keep them enslaved and chained to the economic and political slavery and political rule of the ruling forces in society.

# Israel... Continued from p. 3

tions" being floated such as some kind of "Palestinian entity" on the West Bank (probably under Jordanian guardianship). Even such publications as the *New York Times* have now on occasion taken to calling the PLO as a "guerrilla organization," as opposed to their usual and historic term of "terrorists."

Still it is essential to keep in mind that any decision that the PLO leadership's cooperation with the U.S. is desirable or necessary goes hand in hand with bringing the bludgeon of military force and the threat of destruction to bear against the PLO as the alternative to such "cooperation." A dialectic is in play when the U.S. restrains Israel and dangles hints to the PLO: should the PLO not respond "responsibly" by distancing itself from the Soviet Union, disciplining radical factions, moderating its demands, etc., then it can be counted on that "restraint" will be followed by a new wave of terror. It is this dialectic which permeates U.S. imperialist diplomacy in the region generally.

While it is clear that the Reagan administration objected to the Beirut raid on political, world strategic, grounds, the overall objective of the Israeli operation—which continued for several days following Beirut, and ended in a ceasefire only when Israel had determined that it had done about as much damage as possible—cannot be seen as contrary to U.S. policy, but rather an inherent part of it.

## The Lie of "Tiny, Democratic" Israel

Tremendous efforts have gone into creating and propagating this lie—that Israel represents a "cultured, civilized"

national of liberal, idealistic people, founded on the highest principles of democracy, born of a struggle to escape the nightmare of the holocaust, plunged into a new and heroic struggle for survival. There was a time when this used to have considerably broader acceptance, when history was re-written by movies like *Exodus*, and in the U.S. there was hardly ever a mention of the Palestinian people in their millions driven from their homes by Zionist terror squads.

On the face of it, this myth is racist and reactionary as hell: the white Europeans made the "desert bloom," and backward Arabs are "jealous and envious," used to be the way the story went. But the truth of the matter is that the Zionist leaders of Israel, from its inception, have been some of the world's most despicable butchers, officially proclaiming a doctrine of white supremacy, enforcing a hideous system of caste oppression even against non-European Jews, and carrying out a policy of genocide against the Palestinian Arabs no different in principle from that of the German Nazis with whom the Zionists secretly collaborated during World War 2—collaborated to stop resistance in German-occupied Europe so as to divert Jews toward their scheme of seizing a state on the land of Palestine.

The depths of murderous depravity in which the Zionist state was born and propped up, beginning with the terror unleashed against inhabitants of Palestine to clear the way for Zionist expansion and the establishment of the Israeli state are almost beyond adequate description. It has also been documented that an important goal of the European settlers was to force the migration to Palestine of large numbers of Middle Eastern and oriental Jews to fill the menial jobs and provide a cheap labor

force to do the dirty work involved in "making the desert bloom." To incite migration, Israeli commando units—the descendants of the Irgun terrorist organization headed by now-prime minister Menachem Begin during the 1940s—carried out a series of bombings and massacres of oriental Jews in various Arab countries, while spreading rumors of impending pogroms against Jews and offering free transportation to Israel as a "safe haven for all Jews."

Israel's long-standing alliance and cooperative arrangements with South Africa is no "bizarre mismatch," but a perfect match—South Africa being another "bastion of Western civilization" amidst the "ignorant savages." Each has played specific roles for Western imperialism as agents of unrestrained barbarism and dispensers of terroristic "law giving," while relieving the U.S. of the responsibility of getting directly involved. Only Israel's cover has been a little more in tact.

More and more, however, as Israel's sickening atrocities pile up, the Zionists and their U.S. imperialist apologists have had to resort to the bottom line—that "anything they do is just fine, because there can never be another holocaust." Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Dayan went to Vietnam in the 1970s to advise the Thieu regime in counter-insurgency "so there will never be another holocaust." Israeli jets napalm

Palestinian settlements—"remember the holocaust." Israel and South Africa jointly conduct nuclear tests—to prevent a future holocaust." This has been the nature and practice of the Zionist state of Israel in the service of Western imperialism all along, and its current actions are in now way fundamentally inconsistent with that role under today's

conditions. In particular, they are not a question of policies of the Begin regime, but flow from the needs of imperialist empire.

## "Overriding 'Strategic Interests' of U.S. Imperialism"

In early June, Israeli jets streaked 600 miles across Jordanian and Saudi Arabian air space to conduct a massive strike against—and destroy—a nuclear reactor facility only a few miles outside the Iraqi capital of Baghdad. This was a clear warning from the U.S. itself to the Iraqis, get in line in the U.S. war bloc, or else...delivered by its Israeli messenger boy.

A consensus within the U.S. imperialist ranks gave the green light to the Iraqi raid, despite some misgivings and the risks entailed, principally because it was calculated that the bourgeois Arab regimes, while they would condemn it publicly, would be privately very pleased; and because it was necessary to make clear to Iraq that the chief bully in the region was in fact to be Israel. The "wrist-slap" nature of the U.S. response to this incident bears out the U.S. approval of the bombing of Iraq. No such benefits, though, attended the raid on Beirut, and the possibility that Begin, Prime Minister in Israel, had more such bright ideas in store caused the U.S. imperialists to tighten the Israeli leash.

Even more important, though, is that behind every U.S. move must be the bomb and the bayonet; the more desperate the U.S. becomes, the more prominent becomes the instrument of naked terror as not only the foundation, but the raw reality, of imperialist diplomacy. And all this activity is increasingly being judged by how it fits into the developing contradictions on a world scale—especially the U.S.-Soviet imperialists' world showdown.

# Proletarian Siege...

Continued from p. 7

coming to the fore to pull together more planned assaults on more politically significant targets.

While the masses who participated reflected a broad range of political consciousness, the more politically advanced and experienced have played an important role in fanning the flames of people's hatred for British imperialism and leading people forward. And of great importance, the struggle in Northern Ireland, as well as everywhere internationally, has had an important effect in sparking this upsurge of struggle.

## Liverpool and Manchester

In Liverpool, the rebellions were sparked when cops stopped a black youth on "suspicion of stealing a motorcycle," part of their nightly routine of enforcing national oppression in the Toxteth slum, as well as their general control and suppression of the masses—including many white working class youth—in an area where the streets are filled with large numbers of unemployed. Within minutes a crowd formed and began a battle with cops that lasted nine hours and left 70 cops battered and limping to ambulances.

But that was only the beginning. What followed was described by a horrified bourgeois observer in the *Times*: "Toxteth in the early hours presented an awful picture of anarchy...We saw

looters of all ages and both sexes. Youths, both black and white, wearing balaclava masks and handkerchiefs and black plastic bags tied cowboy style across their faces rushed up to within yards of lines of police to hurl petrol bombs, bricks, bottles and links of uprooted iron railing at the police shields. Some involved were only children....The lines were forced apart until the greater length of Upper Parliament Street was left in the control of the rioters....The savagery of the pitched battle went beyond anything most experienced observers had ever seen before. The mob screamed, the buildings roared in flames and a hail of missiles beat a non-stop drum roll on the police shield wall. Few mobs can have got so close to a determined police line without faltering at the last. Not so at Toxteth....A commandeered cement mixer was used as a battering ram, driven into police ranks....The retreat began, foot by foot, the police taking their injured with them...."

In the northern industrial city of Manchester, during the second night of the rebellions, a crowd of more than a thousand black and white youths chanting anti-police slogans surrounded a police station, pelted it with rocks and bottles and smashed the windows in with crowbars. Hundreds of youth, some using CB radios for communications, moved through the boroughs of Man-

chester battling police in what were described by police as "simultaneous and well-coordinated attacks."

In the midst of the riots, the British rulers and the press started comparing the situation to the urban rebellions of the 1960s in the U.S. Excerpts from the report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence in the United States were printed in British newspapers. And the Labor Party especially has been throwing around much of the liberal rhetoric from the 60s, with talk of crumbs for riot-torn areas in the form of money for jobs, housing, education and so forth. But while there may be some crumbs coming in the aftermath of the rebellions, as part of a package of carrot and stick, this was mainly a case of rhetoric. The British bourgeoisie is well aware that the 1980s are not the same at all as the 1960s for imperialism. There are few crumbs there to give as the social conditions for the masses of people continue to deteriorate. In England things are in an advanced state of decay.

Between summer 1979 and fall 1980, total manufacturing fell by an unprecedented figure of something like 14%, a rate higher than the 1930s Depression. Whole towns and communities had the rug pulled out from under them, and thousands have been thrown onto the unemployment lines. While unemployment has almost doubled in Britain to over 11%, the general rate in Liverpool is 17%—and in particular districts like Toxteth white unemployment is 43%. For blacks the figure is 47%, and for youth more like 60-70%. Thousands hang out on the streets lined with rotting, burned out

buildings and rubble, subject to constant abuse and harassment by police whose function it is to control these "outcast" strata. And these conditions are not different from those in a host of other English cities.

National oppression in Britain has grown increasingly severe. General living conditions are the worst of the worst. In addition to the daily police harassment and terror unleashed on the immigrant communities, organized racist groups like the National Front are being unleashed more and more frequently amid widespread calls from many quarters in the bourgeoisie to "send the immigrants home." Certainly liberal calls for better "race relations" can do nothing about all of this (in fact, "race relations" on the battle lines have never been better!).

In short, the problems facing England are not simply high unemployment, lousy housing, mean police or "racial tensions." The problem is that the whole set-up is worthless and is sinking every day. This is not like the 1960s, a time when imperialism had more material and political reserves to call upon to cool things out. The horror and dismay expressed in the British rulers' shrieks at the "greed and ferocious violence of collective madness" sweeping England is a reflection of their very weak position—and their moves to expand their repressive apparatus is a reflection of their recognition—and fear—of worse still to come.

The festival of riots in Britain provided another important glimpse at the real opportunities for revolutionary advances in the imperialist countries themselves in the period ahead.

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## PLEDGE OF INTERNATIONALISM

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We will not shoot down the people of other lands in the service of those who rule the United States today. This we proudly and loudly pledge to the world's people at a time when the war preparations of the U.S. and Soviet imperialists are more than ever gear. We shall clearly see that World War 3 is exactly what's on the agenda for these two superpowers, and that this is why draft registration is here and why the draft and bootcamp assignments won't be far behind.

We will never become star-scrambled American patriots—we are INTERNATIONALISTS!

We have no country, we just live here. We do not own the giant companies, the banks, the land in the U.S. and Soviet Union. We are the people of the world. Imperialism will expand its dictatorship of corporate empire over the vast majority of people living within the borders of the U.S.

We are one with the masses of people worldwide in battle against imperialism, headquartered today in the U.S. and USSR. We support all struggles against imperialism as our own because they are our own. We are not interested in the "treats" the U.S. imperialists offer us their "own people," which come directly from their bloody domination of foreign markets and peoples.

We have no desire to "Keep America Number 1." We welcome each and every defeat the U.S. suffers. We laugh straight in the face of decadent American Legionnaires who wheeze and pant as American choppers eat desert sand in Iran. "You must restore America to her rightful place in the world." We will never submit to pleas for "National Unity, especially in times of trouble." We will strike hardest precisely at those who profit.

We will not answer their hideous calls to attack the people, here or around the world. We will be used to further their modern-day piracy by dropping their human-incinerator nukes from 60,000 feet, by occupying other lands so that "God's chosen rulers," the rulers of the U.S., can maintain and expand their power and control over vast sections of the world, by raping and robbing "the poor" to help spread the American way of life, while the Wall Street bankers and Houston oil kings sit locked in velvet-lined bomb shelters, "so there will be somebody left to run things."

Their frantic war cries echo hollow in our ears: this

is the third time this century when imperialist powers have sought to rally their slaves beneath national flags to lead them to war under the slogan "Our flag! Our flag!" It is the flag of the international working class, and of revolution. Those who raise the red flag are part of another army, the army made up of every nationality on every continent whose message is: the working people of the world have everything in common with each other, and nothing in common with the imperialists.

We will be inside and outside the imperialist military machine, the government of all nations, hidden and yet everywhere. We, the prisoners of capitalist society, will seize the ever growing opportunities presented to us—because the imperialists will be stretched to the limit internationally—to influence and arouse millions to put an end to this periodic global genocide the only way possible: end the problem by ending the source.

War lays bare the essence of this system. All the ugly features of our society will be laid bare in "peaceful times" become blatantly clear in war. We pledge to use their war preparations and the war itself to help people wake up, to jolt people out of mere obedience or at least keep on keeping-on.

We will be told to go off and fight Russian soldiers no different than ourselves, except that they have been bombarded with the poison of patriotic Russian instead of English, and called to carry out the criminal tasks of the ruling class. We will be told to shoot down rebellions of people fighting to be free in this country, like the one recently in Miami. We will be told to clamp down on anyone who does not go along with the program, "USA All The Way." But, we will not shoot our brothers and sisters!

When the overlords of industry put guns in soldiers' hands, we will teach the soldiers which way to aim these guns and when.

We do not agree with "All generations have to go to war." The nation sooner or later, and that now is our turn. We've got other plans in mind because our war is here at home.

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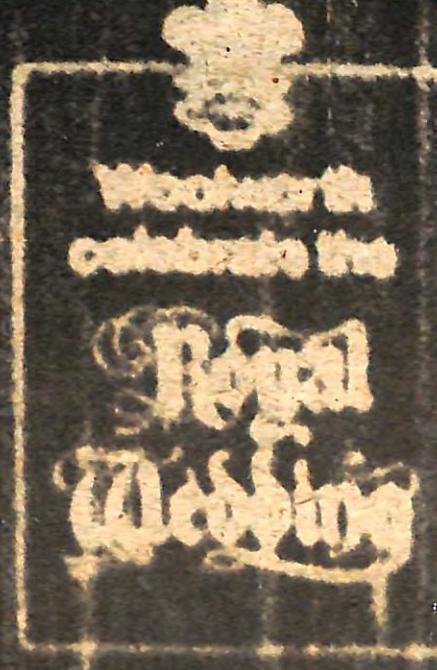
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# Sentencia Vengativa para Plowshares 8

El 9 de septiembre de 1980, los Plowshares 8 entraron a una fábrica de GE en King of Prussia, Pennsylvania y destrozaron dos de los conos premiados de los cohetes nucleares Márk 12-A del gobierno y simbólicamente echaron sangre por todas partes de la propiedad lo que poderosamente puso al descubierto los preparativos agudizantes de los gobernantes EU para una guerra nuclear. Después de un juicio farsante de larga duración que multiplicó este desenmascaramiento, los Plowshares 8 fueron sentenciados la semana pasada. El gobierno EU extrajo su venganza. Todos recibieron sentencias de cargos de robo y libertad probatoria de 10 a 15 años por "conspiración criminal". Phillip y Daniel Berrigan, el Rev. Carl Kabat y John Schuchart recibieron las sentencias de más duración de 3 a 10 años. Los otros cuatro, Molly Rush, Hermana Anne Montgomery, Elmer Mass y Dean Hammer, recibieron sentencias de un año y medio a 5 años y todos están obligados a pagar los costos de la prosecución de sus convicciones también. Se suspendieron las sentencias para los cargos adicionales de malicia criminal—el gobierno ya ha logrado su objetivo.

La severidad de las sentencias fue una sorpresa para muchos a través del país para quienes este juicio abrió sus ojos—inclusive los residentes locales,

abogados y oficinistas legales. Los intentos tempranos del gobierno para presentar a los 8—bien conocidos por su orientación pacifista—como terroristas habían parado en seco y habían engañado a nadie. Mientras 200 apoyantes quienes esperaron en las escaleras de la corte oyeron el pronunciamiento de la sentencia, la reacción varió de lamentos abiertos a indignación desenfrenada. Mientras muchos comenzaron a cantar y rezar, chispas de furia brotaron de la multitud. "¡Abajo con el juez!" gritó una mujer. "¡Saca ese juez p'acá! ¡No bombas, no guerra, abre las puertas de la cárcel!" Mientras algunos trataron de calmarla, ella contestó: "Si no se enfurecen siempre van a pisotearnos en este país!" Dentro de la corte un apoyante se levantó y gritó: "Esta sentencia es un ultraje y me opongo. Esta vez los corchetes no saltaron contra el primer indicio de otro estallido. Después de todo, según el gobierno, ya se acabó el caso.

Este caso, sin embargo, apenas ha terminado—más especialmente el caso de los Plowshares 8 contra los planes criminales de los gobernantes imperialistas EU para gastar millones para el infierno de una tercera guerra mundial imperialista, algo que los Plowshares 8 han tratado de esclarecer durante el juicio, a pesar de los esfuerzos del Estado por encubrir todo esto que

utilizó todos medios disponibles menos descaradamente enlazarlos y amordazarlos. Notablemente, después de que el gobierno repetidamente ha negado dar permiso a acusados para presentar testigos expertos—cuyo testimonio sobre los efectos de armas nucleares, preparativos bélicos EU y otras cuestiones que podrían ser más embarazoso para los gobernantes EU—repentinamente fueron obligados dar el "derecho" de testificar a dos de estos testigos (Dr. Robert Lifton, profesor de Yale y un especialista de las consecuencias psicológicas de destrucción abrumadora y Dr. Richard Anderson Falk, un profesor de Princeton y un experto sobre la ley internacional) en un intento débil para disculpar su conducta imperiosa en el juicio mismo. Las sentencias, sin embargo, ya habían sido preparadas bien en avanzado durante las consultas del Juez Salus con un número de sus colegas "honorables".

Durante el proceso de sentenciar, el juez mencionó su disgusto extremo sobre el hecho que Daniel Berrigan había viajado a Irlanda para expresar su solidaridad con la lucha. Aún había tratado de visitar Bobby Sands antes de su muerte, y que Phillip Berrigan había sido fotografiado por los periódicos en una manifestación en Washington. Estas acciones no sólo fueron unas posibles violaciones de los reglamentos de fianza explicó Salus sino "mostraron la

(Este artículo viene del Obrero Revolucionario, voz del Partido Comunista Revolucionario.)

intransigencia y una inclinación para protestas profesionales". Siguió alegando que uno de los partidarios de los Plowshares 8 había escapado en un jurado, que los Plowshares 8, de alguna manera, fueron responsables por el "fastidiamiento" de varios jurados por parte de la prensa y que uno de los acusados personalmente había llamado y "molestando" uno de los jurados también. Cuando algunos de los 8 exigieron que el juez corroborara sus acusaciones, se rió despectivamente: "No tengo que hacerlo".

Como se salió—Siberia—no fue necesaria para que los 8 "apreciaran el sistema democrático que tienen aquí". En realidad, esta fue una sentencia típicamente norteamericana y una prueba que los gobernantes EU quisieron hacer un ejemplo de los Plowshares 8. Los 8 han declarado desde el comienzo que en realidad sus acusadores han estado bajo juicio. El Juez Salus lo admitió: "La corte es una situación no ganar. La corte, el sistema, la política aceptada, la mayoría todos están bajo juicio aquí".

"Nuestro objetivo durante el juicio", dijo Phillip Berrigan expresando la posición provocadora de los 8 "fue de presentar la verdad, no para ganar exoneración ni absolución... GE no solo es una pirata corporativa, sino también es un criminal corporativo de guerra". □

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Viernes, el 17 de julio, los aviones suministradores por EU de la fuerza aérea de Israel bombardearon el atestado tugurio de Beirut, Líbano, donde la Organización para la Liberación de Palestina (OLP) tiene su centro de comando y sede. Esta redada de terror contra una sección densamente poblada en la ciudad dejó más de 300 muertos y 800 heridos. En los ocho días después, los jets israelíes atacaron blancos tras el sur de Líbano, en retadas que tenían el fin de destruir cada puente, carretera y puesto militar palestino en la región.

Como secuela de la serie de bombardeos, la prensa EU, aunque inicialmente reportó sobre el asesinato masivo y la destrucción en Beirut, rápidamente se enfocó en los pequeños números de israelíes en las colonizaciones fronterizas cerca de Líbano. Los reportes del bombardeo masivo continuo por parte de Israel contra campos de refugiados en el sur de Líbano y otro de una puente que mató a 50 civiles en coches privados, fueron totalmente enterrados o censurados en la prensa. El punto de vista de los imperialistas claramente es que no vale la pena informar muy a fondo sobre las víctimas árabes, porque después de todo, "no respetan la vida humana".

Los imperialistas EU tienen sus propias razones para criticar públicamente la redada sionista de Beirut. A pesar de las perennes disputas tácticas en el seno de la clase dominante EU sobre cómo mejor avanzar sus intereses estratégicos en el Medio Oriente, el sentimiento está creciendo de que—por ahora—hay que acortarle un tris la correa a sus principales perros de ataque.

Claro está que en ningún momento se espera que dejen de atacar del todo. La preocupación moral por las "víctimas civiles" no tiene nada que ver con las preocupaciones de EU. Durante años, y hasta la fecha, el pueblo palestino ha confrontado y luchado contra una ola constante de bombardeos masivos, desplazamientos, asesinatos, misiones de búsqueda y destrucción—todo lo que los israelíes les han podido arrojar, con EU suministrando casi todo lo que les arrojan. También con la aprobación de EU, el Rey Hussein de Jordania desató en 1971 otro ataque del ejército (abastecido por EU) contra las masas palestinas, no sólo han sobrevivido esta política genocida respaldada hasta las cachas por el imperialismo EU, sino que han perseverado en una guerra de supervivencia nacional.

El hecho es que EU arma a Israel precisamente con el propósito de usar su poderío militar para aplastar a los palestinos y para servir en general como un instrumento de fuerza bruta de los intereses de EU—pero se está volviendo cada vez más importante que Israel desempeñe este papel en estrecha coordinación con los objetivos estratégicos generales del imperialismo EU. Tales objetivos se desenvuelven más y más, especialmente en el Oriente Medio, en el teatro de la confrontación con los imperialistas soviéticos. Un incidente de importancia en el Oriente Medio inmediatamente involucra y afecta los intereses estratégicos mundiales del imperialismo EU, incluyendo las relaciones (en la ac-

# Israel Lanza Muerte y Terror en Líbano

tualidad complicadas) con sus aliados imperialistas en Europa. Estos "hechos de la vida" han sido una fuente de fricciones entre EU e Israel (que tiene sus propios planes y su propio "nido que defender") ya desde hace un tiempo, pero la contradicción ha estallado más públicamente a medida que la situación mundial se agudiza y la rebatiña para prepararse para una confrontación militar decisiva entre EU y los soviéticos se intensifica. Y la clase dominante de EU ha empezado recientemente, especialmente después de la redada de Beirut, a poner sus cartas sobre la mesa: la "seguridad" de Israel está bien y es necesaria, pero precisamente porque sirve los intereses centrales de EU—así que EU, y no Begin, decidirá lo que le sirve a la "seguridad" de Israel.

"La lección del bombardeo de Beirut—comentó el *New York Times* a raíz del cese de fuego—es que los objetivos israelíes y estadounidenses en el Oriente Medio a menudo están en conflicto. Actualmente el interés capital de Washington es estabilizar la región para proteger los suministros de petróleo del Golfo Pérsico, mantener a los rusos a raya y fortalecer las relaciones de seguridad con Arabia Saudita, Egipto, Jordania e Israel. Para lograr esto, la administración quiere reactivar las charlas sobre la autonomía palestina, elaborando sobre el marco de referencia del acuerdo de Camp David.

"Los israelíes se sintieron altamente complacidos cuando el Presidente Reagan incluyó a su país en su grandioso plan de una alineación anti-soviética en la región; se sintieron contentos de ser considerados una 'ventaja estratégica'. Pero muchos pasaron por alto el hecho de que el término implica una relación utilitaria que se puede debatir, negociar e incluso descartar si disminuye su valor funcional. Así pues, el valor de Israel a la política exterior de Estados Unidos puede variar con las circunstancias. El poderío militar israelí es una virtud, excepto cuando se usa—como en las últimas semanas—en una manera que lesioná las tenues relaciones de Washington con los países más poblados del mundo árabe rico en petróleo. Pero si no se le usa e Israel se debilita, el país pierde su calidad de ventaja para los Estados Unidos".

He aquí un admirable (si bien algo exagerado en su expresión de las diferencias) resumen concentrado de un cínico análisis imperialista, desembarazado de la cantaleta del compromiso eterno de EU con el "pequeñito, democrático Israel" y de las hipócritas lamentaciones por los atropellos cometidos por los israelíes contra "civiles inocentes". Si, Israel es una "ventaja estratégica", y si, el poderío militar de Israel suministrado por EU existe para ser usado—pero sólo cuando y como lo dictamine la política exterior de Estados Unidos. En los objetivos estratégicos del imperialismo EU en el Oriente Medio, Israel sin lugar a dudas juega un papel central—el de capataz asesino.

Begin respondió a las críticas estadounidenses de la redada de Beirut con una réplica reveladora: "Que no me vengan los americanos con cuentos sobre ataques a poblaciones civiles. Yo sé exactamente lo que ellos hicieron en Vietnam". Claro que sí—los israelíes estaban metidísimos en Vietnam actuando como asesores de contra-insurgencia para las fuerzas de EU y del régimen de Saigón. La analogía de Begin fue lo bastante clara; él apoyó y todavía apoya lo que hizo EU en Vietnam. Lo que él quiere decir es que cuando uno está librando una guerra contra una nación (Palestina o Vietnam) uno tiene que matar a su población. Uno no puede dejar que incertidumbres sobre la "opinión pública mundial" perturben

su plan básico y trazado de común acuerdo. Implicita en la respuesta "herida" de Begin, hay un puñetazo a EU por adoptar una pose moralista hacia los empleados a quienes asigna a que hagan sus trabajos sucios.

Por el estilo, pero todavía más repugnante fue el comentario del comandante de las fuerzas aéreas israelíes, quien sostiene que al fin y al cabo, el ataque "resultó ser más devastador de lo que se esperaba". Claro está que esto es una mentira, con el propósito de tratar de hacerse las mosquitas muertas. El mismo Begin admitió que se habían incluido conscientemente blancos civiles en el plan de ataque. El "remedio" del general lo revela al explicar que "El hecho es que no tenemos suficiente experiencia en bombardear ciudades".

## Los Intereses Estratégicos Mundiales

EU no emitió protesta pública perceptible sobre los bombardeos anteriores de Israel contra blancos palestinos. Pero el ataque de Beirut no sólo amenazó con una nueva crisis en las relaciones de Washington con los regímenes árabes dizque "moderados" (reaccionarios pro-EU), todos los cuales tienen que tomar en cuenta sus grandes poblaciones palestinas que ejercen una influencia revolucionaria más amplia sobre otras masas árabes—estados cuyo supervivencia está textualmente en juego de una manera u otra, si la pelea en el Líbano se sale de control. Además de eso, la redada ocurrió en medio de la Conferencia Cumbre de Ottawa entre EU y sus aliados de OTAN y Japón, quienes ya le habían venido poniendo presión a EU para que le apriete las clavijas a Israel e imponga un arreglo que incluya el reconocimiento de la OLP y el establecimiento de algún tipo de autonomía palestina—un arreglo, claro está, que ofrece adecuadas garantías contra cualquier cosa que le pueda plantear un verdadero reto a la "estabilidad y seguridad" impuesta por los imperialistas.

Hay un coro resonante entre los círculos de los que hacen la política EU de cómo tienen que encontrar una manera de "quitar el detonante" a la cuestión de los palestinos y la confrontación entre Israel y los regímenes árabes de manera relativamente rápida, y que si no lo hacen quizás debilitará su intento cabal de forjar un sistema de alianzas anti-soviético en el Medio Oriente. Lo que se tiene que lograr, los imperialistas escriben en sus jornadas, es un "consenso estratégico", que por necesidad tiene que incluir unas secciones de los palestinos, inclusive de la OLP. Se están preparando varios planes para tener contacto con la OLP, por ejemplo, por medio de canales de Europa Occidental, con la sugerencia de varias "soluciones" como algún tipo de "entidad palestina" en la Orilla Occidental del río Jordán (probablemente bajo el tutelaje jordano). Hasta tales publicaciones como el *New York Times* ahora de vez en cuando hablan de la OLP como una "organización guerrillera", opuesto a su término usual e histórico de "terroristas".

Pero lo que es esencial tener en mente es que cualquier decisión de la cooperación de cualquier líder de OLP con EU es deseable o necesaria, conlleva utilizar el garrote de fuerza militar y la amenaza de destrucción contra la OLP como una alternativa a tal cooperación. De hecho, todavía se considera que es el instrumento principal para ganar tal "cooperación". Se pone en marcha cierta dialéctica: en caso de que la OLP no responda de modo "responsable", poniendo cierta distancia entre ella y la Unión Soviética, disciplinando las facciones radicales, moderando sus demandas, etc., entonces uno puede quedar seguro de que el

"refrenamiento" será seguido por una nueva ola de terror. Esta es la dialéctica que penetra la diplomacia del imperialismo EU en la región en general.

Aunque está claro que la administración Reagan objetó al ataque sorpresivo contra Beirut bajo consideraciones políticas y que tienen que ver con la estrategia mundial, no se puede considerar que el objetivo de conjunto de la operación israelí (que acabó en un cese de fuego sólo cuando Israel había determinado que había causado el mayor daño posible) fue contrario a la política EU, sino más bien hay que ver que es inherente a esta política.

## La mentira de la "pequeña, democrática" Israel

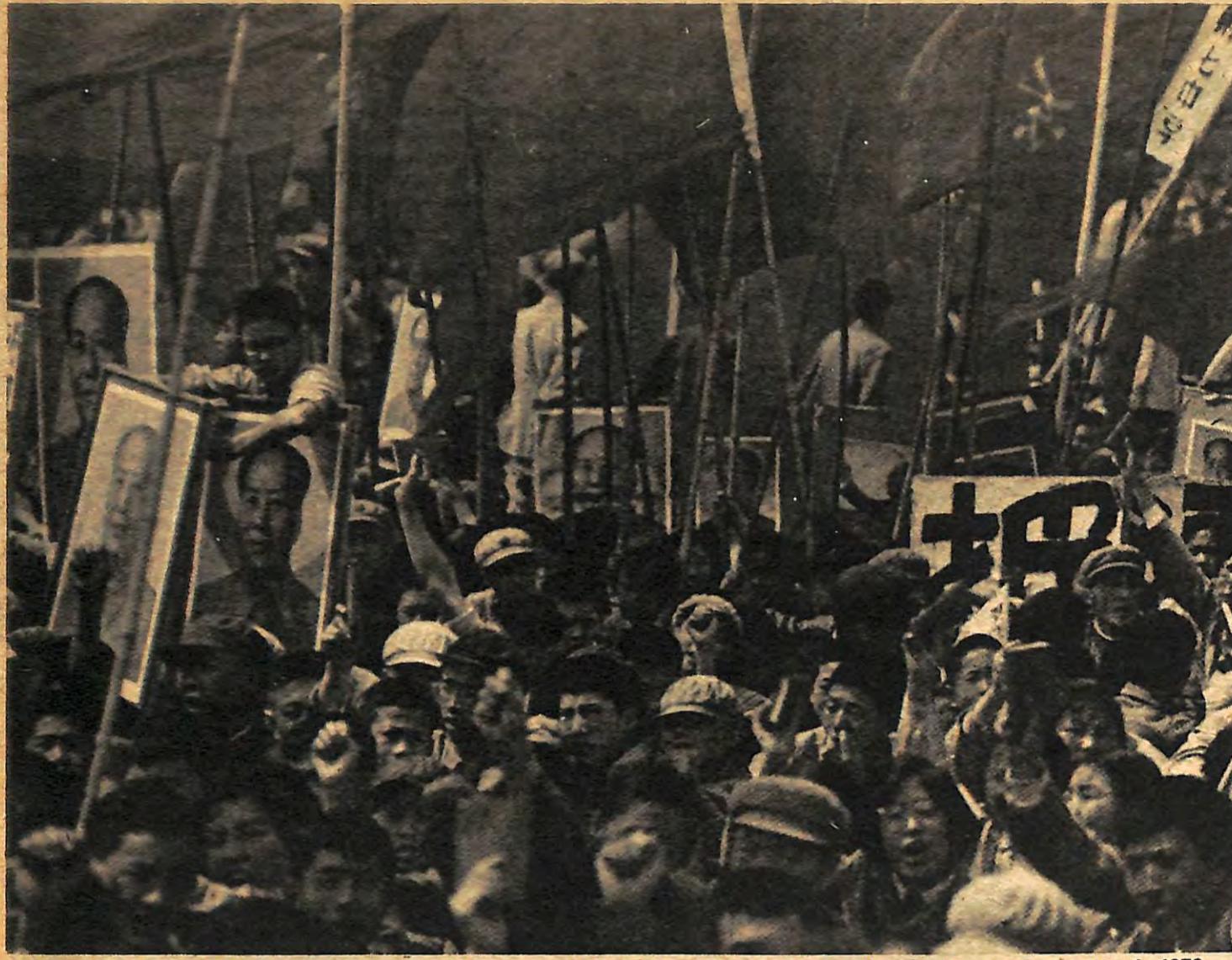
Se han hecho tremendos esfuerzos para crear y propagar esta mentira—de que Israel representa una nación "civilizada y de cultura" de gente liberal e idealista, fundada en los principios más altos de la democracia, nacida de la lucha para escapar la pesadilla del holocausto, sumergida en una nueva y heroica lucha para la supervivencia. Había un tiempo cuando ésto tenía bastante más aceptación ampliamente, cuando se re-escribió totalmente la historia en películas como *Exodus* y en EU casi ni se mencionaban la gente palestina que en sus millones fueron forzadas a huir de su tierra por las pandillas terroristas sionistas.

Por su cara, este mito es racista y reaccionario de cabo a rabo: que los europeos blancos "hicieron florecer al desierto" mientras los árabes atrasados eran "celosos y envidiosos", así iba el cuento. Pero la verdad de los hechos es que los líderes sionistas de Israel, desde su concepción, han sido los asesinos más viles del mundo, oficialmente proclamando su doctrina de la supremacía blanca, reforzando un sistema de opresión de casta hasta contra los judíos no europeos, y realizando una política de genocidio contra los palestinos árabes no muy diferente en principios a lo de los Nazis alemanes, con quienes los líderes sionistas secretamente colaboraron durante la segunda guerra mundial—colaboraron para parar la resistencia en Europa ocupada por los alemanes para mejor poder desviar los judíos hacia su esquema de conquistar un Estado en la tierra de los palestinos.

La profundidad de la depravación sanguinaria en que el Estado sionista nació y ha sido sostenido, empezando con el terror desatado contra los habitantes palestinos para abrir el camino para la expansión sionista y el establecimiento del Estado de Israel, es casi más allá de cualquier descripción posible. También es documentado, por otro ejemplo, que un gol importante de los colonizadores europeos era de forzar la inmigración a Palestina de grandes números de judíos orientales y del Medio Oriente para ocupar los trabajos meniales y dar una obra de mano barata para hacer "florecer el desierto". Para iniciar tal inmigración, unidades de comandos israelíes—los descendientes de la organización terrorista Irgún dirigida por el actual Primer Ministro Menachem Begin en los años 1940—llevaron a cabo una serie de bombardeos y masacres de judíos orientales en varios países árabes, mientras difundieron rumores de inminentes pogroms contra estos judíos y ofrecieron transporte gratis a Israel como un "refugio seguro" para todos judíos.

La alianza de mucho tiempo y los arreglos cooperativos de Israel con Sudáfrica no son una "excéntrico casamiento desacertado" sino una pareja

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Manifestación levantando en alto fotos de Mao y su "Libro Rojo" en China revolucionaria, antes del golpe de 1976.

## **Reunión del Partido en China Ataca Oficialmente a Mao**

# **Revisionista Jua se Convierte en Chivo Expiatorio de los Revisionistas**

El revisionista Partido Comunista de China realizó la VI Sesión Plenaria de su XI Comité Central del 27 al 29 de junio y anunció dos decisiones de importancia: la destitución de Hua Guofeng de su posición de Presidente del Partido y su reemplazo por Hu Yaobang, brazo derecho de Deng Xiaoping; y la publicación de la "Resolución sobre Ciertas Cuestiones en la Historia de Nuestro Partido", que incluye su valoración de Mao Tsetung y representa el fin de cierta fase en los ataques de los revisionistas contra Mao.

Se ha informado que el documento historial y especialmente la evaluación de Mao ha estado en preparación por un largo año, y de hecho ha sido el centro de unas contradicciones entre las diferentes fuerzas en el campo revisionista. Al principio las fuerzas de Deng contaban con que el juicio de los Cuatro crearía terreno favorable para realizar a toda velocidad la reunión del Comité Central y ratificar la evaluación. Resolver la cuestión de Mao será central para impulsar la restauración capitalista de la economía, así como para conducir una purga de organización de las fuerzas que se oponen a Deng en todos los niveles del Partido.

Sin embargo, uno de los efectos de la firme posición de Chiang Ching y Chang Chun-chiao en defensa de Mao y del estrecho vínculo que trazaron entre sus acciones y la línea de Mao, fue agudizar las contradicciones en el seno del campo revisionista entre las fuerzas de Deng y los que se oponen a la rapidez y franqueza con que Deng está atacando a Mao. Estas últimas fuerzas están constituidas, de manera substancial, por aquellos que aunque políticamente pertenecen a la derecha, lograron ascender a o mantener su posición durante la Revolución Cultural, siguiéndole la corriente en cierta medida al movimiento popular. Por lo tanto, tienen un cierto interés personal en por lo menos disminuir el ritmo de la crítica a Mao y la Revolución Cultural. Aunque desprecian a Chiang Ching y Chang Chun-chiao, dichas fuerzas lucharon para prevenir la ejecución inmediata de estos dos revolucionarios, a razón de que habían pintado tan claramente la conexión entre ellos y

Mao. Esta lucha interna entre las fuerzas opuestas en el seno de los revisionistas es la razón del prolongado retraso en la convocatoria de la VI sesión plenaria y en finalizar su valoración de Mao.

Aunque el texto completo todavía no es disponible, a partir de los extractos hasta ahora publicados es claro que el documento va más lejos que nunca en atacar a Mao, y no hay mucho que se pueda tildar de "concesiones" de parte de Deng. Incluso las "concesiones" son barridas de volada con aún más ataques. Por ejemplo, al discutir el período del Gran Salto Adelante (a finales de los años 50), el documento dice: "Aunque el peso de la responsabilidad debe recaer en primer lugar sobre el Camarada Mao, no podemos echarle la culpa a él solo de todos los años". Pero inmediatamente sigue con, "Durante ese período, se hicieron cada vez más serios sus errores teóricos y tácticos respecto a la lucha de

clases en una sociedad socialista, su arbitrariedad personal socavó gradualmente el centralismo democrático y la vida social del partido y el culto de la personalidad se hizo más y más grave".

No es sorprendiente que los ataques más virulentos se dirigen al rol de Mao en la Revolución Cultural. Por primera vez, los documentos le adjudican la "culpa" oficialmente a Mao de la Revolución Cultural: "La Revolución Cultural, que duró desde mayo de 1966 a octubre de 1976, fue responsable de los reveses más graves y las pérdidas más serias que haya sufrido el Partido, el Estado y el pueblo desde la fundación de la República Popular... La principal responsabilidad por el grave error izquierdista de la Revolución Cultural, un error amplio en magnitud y extenso en duración, recae sobre el Camarada Mao Tsetung". El documento vuelve a

presentar el tonto argumento de los revisionistas de que Mao violó su propio Pensamiento (en tanto que ellos, claro está, lo desarrollaron "creativamente"): "Esas tesis incorrectas izquierdistas (sobre la continuación de la revolución bajo la dictadura del proletariado) sobre las cuales se basó el Camarada Mao Tsetung para iniciar la Revolución Cultural, obviamente eran inconsistentes con el sistema de Pensamiento Mao Tsetung.... Hay que distinguir lentamente esas tesis del Pensamiento Mao Tsetung". También se le adjudica a Mao la responsabilidad de colocar a Lin Biao y Chiang Ching en cargos de importancia.

Peró el documento historial hace más que atacar a Mao. Pone en primer plano a Deng Xiaoping, y lo destaca como un hombre que se aferró resueltamente a la línea correcta, incluso mientras Mao se desbocaba con la Revolución Cultural. Según el documento, en 1975 Deng se hizo cargo del trabajo cotidiano del Comité Central "con el apoyo del Camarada Mao Tsetung", y jay dios!, "la situación empezo a mejorarse rápidamente". Pero Mao, quien supuestamente respaldó a Deng, "no pudo tolerar la corrección sistemática de los errores de la Revolución Cultural por el Camarada Deng y respondió a la tendencia desviacionista de derecha para revertir veredictos correctos, lanzando al país al torbellino una vez más".

Aunque los revisionistas ya han ido muy lejos en criticar a Mao abiertamente con este documento, e irán más lejos todavía, están tratando de evitar a negar el nombre de Mao, especialmente su papel en la etapa democrática de la revolución. No importa que tanto traten los revisionistas de reescribir la historia, no pueden borrar el hecho de que Mao está ligado de modo inextricable con la legitimidad y el prestigio del Partido Comunista. Según el *New York Times*, hasta Hu Yaobang, muy conocido por sus viperinos ataques contra Mao, le describió como "el mayor héroe nacional en la historia de China" en su primer discurso como presidente del partido. Por la misma razón, tienen que seguir respaldando en nombre el Pensamiento Mao Tsetung, aún mientras que lo desentrañan de su contenido revolucionario, especialmente los avances en el pensamiento de Mao en los últimos años.

Estos se enfocaron particularmente en el análisis de Mao sobre las clases en la sociedad socialista, de cómo una nueva burguesía está continuamente engendrada especialmente en los altos niveles del partido, y cómo el proletariado y las masas de gente tienen que ser movilizados desde abajo para derrocarlos y eliminar las condiciones materiales e ideológicas que los engendran para poder avanzar hacia el comunismo y evitar la restauración del dominio capitalista. Esta iluminante contribución de Mao, la más valiosa de todas sus contribuciones, es categóricamente echada a un lado por los revisionistas: "La Revolución

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# Proletarios ponen sitio a más de 30 ciudades en Inglaterra

Para la juventud proletaria de todas nacionalidades por todo el decrepito imperio británico, fue un festival de motines contra todo el asqueroso orden establecido y los que lo gobiernan. Durante semanas en julio, más de 30 ciudades y pueblos en Inglaterra y Escocia—y unos veinte barrios del metrópoli immense de Londres—explotaron en rebelión. Los barrios de la clase obrera donde las secciones más oprimidas de la sociedad británica viven, muchos de ellas negros y asiáticos tanto como inmigrantes, se volvieron en centros de lucha.

Para los gobernantes británicos, la situación era bien grave. Casi más rápidamente de lo que podían contar, ciudades y barrios se levantaron—y ciertamente más rápidamente de como podían tratar con ellos. Más de 800 policías fueron heridos al final de dos semanas, y pasaron la mayor parte de ellas en la defensiva. Y mientras la lucha interna política estalló entre los rangos de la burguesía británica sobre cómo tratar con esta situación—una que nunca habían enfrentado—su respuesta en las calles fue una oleada de represión inclusivo el uso del gas lacrimógeno CS, cañones de agua y otras “armas anti-motines”. También abrieron una base militar para detener a los miles que arrojaron. “Quizás las tropas tendrán que hacer patrullas en las ciudades británicas”, tartamudó el Secretario del Interior, William Whitelaw.

Al comienzo intentaron calificarlos como “motines de raza”, señalando a los principios de los motines en la sección de Londres, Southall, donde los jóvenes indios y paquistanis contraatacaron bravamente a los ataques de los blancos “skinheads” (llamados así por su corte de pelo)—ataques que tenían todos los indicios de ser organizados por el Frente Nacional supremacista blanco, que organiza entre la juventud blanca de Gran Bretaña igual que los Nazi y Klan lo hacen en EU. Estos skinheads andaban rabiosos en aquel comunidad que es principalmente asiático, y sólo fue la llegada de la policía que les protegió mientras se retiraron que les salvó de la ira de los residentes de la comunidad.

Pero esta línea de “motines de raza” fue descartada rápidamente como millones a través de Bretaña podían ver por su propia cuenta y en las noticias el carácter verdaderamente multi-racial de los motines, en que los jóvenes negros, asiáticos y blancos se juntaron para asaltar a la policía. Estos levantamientos tienen un significado histórico e internacional por muchas razones, ni el menor de ellas era su carácter multinacional. Y más que algunos proletarios de tendencia revolucionaria en EU sintieron que esto en sí era señal de los años 1980, y de las cosas por venir.

Hubo plática vaga, y hasta algunas promesas no muy claras, de una reforma combinada con una dosis de lo que todos los gobernantes británicos, del partido que fuera, estaban de acuerdo—la represión. A toda prisa mandaron unos jefes de la policía británicos a Irlanda del Norte para lecciones en como suprimir los motines de los policías y oficiales militares británicos ya estacionados allí (que por cierto tienen mucha experiencia en esto en los años recientes). El Primer Ministro Thatcher dijo que el único asunto era restaurar la ley y el orden, no más. Y su partido preparó un nuevo proyecto de ley anti-motín, que permitiría el arresto de cualquier persona en una declarada zona de motín tanto como hacerlo más fácil dar sentencias de mayor pena contra los arrestados.

Pero a final de cuentas, se podía ver lo verdaderamente desesperado que estaba cuando la única cosa que los gobernantes británicos, y su prensa, podían citar con cualquier esperanza positiva fue la venidera boda del príncipe Charles. Esperaban, como *Newsweek*

resonó los sentimientos de la clase dominante británico, que “durante esas pocas horas de espectáculo, la nación puede perderse en un cuento de hadas real—y una celebración de lo que Inglaterra una vez era”.

Por cierto a los gobernantes británicos si les gustaría volver a “como eran las cosas”, cuando ellos dominaban el imperio más grande del mundo, y podían difundir las migas necesarias de la riqueza de su pillaje de su vasto dominio para mantener la “paz social” en la patria. Pero estos días ya acabaron. Las ciudades industriales de Gran Bretaña se encuentran en una decadencia pudrida, la mayor parte de sus propiedades coloniales son perdidas a sus rivales imperialistas. Y aún millones de inmigrantes son forzados a venir a Bretaña por las condiciones ruinosas que el imperialismo ha creado en sus países.

Lo que les preocupa a los gobernantes de Gran Bretaña y sus compañeros imperialistas del bloque occidental, no es tanto si pueden eventualmente controlar esta oleada de motines en particular—sino lo que presagia para el futuro no muy lejano, no sólo en Inglaterra sino por todo el bloque. Las cosas ahora mismo están particularmente agudas en Inglaterra, pero todos los miembros del bloque enfrentan problemas similares y problemas muy fundamentales, y las cosas están empeorando. La única solución para ellos (tanto como para sus rivales del bloque soviético) es de re-dividir favorablemente el mundo mediante la victoria en una guerra mundial. La combinación explosiva de la creciente y siempre más profunda crisis, y crecientes secciones del proletariado verdadero que no tienen nada que perder y un odio ardiente para como están las cosas en Inglaterra—de esto se hace las pesadillas de los imperialistas. Los “problemas” ingleses no van a disminuir sino aumentarán.

## Un festival de los oprimidos

Aunque es imposible describir los detalles de todos los estallidos que han ocurrido en las diferentes áreas, si resaltan ciertos rasgos generales. Lo que pasó era un verdadero festival de los oprimidos. Este festival incluye principalmente, aunque no completamente, muchachos tan jóvenes como de 10, 11 y 12 años. Aunque la rebelión de Southall fue una situación en la que las masas indias y paquistanas se pusieron en contra de la policía y de los jóvenes blancos reaccionarios, el carácter de las demás rebeliones ha sido muy multinacional y ha incluido grandes números de negros y otras nacionalidades oprimidas unidos con jóvenes blancos de la clase obrera.

Todo esto fue gráficamente presentado en las entrevistas con los blancos que tomaron parte en las rebeliones, cuando específicamente dijeron a los periodistas que 1) las condiciones para la mayoría de todas razas son una mierda, y 2) que las condiciones para los negros y asiáticos son las peores. Estos no fueron los comentarios de unos blancos liberales—fue el entendimiento materialista de unos bravos rebeldes!

En muchos casos el foco particular de la lucha fue la policía, en general como representantes de los gobernantes británicos y específicamente por su larga historia de represión, abuso y hostigamiento, y su ejecución de la opresión nacional. Esto fue particularmente el caso en Liverpool y Manchester (dos de las ciudades industriales más grandes de Inglaterra) donde acciones más ofensivas y organizadas brotaron contra los matones de su Majestad. El Jefe Constable de Merseyside describió la situación en Liverpool así: “La gente estaba terca en atacar a quienes fácilmente identifican como símbolos de la ley y el orden. Su pelea está con nosotros”.

Un joven negro relató la situación en Liverpool al *London Times*:

“Me siento bien después de los motines. Vivir con la policía aquí es como tener flema en el pecho. Uno tiene que toserla y escupirla, cuando lo hace, puede dormir tranquilo.

“Nuestra pelea es con la policía de Merseyside. Son una bola de racistas. Hace dos años, uno de sus jefes dijo que los negros de Liverpool eran el resultado del cruce de marineros negros y prostitutas blancas. Así piensan ellos. Si uno tiene una novia blanca, tiene que ser prostituta. Si uno viene de una discoteca, de seguro que tiene que cargar drogas.

“Mi objetivo era matar un policía. Queríamos dejar unos cuantos con los brazos y piernas rotos en medio de la calle. Hace semanas les advertimos que este pueblo estaba a punto de estallar”.

Al esparcirse los levantamientos, las masas en muchas otras áreas sintieron que había una verdadera oportunidad de golpear el orden establecido. Como le dijo un joven de Londres a un reportero: “Espero que esto se recuerde como un gran motín, como el de Liverpool”. Entre las organizaciones más o menos espontáneas que se desarrollan en luchas de masas como esa, existen muchos casos de elementos más conscientes que pasan al frente para organizar asaltos más planeados contra objetivos más significantes políticamente.

Aunque las masas que participaron representan una amplia gama de conciencia política, los elementos más avanzados y experimentados políticamente han jugado un papel importante en extender las llamas del odio popular por el imperialismo británico y en conducir al pueblo. Y ciertamente la lucha en el norte de Irlanda al igual que en otras partes del mundo han tenido una importante influencia en encender estos levantamientos.

## Liverpool y Manchester

En Liverpool, la chispa de las rebeliones fue cuando los policías detuvieron a un joven negro como

“sospechoso de robar una motocicleta”, parte de su rutina nocturna de imponer su opresión nacional en el barrio pobre de Toxteth, al igual que imponer su control y supresión generales de las masas—inclusive a muchos jóvenes blancos de la clase obrera—en un área en que las calles están repletas de desempleados. En cosa de minutos, se formó una multitud indignada y empezó una batalla con la policía que duró nueve horas y dejó 70 policías golpeados y cojeando a las ambulancias.

Pero esto fue sólo el principio. Lo que siguió fue relatado por un observador burgués horrificado en el *London Times*:

“Toxteth en las horas tempranas presentaba una visión horrible de anarquía... Jóvenes, ambos negros y blancos, llevando máscaras balaclavas, pañuelos y bolsas de plástico negro en la cara al estilo cowboy, corrían a pocos metros de las líneas de policía para echar bombas de gasolina, ladrillos, botellas y railes de hierro arrancados de las vías, contra los escudos policiales. Algunos eran apenas niños... Se deshicieron las líneas hasta que la mayor parte de la Calle Upper Parliament estaba bajo control de los alborotadores... La ferocidad de la batalla campal sobrepuso todo que los más experimentados observadores hayan visto en el pasado. La multitud gritaba, los edificios crepitaban en llamas y una lluvia de proyectiles tocaba redobles constantes sobre la pared de escudos policiales. Pocas multitudes se han aproximado tan cerca a una línea policiaca sin vacilar al último momento. No fue así en Toxteth... Usaron un dosificador de cemento como ariete, asaltando las filas policiacas... Estos comenzaron a retroceder, poco a poco, llevándose a sus heridos”.

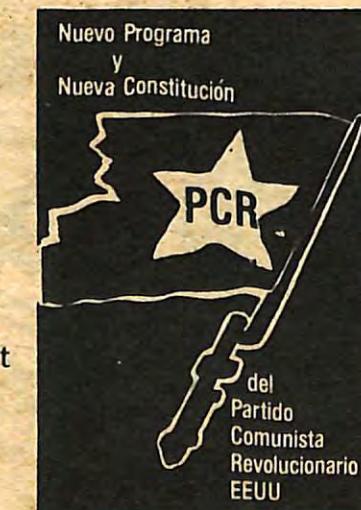
En la ciudad industrial norteafricana de Manchester hubo una segunda noche de estallidos cuando una multitud de más de mil jóvenes negros y blancos gritando lemas anti-policiales, rodearon una

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## Balance de "Rock y Rebelion"

# Economismo de "Izquierda" en Teoria y en Practica

(Este artículo viene del *Obrero Revolucionario*, voz del Partido Comunista Revolucionario.)

Hace dos años, en un artículo sobre el estreno del conjunto *Prairie Fire* (appendio de Pradera) en concierto en San Francisco, escribimos en el *Obrero Revolucionario*: "¡Nace Rock y Rebelión!" — "algo totalmente diferente", aún del Rock and Roll. (OR No. 3, 18 de mayo de 1979)

Cuando un conjunto punk en Cleveland, Ohio leyó sobre esto, creyó que quizás éste era el mimbrete que se le daba a la versión EU del fenómeno musical "punk" que había nacido en Inglaterra, y que el mismo tipo de cosa comenzaba a realizarse en el Área de la Bahía.

No es así. Ese no fue el caso con respecto al concepto erróneo de "Rock y Rebelión", donde se trataba en vez de una línea política errónea. Lo que hemos aprendido y valorado desde entonces debe ser abordado, porque los errores, mientras que son nuestros, tienen mucho en común con lo que se ha pasado mucho más ampliamente por "pensamiento revolucionario" con respecto a la cultura. Se podría decir "característico". Esto tiene también sus raíces en otras esferas además de la cultura; es tan viejo como el revisionismo y el economismo (ya sea del variante abiertamente derechista o del de "izquierda") en el movimiento de la clase obrera, y no sólo aquí, sino que mundialmente.

Aparecen algunas indicaciones de esto, que ahora parecen algo extrañas, al leer más de este artículo mencionado más arriba. Se declara que debido a que un conjunto había estado tocando "...en las líneas de piquete, fiestas, y manifestaciones... el frente de batalla cultural había quedado virtualmente abierto a la clase dominante". Más aún, "El viernes por la noche, en el Temple Beautiful de San Francisco, la situación se detuvo de repente y de manera importante al estallar en batalla revolucionaria contra los capitalistas".

Lo que resalta bastante visiblemente aquí es que esto logra negar y/o directamente atacar, de un sólo golpe de pluma, semejantes contribuciones revolucionarias y progresistas a la lucha de clases en la esfera cultural como las de Jimi Hendrix, Credence Clearwater Revival, Nina Simone, el Clash, y Gil Scott-Heron, por mencionar sólo unos pocos.

Sí, en ese entonces nuestro Partido, como parte de su lucha general contra el revisionismo, se deshacía de cierto economismo y filistinismo viejos, y hubo un esfuerzo en varios frentes por emprender responsabilidades por liderato en la esfera de la cultura. Pero el problema fue que esta línea de "Rock y Rebelión" era un paso en la dirección errónea, contradiciendo objetivamente otras cosas mucho mejores y reemplazando el viejo economismo con uno "nuevo" (de "izquierda") y el viejo filistinismo con uno nuevo. Esta no era la manera en que debía dirigir el Partido, y en particular para aprender críticamente de la práctica de artistas revolucionarios y progresistas a fin de llevar a cabo sus responsabilidades en la esfera cultural.

Un análisis de la historia serio y honesto demostrará que las formas de música (y teatro, etc.) realmente no son creadas por individuos, sino que por las masas populares. Las formas de música son el producto, hablando históricamente, de cambios cuantitativos o cualitativos principales en las relaciones sociales, cambios en la relación de las clases, inclusive políticamente, o en las relaciones entre naciones o naciones.

El Rock and Roll, por ejemplo, no fue inventado por Chuck Berry. Fueron músicos desconocidos en las calles, anteriores aparceros negros, anteriores aparceros blancos, e hijos e hijas de anteriores campesinos (mayormente) europeos todos transformados en proletarios en las ciudades de este país, Norte y Sur, quienes fusionaron las culturas en las calles y crearon el Rock and Roll. Chuck Berry fue un práctico innovador dirigente y popularizador de este desarrollo histórico en las artes. Esencialmente lo mismo es cierto con respecto a todas las formas de música, incluso el reggae, el jazz, etc.; sólo las contradicciones y los "líderes" particulares son diferentes.

En una entrevista con el *Obrero Revolucionario* (28 de septiembre de 1979 en inglés), Joe Strummer del Clash dio un análisis muy profundo de cómo se desarrolló en Inglaterra la música Punk.

"Pues, en 1976, en Londres, comenzó este conjunto, los Sex Pistols, y ellos pusieron el escenario patas arriba. Porque en Londres todo estaba realmente muerto. Estaba todo lleno de conjuntos que tocaban en los grandes sitios. Costaba mucho dinero entrar y todo un sector de la juventud se encontraba sin ninguno. Se diría, no admiraban a los 'heroes' del rock and roll. Todo el mundo es como que dijo 'eso es una mierda' y 'nosotros lo vamos a hacer a nuestra manera', y así es que comenzó. Y en tres meses habían más o menos mil conjuntos agitándose en Londres y más o menos estalló desde eso". Es este tipo de cosa que enciende y sustenta las cosas nuevas en el arte.

Nuevas formas de arte son y serán creadas constantemente de esta manera. En un hecho triste (o diríamos repugnante?) que el "comunismo típico" ha tenido una triste historia de oponer, por ser "basura decadente" casi todas las recientes formas populares de masa que han nacido, como el Rock and Roll, el Jazz, y últimamente el Punk.

Al criticar el formalismo burgués, los comunistas han ido buscando la *forma proletaria pura*, y ya que no hay tal cosa, el formalismo burgués entra por la puerta de atrás. Este formalismo burgués, disfrazado de marxismo, o malentendido por marxismo, tiene además el rasgo de la intratabilidad del dogma que acaba, en nombre de jesucristo, la revolución, por oponer todo lo nuevo y naciente. Ha sido tan malo que a los principios de los 1960, el PCEU podía presentar abiertamente el punto de vista de que la música folklórica era la forma proletaria, esen-

cialmente porque los campesinos la habían creado cuando todavía el capitalismo no había desarrollado la capacidad de convertir el arte en una mercancía vendible de masas.

No hay nada intrínsecamente revolucionario ni reaccionario en, por ejemplo, una progresión de 1/4/5 ni en variaciones de esa estructura. Es al contrario lo que nutre semejantes formas y lo que las sustenta lo que determina su rol social en cualquier tiempo dado, y esto tiene todo que ver con las varias fuerzas de clase que están en acción.

Digan lo que digan, hay el jazz de Charlie Mingus y el jazz de Chet Atkins. Hay el rock and roll de Bruce Springsteen y está el rock and roll de Iggy Pop. Hay el Punk Rock de los Sex Pistols y el punk rock de los Ramones y Police. Todos tocan (o tocaban) el jazz, rock and roll y el punk. El contenido de la música (que incluye la letra y los instrumentos) de los mencionados anteriormente es progresista o revolucionario. El contenido de la música de los mencionados segundos es atrasado y directamente reaccionario!

Esto tiene todo que ver con las ideas de los artistas y de las fuerzas sociales que ellos representan en el escenario. "Las artes y letras revolucionarias son productos del reflejo de la vida del pueblo en la mente de artistas revolucionarios". Mao Tsetung dijo eso y es cierto. Y se aplica de igual modo si uno substituye la palabra "reaccionario" etc. por "revolucionario".

Entonces, ¿por qué es que las masas tienden a ver las "formas" como revolucionarias o vice versa en sí solas? Es casi siempre el caso que al iniciarse, nuevas formas de arte tienden a ser el producto de rebelión y como tales, reflejan las necesidades culturales de, y atraen a, los elementos más avanzados de la sociedad.

Cuando los artistas que son progresistas y revolucionarios dominan en un dada forma social e históricamente creada, las masas tienden a ver esa forma en sí como revolucionaria y progresista, o vice versa. Este fue el caso cuando, por ejemplo, Jimi Hendrix dominó el Rock and Roll por unos pocos años.

Si hay una calidad intrínseca en una forma de música, es que "pertenece a los tiempos". No hay, por ejemplo, nada intrínsecamente reaccionario en la música Country and Western. Pero actualmente es el aza cultural en torno al cual se reúnen los defensores del "Glorioso Pasado Americano" con todo su "poderío" al estilo John Wayne. Como tipificado por Nashville, el Country and Western como forma es viejo, anticuado e irreal, ya que tiene sus raíces en los tiempos del pasado rural del aparcero blanco del Sur. Siendo así el caso, como forma de masas, moriría de causas naturales, si no fuera por el hecho de que el imperialismo sigue la práctica de desenterrar imágenes muertas y podridos del pasado, como la del cowboy, con el único propósito de envenenar a los vivientes, o se transformaría de la manera que lo está transformando hoy, por ejemplo, Joe Ely.

Hay que admitir que no hay tal cosa como "la forma proletaria pura". Mao Tsetung lo expresó así: "La política no puede equivalerse al arte; tampoco puede una general perspectiva global equivalerse a un método de creación y批评ismo artísticos".

Siendo así el caso, ¿por qué entonces apareció semejante artículo y varios más) en el periódico de nuestro Partido y por qué fallaron muchos en criticarlo, e incluso lo abogaron? La única respuesta que valga un bledo es que hay contradicciones muy reales y que el revisionismo y economismo se ha demostrado ser totalmente incapaz de resolver las cuestiones teóricas y prácticas que éstas hacen surgir en la Revolución. El criticismo de "40 años de revisionismo" no es una "tarea

académica" para nuestro Partido, ni algo que podemos llamar a otros a que hagan, y no nosotros.

### ¿Te Lleva a 'Cruzar la Línea'?

Específicamente, en ese mismo artículo mencionado anteriormente, se hace la declaración: "Este tipo de música te hace querer cruzar la línea y envolverte en la revolución de veras". Junto con esto, en la promoción y otras maneras, se abogaba semejantes lemas como "Si Prairie Fire estuviera en la radio todos los días, habría una revolución en EU dentro de una año!" y para decirlo más ligeramente—"el pueblo es un polvorín y Prairie Fire es una chispa!"

¡Nunca ocurrirá así! Es cierto que al escuchar una canción, tal como "Fusiles de Brixton" o algún desarrollo u otro en la esfera cultural, tal como el asesinato de Jimi Hendrix, o la posición de un artista, tal como la de Federico García Lorca, o LO QUE SEA como eso, puede ser "la paja que quiebre la espalda del camello". Pero es simplemente eso... la paja, y no toda la bala de heno. Lo que resulta en el salto cualitativo hacia la actividad revolucionaria por parte del individuo, grupo, o incluso sector avanzado de una clase, no es un absoluto ni tampoco es un truco. Se puede decir una cosa con certidumbre. Tiene algo que ver con la comprensión teórica o práctica de que "el sistema político entero no vale nada" (Lenin dijo eso) y que además hay una alternativa, una posibilidad, de cambiar fundamentalmente las cosas.

Existe un punto de vista ampliamente compartido por artistas, incluso entre los progresistas y de pensamiento revolucionario, de que es el arte, especialmente la música y el cine, lo que cambia la conciencia del pueblo, que tales cosas como repetidas denuncias políticas y propaganda, y teoría y partidos comunistas, etc. no son tan necesarios.

En una entrevista en *The Musician*, junio de 1981, Joe Strummer del Clash (ya que lo citamos en puntos de acuerdo, ¿por qué no podemos citarlo en puntos de desacuerdo también?) articuló este punto de vista:

*Musician*: Una de las cosas principales que ustedes dos tienen en común es la creencia de que la música puede en realidad cambiar la sociedad. ¿Cómo puede pasar eso?

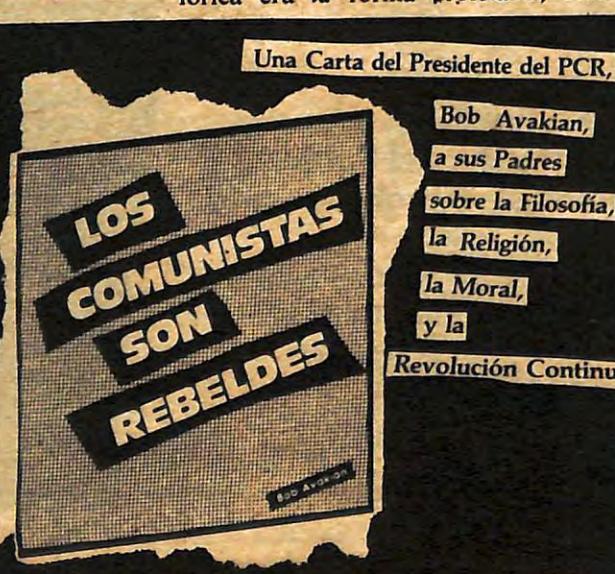
*Strummer*: Debido a que la música va directamente a la cabeza y el corazón de un ser humano. Más directamente y en más dimensiones que la palabra escrita. Y si eso no puede cambiar a nadie, entonces no hay mucho más que lo pueda hacer. La música puede golpear tan fuerte como si yo te golpearas con un bate de béisbol, ¿sabes tú? pero no de un día al otro. No se puede esperar que todo cambie rápidamente. Yo calculo que se trata de un proceso orgánico. Insidioso. Mira cómo el escuchar todos esos discos hippie ha afectado a todo el mundo en general: todo el mundo se siente más suelto con respecto a las cosas ahora.

A más o menos una pulgada de este punto de vista está la teoría revisionista de que el arte desempeña el rol de agitación, escrita y oral, y esto explica el tipo de arte que ha sido últimamente apodado, correctamente, "mierda política". Existe un pequeño variante de este punto de vista, que mantiene que mientras todas estas otras cosas son importantes, el arte (esencialmente por las mismas razones que indica Strummer) debería desempeñar un rol igual al de la agitación y propaganda del Partido. En este pozo cayó esta línea del de "Rock y Rebelión", y sabemos de un conjunto por lo menos, *Red Shadow: The New Economics Band*, que tuvo el descaro (tiene que haber tenido mucho descaro) de cantar cantinelas de propaganda de *Las Teorías de la Plusvalía* por Carlos Marx. Casi podemos escucharlos decir: "Quizás si le añadimos música esos pendejos estúpidos nos escucharán". Sí. Una cosa que tienen en común todos estos puntos de vista es su desdén relativamente desfachatado hacia las masas populares. Pero esa no es una cualidad innata. Es cuestión de política, de línea.

Mao Tsetung definió el rol del arte como uno histórica y socialmente creado:

"Aunque la vida social del hombre es la única fuente de la literatura y el arte, y es incomparablemente más vivaz y rica en contenido, el pueblo no se satisface

Vea la página 9



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# Estafa de las Elecciones

# Maniobra EU

# más reciente

# en El Salvador

Cuando a mediados de julio portavoces del gobierno EU insinuaron la posibilidad del apoyo EU para una "solución política" a la lucha en El Salvador, la prensa burguesa se apresuró a declarar tan "razonable" la administración de Reagan.

Pero dentro de El Salvador las tropas de la junta fascista salvadoreña, armadas, entrenadas y aconsejadas por EU, demostraban qué clase de "solución política" tienen en mente los imperialistas EU—rendirse, ceder y quizás permitiremos que unos cuantos "líderes de la oposición" que demuestran su capacidad para arrastrarse reciban unas posiciones en aún otro régimen títere EU.

Casi al mismo momento que Thomas O. Enders, Asistente del Secretario de Estado para Asuntos Inter-Americanos, estaba dando su discurso en Washington acerca de la "solución política", una unidad salvadoreña de casi mil tropas especialmente entrenada en la guerra contrainsurgencia cruzaba la frontera de Honduras por helicóptero para lanzar una ofensiva contra una área controlada por las fuerzas guerrilleras. Han salido pocas detalles de esta operación, pero en meses recientes unas parecidas han sido acompañadas por redadas masivas de la población de los pueblos y aldeas que apoyan a los guerrilleros, que luego son llevados a campos de concentración de la junta conocidos en la retórica contrainsurgente como "aldeas estratégicas".

Este tipo de operación se llama la "pacificación", y ha sido ampliamente utilizado por los imperialistas EU y sus regímenes lacayos alrededor del mundo, lo más extensivamente seguro en Vietnam donde millones de campesinos fueron llevados a "aldeas estratégicas" cercadas con alambre de púas mientras sus pueblos eran extirpados, sus cosechas y animales destruidos y el área en torno convertido en "zona de fuego libre", donde las tropas, artillería y aviones EU podían disparar—y

disparaban—a cualquier cosa que se moviera.

Pero la "pacificación" no era la única táctica que trayó algo a la memoria en el mes pasado. De hecho, la "solución política" de que los imperialistas estaban hablando como posibilidad a fin de cuentas no era nada más que elecciones auspiciadas por los imperialistas. Esto era otra táctica realizada por EU en Vietnam, no sólo una sino repetidas veces. Bajo el fusil—literalmente—del ejército del régimen títere, "la gente" supuestamente "elige" a sus líderes libremente. Es este tipo de elección al punto del fusil que siempre garantizaba que los títeres EU como Thieu y Ky en Vietnam sacaban el 99% del voto.

El plan para las elecciones en El Salvador, según el *New York Times*, excluye a virtualmente todos los elementos que están opuestos a la junta actual y a su presidente, José Napoleón Duarte. No sólo van a excluir los varios grupos guerrilleros y las organizaciones izquierdistas, sino hasta la Frente Democrática Revolucionaria, dirigida principalmente por fuerzas burguesas opuestas a la junta, no será permitido a participar.

Pero es interesante y revelador que Enders declaró que EU va a dejar la puerta abierta para que participe un "oponente" de la junta—Guillermo Ungo. Por casualidad Ungo es un líder principal de las fuerzas pro-EU que se oponen a la junta y que EU ha estado por una parte intentado convencer y por otra aterrorizando para que se junten a la junta. EU lo ha hecho bien claro a estas fuerzas que será fiel a la junta—punto—y que la única manera en que ellos van a sacar provecho es por meterse en la junta. Y la elección podría presentar una oportunidad para atraer algunas de esas fuerzas.

En particular, la idea de las elecciones ha surgido en oposición a unas negociaciones en que unas o todas las fuerzas de la oposición en El Salvador tomarían parte. Se puede tener elecciones bajo el control de la junta, con la junta (bajo

órdenes EU como siempre) decidiendo quién puede ser candidato, quién puede votar, cuáles votos van a contar, etc. Hasta antes de que hayan decidido la fecha de ellas, el presidente del consejo electoral de la junta ya ha notado "el ambiente de violencia" en el campo como una base para excluir la mayoría de los campesinos de El Salvador (que son la mayor parte de la población nacional) de la votación—bueno, naturalmente, como especialmente en aquellas áreas donde los guerrilleros están basados y donde tienen el más amplio apoyo popular.

EU rechazó las negociaciones como una alternativa en El Salvador hace mucho tiempo. Claramente hay fuerzas pro-EU en la oposición como Ungo con quienes a los imperialistas les gustaría sentar y negociar en un esfuerzo de ampliar la base de apoyo entre estos elementos burgueses para lo que ahora es una junta muy aislada y no muy estable.

Es también cierto que el liderato de la oposición en El Salvador hoy día está cargado con elementos pro-soviéticos, más notablemente el Partido "Comunista" de El Salvador (PCS). Y como

las cosas se acercan a un enfrentamiento decisivo entre los bloques bélicos de EU y URSS, los imperialistas EU están determinados a no hacer nada que arriesgaría dar a los soviéticos, por medio de sus agentes locales como el PCS, una entrada—aún más en una área que EU durante mucho tiempo ha considerado y tratado como en sus propias puertas.

Todo esto sólo alumbra la complejidad de la lucha en El Salvador en el contexto de la situación internacional actual. No sólo es esta una lucha popular—que sigue atacando la dominación EU a pesar de cantidades masivas de ayuda EU, entrenamiento y asesores—sino también un ejemplo poderoso de uno de los corrientes de revolución dando golpes hoy a los imperios aficionados por crisis de los imperialistas. Pero también es de significancia que está ocurriendo en un período de rivalidad y maniobras imperialistas intensas e intensificándose, en que los dos bloques imperialistas directamente y por sus lacayos locales están intentando manipular la lucha para ser ventajosa estratégicamente en la venidera confrontación militar mundial.

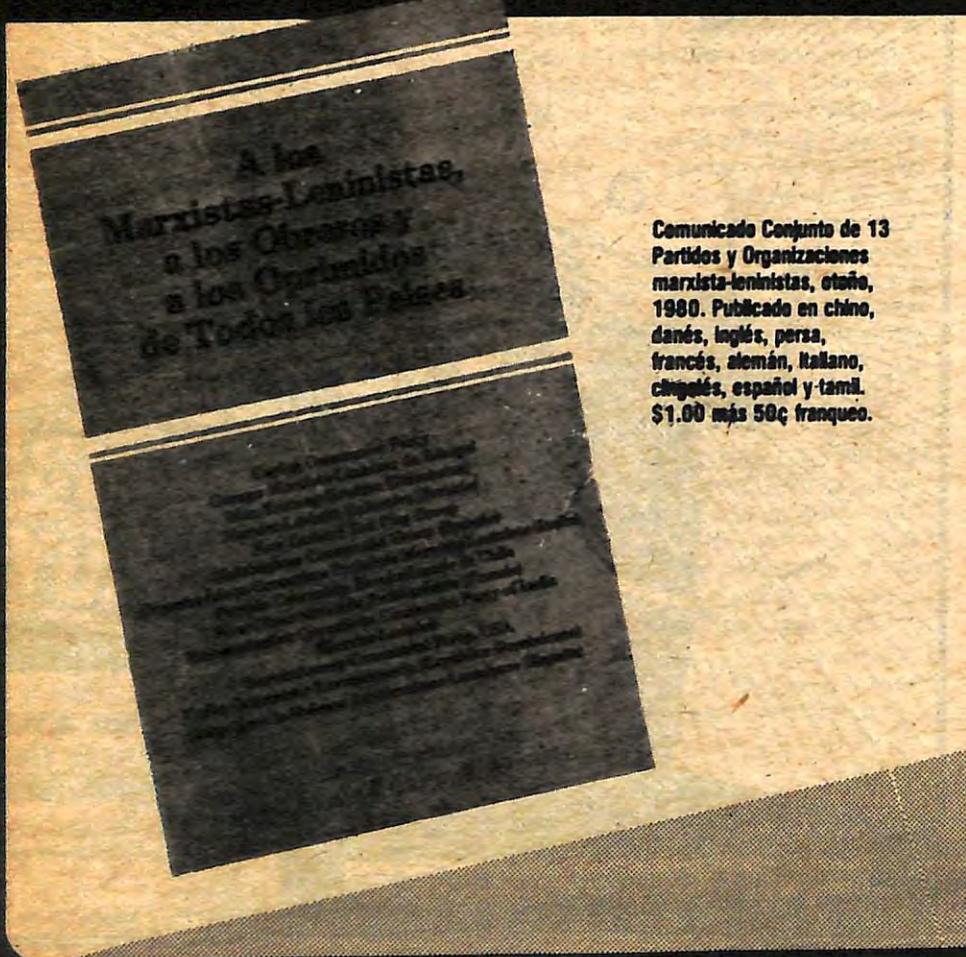
## Llamado a los lectores de la JCR Dar testimonio en conexión con la demanda de Bob Avakian exigiendo status de refugiado político en Francia

Un acontecimiento ligado a la demanda de Bob Avakian, que indudablemente asombrará a los lectores de la *JCR*, es que ciertas personas no son capaces de—o no quieren—reconocer que la democracia en EU ponen en vitrina, no es nada más que una gran farsa. Este problema será muy importante en los procedimientos pertinentes a la demanda de Bob Avakian exigiendo status de refugiado político. Así que la *JCR* hace un llamado a todos los lectores a que ayuden en gran escala a organizar y a que provean de su propia experiencia, evidencia e información que demuestre claramente los siguientes dos puntos:

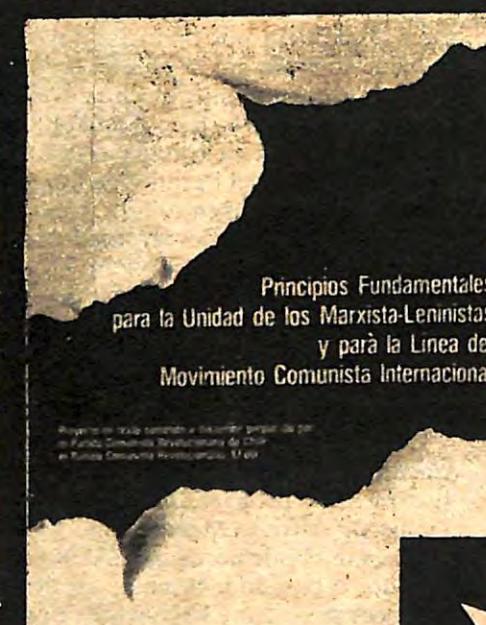
1. Que la clase dominante de EU (responsable por la guerra en Vietnam, Pinochet, el Sha de Irán, Sudáfrica, El Salvador y así sucesivamente), en realidad ejerce una feroz y represiva dictadura dentro de EU también.
2. Especialmente, mediante sus diferentes dependencias del gobierno (cooperando con varias fuerzas reaccionarias "privadas") lleva a cabo una creciente y sistemática represión dirigida contra los revolucionarios en EU y especialmente dirigida contra el PCR y su Presidente Bob Avakian.

Declaraciones que ilustren los dos puntos arriba mencionados deben ser escritas, y si es posible, notarizados (en muchas ciudades esto se puede hacer en bancos, donde se cambian monedas y en muchas otras oficinas de pequeños negociantes). Las declaraciones deben ser entregadas al Comité local Para Liberar a los Acusados Mao Tsetung en su área, o directamente a la Oficina Nacional del Comité, P.O. Box 6422, "T" Street Station, Washington DC 20009. Si es necesario, las declaraciones también pueden ser entregadas a su distribuidor regular de este periódico o del *Obrero Revolucionario*. Se necesitan declaraciones que ilustren cosas como despidos, hostigamiento, complots, brutalidad, amenazas, asesinatos, etc., a manos de agentes de la policía y el gobierno, y especialmente en cuanto estos incidentes conciernen a miembros y partidarios del PCR (inclusive a gente que vende la *JCR*) y sobre todo en cuanto tengan que ver con Bob Avakian.

## Comunicado Conjunto de 13 partidos y organizaciones marxista-leninistas



Comunicado Conjunto de 13 Partidos y Organizaciones marxista-leninistas, octubre, 1980. Publicado en chino, danés, inglés, persa, francés, alemán, italiano, chinglés, español y tamíl. \$1.00 más 50¢ franqueo.



Documento borrador del PCR de Chile y del PCR de EU para discusión en el movimiento comunista internacional y en las filas de sus respectivos Partidos. El documento fue presentado ante la conferencia internacional realizada en octubre, 1980 de Partidos y organizaciones marxista-leninistas, la cual sostuvo que "el texto es, a grandes rasgos, una contribución positiva hacia la elaboración de una correcta línea general para el Movimiento Comunista Internacional. En esta perspectiva, el texto deberá ser difundido y discutido, no solamente en el seno de las organizaciones que firman este comunicado, sino también en las filas del Movimiento Comunista Internacional en su conjunto". Ahora disponible en español, inglés y francés. Precio—\$2.00 (más 50¢ para franqueo).

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## Nueva Revista Marxista-Leninista Aparece Mundialmente



# Mao Tsetung ¿DE DÓNDE PROVIENEN LAS IDEAS CORRECTAS?

¿De dónde provienen las ideas correctas? ¿Caen del cielo? No. ¿Son innatas? Tampoco. Sólo pueden provenir de la práctica social, de los tres géneros de práctica que se dan en la sociedad: la lucha por la producción, la lucha de clases y la experimentación científica. El ser social del hombre determina su pensamiento. Y, a su vez, las ideas correctas características de la clase avanzada, al ser dominadas por las masas, se convierten en una fuerza material que transforma la sociedad y el mundo. En su práctica social, el hombre sostiene toda clase de luchas y extrae ricas experiencias tanto de sus éxitos como de sus fracasos. Innumerables fenómenos del mundo exterior objetivo se reflejan en el cerebro del hombre por medio de los órganos de los sentidos: la vista, el oído, el olfato, el gusto y el tacto, siendo sensorial el conocimiento al comienzo. Cuando estos datos del conocimiento sensorial se acumulan en cantidad suficiente, se produce un salto que los convierte en conocimiento racional, en ideas. Este es un proceso en el conocimiento. Es la primera etapa del proceso global del conocimiento, etapa que va de la materia objetiva a la conciencia subjetiva, de la existencia a las ideas. En esta etapa, aún no se ha comprobado si la conciencia o ideas (incluyendo las teorías, principios políticos, planes y medidas) reflejan correctamente las leyes del mundo exterior objetivo, aún no puede determinarse si son

aceradas o no. Luego, viene la segunda etapa del proceso del conocimiento: el tránsito de la conciencia a la materia, de las ideas a la existencia; en ella, el conocimiento obtenido en la primera etapa se aplica a la práctica social para ver si esas teorías, principios políticos, planes o medidas conducen o no a los éxitos esperados. En términos generales, lo que nos lleva al éxito es correcto, y lo que nos lleva al fracaso, erróneo; esto tiene validez especialmente en la lucha del hombre con la naturaleza. En las luchas sociales, las fuerzas que representan a la clase avanzada a veces sufren revéses; más esto no se debe a que sus ideas sean incorrectas sino a que, en la correlación de las fuerzas en lucha, las fuerzas avanzadas no son momentáneamente tan poderosas como las reaccionarias. Por lo tanto, fracasan temporalmente, pero han de triunfar tarde o temprano. A través de la prueba de la práctica, se produce otro salto en el conocimiento del hombre. Este es más importante que el anterior por ser el único que está en posibilidad de demostrar si es acertado o erróneo el primer salto en el conocimiento, o sea, si son correctas o no las ideas, teorías, principios políticos, planes o medidas elaborados en el curso de la reflexión del mundo exterior objetivo. No hay otro medio de comprobar la verdad. Si el proletariado busca conocer el mundo, es para transformarlo, y con ello no persigue ningún otro

objetivo. Por lo común, sólo es posible llegar a un conocimiento correcto después de muchas repeticiones del proceso que conduce de la materia a la conciencia y de la conciencia a la materia, es decir, de la práctica al conocimiento y del conocimiento a la práctica. Esta es la teoría marxista del conocimiento, la teoría materialista dialéctica del conocimiento. Muchos de nuestros camaradas no la comprenden todavía. Cuando se les pregunta de dónde extraen sus ideas, opiniones, principios políticos, métodos, planes, conclusiones, y sus prolijos discursos y artículos, consideran extraña la pregunta y no saben cómo responder. Para ellos son incomprensibles estos saltos por los cuales la materia se transforma en conciencia y la conciencia en materia, fenómenos que ocurren con frecuencia en la vida cotidiana. Por eso, es preciso educar a nuestros camaradas en la teoría materialista dialéctica del conocimiento para que orienten correctamente su pensamiento, sepan investigar y estudiar, resuman sus experiencias, superen las dificultades, cometan menos errores, trabajen bien y se esfuerzen por convertir a China en una gran potencia socialista y por ayudar a las amplias masas de los pueblos oprimidos y explotados del mundo, cumpliendo así nuestro gran deber internacionalista.

## 12- Convicción por "Conspiración Sedicosa"

### Supuesto Militante de FALN

### Denuncia Imperialismo EU

(Este artículo viene del Obrero Revolucionario, voz del Partido Comunista Revolucionario.)

**Chicago**—“Esto ni siquiera es un juicio, es una corte farsante y no representativa. Toda la gente aquí representa al gobierno y al FBI, que ya me han enjuiciado”. Con estas palabras, inició Oscar López-Rivera el 21 de julio su declaración de apertura como acusado en un juicio más de presos políticos puertorriqueños. “Puerto Rico es una colonia supeditada por medio de la conquista militar de EU. Su pueblo vive bajo el dominio militar, bajo el genocidio”, continuó López-Rivera, un presunto miembro del FALN.

Negándose a reconocer la autoridad de la corte, pronunció una candente denuncia de 20 minutos de la opresión del imperialismo EU al pueblo puertorriqueño: el programa de “control de natalidad” del gobierno de EU que ha dejado estériles a un 40% de las mujeres en edad de concebir; la tasa de desempleo del 40%; la inmigración forzada de más de la mitad de la población a los barrios de las ciudades de EU porque en la isla no tienen forma de ganarse la vida. Pormenorizó el saqueo de la economía antaño auto-suficiente de Puerto Rico por el capital de EU, la expropiación de inmensos trechos de tierra cultivable por las FFAA de EU en tanto el pueblo no tiene con qué alimentarse, los bombardeos casi diarios de la habitada isla de Vieques que la Marina de EU ha convertido en un gigantesco tiro al blanco. Declaró: “Yo recibí mi entrenamiento militar en Fort Knox y Fort Hood. Estuve un año en Vietnam. Serví en las FFAA imperialistas y ahí fue donde primero vi a la gente luchando contra el imperialismo y el colonialismo”. Después de su declaración, López-Rivera rehusó participar en el juicio.

El Procurador Jeremy Margolis con diáfana hipocresía le informó al jurado: “Este no es un caso sobre igualdad y oportunidad. (Aparentemente, Margolis temía la simple mención de la liberación de Puerto Rico en la corte—OR). Es acerca de la forma en que López actuó tratando de alcanzar esos objetivos mediante el robo armado y la toma armada del poder”. Sin embargo, una de las acusaciones contra Oscar López-Rivera era el cargo abiertamente político de “conspiración sedicosa”. “Oponerse por la fuerza a la autoridad del gobierno de Estados Unidos... (con el propósito de) obtener independencia para Puerto Rico”, declara la acusa-

ción de conspiración sedicosa. ¿Qué es esto si no una declaración descarada de que el verdadero crimen en cuestión es la “conspiración” para librarse a un país oprimido de las garras del imperialismo EU?

Hasta la acusación de López-Rivera y 12 de sus camaradas el pasado diciembre aquí, la tal ley había permanecido inerte por décadas. Otras 11 personas fueron juzgadas y condenadas en los meses pasados, pero a López-Rivera no lo arrestaron sino hasta hace poco cuando un policía racista, sospechoso de ver un latino en la comunidad absolutamente blanca de Glenview, lo detuvo e investigó. William Morales, la decimotercera persona nombrada en las acusaciones, no ha sido atrapado. La ley de conspiración sedicosa, concebida como una ley de cajón para condenar a cualquiera por oposición revolucionaria al gobierno, se ha usado especialmente contra el movimiento de independencia de Puerto Rico a lo largo de la historia. Bajo esta acusación encarcelaron al líder del Partido Nacionalista en 1936 y nuevamente en 1954, como un medio de sofocar los levantamientos populares de ese entonces. Pero la forma global en que está escrita la ley implica que se puede usar muy ampliamente, y también se invocó contra los que se opusieron al servicio militar obligatorio durante la I Guerra Mundial.

Como con los anteriores casos, el juicio fue una farsa de principio a fin. El fiscal se basó principalmente en el testimonio de Alfredo Méndez, uno de los 11 presuntos miembros del FALN condenados el pasado diciembre, que desde entonces se volteó y se convirtió en testigo del gobierno a cambio de una sentencia más leve. Méndez se comportó de manera supremamente cooperativa con el gobierno, diciendo todo lo que le habían ensayado a decir y no sólo presentando testimonio contra López-Rivera, sino señalando a partidarios en la corte (estableciendo así las bases para futuros ataques del gobierno) y contando de un supuesto plan del FALN para secuestrar al hijo de Ronald Reagan a fin de intercambiarlo por los 11 presos. En las semanas previas al juicio hubo una racha de hostigamiento de parte del FBI y el Servicio Secreto en la comunidad puertorriqueña de Chicago, con la supuesta amenaza como pretexto. Los principales blancos de dicho hostigamiento fueron miembros del Movi-

miento de Liberación Nacional (MLN) que le ofrece apoyo político al FALN; durante un sólo día, el Servicio Secreto visitó a 6 de sus miembros. En cada visita los agentes del gobierno se comportaron ruda y ruidosamente y trataron de armar escándalos y provocar incidentes. En más de un sitio golpearon escandalosamente la puerta y gritaron: “¡Abran o les vamos a dar en la madre!” Una mujer miembro del comité, tuvo que aguantar las amenazas de esos matones, mientras que le advertían ominosamente: “Dile a tu gente que deje a nuestro jefe en paz”. El “jefe” al que se referían era Reagan.

Al finalizar el juicio, se declaró a Oscar López-Rivera culpable de todas las acusaciones y la prensa burguesa de

desaforó. Hasta hizo el esfuerzo de entrevistar en TV a puertorriqueños retrógrados que apoyaban el veredicto y se oponían en general a la lucha para liberar a Puerto Rico; la prensa se concentró en poner de relieve cosas como que pelear por la liberación de Puerto Rico es irrelevante y que el movimiento que persigue es insignificante. Sin embargo, el hecho mismo de que tuvieran que decirlo en las horas de programación más atendidas de la TV, es una prueba clara de que precisamente lo contrario es cierto, de que el gobierno está bien enterado de que así es, y que está no poco temeroso de ello. En Chicago, por ejemplo, las militantes manifestaciones durante el último Día Puertorriqueño evidencian el hecho de que la demanda de independencia de Puerto Rico está cobrando mayor y mayor fuerza. Este sentimiento en ascenso es una de las razones de las recientes olas de represión policiaca desatadas contra la comunidad puertorriqueña (que incluyeron clausuras estilo Gestapo de muchos almacenes y tabernas). Lejos de aplastar así la fortaleza del pueblo puertorriqueño, tales acciones sólo le echan candela al fuego. Los imperialistas han visto muchos ejemplos de la “irrelevancia” e “insignificancia” de la lucha para liberar a Puerto Rico y de seguro que van a ver muchos más.

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# Las Reglas y Ordenes en una Secundaria

Recientemente recibimos un ejemplar del "Manual Estudiantil de la Secundaria Bethesda-Chevy Chase", y queremos presentar algunos de los puntos salientes de las reglas y regulaciones a nuestros lectores. A propósito, Bethesda y Chevy Chase, en el estado de Maryland, son poblados por tipos de la media y alta clases, inclusive un gran número de políticos y burócratas del gobierno federal. Parece que aún aquí hay problemas en mantener a los estudiantes "disciplinados". ¿Qué le pasa al mundo...?

Lo siguiente es una lista de varios tópicos bajo el título de "Plan para la Disciplina". En el Manual cada uno viene con un párrafo de explicaciones, aunque aquí incluimos nada más que unos pocos de ellos:

**INCENDIO PREMEDITADO Y APARATOS EXPLOSIVOS...**  
**FRAUDE Y PLAGIO...**  
**DESTRUCCION, PERDIDA, ROBO DE PROPIEDAD PUBLICA, VANDALISMO...**  
**CONDUCTA DESTROZADORA EN EL AULA...**  
**DROGAS E INTOXICANTES...**  
**EXTORSION...**  
**ALARMA DE INCENDIO FALSO...**  
**PELEA...**  
**FORJADURA DE DOCUMENTOS...**  
**APOSTAR...**  
**GRAFITO...**  
**COMPORTAMIENTO EN EL PASILLO...**

**INSUBORDINACION:** La insubordinación consiste de cuestionar o desafiar intencionalmente la autoridad de un oficial de la escuela (maestro, administrador, consejero) o de por-

tarse en una manera que implica tal desafío. Cuando un oficial de la escuela pide a cualquier estudiante que haga algo, es imperativo que él/ella cumpla sin que resultaría en algún daño al cuerpo, o sin que la demanda sea sin duda irracional. Rehusar de hacerlo constituirá la insubordinación. Rehusar de identificarse a un oficial quien lo pide es insubordinación...

**INTIMIDACION...**

**PARQUE PARA ESTACIONAMIENTO...**

**ABUSO FISICO...**

**PROFANIDAD Y OBSCENIDAD...**

**REHUSAR DE IDENTIFICARSE A UN OFICIAL DE LA ESCUELA...**

**PELIGROS A LA SEGURIDAD...**

**FUMAR:** Se considera que uno fuma si es observado en posesión de un cigarrillo encendido..., o encontrado detrás de un obstáculo del cual fue observado el humo...

**EFFECTOS SONOROS...**

**ROBO...**

**VIOLACIONES DE CIRCULACION EN LA PROPIEDAD DE LA ESCUELA...**

**ABUSO VERBAL:** El abuso verbal consiste de intencionalmente intimidar, insultar o de otra manera abusar verbalmente a un oficial de la escuela...

Se rumorea que los oficiales de esta escuela también consideran la idea de organizar un piquete de ejecución o simplemente algunos instrumentos de tortura, y de usarlos durante el recreo para almorzar con algunos "estudiantes difíciles". Deben comprometer a unos oficiales de las prisiones del estado de Maryland para dar consejos en este asunto.

antes de que cayera completamente en el sumidero del revisionismo. Más aún, ha sido la concepción predominante, con algunas variaciones, en el movimiento comunista internacional desde la década de 1920 y después de los años de la influencia de Lenin. Este concepto es fundamentalmente incorrecto y ha impedido una preparación seria para la revolución. Su punto de partida básico es meterse en las luchas del pueblo, particularmente en torno a sus necesidades cotidianas. Entonces, el papel principal que desempeña el partido respecto a estas luchas es darles liderazgo táctico y organizacional, y de tal modo busca ganar influencia y liderazgo entre el pueblo para ser capaz de dirigir una revolución. Algunas veces esto ha adoptado formas "izquierdistas" ("todos a seguir a los comunistas ahora y a marchar sin vacilar de la lucha económica militante al socialismo"); más a menudo ha adoptado formas abiertamente derechistas de seguir a la zaga de líderes reformistas y del espontaneísmo en general. De cualquier modo, es invariablemente una receta para rebajar el nivel del trabajo comunista hasta el nivel existente de lucha y conciencia de masas, y en última instancia para capitular ante la burguesía, especialmente en la forma de promover los intereses revolucionarios del proletariado internacional."

Esta fue la línea detrás de Rock y Rebelión, algo muerto y rígido, una "forma proletaria pura" y absoluta que nació toda ungida de las "líneas de piquete, fiestas, y manifestaciones" de los OBREROS con el "derecho" comunitario a atacar todo lo que antes se había desarrollado y lo que nacería en el futuro, algo que, de por sí solo, "encendería" al pueblo, como dice el artículo mencionado más arriba a "cruzar la línea y envolverse en la revolución de veras", como si cualquier cosa singular podría, o incluso debería, hacerlo.

Cosas nuevas seguirán naciendo, implacable y caóticamente, y con la determinación de la moción de la rueda de la historia. Aún todavía no se ha logrado el comunismo, y cuando se logre, cosas nuevas todavía seguirán naciendo. ¿Quién sabe qué maravillas han de crear todavía los pueblos revolucionarios de todo el mundo? □

# Miedo de 12 VOLTIOS DIOS



Jóvenes hoy día! No tienen el respeto adecuado para la religión. Bueno, una revista cristiana encontró la solución—y un ministro bautista en Michigan no podía esperar para probarlo: ¡LA SILLA ELECTRICA!

Les sienta en una silla cargada con 12 voltios de electricidad y ¡PAF! Da buenos resultados.

Ahora cuando dice, "Dios quiere hablar con Uds.", bueno ¡se callan!



Por su puesto, todo esto no se puede comparar con el Mismísimo Señor, Dios de la Biblia:

Era él que probó la fe de Abraham por ordenarle aatar su hijo a una roca, cortarle la garganta y quemarle. Después llamó la atención de Job por matar su esposa e hijos y dándole llagas y hervores de sangre por todo el cuerpo (¿enfermedad venérea?). Así ¿por qué hacen alharacas sobre unos 12 voltios?

## Inglatera...

### Viene de la página 5

estación policial, la apedearon con rocas y botellas, y rompieron las ventanas con palancas. Centenares más de jóvenes, algunos usando radios CB para comunicarse, recorrieron los barrios de Manchester en lo que fue descrito como "ataques simultáneos y bien coordinados".

En medio de los motines, los gobernantes británicos y la prensa empezaron a comparar la situación con las rebeliones urbanas de los 1960 en EU. Se publicó varias secciones del Informe de la Comisión Nacional sobre la Causa y la Prevención de Violencia en Estados Unidos en los diarios británicos. El Partido Laborista en particular está repitiendo una retórica liberal muy parecida a la que se oía en EU durante los años 60, de que hay que conceder algunas migajas para las zonas afectadas por los motines en la forma de dinero para educación, trabajos, viviendas y lo demás. Aunque quizás habrá algunas migajas, después de las rebeliones como parte de un paquete de ataques y concesiones, esto fue principalmente un caso de no más que retórica. Todos los sectores de la burguesía británica saben muy bien que los años 80 no son lo mismo que los años 60 para el imperialismo. Son pocas las migas para ofrecer, a medida que todas las condiciones sociales para las masas populares continúan deteriorándose. En Inglaterra la situación está en avanzado.

Entre el verano de 1979 y el otoño de 1980 manufactura total cayó algo como un 14%, un declín sin precedente y se informa que fue aún más grave que durante la Depresión de los años 30' ciudades y comunidades enteras se han ido a la quiebra y miles han sido lanzados a las líneas de desempleo. Mientras que el desempleo casi se ha doblado en Gran Bretaña durante estos últimos dos años (alcanzó más del 11%) la tasa general de Liverpool es de 17%—en particular en distritos como Toxteth, donde el desempleo entre los blancos es un 43%. Para los negros es 47%, y para la

juventud más como 60-70%. Miles de los desesperados y desempleados andan por las calles alineadas de edificios quemados, y son sometidos al abuso y hostigamiento constante de la policía que tiene la función de controlar estas capas "parias". Y estas condiciones no son diferentes de las que existen en toda una serie de otras ciudades inglesas.

En Inglaterra, la opresión nacional se ha hecho siempre más severa. Las condiciones de vida en general son lo peor de lo peor. Además del hostigamiento y el terror que la policía desencadena diariamente contra las masas de inmigrantes, grupos fascistas organizados como el Frente Nacional están siendo desencadenados siempre más frecuentemente mientras que muchos sectores de la burguesía claman extensivamente en favor de mandar a los inmigrantes "de vuelta a su país de origen". Ciertamente las llamadas de los liberales para "mejores relaciones raciales" no pueden resolver nada de esto (y de hecho, las "relaciones raciales" en la línea de batalla nunca han estado mejores!).

En breve, los problemas que enfrenta Inglaterra no se reducen sencillamente al desempleo, a condiciones pésimas de vivienda, ni a un entrenamiento mejor de la policía, ni a "tensiones raciales". El quid de la cuestión es que todo el sistema no vale absolutamente nada y se está hundiendo cada día más. Y no están ocurriendo en una situación parecida a la de la década del 60 cuando el imperialismo de conjunto disponía de más fuerza y reservas materiales y políticas para tratar de calmar la situación. El horror y la consternación que expresan los alardos de los dirigentes británicos ante "la codicia y la violencia feroz de la locura colectiva" que barren a Inglaterra reflejan su posición verdaderamente débil—y sus movidas para expandir su aparato represivo son una reflexión de su reconocimiento—y miedo—de que lo que está por venir será peor.

El festival de motines en Bretaña nos da una vislumbre importante de las verdaderas oportunidades para avances revolucionarios en los mismos países imperialistas en el período venidero.

## "Rock y Rebelión"

### Viene de la página 6

con la vida solamente, y exige la literatura y el arte también. Porque aunque ambos son bellos, la vida como reflejada en las obras de literatura y arte puede y debe estar en un plan más elevado, más intenso, más concentrado, más típico, más cerca de lo ideal, y por lo tanto más universal que la vida diaria real".

Si esto, y hasta qué grado, será satisfecho por el arte burgués o el revolucionario, es una cuestión para las masas avanzadas, especialmente el proletariado y su Partido, y para los avanzados entre los artistas, tanto antes como después de la conquista del Poder, aunque obviamente, después de la conquista del Poder el crear y popularizar el arte revolucionario avanza cualitativamente.

No hay ninguna posibilidad de que el arte, incluso al ser empuñado por un sector de artistas consciente y numéricamente fuerte en los puntos altos de la revolución, podría comprender las tareas de liderazgo del proletariado en las cuales son centrales, en un país como E.U., las tareas de agitación y propaganda con la capacidad de conducir denuncias políticas claves en esto, y mas aún el intento de hacerlo también degradar al arte al nivel de tonterías latosas y estrechas ("mierda política"). Lo que está detrás de todos estos puntos de vista es una línea general. En el caso de artistas revolucionarios y progresistas, se trata de un error por ignorancia, o por falta de madurez política, o por prejuicio de clase. Y en cierto sentido es resultado de, y respuesta a, los pecados del revisionismo. En el caso del economismo/revisionismo, no se trata de ningún error, sino de un plan de revolución terco y consciente que está literalmente lleno de asesinato.

El nuevo programa del Partido dice esto:

"Por muchas décadas ha existido una concepción universalmente reconocida sobre cómo hacer revolución en un país imperialista como E.U. El viejo PC, EU la sustentó aun en sus mejores días,

## Israel...

Viene de la página 3

perfecta—dado que Sudáfrica es otra "bastión de la civilización occidental" entre los "salvajes ignorantes". Los dos han jugado papeles específicos para el imperialismo occidental como agentes de un barbarismo desencadenado y como los que imponen de manera terrorista la ley imperialista, mientras desocupan EU de la responsabilidad de comprometerse directamente. Sólo que el disfraz de Israel se ha podido mantener algo más intacto.

Sin embargo más y más, como las atrocidades asquerosas de Israel se amontonan, los sionistas y sus disculpadores imperialistas EU han tenido que recurrir a su línea fundamental—que "cualquier cosa que hagan está bien porque nunca habrá otro holocausto". El Ministro de Defensa de Israel Moshe Dayan fue a Vietnam en los años 1970 para ser asesor del régimen Thieu en la contrainsurgencia para que "no hubiera otro holocausto". Los jets israelíes sueltan napalm por las colonizaciones palestinas—"recuerda al holocausto". Israel y Sudáfrica en conjunto realizan pruebas nucleares—"para evitar un futuro holocausto". Esto ha sido la naturaleza y la práctica del Estado sionista de Israel en servicio al imperialismo occidental desde siempre, y sus acciones recientes de ninguna manera son inconsistentes fundamentalmente con aquel papel en las condiciones de hoy. En particular no es cuestión de la política del régimen de Begin, sino viene a raíz de las necesidades del imperialismo.

Lo más importante: los "intereses estratégicos" del imperialismo EU

En los principios de junio, jets de Israel rastrellaron los 600 millas por el aire de Jordania y la Arabia Saudita para realizar un ataque masivo contra—y para destruir—una facilidad y reactor nuclear sólo unas pocas millas de la capital iraquí de Bagdad. Esto fue una amenaza clara del mismo EU a Irak, de que tiene que alinearse completamente con el bloque belicista EU o si no... mandado por el mensajero EU, Israel.

Un consenso entre las filas de los imperialistas EU dio su bendición a la retada sorpresa contra Irak, a pesar de algunas dudas y los riesgos que llevaba, principalmente porque se calculó que los regímenes burgueses árabes, aunque públicamente lo condonaran, en privado quedarian satisfechos; y porque era necesario hacerlo claro a Irak que el principal poder en la región es Israel. El carácter inofensivo de la respuesta de EU al incidente muestra la aprobación del bombardeo de Irak. Pero el ataque contra Beirut no consiguió ningunos de estos beneficios, y la posibilidad de que Begin tenga en mente más ideas luminosas por el estilo ha resultado en que los imperialistas EU se esfuerzen por mantener a Israel más a la raya.

Pero lo que es aún más importante es que cada paso que da EU tiene que ser respaldado por la bomba y la bayoneta; cuanto más desesperado se haga EU más sale a relucir el hecho de que el instrumento de terror abierto no es sólo la fundación de la diplomacia imperialista, sino la realidad cruda. Y toda esta actividad está siendo más y más evaluada según el criterio de como encaja en las contradicciones que se desarrollan a escala mundial—especialmente respecto a la batalla decisiva mundial entre los imperialistas EU y soviéticos.

que en la campaña de criticismo de las masas dirigida por Mao. Pero la derecha, quienes tenían fuerzas poderosas a su favor, fue suficientemente fuerte para poner a Jua, quien políticamente estaba en su campo pero no tan expuesto como Deng y por lo tanto un blanco menos fácil.

Para los revolucionarios, un punto a favor de Jua era que aunque él estaba en el campo opuesto, personalmente no tenía mucho seguimiento y no tenía una base substancial de poder. El pensamiento de Mao era que lo mejor que podía hacer la izquierda no era jugárselo todo en la escogencia de personal, que de todos modos, caía fuera de sus capacidades, sino en profundizar el movimiento político de masas para denunciar la línea derechista de Deng. Simultáneamente, poniendo a Jua en la posición de tener que apoyar públicamente la campaña contra Deng, Mao confiaba en aumentar las contradicciones dentro de la derecha, así como crear las condiciones para desenmascarar el oportunismo de Jua. Bajo estas condiciones, Mao tuvo que aprobar el nombramiento de Jua como premier encargado, y después como premier y vice-presidente, pero aceleró el paso de la lucha contra la línea que Jua, así como Deng y todos los revisionistas promulgaban.

Careciendo de una base de poder, Jua no fue el principal catalizador o arquitecto del golpe revisionista. Si las cosas hubiesen alcanzado esa altura, la derecha hubiera tenido que dar pasos para tomar el Poder, aun sin Jua. Pero claro que Jua sí desempeñó un papel muy vital para ellos, proveyendo una apariencia externa de sucesión ordenada y sembrando la confusión con su reputación de que él tenía el "respaldo" de Mao. La disolución del levantamiento potencial en Shanghai es un ejemplo del tipo de papel que él desempeñó en los días cruciales del golpe. El llegó a hacer vacilar o a confundir a líderes de Shanghai, como también a gran cantidad de elementos medios y aun elementos avanzados. Un proyecto de levantamiento que había sido planeado mintiendo, y que hubiera ejercido un impacto tremendo no sólo en China sino a escala internacional, jamás se verificó. Por esta razón, se puede decir que el papel que desempeñó Jua fue aún más peligroso y venenoso que el de los revisionistas más descarados como Deng.

### Hu Yaobang—un Clon de Deng

El reemplazo de Jua, Hu Yaobang, siempre ha seguido a la zaga de los altibajos políticos de Deng. Hu ha estado desempeñando el rol de cabeza de ataque en abrir camino para criticar a la Revolución Cultural y Mao. Su elección, y el consenso general que Deng obtuvo para el documento, demuestran algo del verdadero poder de las fuerzas de Deng en el presente.

## CORRESPONDENCIA

*Nota del JCR: Recibimos esta carta (entre otras) recientemente, y queremos llamar a nuestros lectores que nos escriben acerca de estos sujetos, u otros puntos de importancia en desarrollar un movimiento consciente de clase de jóvenes revolucionarios en este*

Pero lo que resalta más fundamentalmente es la naturaleza precaria de su posición. Por ejemplo, se suponía que el comité central trataría con la cuestión de la economía, pero ni siquiera se abordó este tema. Se ve que la lucha principal sobre la formulación del documento historial, en particular respecto a la evaluación de Mao, fue tan intensa, que Deng gastó todas sus fuerzas para obtener algún acuerdo sobre la cuestión de Mao. Sin embargo, la economía sigue siendo un problema tremendo para los revisionistas, con la intensificación de la inflación y el desempleo siendo los indicios más visibles de la dislocación extrema que ha resultado del desbaratamiento de la economía socialista. A estas alturas, les resulta más bien difícil seguir culpando a la Revolución Cultural o a los Cuatro por todo esto, y ahora que Jua, el chivo expiatorio perfecto, ha desaparecido, esta camarilla dominante sólo puede esperar aún mayores disensiones.

Indudablemente Hu y Deng enfrentarán contratiempos auténticos, incluso de los revolucionarios de China. Según informa el *New York Times*, Hu dio evidencia de algo de esto en su discurso: "Los camaradas en los niveles inferiores deben respetar y obedecer el liderato de camaradas en niveles superiores", dijo él... Al hacer esta declaración, el Sr. Hu elevó su voz de dispasión medio varias veces al nivel de agudeza".

La nominación de Deng como jefe de la comisión militar, un puesto ocupado tradicionalmente por el presidente del partido, indica lo seria que es la cuestión de las fuerzas armadas y las dificultades que enfrentan al respecto las fuerzas de Deng. Es obvio que Deng en particular, quien tiene algo de influencia en el ejército, pensaba que se necesitaria una mano más recia para controlar el ejército que un menos conocido como Hu.

Lo que augura ser aún más decisivo en el futuro para los gobernantes revisionistas son las presiones de la situación internacional en rápido desarrollo. La visita a Pekín del Secretario de Estado Haig sólo unos días antes del comienzo de la VI Plenaria y el anuncio de la posibilidad de que EU proveería armas a China lo recalcó. Se informó de una reunión del politburó justo antes del viaje de Haig en la cual ocurrió una batalla aguda entre los que bregaban por una capitulación aún más desfachada ante EU y los que dudan de EU y bregan por una vuelta hacia el lado soviético. La concepción del mundo respecto al futuro que han adoptado no es, de ninguna manera, lo que los revisionistas declaran en su documento histórico: "China ahora ha vuelto a los 'principios científicos del Pensamiento Mao Tsetung' para un 'periodo de desarrollo pacífico'".

## China...

Viene de la página 4

Cultural fue definida como una lucha contra la línea revisionista o el camino capitalista. No había ninguna base para esta definición... El tal llamado cuartel burgués dentro del Partido dirigido por Liu Shaoqi y Deng Xiaoping ni siquiera existió".

De hecho, defender a Mao durante los años de la revolución democrática de liberación del feudalismo y del imperialismo y condenarlo durante los años de la profundización de la revolución socialista, como lo hace este documento revisionista, es un desenmascaramiento de sus autores y de quienes lo endosan. Los pone en evidencia aún más como demócratas burgueses, que apoyaron aspectos de la revolución que liberó a China del feudalismo y del imperialismo extranjero, pero no pudieron apoyar la revolución cabalmente socialista y se convirtieron cada vez más en el blanco principal doméstico de ésta.

### Jua Guofeng

La valoración sumamente severa y la destitución como presidente del partido de Jua Guofeng reflejan el hecho de que en este documento no se hicieron muchas concesiones a las fuerzas que urgían cuidado en la crítica de Mao. Sinceramente el tratamiento humillante que Jua ha recibido no hace justicia al papel indispensable que jugó para los revisionistas en todo, desde las preparaciones hasta la ejecución del golpe de Estado, y también en los esfuerzos para consolidar su dominación después. Un breve historia reciente de Jua servirá para verificar sus inimitables contribuciones a la causa revisionista.

En 1966, Jua perdió su posición en el Secretariado de la provincia de Hunan, después de haber sido acusado de ser "monarquista". Fue uno de los que cayó temprano en la Revolución Cultural, pero se recuperó con bastante rapidez. Puesto que gente como Jua fueron promovidas a posiciones superiores en cierto sentido a costa de gente como Deng, ellos tenían un cierto interés personal en aceptar y defender aspectos de la Revolución Cultural, aunque fundamentalmente su cosmovisión política les ponía al lado de los revisionistas.

Ara comienzos de los años 70, Jua trabajaba en Pekín directamente bajo el patriarca de los revisionistas, Zhou

Enlai. Para 1975, a insistencia de Zhou, Deng había sido rehabilitado y estaba trabajando furiosamente para convertir a China en un país capitalista—la mismísima razón por lo que fue derrocado durante la Revolución Cultural. Deng dirigió la elaboración de "Las Tres Hierbas Venenosas", cuya quintaesencia era poner el desarrollo económico por encima de todo lo demás, y que atacaba a los avances logrados durante la Revolución Cultural, particularmente en las áreas de la administración industrial, la ciencia y la tecnología. A partir de la promesa revisionista de que la "modernización" de China—en contraposición a continuar la lucha de clases en el país e internacionalmente—debería ser lo primordial, "Las Tres Hierbas Venenosas" propusieron un programa para políticas capitalistas en áreas críticas de la economía.

Algo sumamente revelador de "Las Tres Hierbas Venenosas" es que las tres principales figuras en la reorganización actual están conectadas de un modo u otro con dicho documento. Deng dirigió su elaboración y ambos Jua Guofeng y Hu Yaobang escribieron partes de él. Ahora que el programa económico de los revisionistas ha fracasado, están usando a Jua como chivo expiatorio, y le culpan por "haber buscado impetuosamente resultados rápidos en el trabajo económico". Pero eso fue el plan de todo el campo revisionista, formuló algunos años antes del golpe de Estado en "Las Tres Hierbas Venenosas". No es sólo Jua sino la pandilla revisionista en su totalidad los cuales anticipaban que los países imperialistas occidentales les proveerían con toda la tecnología avanzada necesaria mientras que demostrarían un nivel de servilismo suficiente y prometiesen a cederles los recursos naturales de China.

### Cómo Ascendió Jua a la Cima

La prensa EU sostiene que Jua fue el "escogido de Mao", pero muy claramente no es así. La muerte de Zhou Enlai en enero de 1976 atizó la candela de la lucha entre los revisionistas y los revolucionarios, y el enfrentamiento entre los dos lados se concentró directamente en el asunto de quién sucedería a Zhou como premier. Mao y la izquierda querían que fuera Chang Chunchiao, pero no lo lograron pues porque el balance de fuerzas no estaba a su favor. La derecha no fue capaz de poner a su más firme representante político, Deng, porque éste estaba más y más bajo ata-

Al JCR,

Un amigo y yo nos sentábamos pensando de crear la opinión pública acerca del JCR y decidimos a buscar algún material que explicaría el rol del periódico y de la juventud.

Sacamos unos ejemplares viejos del JCR y buscamos el llamado a "Dejar de Marcar el Paso". Pero al leerlo, no pareció correcto (lo que es bien posible) porque no se ve en el JCR ahora). Mi reacción inicial era que menosprecia a las masas de gente (está seguro de que ellos saben qué es la fuente de su miseria y qué es la solución) y por eso habla de "educarlos". Como dijo Lenin (en algún artículo) somos nosotros los que tienen que aumentar nuestra actividad, porque las masas ya están activamente luchando acerca de muchas cosas. Otro punto sobre el llamado es que aunque dice que las posibilidades de la revolución son verdaderas, se enfoca en el sufrimiento, la guerra, el imperialismo y los superricos. También

menosprecia al internacionalismo (aún es chauvinismo: "como jóvenes rebeldes en EU") por no mostrar como cada golpe contra el sistema avanza la lucha mundial para el comunismo.

Y finalmente, y lo más importante, ni menciona el JCR. ¿Es tan letal el periódico que ni siquiera queríamos mencionarlo?

De todos modos el llamado a la Juventud Rebelde es un buen contraste a Dejar de Marcar el Paso. Va en la ofensiva, ridiculiza a los "vejestorios" y definitivamente enfatiza que somos JUVENTUD COMUNISTA REVOLUCIONARIA. Me gustaría ver el DEJAR DE MARCAR EL PASO escrito con la misma línea de JUVENTUD REBELDE. Después de todo, ¿no parece importante atraer a los jóvenes a la BJCR dado que existe específicamente porque los jóvenes tienen un rol clave en revolucionar la sociedad y el mundo? Sinceramente, I.M. D'Ranged