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CAMPAIGN '80 UNDERWAY

ARE YOU READY TO FIGHT TO DEFEND THIS THRONE?



The 1980 presidential election campaign has gotten underway with interest in it at record lows. Predictions from some sources are that voter turnout in November could be as low as 30% of all those eligible. Even polls such as *Time* magazine's latest one indicate deep-seated dissatisfaction with the whole election con game. According to *Time*, 55% of those polled say they are not "personally interested or excited about any of the candidates," with only 11% reporting "genuine enthusiasm" for Reagan, 9% for Carter and 6% for Anderson. And the same article quotes Warren Mitofsky of CBS News' election and survey unit and a member of the American Political Science Association as commenting, "We are really seeing a loss of respect for our system of selecting our elective officials." The bourgeoisie is openly worried about this state of affairs and is more frantically than ever attempting to turn the growing disgust and anger about the elections around, or at least keep it within safer bounds. The biggest candidate is becoming the election itself, with covers on news magazines reading "VOTE" and "THE U.S. VOTER: Wary-Worried-Waiting," and TV, radio and newspapers trying from every angle to stimulate interest in the campaign and get people to the polls.

Ironically, it is the "free elections" which are producing such cynicism and disgust that are supposed to stir our souls to defend the U.S. in a war. This very "sacred right to choose," the quintessence of "our democratic traditions," the culmination of "our precious freedoms that no one else in the world enjoys," is supposed to be what makes it all worthwhile for youth to be drafted into the Army and soon to be dragged off to war to defend and protect it. The old line of "in America at least you have a job and the highest standard of living in the world," no longer has the same ring to it. More, the only thing they have to offer are hollow and empty appeals to defend America, the "cornerstone of freedom" where we have the right to vote for which decrepit mouthpiece of the super-rich we want to hear drone on, mouthing warmongering gibberish from the White House or Congress. This is sup-

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RCP Chile Urges Active Boycott

Chilean Generals Hold Gunpoint Referendum

September 11 marks a sad anniversary for the people of Chile and an infamous date in the history of U.S. imperialism. On Sept. 11, 1973, as a three-year campaign planned in the White House and orchestrated by the CIA came to a climax, as U.S. warships maneuvered off Chile's coastline, the hand of American imperialism unleashed Chile's armed forces. The Presidential Palace in Santiago was surrounded by tanks, President Allende murdered, and a ferocious military repression launched against Chile's workers,

peasants and other forces whose struggle threatened U.S. interests.

It was on this anniversary, Sept. 11, 1980, that the fascist military junta which came to power through that coup seven years ago shamelessly held a phony national "plebescite" to obtain the stamp of popular approval on the military regime's proposed constitution, which would allow junta head Gen. Augusto Pinochet to remain in office until 1989, or 1997 if the regime deems it desirable. The military regime had announced

that anyone not voting would be jailed and strict watch would be kept to enforce this edict. To deal with the fact that the junta itself had destroyed the voter registration lists, it was announced that voters' hands would be marked with indelible ink—supposedly to prevent people from voting twice, but obviously meant in this case to allow the police to check up on who didn't vote at all.

In the face of this situation in which whether people

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Jailed On "Overthrow" Charges

Atlanta Revolutionaries Held Incommunicado

The authorities have again switched tactics in the case of two revolutionaries arrested three weeks ago for putting up the "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power" poster (which publicizes the *Revolutionary Worker*) and then charged with "advocating the overthrow of the government," (a "crime" which carries a possible 20-year jail sentence and \$20,000 fine). In a week of calculated moves designed to lull people to sleep, a campaign of lies and rumors was launched to make things appear as if the government is planning to drop the charges and that the defendants are out of jail. District Attorney Slaton talked fast and furious to the news media about all the "problems" with the particular law in question; the newscasts carried stories about bail reduction; a radio commentator broadcast that the defendants were out of jail; and the *Atlanta Journal* editorialized about how the subversion charges should be dropped. Some people, initially outraged by this attack, have been confused by these new tactics. For example, the ACLU decided to wait to see if the case would go to trial before taking it up. Others have told *RW* sellers that they thought the whole thing had been dropped.

A press conference was called by the RCP in front of the *Journal's* offices to expose these lies, and while it was attended by several media representatives, nothing appeared in the press. A letter to the editor of the *Journal* has yet to be printed. In fact, five armed security guards blocked the entrance to the building and prevented the RCP spokesman from delivering the letter. They claimed that the press conference had been a "demonstration" and the RCP was "threatening the editor." Clearly what was being threatened was the *Journal's* pretense of liberalism and the web of lies surrounding the carefully coordinated government and media attack on the RCP and its press, the *RW*.

The *Journal* whined that "the best way to insure that they (the RCP) remain ineffectual is to let them talk and

sell their newspaper," and that "police ought to forget about trying to slap a subversion charge on people who are merely talking about revolution." But at the same time, you didn't have to look too deep beneath this cover to see the truth. As the *Journal* yacked, the government continued to hold the defendants *incommunicado*. The FBI is involved in the case—a fact the press has dutifully omitted. Obviously, these charges are the result of something much bigger than the whims of some petty official or cop. And even more obviously, the *RW* and "people who are merely talking about revolution" represent a threat.

In a surprise move following days and an extensive mass of red tape thrown in the path of people trying to bail out the revolutionaries, the bail was raised to \$1,000 cash each on the two felony "overthrow" charges. That \$2,000 plus the bail on the other misdemeanor charges the defendants also face makes a total of \$3,500 cash bond on these so-called "insignificant" charges. This amount could easily go higher, since the first bail increase came only after enough money had been raised to bail out the defendants.

The judge ruled that only bondsmen in the city of East Point could be used. (East Point is the incorporated city where the arrests took place and is a working-class suburb of Atlanta.) Not too surprisingly, neither bonding company there would touch the case. One flat out refused. Another begged the excuse that the procedure was "too complicated" but then later came out with the truth—"I checked with my sources, I can't say who, but they advised me not to take it."

County officials have absolutely refused to let anyone—including lawyers—see the defendants. They lied that one defendant had not put any names on visitation lists and refused to deliver clean clothes to him. Jailers refused lawyers access to the other defendant, a woman, saying that the whole women's floor had been put "on restriction."

When questioned why, the jailers said they didn't know, and added, "We don't have the computer printouts yet." But word had already leaked out that the reason for restriction was that the women prisoners were making too much noise *debating* and were refusing to go to bed at night.

On top of this unprecedented use of the subversion law against the *RW*, the authorities have decided to railroad through some of the cases of people arrested in Atlanta while building for May Day. On Tuesday, Sept. 9, several people who were arrested prior to May Day—members of the May Day Brigades—were told they had to be in court only four days later for an arraignment. Earlier, they had been told the trial would start "some time this fall." This "some time" has turned out to be a time when the government clearly feels it can use the context of the bigger subversion charge to hit the RCP and its supporters with everything at once.

In fact, two of the articles in the big Atlanta papers about the subversion case have paragraphs of slander and

distortion about May Day, seemingly unrelated informational additions, which repeat the tired rantings common in the press nationwide after May Day that the RCP is an insignificant leftist sect, isolated from the people, etc., etc. This one-two punch of, on the one hand, loudly exclaiming that the RCP is meaningless while, on the other, continuing to step up harassment and to push through on these "overthrow" charges, is a clear statement by the authorities of exactly the danger they see, particularly in the *RW*. And more, raising May Day as an element here is an indication of the connection they see between the *RW* and its role in mobilizing workers to take the political stage—as on May Day.

Some have refused to see the seriousness and significance of these political charges being brought against the RCP. Some, no doubt, attribute this attack to the regional particularities of the South. Both these views are naive and foolish, as events to date in Atlanta have proven. Clearly, the government is using the Atlanta busts as a sort of testing

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Proposed Rewrite of the Draft Programme Section on Women

Dear RW:

I think the section of our Party's Draft Programme on women is not consistent with our revolutionary line or our overall revolutionary programme. It has some glimmers of the future but specifically as a programme for the revolutionary emancipation of women, this doesn't make it. On this, it seems more economist than anything.

The section starts out by saying "the dominant social relations in this society perfectly mirror the economic relations—exploitative. In particular, even the working class man, infected with the dominant bourgeois ideology and frustrated with his role in capitalist society, often plays the role of the bourgeois inside his own home in relation to his wife and children." And then it goes on to say that "the proletarian revolution will change all that, through a prolonged process of struggle involving both men and women and including the children."

This is a weird beginning. It makes it sound like the essence of the particular contradiction between imperialism and women is that women have to live with men who are frustrated by capitalism and infected by its ideology. Then it goes on to say that "all that" will be resolved through some prolonged process of struggle, presumably in the ideological realm. As far as this deals with the material basis for women's oppression, it's very general, mentioning the exploitative economic and social relations generally, which are the material basis for all forms of oppression under capitalism. And as far as it deals with the particularity of women's oppression, it's in the ideological realm and at that, in a much too narrow way around family relationships.

This seems to deny the material basis for women's oppression as a particular and distinct form of oppression, while saying there is some particularity in the ideological realm—and the material basis for that is what capitalism does to husbands. This is going to end up liquidating the struggle in the ideological realm or, at best, giving it a moralistic nature.

The bulk of the section after that is too much a list of reforms: no discrimination in work and pay, allowances for pregnancy, better birth control, guaranteed abortions, the right to divorce. The programme does say the immediate basis for discrimination will relate to work and pay "as well as every other sphere in society," but this is pretty vague; it's like tacked on there. Now the whole last paragraph begins to speak to revolutionary change on this front but again, it's too much like a tail on a donkey.

Overall, the section is eclectic; it has all these different changes and some are revolutionary and some are reformist. The reforms stand out as particularly addressing the oppression of women and the other changes are general and somewhat vague. It's this last, more revolutionary stuff that must be given more strength and more programmatic form and become the context in which the reforms are put forward.

We have come to grips with the particular contradiction between capital and women and analyzed its relationship to the primary contradiction which under socialism continues to be the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and which shows up all over the place and in many forms, like the contradiction between exploitative and non-exploitative relations; between the past and the future, or the old and the new.

The big task for the proletariat is to unleash the productive forces; to continue making revolution against the bourgeoisie on every front with the aim of putting an end to all oppression by eliminating its material basis, revolutionizing the superstructure, fighting and rooting out every manifestation of oppression throughout society. There's a particular task within this of putting an end to the oppression of women. And there's a particular target—the bourgeoisie and its ideology on this question, which is male chauvinism.

And the whole basis on which struggle can and must be carried out is bringing women forward into production on a massive scale and on the basis of equality, while continuing to bring them forward into political life and struggle. This is a basic part of unleashing the productive forces.

With this as a starting point, I have re-written this section and I am submitting it to you for consideration and criticism among the co-conspirators.

from a reader

Proposed Re-Write on the Draft Programme Section on Women

Lenin once said that a measure of the thoroughness (and thus success) of any revolution is the degree to which it mobilizes and emancipates women. Through socialist revolution, the proletariat will break the 1,000 chains of oppression on women and unleash them as a mighty force for progress for humanity such as could never be realized in exploiting societies.

The division of labor in capitalist society means that women are forced to spend a great deal of their time and energy on petty domestic tasks of cooking and cleaning and many women spend most of their lives bearing and watching after children. Women are kept out of or forced into production according to the needs of the bourgeoisie, but under capitalism, they can never be brought forward into production on an equal basis. With this, women in production are segregated and given the worst jobs at about half the wages.

From the time they are small children, women are taught to be passive and submissive; to stay in their "place." Beyond this, they are forced into it, not only because capitalist society can never provide them an opportunity to use and develop their potential to serve and change society, but because the bourgeois ideology of male chauvinism plays a tremendous role throughout society in pushing women down, unleashing a 1,000 and 1 reactionary attacks on women who resist being passive and dominated. Women are exploited under capitalism as sexual commodities to be bought and sold, displayed and mutilated, and used to sell the capitalists' wares. Divisions and antagonisms between men and women are built into and fostered by this system on the basis of an even worse exploitation and degradation of women than what the men get. All of this, the proletariat will do away with.

The most important task of the proletariat in building the new society is to unleash the productive forces from the fetters of capitalism, and this includes bringing women forward into production as well as political life on a massive—and equal—basis. Giant leaps in bringing women into political life will have been accomplished through the struggle for power. And in rebuilding society along socialist lines, the proletariat must strain from the very beginning to continue revolutionizing the division of labor in society. For the masses of women, this will mean an end to the old limited and segregated job categories, making contributions and taking up work in every kind of job as well as being freed from much of the traditional drudgery. The proletariat will step by step establish and involve men and women alike in various institutions like collective laundries, kitchens and child care centers which will promote the gradual socialization of the task of raising children. Immediately, there will be political struggle and debate on equally sharing these burdens, including promoting and popularizing the advanced practice of the class-conscious workers on this question—seeds of the future which exist already today.

Male chauvinism must be combatted in its own right as one dangerous part of the legacy of exploiting society and reserve weapon of the bourgeoisie. This will be done through mass political campaigns and generally using the same

method as for dealing with racist ideology. Again, the practice and thinking of the advanced on this question in every sphere will be popularized. Bourgeois model women like the idiots in the capitalists' commercial ads and today's mass culture in general will be swept out of the limelight. Strong, aggressive, revolutionary women who come forward in struggle to transform society and end all oppression will be promoted as models instead. The billion dollar pornography industry and all forms of sexual exploitation will be smashed and outlawed, and discrimination will not be allowed.

Through all these things, the divisions and antagonisms between men and women will gradually be broken down and relationships of unprecedented equality, purpose and mutual respect in struggle will take their place. Divorce will become less common than in capitalist society, but the right to divorce

will be upheld in order to strengthen the free and voluntary character of marriage relations and relations between men and women in general. And the process of getting a divorce will no longer be the mutilating battle it has been under bourgeois rule.

In capitalist society, population control is often put forward as a remedy for the constant periodic economic crisis resulting from exploiting socialized labor for private profit. But in socialist society this is no problem and children will never be generally "unwelcome." In particular, the capitalist policy of forced sterilization directed especially against women of the oppressed nationalities will be stopped. However, unwanted pregnancy will not force women who are struggling to break out of the confines of the home back into it. The right to abortion will be guaranteed and attention will be paid

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DARE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE BATTLE PLAN FOR REVOLUTION



In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity for revolution is there to seize. These moments, particularly in a country such as this, are rare in history and their outcome has a profound influence on history for years, even decades, to come. Those who do understand what is going on and choose not to act are contributing to the prolonging of this destructive and decadent rule of imperialism. This programme is a declaration of war, and at the same time a call to action and a battle plan for

destroying the old and creating the new. It must be taken up. Today the words of Mao Tsetung ring out with full force:

**"Seize the Day,
Seize the Hour."**

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Britain's Part in Autumn Forge

Crusading to World War 3

Britain is on war footing. By air and sea, by military transport, chartered passenger ships and ferries, troops are rushing across the English Channel to reinforce the British Army of the Rhine. Air defenses are on full alert. Royal Marines are heading northward for an invasion of the Norwegian coast. The ships of the Royal Navy have joined a fleet of 179 NATO ships in preparation for the battle of the Atlantic. The reserves have been mobilized, 20,000 are already on the way to Germany, more are preparing to suppress "subversives" at home as still more are digging in to prepare for nuclear warfare.

Once this was all in the secret plans of the Ministry of Defense. Today it is reality. It is called Crusader 80, a military exercise which is part of NATO's Autumn Forge series of war maneuvers. This, the largest military exercise undertaken by Britain since World War 2, indicates the urgency with which not only the British ruling class, but the whole U.S. bloc and its Soviet-led rivals are preparing for world war.

Crusader is divided into 3 parts. The first, called Jog-Trot, aims to mobilize and deploy regular army and reserve troops, under the assumption that there would be only 48 hours notice from the beginning of mobilization to full-scale war. Along with 20,000 reservists, 10,000 regular troops are being sent to reinforce the 55,000 British troops already stationed in West Germany. This is just a glimpse of the massive mobilization which will mark the days when the contention between the superpowers reaches the point of all-out war in Europe.

The ability to rapidly mobilize and deploy massive numbers of troops will be key in determining the outcome of the opening stages of the war. This is what lies behind the huge numbers of reservists being used in Crusader, and this is why when plans for Crusader were announced last March they were accompanied by a special appeal to employers by Prime Minister Thatcher. Stressing that the government is "taking all steps within its power" to prepare the reserves for war, Thatcher called for employers to cooperate "in allowing men and women to carry out their training commitment with the reserves." The U.S., too, will be deploying a record number of army and air force reserves in this year's Autumn Forge exercises.

Following the arrival of the British reinforcements in Germany the second part of Crusader will begin, a massive mock battle called Spearpoint. Spearpoint, which will include U.S., German and Dutch troops, will be held on the north German plains which the imperialists consider to be the key battlefield in the opening phases of war in Europe. NATO war plans call for this battle to be fought by the Northern Army Group, consisting of German, Dutch and British troops. Recently, in a move that emphasized the importance the U.S. ruling class places on this area, some units of the U.S. 2nd Armored Division have been stationed in northern Germany along with tanks, armored personnel carriers, and other equipment. The remainder of the 2nd Armored, which is based in Texas, was flown to Germany where it picked up its pre-positioned equipment and, after taking part in a river-crossing exercise with the West German army, joined the Spearpoint preparations. Italians from the 4th Mechanized and 9th Infantry divisions are also taking part in Spearpoint, and for the first time in a NATO maneuver nearly 1,000 troops from the 82nd Airborne Division will be flown straight from North Carolina. Along with British paratroopers, they will parachute directly into the maneuver.

But it is not only the Western imperialists who realize the strategic importance of the north German plain.

Only a couple hundred miles away, in northern East Germany, 40,000 Warsaw Pact troops of six countries are staging some of the largest Soviet bloc war maneuvers in recent years. These maneuvers have been dubbed "Brotherhood-in-Arms '80." Speaking to soldiers in these maneuvers, the East German Minister of Defense underlined the importance that both imperialist blocs attach to these maneuvers, calling them "particularly important at a time in which the situation continues to be complicated and tense."

Thus tens of thousands of soldiers on both sides of the German border are being put through the operations which they will soon be expected to carry out in actual war. Never have the war moves of the imperialist superpowers and their respective blocs stood out so starkly as this month in northern Germany.

The British ruling class has been increasing its preparations for nuclear war. The bourgeois press has conducted widespread discussion of the need for such preparation. Clearly seeing the implications of the mounting rivalry between the U.S. and Soviet blocs, the *Manchester Guardian* recently editorialized that "Especially since events in Iran and Afghanistan early in the year seem to make the possibility of nuclear war more real than before, it is to no one's benefit that they should continue to be discussed in the dark, where rumor flourishes, fears multiply, constructive responses are all but impossible." In other words, it is time to quit pussyfooting around and openly prepare the masses of people to fight for imperialism in a nuclear war. Crusader plays a key role in preparing this political climate in which nuclear war becomes "thinkable" and preparation for waging nuclear war is a "constructive response."

In this light, it is revealing to examine the third part of Crusader. Called Square Leg, this part of Crusader is the battle on the home front. But the battle projected in Square Leg is not exclusively focused against Soviet bloc troops—it is also a battle to keep the people of Britain under control in the midst of the

From Fort Lewis to the "Front"

On Wednesday, September 10, the doors to the barracks of the 3/39th Infantry Battalion at Ft. Lewis, Washington slammed shut. The troops were locked in. Whether they lived on or off base, this is where the members of the 3/39th slept that night. And when the doors opened on Thursday, there was only one destination: the largest series of military maneuvers held in Western Europe since World War 2.

As the massive military machine of the U.S. bloc grinds into action, the men of the 3/39th are only a few of the hundreds of thousands of military personnel who are being given a first-hand look at the kind of war the U.S. and Soviet imperialists are preparing. It's called Autumn Forge, a series of war maneuvers sponsored by NATO every year since 1975.

When the C-130 transport planes touch down in West Germany the troops of the 3/39th will have on more than just the normal fatigues. They will leave the planes in full Nuclear, Biological and Chemical suits and masks. On the ground, the Geiger counters will be waiting to check for radiation, the dusting and decontamination units ready to process them.

"This is a new wrinkle in REFORGER," a battalion officer explained. "It's designed to add realism to the exercise..." The realism of world war. The realism of troops locked in their barracks, waiting for their turn to be



turmoil and upheaval of world war.

Square Leg involves military preparation for nuclear and chemical warfare in Britain, and at the same time another key part of the operation will be what the Ministry of Defense calls "combating subversion and sabotage." Many of the details of this aspect of Square Leg are unknown—but it's clear that the imperialists understand quite well that World War 3 will trigger outrage and opposition.

Already there is widespread discontent in Britain. British industry is in decay and key sectors must be subsidized by the government to avoid—or rather forestall—bankruptcy. Unemployment is at the highest point since the Depression. *The Economist* gloomily reports: "Britain's unemployment rate has passed two dreaded political high water marks: 8% of the work force

or, more explosively, a total of 2 million." The government has announced a program of massive cuts in social services. As a result of all this there is increasing political turmoil and political movement. This is expressed especially among the youth—the very people the imperialists are relying on to fight the next war—culturally and in other ways, as well as among the oppressed West Indian and Asian communities in Britain. Violent clashes with the police are increasing and, most disconcerting to the U.S. and British bourgeoisie, there have been large demonstrations against the NATO decision to base U.S. ground-launched Cruise missiles in Britain.

Thus, Square Leg is partly aimed at the potential situation when the added strains of world war bring these contradictions to a boiling point. The *Man-*

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Seasoning the Troops for the Meatgrinder

flown off for use as cannonfodder on the battlefield.

In the last few weeks a number of "new wrinkles" in the Autumn Forge maneuvers have come to light, all designed to simulate as closely as possible actual wartime conditions. The time schedule for pouring 45,000 American, British and Dutch troops into West Germany has been shortened, giving a preview of the kind of tidal wave of troops and equipment that will engulf Europe in the opening days of world war. An indication of the urgency with which the imperialists are preparing for war is a last-minute attempt to include in the maneuvers an evacuation of 1,000 U.S. military and civilian dependents from Europe. And while this plan was dropped from this year's Autumn Forge due to lack of time, there is no doubt that steps to implement such an evacuation plan have already been taken. For the second time in six months, Air Force Security Police will be taking part in large-scale maneuvers to prepare for their wartime mission of securing and holding U.S. air bases. Before this year Air Police had not participated in a large-scale maneuver of this type since the Vietnam War.

At the same time troops pour into Europe, thousands of military personnel, 170 ships and 400 aircraft are gathering for Team Work '80, a massive NATO naval exercise. The U.S., Britain, West Germany, Norway, the

Netherlands, Canada, Iceland, Portugal and Denmark are all participating; the exercise is being held in the Atlantic Ocean and the Norwegian, Baltic and North Seas. As part of these maneuvers, a combined force of U.S., British and Dutch marines will invade the central coast of Norway. The Norwegian coast plays a crucial role in the imperialists' war preparations because whoever controls this coast can easily gain control of the sea lanes which lead to the home port of the largest Soviet fleet. After the landing on the coast the marines will be joined by Norwegian soldiers, and this force will then conduct ground maneuvers in Norway.

Undoubtedly more details of NATO's 1980 war plans will come to light as these month-long maneuvers shift into high gear. But what is already known, particularly the emphasis on nuclear and chemical war and on the mobilization and deployment of massive amounts of troops and equipment in a short time, leaves no doubt that the imperialists are rapidly and currently preparing to wage the most destructive war in history. What is more, these war moves show that the imperialists' military planners know full well measures like locking troops into their barracks will become standard operating procedure in the face of the massive opposition this war will unleash.

Held Without Bail Berrigans Deface Blueprint for War

There are two Mark 12-A nose cones at General Electric's (GE) "Re-entry Plant" in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, that won't be serving as delivery systems for the Minutemen 3 intercontinental ballistic missile. They were smashed with a hammer and the top secret blueprints were drenched with human blood.

The first shift had barely started on September 9, when Daniel and Philip Berrigan and six others slipped into the GE facility, past the guards, and into the room marked, "High Radiation Area." In a statement issued at the time of their actions, they declared: "...eight of us from the Atlantic Life Community (an organization of pacifist groups on the East Coast—RW) came to King of Prussia GE Re-entry Plant to expose the criminality of nuclear weaponry and corporate piracy...each of us has a long history of non-violent resistance to war...Through the Mark 12-A, the threat of first-strike nuclear war grows more imminent. Thus GE advances the possible destruction of millions of lives..."

The Berrigans and the other six protestors (one a priest and another a nun) were immediately arrested. They have all been charged with: "aggravated assault", "terrorist threats", "reckless endangering of another person", "unlawful restraint", and "criminal coercion". In addition, tales are being spun about the guards at GE being "held at hammer point," a charge that the Berrigan's broke up laughing over when they heard it.

The image of one of the Berrigan brothers threatening a guard with a hammer is certainly totally ludicrous. Both of them are well known as devout

pacifists—Daniel is a priest and Philip, a former Josephite priest. Both have a history of bold actions aimed at exposing and opposing the war crimes of U.S. imperialism. In fact, Philip spent four years behind bars for destroying draft files at the Baltimore Selective Service Office, when he covered them with human blood in 1967, and for burning draft records in 1968 at the Catonsville, Maryland draft board by setting them on fire with homemade napalm (a favorite weapon the U.S. unleashed on the Vietnamese people).

Because of the powerful effect of these actions, the ruling class has sought to discredit the Berrigans and their associates by repeatedly trying to brand them as "terrorists." In 1972, Philip Berrigan and six others were the targets of a government frame-up in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, charged with "plotting to kidnap Henry Kissinger" and "to blow up Washington, D.C. heating tunnels"! Eventually, a jury acquitted all of them of the charges. But the same theme is being repeated again now—and the absurdity of the charges is starkly contrasted by their seriousness. Six of those arrested are being held on \$150,000 bail each, and the Berrigan brothers are being held without bail! Philip Berrigan himself, best exposed this bogus charge of "terrorism" in a support statement he sent to the UN 2: "Who are the real criminals? The international terrorists? Those who hold the bombs, those who strengthen the first strike, those who make millions from producing doomsday weaponry. Not those who pour water paint on U.N. representatives to unmask complicity in atomic bloodletting."

While the charges themselves are

revealing, even more so is the fact that the Berrigans are specifically *not* being charged with the destruction of federal property, the blueprints and nosecones. Apparently, this is because the authorities want the whole incident and forthcoming trial to be played out in the terms most favorable to themselves. They have thus avoided charges that would tend to call attention to the highly political nature of the action,

one which was aimed straight at exposing the war preparations of the U.S. imperialists. Thus, press coverage of the incident has been generally limited to a bare minimum of wire service shorts and brief news stories on television. Our rulers know very well that the Berrigans hold the respect of thousands and that their action will have an impact even more broadly than this. □

Crusading

Continued from page 5

chester Guardian revealed specific plans of one county under conditions of war. In Cambridgeshire County, emergency power would be assumed by local heads of government. "Subversives and potentially subversive persons" would be arrested, police and army forces would be expanded, and the armed forces would guard food depots, warehouses, ports and factories. Transportation, fuel, and buildings would be requisitioned by the government, and "large numbers of people may have to be assembled and allocated to tasks normally undertaken by machines: field cultivation or harvesting, for example."

The British imperialists have been among the most vocal supporters of U.S. efforts to gear the NATO alliance up for the approaching showdown with the Soviet bloc. In the wake of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, for example, British ships were quickly ordered into the eastern Mediterranean to bolster U.S. naval presence in the area. Likewise, Britain is currently studying the possibility of creating its own rapid deployment force aimed at reinforcing the U.S.'s. This year it was Britain's turn to organize the Northern Army Groups in the Autumn Forge maneuvers, and the British ruling class has

used the opportunity to once again up the ante in the high-stakes game of preparing for imperialist war. Two years of planning and an estimated £8.5 million (over \$20 million) have been invested in the Crusader maneuvers, exactly the kind of investment the U.S. has been more and more loudly demanding from all the junior partners in its war bloc.

The British imperialists, for one, haven't needed much urging lately. These Crusader maneuvers and all-around war preparations are a striking example of what the British bourgeoisie, which has been presiding over the slow decline of a former "great power" for several decades (though they still have billions invested overseas from Europe to Hong Kong to South Africa), must do in order to reverse this decline and open up new avenues for imperialist plunder and profit. And in today's world, the British ruling class knows it can only advance its own imperialist interests through lining up squarely behind the U.S. superpower.

Crusader 80 and the rest of this autumn's unprecedented war maneuvers reveal just how rapidly the worldwide crisis of imperialism is driving the two rival blocs of imperialist bandits towards a third world war. But as they move towards unleashing this war, they are also unleashing forces they cannot control, and it is a far from settled question just who—the imperialist rulers, or the masses of people in all countries—will come out on top. □

Programme

Continued from page 3

to developing better and safer methods of birth control and without the constraints of science and medicine for profit. Overall, the class-conscious proletariat will struggle for and welcome the day when scientific advances can free women from the disabling task of bearing children.

As for the family, it will be recognized for what it is; not some holy and sacred institution to be preserved for all time, but on the other hand an institution that even under socialism generally corresponds to the level of society, because of the fact that for some time there will still be remnants of capitalism, including the need for commodity exchange, wages, etc. and for obtaining the bulk of necessities and many social services through these means. But through both the change in economic and social relations and the struggle against male chauvinism, the old tendency of the man playing the role of

bourgeois in the home in relation to his wife and children will be eliminated. The family will still play an important role in raising children. But it has never been the main determining factor influencing them and will be even less so under socialism. Especially the old bourgeois ideology of "looking out for one's own" will be actively combated by the class-conscious proletariat as the attention and energy of all family members will be focused on the broader questions and movements in society. While the parents will still have significant responsibility for their children, this does not mean they are "theirs" and there will be struggle to prevent parents from imposing old values and conservative, non-revolutionary thinking generally on the children.

Revolution is impossible without the constant breaking with old ideas and old institutions, and the practices and values which promote the oppression of women are a key prop of the old; they must be a key target of the proletariat in destroying the old and creating the new.

Atlanta

Continued from page 2

ground, the "lessons" of which it will eagerly spread nationwide should this "test" prove successful. And there is a particular focus here on Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP, whose case, along with that of 16 other Mao Tse-tung Defendants, still tenuously hangs in a Washington, D.C. appeals court. An indication of this was given by the Atlanta judge early in the legal proceedings. He said that the content of the poster is the basis for the subversion charge. Courtroom argument subsequently centered on a quotation from Chairman Avakian printed on the poster.

In the face of all this, a battalion of RW sellers hit the streets of Atlanta in commemoration of the 4th anniversary of the death of Mao Tse-tung. Displaying a large pictorial display of Mao alongside the "illegal" RW poster, they sold many RW's as many lengthy discussions and debates raged all day. A

statement of support for the two jailed comrades was taken out to be signed and is still being circulated broadly in neighborhoods. Several well known people in Atlanta have also signed it, including City Councilman James Bond, a DJ on Radio Free Georgia, and a local poet.

So while some have been temporarily confused by the recent twist of events, others have continued to step forward and some have deepened their resolve to spread the RW and the influence of the RCP more broadly. By continuing to push through with this case, the government is only setting the terms of the battle more plainly for all to see. Telegrams and letters of protest should be sent to:

Judge McDuffie
City Courthouse
2777 East Point St.
East Point, GA 30344
District Atty. Lewis Slaton
Fulton County Courthouse
136 Pryor St. SW
Atlanta, GA 30310

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WORLD WAR 3



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6th National Peoples Congress

Hua Bitten in Revisionist Dogfight

Peking's Great Hall of the People, where large pictures of Mao Tsetung were pulled down just a few weeks ago, was recently the scene of the 10-day meeting of China's National People's Congress (NPC). The point on the agenda which drew the most attention worldwide was the large-scale reshuffling of top government personnel, particularly the resignation of Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng, old spelling) as Premier and Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping) as Vice-Premier. "The most peaceful and orderly change of leadership in our history," declared the revisionists proudly. But behind Deng and Hua's smiling faces in the newspaper pictures is an intense struggle between forces grouped around each of these two men—a struggle not between revolutionaries and counter-revolutionaries, but a dog fight between packs of revisionists. The Congress was also another step toward an all-out assault on the revolutionary legacy of Mao which will reach new lows at the Chinese Communist Party's 12th Party Congress early next year.

In spite of the "orderly" trappings, this Congress reflected the increasing dislocations, clashes and flops that are the true harvest of capitalist restoration. In particular, this NPC reflected additional revisionist "readjustments" necessary as their get-rich-quick capitalist pipe dreams lurch into more trouble and failure.

The meeting also had significance for China's international position. Because the NPC was still going on at the time of the writing of this article, this, and other aspects, will be analyzed more deeply in future weeks.

The recent NPC marks the end of a certain transitional phase in the struggle between Deng and Hua. The State Council (consisting of the premier and vice-premiers) chosen at the first NPC after the 1976 revisionist coup was basically the same group from before the coup (the only ones to be kicked out of the State Council were Chang Chun-chiao, who is one of the so-called "Gang of Four," and two others directly linked with them). The State Council was dominated by the particular revisionist group associated with Zhou Enlai. Certainly there is no question about these forces being revisionists, as they went right along with the coup. But most of them, like Hua, did not get knocked out during the Cultural Revolution like Deng and others around Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-chi). Since then, Deng has forced out some of these forces while replacing them with his own people. Now with the major reshuffling of over half the State Council at this Congress, Deng has knocked out a major chunk of the opposition, including Hua himself. Hua's replacement, Zhao Ziyang, is one of Deng's faithful lieutenants (more on Zhao later). What emerged at the end was a clear victory for Deng and a definite setback for Hua.

Oil Kingdoms

An intensive public opinion campaign to pull the rug out from under Hua's feet was carried on in the months leading up to the Congress. A conveniently timed exposé of an oil rig accident (which actually happened over half a year ago) that killed 72 and resulted in the loss of several million dollars, signaled the launching of an attack against those opposed to Deng. *Cheng Ming*, a pro-Deng Hong Kong monthly, characterized these people as "wielding power in the area of economic work; opposing the line, direction and policy since the 3rd Plenum of the Central Committee (which is essentially Deng's line—RW); stiff in thinking and opposing ideological liberation." (*Cheng Ming*, July 1980) This force was code-named the "Oil Kingdom" because many of its members are associated with the oil industry and the oil ministry. This "Oil Kingdom" was held responsible for the accident, and several people in top government positions linked with Hua

became targets of recent attacks: Song Zhenming, Oil Minister, was discharged; Kang Shien, Vice-Premier overseeing the oil industry, received a stern warning; and Yu Qiuli (Yu Chiu-li), Director of the State Planning Commission, was demoted to the less important Energy Commission.

The attack did not stop at the "Oil Kingdom's" handling of the accident but was broadened to include Daqing (Taching) oil field, where many of the Oil Kingdom had their political roots. Mao himself issued the slogan, "In industry, learn from Daqing" in 1964, calling on the people to learn from the revolutionary lessons of Daqing—a break from slavishness to foreign technology and the creation of new social relations. But revisionists like Yu Qiuli washed the red out of Daqing's banner. Back in 1977, a few months after the reactionary coup, the new ruling revisionists called a big national conference on "Learning from Daqing in Industry" which they perverted into an attack on the revolutionary line of "class struggle is the key link" and "grasp revolution, promote production", along with the revolutionary policies of self-reliance promoted by Mao and the Four. Hua and Yu were the main speakers at this conference. Daqing was turned by them into a model for capitalist restoration. Oil production was put forward as the magic potion for the economy—the key to earning a lot of money to import foreign technology. As this policy turned out to be a dismal failure (oil production is stagnating, and funds for buying foreign technology have been scarce), the Oil Kingdom is now made a scapegoat.

Dazhai

Another campaign carried on by the Deng camp before the Congress involved Dazhai (Tachai), an agricultural commune upheld by Mao as a model for socialist transformation of the countryside. Like Daqing, Dazhai was twisted in another 1977 conference by these same revisionists from a revolutionary model to a model for capitalist restoration in agriculture. But with the

whole concept of communes themselves now being questioned, Dazhai came under attack last year. A renewed campaign to drag Dazhai through the mud before the Congress was aimed in particular at Chen Yonggui (Chen Yung-kuei), a former Dazhai peasant leader who rose to the post of Vice-Premier and is connected with Zhou, as well as Hua. Chen was one of the vice-premiers ousted at this Congress.

Chen's removal was in a different category from that of the other six vice-premiers. The others got "honorable" discharges or at least were given "graceful exits." Not Chen. Though not named directly, he was publicly attacked for supposedly falsifying production figures. Of course, even if he had done this recently, Chen was only doing what thousands of other officials constantly do—and are encouraged to do by the revisionist line which promotes the ideology of "fame and gain." Chen, from peasant origin, was used back in 1977 to help put the "seal of approval" on the coup. Making use of his anti-theoretical, anti-Marxist "common man" political inclinations, the rulers got him to attack the Four. Now, however, they want capitalist experts, not peasants, running agriculture.

Although neither the campaign around the Oil Kingdom and Daqing nor Dazhai mentions Hua by name, there's no question they were aimed at undermining Hua's base. Not only are Yu and Chen and others who are in the direct line of fire all linked with Hua, but Hua himself, after the 1976 coup, issued calls to build Dazhai-type counties and 10 Daqing oil fields across China.

Zhou En-lai, too, an earlier beloved arch revisionist, is clearly under fire. The old State Council, now purged, was well known to be full of Zhou's men. Dazhai and Daqing were associated with him, too. And finally, Deng, in his recent interview with Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci, was noticeably cool toward Zhou and warm toward Liu Shaoqi.

While all this gives a vivid picture of how heated the struggle is between

Deng and Hua, they are still essentially two vultures fighting over the same carcass. They share a common revisionist outlook and hatred for Mao's revolutionary line. This is made abundantly clear by the fact that there was no quarrel between them during the Congress around the abolishing of the "Four Freedoms," an article put in the Constitution by Mao during the Cultural Revolution which insured the masses the right to debate openly, air out their views freely and put up wall posters. The thought of the masses being politically conscious and mobilized in a revolutionary way is a nightmare to both Deng and Hua. Still, there are actual tactical differences between them, stemming from their different positions in the class struggle while Mao was alive and other questions of domestic and international line as well. Deng, who was the focus of attack during the Cultural Revolution (along with his hero Liu Shaoqi) wants to accelerate open attacks on Mao. Hua, and the forces he represents, maneuvered their way during the Cultural Revolution by making hypocritical self-criticisms, while never for a moment relinquishing their revisionism. Their legitimacy for power after the coup was based on a bogus claim of being "true upholders of Mao Tsetung Thought." They have no disagreement with Deng about tearing the heart out of Mao's line, but they do have a certain interest in seeing that Mao's prestige is not eroded as quickly as Deng would like. Because of this, the series of open attacks on Mao made by top revisionists in the last two months (including Hua himself and most recently by Deng in his interview) was a good indication of which way the wind was blowing.

Revisionist Successors

Publicly, Deng gave two reasons why he and other top leaders in the State Council resigned. One is to set up an example for ending "life-long" tenure for cadres, the other to separate party and government functions in order to prevent concentration of power in a few

Continued on page 8

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And Mao Makes 5, Mao Tsetung's Last Great Battle, ed. and intro. by Raymond Lotta \$5.95
Invaluable collection of articles and documents written under the leadership of Mao and the Four from 1973 to 1976, used to wage mass campaigns to politically arm the Chinese people. Also includes representative writings from the revisionists now in power. Banner Press, 1978, 522p.

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Examines and contrasts the line of Mao and the Four with that of the revisionists on the key questions as they were battled out in China. Through detailed and thorough analysis, predicted with uncanny accuracy the dismantling of socialism now taking place. Consists of polemics between the RCP leadership and a faction that split from the Party over the question of the coup. RCP Publications, 1978, 501p.

Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions, by Bob Avakian \$4.95
Important summation and study of Mao Tsetung Thought as applied to several major questions, most importantly on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Traces the development of the contributions of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and then focuses on those of Mao. RCP Publications, 1979, 344p.

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Dogfight

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hands. Both these "reasons" are related to the tactics around the attack on Mao (as well as to factional maneuvering). Mao is portrayed as being sick and feeble (even senile) in his later years, which led him to make "grave mistakes." This lie isn't at all surprising, since it was precisely in his later years that Mao made his greatest contribution—the theory of continuing the revolution under socialism and its concrete application in practice, the Cultural Revolution. Mao is also accused, particularly by Deng, of running a "Hall where one voice rules" and doing things in a "patriarchal style," a jab at the tremendous prestige and influence Mao held.

But aside from hitting at Mao by creating a big wind about ending the lifelong tenure system and separating party from government, Deng had a particular political motive in resigning. Deng is fretting over whether there will be revisionist successors to carry on the legacy of his program for capitalist restoration. In a certain inner-party speech, Deng quoted an associate of Wang Hung-wen (one of the Four) who declared that they will be back in 20 years time. Deng warned that this should be taken seriously. Deng is counting on those he groomed, like Zhao, to prevent such a return of the revolutionaries.

But in order for Deng's successors to carry on, certain obstacles have to be removed. Obviously, Hua is one of them. Deng is well aware of Hua's ability to shift with the wind, like during the Cultural Revolution or the revisionist coup. But Hua is not the only obstacle in high places, as this quote from *Cheng Ming* shows, "Among these 16 people (the vice-premiers—RW) the 'Oil Kingdom' consists of 5 or 6. In terms of numbers, they can't do much. But among them there is one senior cadre who is considered the head of the

'Kingdom,' whose position within the party is high, almost on the same level with Deng, and therefore his voice is greater than an ordinary vice-premier. This, Zhao Ziyang and Wan Li (another of Deng's cronies, now in charge of agriculture—RW) cannot deal with." (*Cheng Ming*, August 1980). There are only 2 among the 16 that fit this description—Chen Yun and Li Xiannian (Li Hsien-nien)—and to make sure we know who they are talking about, *Cheng Ming* adds: "It is believed Chen Yun also has a lot of opinions against the 'oil faction.'" The target, Li, is a veteran cadre and was a close associate of Zhou Enlai, and he wields a lot of power in the area of finance.

So the forces Deng had to deal with were not just a few mid-level cadres but some in very high places, like Hua and Li, as well as all those under them. And they had real power. For this reason, Deng had to do a lot of maneuvering and preparation to counter them. Finally in the months leading up to the Congress and at the Congress itself, Deng forced their hand by dramatically resigning and pressuring others to do the same.

Deng himself did not lose much by resigning; in fact, freed from his Vice-Premier post, Deng will be directing things in an overall way, especially the attack on Mao. A directive by Deng to a party propaganda conference held last July shows that Deng was the motive force behind the attack all along. This directive defined the tactic for the attack in this period—"Mao made mistakes in his later years which brought great misfortune for the party and the country." In the same conference Hu Yaobang, General Secretary and one of Deng's right hand men, said that Mao Tsetung Thought included the thought of Deng (as well as Liu, Zhou and other revisionist veteran cadres). This is Mao's Thought mixed with (and in fact replaced by) the reactionary thought of those he bitterly fought.

Although Deng won this round decisively, Hua's forces are by no means knocked out. If anything, the

revisionist infighting, double-dealing and backstabbing will become even sharper as the stakes get raised. There should be a lot of *shit* flying in the months leading to the 12th Party Congress to be held next year. Deng lets some of this out in the Fallaci interview: "(Hua) cannot be Chairman for life, it is not permitted by the present system. He can serve 2 more terms, 3, but that's all. And the decision will have to be taken also on how many terms he will serve."

Economic Mess

While it might seem that Deng has things pretty much under control, actually he and the revisionist rulers as a whole are operating in quite a desperate situation. Their grandiose schemes of "catching up with the advanced western countries" have already been shattered by reality. One glaring example is the Baoshan Steel Mill in Shanghai, where the revisionists spent millions of dollars to import the latest in advanced technology from Japan. As it turned out, the facilities were first rate, but they were designed for use in Japan, which, having no natural resources, imports high grade iron ore and coal. China has plenty of iron ore and coal, but their quality was not high enough to be used with this imported facility. Plus they built it far from China's resources, so China had to import the raw materials all the way from Australia and Brazil. As if this was not ridiculous enough, the Shanghai port was not big enough to accommodate the large freight ships, so the ore and coal had to be first sent to Japan and then reloaded onto smaller ships. The oil industry, which was supposed to produce the foreign currency needed to buy the advanced western technology, has been sputtering. Meanwhile, inflation and unemployment, unheard of when revolutionaries held power, has been growing. A fiscal report given at the Congress revealed an \$11.8 billion budget deficit for the last year, again for the first time in the history of the People's Republic. Agriculture, too, is an increasing mess with massive rural unemployment developing.

All this is becoming increasingly difficult to pin on the Four, as was the revisionist tactic in the first year or two. After all, it was the Four, under Mao's leadership, who promoted self-reliance and developing the economy in an all around way based on China's concrete conditions. Now the "Oil Kingdom," which was originally promoted by all the revisionists, to one degree or another, against the Four, has become the new scapegoat. The revisionists' first 10-year Plan conceived in 1976 has been scrapped, supposedly because it was infected with the "Oil Kingdom's" so-called ultra-left line of basing the economy on inaccurate data and "grandiose ambitions" rather than "economic laws." Now, the revisionists claim, they can really get on with the "reform of the economic structure."

New Premier

A look at the new premier Zhao Ziyang's past record gives a glimpse of what this "reform" will look like. Zhao was knocked down during the Cultural Revolution for being a capitalist roader. After rehabilitation in 1971, he was sent off to different provinces and in 1975 wound up in Sichuan, Deng's native province. During a four-year stint in Sichuan, Zhao made a name for himself among the revisionists by his capitalist "innovations" which David Rockefeller himself would have been proud of. Last year, Zhao was called up to Peking and quickly climbed up the ladder under Deng's watchful eyes.

Zhao's "innovations" in Sichuan basically come down to his statement that "As long as there is no exploitation, anything that raises production is permissible." This might be better translated, "As long as we say there is no exploitation, anything that raises production is permissible," or, "Exploit! Exploit! Exploit!" This is a time-worn revisionist signboard (penetratingly exposed, for example, in the selections from the book *Piece Rates in Hungary* which the RW ran in the past two issues). The working class has been reduced to wage-slaves, working under capitalist relations of production for new capitalists (principally

state capitalists masquerading as socialists). The cornerstone of Zhao's program was enlarging the right of enterprises to self-administration. Key factories were given a free hand in planning production, selling their products for the greatest profit, signing contracts with foreign capitalists, and setting up wages, bonuses and labor discipline. In the countryside, Zhao pushed for breaking up the communes, encouraging peasants to form private plots and sell in the open market for profit. You can already hear the revisionists issuing their inspiring call: "Learn from Zhao's Sichuan model."

Although the revisionists are being forced to change their plans as their pie-in-the sky fantasies about a quick and easy road to "modernization" run up against the harsh realities of imperialism, their "reforms" are still the same capitalist trash. Yao Yilin, new Director of the State Planning Commission, laid out what the "reforms" would involve: Allowing the right to self-management in state owned industries; setting up of various forms of economic combines; widely developing competition and circulation of commodities; self-management of banks; and reforming the tax system. In fact, the contradictions in the economy are bound to become sharper and lead to deep crisis like Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland and other Eastern European countries which the Chinese tout as "economic miracles."

Another problem the capitalist roaders of China are enmeshed in is bureaucracy. It is reported Hua devoted a major part of a speech to this. Petty bureaucrats (unlike themselves—the big ones) are letting things stagnate. A kind of bureaucrats' warlordism is rampant and interfering with the top revisionists' plans. Of course, all this cannot really be fought by these new capitalist roaders, because their line encourages it. When China was under revolutionary leadership, officials were encouraged (and supervised by the masses) to put politics in command and thus combat bureaucracy. Now such motivation is specifically discouraged, to be replaced with the singleminded quest after money and fame. So it is no surprise that Hua's "cure" for bureaucracy is—more bureaucracy—a system of regulations and supervision.

While running the economy in a more openly capitalist fashion might give a shot in the arm to the economy in the short run (like in Zhao's Sichuan where production went up), what this will give rise to is greater dislocation and chaos as those few sectors that produce profits flourish while others stagnate. It will also lead to the widening of the three differences between countryside and cities, between industry and agriculture and between mental and manual labor, which essentially means widening class differences. These are exactly the differences that Mao was trying to narrow. Massive foreign loans and investments needed to keep the economy running will mean further tightening of the imperialists' grip on China. The recent events in Poland show the discontent among the masses in revisionist countries caused by such a crisis and the precarious position that it will put the new ruling class in.

Of course in China, far more than in Poland, the masses will have the powerful revolutionary legacy of Mao Tsetung, the legacy of Marxism-Leninism, close at hand to deal with their revisionist rulers.

With all the troubles the revisionists are having with the economy, it would seem that the last thing they want is a squabble among their own ranks. But in order to move on with capitalist restoration, Deng and his gang need to deepen their attacks against Mao's legacy, including attacking those within their own ranks who lag behind on this question.

While Deng won a victory at this Congress, it's clear that there are still powerful forces in the party, military and the government opposing the speed and openness with which Deng is carrying out the attack on Mao. In a September 6th talk with a delegation from the Japanese Socialist Party, Li Xiannian revealed that the summation of Mao is running into "difficulties and complications" and the "balance

Continued on page 14

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

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"Where To Begin?"

—A Pathbreaking Article by Lenin

This article by Lenin was written in 1901, as early signs of the revolutionary upsurge of 1905 began to show themselves in Russia. It was written just before, and introduces some of the themes in, Lenin's great book *What Is To Be Done?*, from which we have reprinted sections in the RW. Although this article was written before the Bolshevik Party was organized, and some of its points refer to this fact, still Lenin's answer to the question *Where to Begin?*—with a nationwide newspaper—applies fully to today's conditions in our country.

In recent years the question of "what is to be done" has confronted Russian Social-Democrats (Communists—RW) with particular insistence. It is not a question of what path we must choose (as was the case in the late eighties and early nineties), but of what practical steps we must take upon the known path and how they shall be taken. It is a question of a system and plan of practical work. And it must be admitted that we have not yet solved this question of the character and the methods of struggle, fundamental for a party of practical activity, that it still gives rise to serious differences of opinion which reveal a deplorable ideological instability and vacillation. On the one hand, the "Economist" trend, far from being dead, is endeavouring to clip and narrow the work of political organization and agitation. On the other, unprincipled eclecticism is again rearing its head, aping every new "trend", and is incapable of distinguishing immediate demands from the main tasks and permanent needs of the movement as a whole. This trend, as we know, has ensconced itself in *Rabocheye Dyelo*. This journal's latest statement of "programme", a bombastic article under the bombastic title "A Historic Turn", bears out with special emphasis the characterisation we have given. Only yesterday there was a flirtation with "Economism", a fury over the resolute condemnation of *Rabochaya Mysl*,* and Plekhanov's** presentation of the question of the struggle against autocracy was being toned down. But today Liebknecht's*** words are being quoted: "If the circumstances change within twenty-four hours, then tactics must be changed within twenty-four hours." There is talk of a "strong fighting organisation" for direct attack, for storming the autocracy; of "broad revolutionary political agitation among the masses" (how energetic we are now—both revolutionary and political!); of "ceaseless calls for street protests"; of "street demonstrations of a pronounced (sic!) political character"; and so on, and so forth.

We might perhaps declare ourselves happy at *Rabocheye Dyelo's* quick grasp of the programme we put forward in the first issue of *Iskra***** calling for the formation of a strong well-organized party, whose aim is not only to win isolated concessions but to storm the fortress of the autocracy itself; but the lack of any set point of view in these individuals can only dampen our happiness.

Rabocheye Dyelo, of course mentions Liebknecht's name in vain. The tactics of agitation in relation to some special question, or the tactics with regard to some detail of party organisation may be changed in twenty-four



Lenin and revolutionary St. Petersburg workers prepare the first secret leaflet for distribution.

hours; but only people devoid of all principle are capable of changing, in twenty-four hours, or, for that matter, in twenty-four months, their view on the necessity—in general, constantly, and absolutely—of an organisation of struggle and of political agitation among the masses. It is ridiculous to plead different circumstances and a change of periods: the building of a fighting organisation and the conduct of political agitation are essential under any "drab, peaceful" circumstances, in any period, no matter how marked by a "declining revolutionary spirit"; moreover, it is precisely in such periods and under such circumstances that work of this kind is particularly necessary, since it is too late to form the organisation in times of explosion and outbursts; the party must be in a state of readiness to launch activity at a moment's notice. "Change the tactics within twenty-four hours"! But in order to change tactics it is first necessary to have tactics; without a strong organisation skilled in waging political struggle under all circumstances and at all times; there can be no question of that systematic plan of action, illumined by firm principles and steadfastly carried out, which alone is worthy of the name of tactics. Let us, indeed, consider the matter; we are now being told that the "historic moment" has presented our Party with a "completely new" question—the question of terror. Yesterday the "completely new" question was political organisation and agitation; today it is terror. Is it not strange to hear people who have so grossly forgotten their principles

holding forth on a radical change in tactics?

Fortunately, *Rabocheye Dyelo* is in error. The question of terror is not a new question at all; it will suffice to recall briefly the established views of Russian Social-Democracy on the subject.

In principle we have never rejected, and cannot reject, terror. Terror is one of the forms of military action that may be perfectly suitable and even essential at a definite juncture in the battle, given a definite state of the troops and the existence of definite conditions. But the important point is that terror, at the present time, is by no means suggested as an operation for the army in the field, an operation closely connected with and integrated into the entire system of struggle, but as an independent form of occasional attack unrelated to any army. Without a central body and with the weakness of local revolutionary organisations, this, in fact, is all that terror can be. We, therefore, declare emphatically that under the present conditions such a means of struggle is inopportune and unsuitable; that it diverts the most active fighters from their real task, the task which is most important from the standpoint of the interests of the movement as a whole; and that it disorganises the forces, not of the government, but of the revolution. We need but recall the recent events. With our own eyes we saw that the mass of workers and "common people" of the towns pressed forward in struggle, while the revolutionaries lacked a staff

of leaders and organisers. Under such conditions, is there not the danger that, as the most energetic revolutionaries go over to terror, the fighting contingents, in whom alone it is possible to place serious reliance, will be weakened? Is there not the danger of rupturing the contact between the revolutionary organisations and the disunited masses of the discontented, the protesting, and the disposed to struggle, who are weak precisely because they are disunited? Yet it is this contact that is the sole guarantee of our success. Far be it from us to deny the significance of heroic individual blows, but it is our duty to sound a vigorous warning against becoming infatuated with terror, against taking it to be the chief and basic means of struggle, as so many people strongly incline to do at present. Terror can never be a regular military operation; at best it can only serve as one of the methods employed in a decisive assault. But can we issue the call for such a decisive assault at the present moment? *Rabocheye Dyelo* apparently thinks we can. At any rate, it exclaims: "Form assault columns!" But this, again, is more zeal than reason. The main body of our military forces consists of volunteers and insurgents. We possess only a few small units of regular troops, and these are not even mobilised; they are not connected with one another, nor have they been trained to form columns of any sort, let alone assault columns. In view of all this, it must be clear to anyone who is capable of appreciating the general conditions of our struggle and who is mindful of them at every "turn" in the historical course of events that at the present moment our slogan cannot be "To the assault", but has to be, "Lay siege to the enemy fortress". In other words, the immediate task of our Party is not to summon all available forces for the attack right now but to call for the formation of a revolutionary organisation capable of uniting all forces and guiding the movement in actual practice and not in name alone, that is, an organisation ready at any time to support every protest and every outbreak and use it to build up and consolidate the fighting forces suitable for the decisive struggle.

The lesson of the February and March events* has been so impressive that no disagreement in principle with this conclusion is now likely to be encountered. What we need at the present moment, however, is not a solution of the problem in principle but a practical solution. We should not only be clear on the nature of the organisation that is needed and its precise purpose, but we must elaborate a definite plan for an organisation, so that its formation may be undertaken from all aspects. In view of the pressing importance of the question, we, on our part, take the liberty of submitting to the comrades a skeleton plan to be developed in greater detail in a pamphlet now in preparation for print.**

In our opinion, the starting-point of our activities, the first step towards creating the desired organisation, or, let us say, the main thread which, if followed, would enable us steadily to develop, deepen, and extend that organisation, should be the founding of an All-Russian political newspaper. A newspaper is what we most of all need; without it we cannot conduct that systematic, all-round propaganda and agitation, consistent in principle, which is the chief and permanent task of

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*Another opportunist economist newspaper—RW.

**A Russian Marxist, who later turned counter-revolutionary—RW.

***A German Communist—RW.

****The Bolsheviks' revolutionary newspaper at the time—RW.

*Mass revolutionary actions of students and workers which took place in 1901—RW.

**This refers to *What is to be Done?* published a bit later.

ARE YOU READY TO FIGHT TO DEFEND THIS THRONE?

Continued from page 1

posed to be "different from Russia" (which is really in essence the same capitalist dictatorship) and the reason why we should fight them.

Maintaining interest in and allegiance to the "democratic process" of their election charade is in fact key to maintaining the lie that the rule of a tiny handful of rich is really the rule "of, by and for the people." In the face of the growing shabbiness of this facade and because they need some sort of forum that will hold people's attention in order to put out the line that they want people to swallow in the period ahead—particularly around war preparations—there is a big to-do about the presidential election debates. Up to this point it's actually been a debate on the debates, and while the various candidates each have been jockeying to gain the advantage in these debates (with Carter possibly not even participating in the initial round), the main purpose and effect of this "controversy" has been to create a lot of interest among the public.

There will, to no one's surprise, be no disagreements of any substance in these debates, whether they're one on one, "round robin," or whatever. For one thing, how much difference can there be between a candidate who has been endorsed by the KKK and one who opened his campaign in Tuscumbia,

Alabama (a town whose claim to fame is that it is the headquarters of a faction of the KKK) sharing the stage with George Wallace and the Charlie Daniels Band? All the candidates spew out endless demagoguery about jobs and fixing up the economy, the only difference being the particular brand of bullshit used.

And more importantly, all three candidates, Carter, Reagan, and Anderson, have virtually identical positions around the question of stepped-up war preparations—which is destined to be the bottom line in the debates. Any differences are purely cosmetic and for the purpose of maintaining the appearance of disagreement to rope in various sections of the masses. These slight "disagreements" are within very narrow limits. Reagan says he's for increased military spending and scrapping SALT II, and Carter says he's in favor of increased military spending but keeping SALT II. Anderson is for a leaner, more streamlined but harder-hitting military. Reagan likes the B-1 bomber. Carter says we don't need it, we have the Stealth bomber. And Anderson wants helicopters that don't blow up in the Iranian desert, etc., etc. There are, of course, some disagreements in the ruling class over this or that weapons system, but these are being worked out behind the scenes in various conferences, committees and councils. What goes on during election time and all the

time among various politicians is in the main to create public opinion for the ruling class.

The debates serve the key purpose of boxing people's minds into the bourgeoisie's terms of argument. These highly publicized encounters make it sound as if the real choices we must make around war amount to whether the U.S. should have the B-1 bomber or "only" the MX missile. The very idea that imperialist war preparations should be opposed is thus made to seem "outside of reality." And as for the thought that these imperialists, of both the U.S. and Soviet bloc, should all be overthrown before dragging us into this monstrosity of world war—don't even dream of it! This is the aim of these "democratic" debates.

For all the jockeying around these debates and the seeming dramatic disagreements, the message that the time has come to prepare for World War 3 emerges in three-part harmony. The flap between Carter and Reagan around the Stealth bomber is a classic example of the method being employed here. Supposedly Carter leaked the news about the existence of the Stealth bomber program (a bomber which is "invisible" to Soviet radar) for his own narrow political ends. Reagan, the supposedly "trigger-happy" candidate, apparently flips out. Presto, for weeks, the question of who is the greatest patriot and warmonger dominates the news, with the "right-winger" Reagan on the warpath against Carter's supposed treason, and the "moderate, responsible" warmonger Carter defending his announcement of a new weapon for world war. And the funny thing, on top of all this ridiculousness is that the Stealth bomber program has been public since 1975 in publications such as *Aviation Week*. This is clearly the kind

of stage show on tap for the debates and for the rest of the campaign.

With all of this it is no wonder why there is such widespread anger and cynicism over the 1980 election campaign. It is no wonder why many people simply want to sit this one out and not vote at all. But simply not voting only leaves people as passive spectators to the bourgeoisie's disgusting political display and in fact does nothing to actually expose the deadly con game being played on the masses of people. If people are disgusted with this whole deal, the bourgeoisie would much rather have them cynical and demoralized and not involved in politics at all rather than actively opposing and exposing their lies and trickery and beginning to see that the problem is not some lousy politicians or that this democracy isn't working, but that this is precisely how this democracy (a dictatorship of a class of exploiters) works and is consciously set up to work.

It is up to the advanced workers and others to take advantage of the fact that politics is being made a question by the bourgeoisie—as messed up and distorted as the whole thing is—and to take advantage of the general disgust and hatred for the politics of the ruling class among many, many people to involve broad numbers in taking a stand against all this. Especially with all the reactionary war preparations being advertised by the elections, this is a necessity and an opportunity that must not be missed. This is the urgency behind taking up our Party's call for mass "balloting" to "Spit on the Imperialists' Con Game"—for the masses to take the political stage in opposition to the bourgeoisie and its sinister plans. □

1980 ELECTION BALLOT

Send one of these ballots to the Revolutionary Communist Party and we will find something dramatic to do with all of them together at election time. Keep the other one and think of something creative to do with it yourself on election day.

BALLOT



- ☐ DEMOCRATIC PARTY
- ☐ REPUBLICAN PARTY
- ☐ INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES & OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS



☐ THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID, I DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF ITS CANDIDATES!

CITY _____ DATE _____
OCCUPATION _____

MAIL THIS COPY OF THE 1980 ELECTION BALLOT TO THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, P.O. BOX 3486 MERCHANDISE MART, CHICAGO, IL. 60654

BALLOT



- ☐ DEMOCRATIC PARTY
- ☐ REPUBLICAN PARTY
- ☐ INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES & OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS



☐ THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID, I DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF ITS CANDIDATES!

KEEP THIS ONE AND DO SOMETHING CREATIVE WITH IT YOURSELF ON ELECTION DAY.

Carter/Reagan Wild Economic Plans

WHY THEY CAN'T "RE-INDUSTRIALIZE" AMERICA

Jimmy Carter recently released his "Economic Renewal Program," six months in the planning and obviously opportune for the election. But although Carter's is billed as a sharp alternative to Reagan's economic program, the main thing about them is how much they have in common. For first, they are both ostensibly aimed at reinvigorating business and stimulating investment by U.S. capitalists—reversing the direction of the declining American economy through stimulating capital formation. And their second similarity is that neither of these plans is going anywhere.

That much of these programs is election-campaign hype is widely recognized—Reagan promising personal income tax cuts of 30% in 3 years, and Carter rushing out with a tax-cut promise of his own. But this isn't the principal meaning of these programs. They are an ideological reflection of certain deep contradictions of U.S. imperialism—but they do not indicate the real possibilities or plans of the imperialists as they attempt to resolve these contradictions.

The theme taken up increasingly by the bourgeoisie these days (and reflected in the candidates' economic programs) is that of the "reindustrialization of America" (Carter's program includes an Industrial Revitalization Board to help accomplish this)—the theme of restoring U.S. industrial supremacy through retooling and re-vamping, turning around sagging productivity and ailing industries. "Our aim should be to reindustrialize America," says banker Felix Rohatyn, originator of the phrase and architect of the New York City bail-out of 1975, "to make goods and provide manufacturing jobs for those who need them, to have a workable steel industry, a competitive auto industry." It's pointed out that in Detroit, Youngstown, Pittsburgh, huge plants are shut down, victims of competition from the Japanese and West German steel and auto industries, that the U.S. rate of productivity (unit of output per worker) and investment (as percent of gross national product) are falling relative to those of Japan, West Germany—even of France and Italy. All quite true—a reflection of the uneven development of different imperialist countries, and of the fact that Germany and Japan especially, the defeated imperialist powers of World War 2, starting again after the war, had to start perforce with the latest technology and industrial processes. For the U.S. imperialists, on the other hand, it was much more profitable to coast along with existing plant and equipment, relying on the far-reaching hegemony of U.S. imperialism which had resulted from this war for the redivision of the world. But the solution for the U.S. imperialists, now that things are falling apart, is not a program of massive investment in basic industry—they simply can't do it, as we'll see in a moment. Rather, their only way out is a new war of redivision, marshaling their bloc, the Western bloc, against their imperialist rivals headquartered in the USSR.

In this context, the U.S. bourgeoisie will do a certain amount of retooling and increased productive investment—in war-related industries. These war preparations will take place under the banner of "reindustrialization." As well, they will bail out certain strategic sectors of the economy—as with Chrysler; but they will want to make sure that each bail-out really is necessary overall—which accounts for the sharp debate within the ruling class over Chrysler.

But on the whole, the prospect is not for economic expansion, job creation, revitalization, etc. Rather, the watchwords are austerity and belt-tightening. The U.S. has already done all the expansion—speaking here particularly of fiscal and monetary policy—of which it is capable, and right now is forced to

deal with the destabilization which has resulted. The U.S. climbed precariously out of the 1974-75 recession—and helped pull the rest of its bloc along too—through a strategy of monetary growth and large fiscal deficits. This offered a short-term payoff, but it also helped entrench inflation and balanced the recovery on an ever-growing pyramid of debt. It's not a performance that can be repeated; now, rather, the bourgeoisie has to scramble to keep everything from unraveling, at the same time desperately preparing for the world war which offers their only chance (if they win it, and even then still temporarily) of escape. Rather than reindustrialization, their option was more precisely described by the Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Paul Volcker, in a speech in London late last year: "A controlled disintegration of the economy is a legitimate object for the 1980s."

Thus the common denominator of the Carter and Reagan economic programs—increased defense spending and moves toward a balanced budget—which inevitably means cutbacks in social programs and other federal functions, even though some job programs, etc., may be hypocritically included. Also included are tax cuts for both business and individuals. These are supposed to make more money available for use as capital, for investments—"supply-side economics" it's called, according to which more capital means more investment, which means more jobs and goods (which solves the problems of capital and labor), which means more taxes from all those employees (which solves the problem of government finance). A nice little fairy tale. If this was all it took to resolve the economic contradictions of capitalism it could roll smoothly on without crises to the end of time. But in fact, capitalism inevitably generates crises. It is the underlying conditions of profitability that govern investment, not the simple availability of money. And if this money becomes capital, there is no guarantee that it will be invested in productive activity. At present—an expression of the increasingly moribund nature of U.S. imperialism—it will be largely invested in more and more exotic forms of speculation and other forms of unproductive and parasitic activity—not into retooling and "reindustrializing" America. U.S. imperialism is beset with very deep contradictions, which are irresolvable within the present context. Only winning a world war will resolve these, temporarily, from the imperialist side, giving them in effect a new set-up with fresh blood to suck; only successful revolution will really resolve the contradictions by destroying this absurd and criminal system.

If most people are confused by the bourgeoisie's programs, plans and claims, it's with good reason—not only are these programs fundamentally confused, reflecting the bourgeoisie's inability to understand capitalism and its direction of motion, which will result in their own doom, but also they have an interest in trying to confuse people about what their true plans are. They don't want to put it out that they are scheming to launch a criminal war for a redivision of the world. No, all they're trying to do is peacefully reindustrialize this country and get it back on its feet again—and, only out of necessity, preparing to protect all this from Soviet aggression!

At least one so-called communist group takes the bourgeoisie at its word here. This is the Communist Workers Party (CWP), which thinks that the imperialists are really trying to "reindustrialize"—just like FDR supposedly did in the 1930s with the New Deal (this is also the historical parallel used by Rohatyn)—but that there's so much competition among them that they can't quite pull it off (see *Workers Viewpoint*, 11/5/79, p. 3, and their "position paper" leaflet, analyzed in *RW*

No. 69). But this is not what's preventing them from doing it; the bourgeoisie could get unity around such a program, just as they did in practice around the New Deal. The point is that now such a move is not an option for them, not because of their internal squabbles, but because of the objective situation. In the 1930s the U.S. was not a superpower leading a bloc of junior imperialist partners, nor at the center of the sort of trade and financial network as it is today, when every program and policy of the U.S. rulers, from energy to the budget, has international ramifications—of a political and military character, as well as economic. U.S. imperialism must juggle desperately to deal with waves of crisis within its empire and its bloc, as well as the looming threat from without in the shape of the USSR. In this situation it does not have

the option of concentrating on "cleaning up its own back yard." For U.S. imperialism the question is not, "Reindustrialization or war?" but rather "War—sooner or later?"

And finally—the New Deal didn't "reindustrialize America" anyway. What brought about U.S. recovery from the Great Depression was not the New Deal but winning World War 2. And although the 1930s was a time (unlike today) when the U.S. imperialists could concentrate on the home front and try to reorganize things a bit, still the main activities of the New Deal's Reconstruction Finance Corporation were to finance failing banks and new war-related industries (like synthetic rubber)—not all that different from some main aspects of the imperialists' economic program today. □

UT Newspaper Stands with Iranian Students

The extent to which the bourgeoisie and its various mouthpieces will go to clamp down on any support for the Iranian revolution in the U.S., was dramatically demonstrated two weeks ago on the University of Texas campus in Austin. County Court Judge, Jon Wisser, slapped a \$100 fine on Mark McKinnon and tossed him into jail for a few hours on "contempt of court" charges. McKinnon is the editor of the *Daily Texan*, the student newspaper at the University. He was held in contempt for refusing to relinquish to the court unpublished photographs that the paper had taken during a speech last January 31 on campus. The speaker was Fereydoon Hoveyda, former U.N. ambassador under the butcher Shah's regime, whose brother, the former Prime Minister of Iran, met his end at the hands of the Iranian people in front of a revolutionary firing squad.

Before Hoveyda could finish speaking, dozens of protestors, Iranians, Americans and many Arab students, shouted him down. Undercover police and FBI agents move in and started making arrests—singling out only Iranians and Palestinians, in an attempt to try to make it seem like a small, isolated group of "Moslem fanatics" who were totally without support in the U.S. Twenty-seven were arrested. The next day several hundred students, of many nationalities, rallied to oppose these premeditated arrests. A defense committee was formed also. Eighteen have gone to trial on charges of "disrupting a public meeting," a Class B misdemeanor which carries a penalty of up to 6 months and a \$1,000 fine. The plaintiff is the University Administration. It is for the purpose of identifying protesting students that the County Court has subpoenaed the photographs. And it is this order that editor McKinnon has refused to comply with.

Already, shockwaves are being felt in the ivory towers of those who control the University. The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) has agreed to work on the case and a number of other professional journalist organizations have voiced their disapproval of what they term a clear violation of "free speech." "This is the end of the road," Judge Wisser stated at the trial of 18 of the students. "I just don't think that I have any choice at this time but to order you to jail," he told McKinnon. And off he went. He was released hours later on bail, and the charges and the fine are currently both under appeal. McKinnon and others have begun to fight this attack, on the basis of violations of "free speech." But while this is a glaring ex-

ample of the fact that so-called freedoms under bourgeois democracy only remain "freedoms" as long as they don't jeopardize the needs and interests of the ruling class, there is more foul puss seeping just beneath the surface of this case.

A statement made after the busts by an Iranian woman, one of those arrested, stands out with even greater truth today: "What's happening at UT (University of Texas—RW) is just a small example of what's happening around the world... We should realize that if the government succeeds in isolating any international movement from the American movement, that means that it has also succeeded in severely blocking the progression of awareness and consciousness among the American people as a whole—their consciousness that they are part of the international movement of the people of the world."

Overall, the *Daily Texan* has taken progressive positions on Iran and has played a significant role in the face of bourgeois propaganda aimed at laying the public opinion groundwork for continuing U.S. plotting against the Iranian revolution.

In early 1979, after the Shah was overthrown, and before McKinnon became the editor, the paper editorialized that what was going on in Iran was, "a popular revolution by the people," and that the U.S. should "let the people's voice speak." And when the hostages were taken last November, the paper did not succumb to all the troglodyte, racist and chauvinist crap that was being orchestrated by Washington, D.C. They opened the pages of the paper to the raging debate that erupted on campus, continuing to support the revolution and condemning attacks on Iranian students. And currently they are continuing to editorialize about the trials of those students busted for disrupting Hoveyda, and printing interviews with some of those arrested which clearly expose the role of U.S. imperialism in Iran and the Middle East.

Another point that confirms that the campus paper is being singled out for some special attention, is that there were plenty of other photographers at the speech—none of which were subpoenaed to give up photos to the court. And recently, there have been rumors circulated that the University Administration might be moving to further attack the paper through some of its "internal" University rules and regulations. They are clearly freaked out about the fact that the campus is alive with political debate over the Iranian revolution which has continued during the first weeks of classes and after an eight month gap and summer vacation

Continued on page 15

to go deeply into people's questions, as far as we know it is still being circulated. When the question of politicians and the 1980 elections came up, the sentiment was broad and distinct: "fuck 'em!" When we drew up the RCP election ballot on the inside of an empty cigarette pack, challenging these women (mostly prostitutes) to sign it and send it in, the debate broke loose. Many, although they themselves, and to varying degrees, could see through the con game, did not understand how the elections are really an ideological and political weapon that the bourgeoisie depends on to draw people into their "democratic process" and that it was no small thing that millions of people are sucked into the make-up change every four years. But through the struggle about the direction things were going (and drawing on what people had come to understand through previous struggles about Iran, the draft . . .), 4 of these women decided that not only was the ballot a great "kick in the Face," but as one woman said to a comment about those who don't vote not having the right to speak, "I think it's about time that all those people who don't vote say something!"



"It's going to be a long year," the exasperated Miami school teacher was heard to remark. Looks like it won't be a snap after all to wipe out the understanding that these small children have of the ugly nature of U.S. imperialism.

RW comment: True, living as they did under another imperialism (Soviet), these kids did at least learn some truth about this one.

"Where To Begin?"

Social-Democracy in general and, in particular, the pressing task of the moment, when interest in politics and in questions of socialism has been aroused among the broadest strata of the population. Never has the need been felt so acutely as today for reinforcing dispersed agitation in the form of individual action, local leaflets, pamphlets, etc., by means of generalised and systematic agitation that can only be conducted with the aid of the periodical press. It may be said without exaggeration that the frequency and regularity with which a newspaper is printed (and distributed) can serve as a precise criterion of how well this cardinal and most essential sector of our militant activities is built up. Furthermore, our newspaper must be All-Russian. If we fail, and as long as we fail, to combine our efforts to influence the people and the government by means of the printed word, it will be utopian to think of combining other means, more complex, more difficult, but also more decisive, for exerting influence. Our movement suffers in the first place, ideologically, as well as in practical and organisational respects from its state of fragmentation, from the almost complete immersion of the overwhelming majority of Social-Democrats in local work, which narrows their outlook, the scope of their activities, and their skill in the maintenance of secrecy and their preparedness. It is precisely in this state of fragmentation that one must look for the deepest roots of instability and the waverings noted above. The first step towards eliminating this shortcoming, towards transforming diverse local movements into a single, All-Russian movement, must be the founding of an All-Russian newspaper. Lastly, what we need is definitely a *political* newspaper. Without a political organ, a political movement deserving that name is inconceivable in the Europe of today. Without such a newspaper we cannot possibly fulfill our task—that of concentrating all the elements of political discontent and protest, of vitalising thereby the revolutionary movement of the proletariat. We have taken the first step, we have aroused in the working class a passion for “economic”, factory exposures; we must now take the next step, that of arousing in every section of

The role of a newspaper, however, is not limited solely to the dissemination of ideas, to political education, and to the enlistment of political allies. A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it is also a collective organiser. In this last respect it may be likened to the scaffolding round a building under construction, which marks the contours of the structure and facilitates communication between the builders, enabling them to distribute the work and to

* It will be understood, of course, that these agents could work successfully only in the closest contact with the local committees (groups, study circles) of our Party. In general, the entire plan we project can, of course, be implemented only with the most active support of the committees which have on repeated occasions attempted to unite the Party and which, we are sure, will achieve this unification—if not today, then tomorrow, if not in one way, then in another.

In conclusion, a few words to avoid possible misunderstanding. We have spoken continuously of systematic, planned preparation, yet it is by no means our intention to imply that the autocracy can be overthrown only by a regular siege or by organised assault. Such a view would be absurd and doc-possible, and historically much more probable, that the autocracy will collapse under the impact of one of the spontaneous outbursts or unforeseen political complications which constantly threaten it from all sides. But no political party that wishes to avoid adventurous gambles can base its activities on the anticipation of such outbursts and complications. We must go on our own way, and we must steadfastly carry on our regular work, and the less our reliance on the unexpected, the less the chance of our being caught unawares by any "historic turns". □

** Bashi-bazouks were irregular Turkish troops, noted for their brutality—*RW*.

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BEAT BACK THE DOGMATO-REVISIONIST ATTACK
ON MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT
Comments on Enver Hoxha's
Imperialism and the Revolution
Published by the Revolutionary Communist
Party, USA in The Communist, No.5, May 1979

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Correction: The article "The Many Ugly Faces of U.S. Plots Vs. Iran" in RW No. 69 incorrectly states that the Washington Post was the first newspaper to print the Pentagon Papers in the early 1970s; in actuality the major pipeline for this "leak" was the New York Times.

The Big Red 1

or

How the Bourgeoisie Uses the Past to Serve the Future

Here is a riddle that most readers of the *RW* should have no trouble figuring out the answer to: Take a film director who has never made a movie that cost more than, say, \$100,000 to produce, and who last made a film for a Hollywood studio in 1964. Add the fact that he turned in numerous scripts between '64 and '77 (including the "Big Red One") that all went unproduced. Suddenly, on the eve of the '80s, a relatively major studio, Lorimar Productions, comes up with \$4.5 million plus another \$1.5 million in interest so that he can transfer his life-long dream to celluloid. Now the question—guess what the movie is about? Everyone who answered "world war" wins a khaki green uniform and an all-expense-paid trip to just about anywhere. Everyone who answered something else has to go sit through the "Big Red One"—and then gets the khaki green uniform plus the trip.

For those who guessed wrong, this is surely a case of cruel and unusual punishment, for the "Big Red One" achieves a near perfect unity of bourgeois form and bourgeois content—here is a movie that is as vapid, cliché ridden and boring as it is reactionary. This hasn't prevented *Time* magazine from calling it "...clean, direct and gripping filmmaking," or *Newsweek* applauding that the movie is "...like a blast of clean air in a summer of muggy, meandering movies... a film that knows exactly what it's after, in which every shot and every scene build toward a clearly sighted objective." But it's not only the bourgeoisie's open propaganda mags that are salivating over the "Big Red One" and its director, Sam Fuller. The "liberal" critics are also swooning over the hitherto unrecognized—save for a few—"genius" of Fuller and its realization in his latest Hollywood epoch. A film critic for the *L.A. Weekly* (a newspaper that deals extensively with new cultural happenings, and is often progressive in the stands it takes) says: "Exciting, real, uncompromisingly honest—a film to set standards by...not even a Hollywood studio could hurt his film too much—it is, after all, compounded of true experience, passionate memory and sharp insight—the great ingredients of, as they call it elsewhere, 'art'."

And yet another Chicago entertainment newspaper says, "It's an excellent film, framing the horrors of war between glaring outrage and cold resignation...Fuller retains his conceptual power, building cliché ideas into bold, devastating images. The film gathers authority as it progresses, moving ever further into subjective stylization and intense emotions. No masterpiece, but an important work by a major filmmaker, now safely back in the fold." Well, the part about safely back in the fold may be true. But if a radical director or a revolutionary ever made a film so stereotyped, so cliché-infested, and so openly proselytizing of a particular point of view, the critics wouldn't be talking about bold, devastating images, they would howl "propaganda!" This film has all the subtlety of a late night TV used-car commercial.

Actually, the analogy holds up on another level as well. The insomniac fender-pounders make some outlandish claims about their used cars with the idea that once you get down to their lot, even if you examine the jalopy and find

out that it's not all it's cracked up to be, they can still hook you into buying a new one. Instead of cars, Sam Fuller is pushing a *used war*, but his backers are hoping you won't examine it too carefully because they need your blind faith in the old model to sell you the new one.

Far from being a movie about "the horrors of war", it is precisely a movie about how world war is possible, thinkable, survivable and winnable for U.S. imperialism. It is little wonder that Fuller is back in the fold because his film is quite timely in attempting to create public opinion for World War 3. The "authority" gathered as the film progresses, referred to by the misguided critic above, is the idea that though world war may be rough, in the end even its critics will find out that it is both just and necessary; and the political and ideological underpinnings of this film, the foundation on which it rests as promo for WW3 is the myth of U.S. imperialism as "liberator" in World War 2.

The "Big Red One" is supposed to be a semi-autobiographical film, based on Sam Fuller's experience in World War 2 as a member of the First Infantry Division (nicknamed the Big Red One). It is the story of the core of one rifle squad in the division, made up of a hardboiled but ultimately compassionate and humane sergeant—a World War I vet played by Lee Marvin—and the four young GIs he leads into battle. Sort of the "old generation" leading the new—you know, a place for everyone in imperialist war.

Fighting their way from north Africa to Sicily, from France to Belgium to Germany, and finally to Czechoslovakia, they liberate the helpless masses wherever they go, and are ever so gratefully received for the salvation they offer. In north Africa, they run into the French Vichy troops whom they inspire to kill their Vichy commander and join the U.S. troops. And so it goes, *ad nauseum*. In Sicily they knock out a German gun emplacement and kill the handful of German

troops that have been holding the whole town, which consists of women and children, captive. The old peasant women of the town rush to hack up the body of one of their oppressors with scythes (after the Americans have already killed him, of course) and then throw a big celebration for their liberators. In France, the squad brings new life into the world by helping to deliver a baby in a tank on the battlefield, under the shadow of a giant crucifix. The pregnant woman is so helpless that Lee Marvin and the boys actually have to show her how to give birth. This is accomplished by all of them yelling "Poussez!" which is the French word for "push," lending the "birth under the cross" the none too subtle character of a mass rape. Everywhere they go, Lee Marvin is befriended by a little kid—the classic foil for revealing the tender heart beating in the breast of the hardboiled sergeant—the American "liberator" in Europe.

All this is an example of the "creative exaggerating" Fuller told one interviewer he learned as a crime reporter for a New York newspaper. But it's certainly not original—it's the popular bourgeois myth about the U.S. good guys going to free the world from the fascist bad guys, a lie that's been forced to every high school student who ever took what is euphemistically called "history" and has been run out in Hollywood war movies for the past 40 years. The "Big Red One" is simply the latest in a long string to perpetuate this national-chauvinist fantasy—one that the U.S. is serving up for public consumption in mass quantities these days. Funny how they don't talk that much, at least not to the masses, about World War I—an unpopular, "senseless" war, a clear-cut case of interimperialist rivalry to redivide the world.

Well, just to set the record straight, so was World War 2 for the U.S. and the rest of the imperialist powers. The only stake the masses had in World War 2 lay in defending the then-socialist Soviet Union against imperialist attempts to destroy it. The Soviet Union, which lost 20 million people in the war (compared to 405,000 for the U.S.) isn't even mentioned in this movie. But then, neither is the fact, for example, that the Vichy troops at the time of the U.S. invasion of north Africa were being led by a fascist French governor Darlan who according to Gabriel Kolko in *The Politics of War*, "signed an agreement to support the allied cause in return for their respecting his civil authority and officials in north Africa and outfitting his military forces." While Darlan was assassinated a month later, this policy was apparently not just a one shot deal. A year later, the former Vichy Minister of the Interior became the Governor General of Algeria. According to Kolko, the State Department approved the appointment and he quotes Eisenhower as saying, "...there is a great paucity of qualified men to fill the

highly specialized posts...Abrupt, sweeping or radical changes, bringing into office little known or unqualified administrators, could create serious difficulties for us." *You are liberated! As you were:* orders from General Eisenhower. But this was just a minor episode in the overall strategy of U.S. imperialism in the European war theater and had nothing to do with defending "freedom." It was to sit on the mountaintop and watch the tigers fight and then move in for the kill—a redivision of the world with U.S. imperialism as king of the mountain.

Thus, the U.S. war strategy was a *political* strategy that was based not only on incapacitating their main rivals at the time for world domination, imperialist Germany, but also on weakening (and hoping ultimately to destroy) the Soviet Union, defeating the communist-led resistance movements in Europe, and even undermining the position of the U.S.'s closest ally, British imperialism. To accomplish these goals (all of which, except the latter, were also shared by the British), the U.S. sat out most of the war in Europe, leaving Germany free to launch an all-out offensive against the Soviet Union, while the U.S. was playing around in north Africa and trying to protect its Pacific colonial possessions from the Japanese. The U.S. and Britain refused to open a second front in Western Europe, since this would force Germany to pull some of its forces out of the Soviet Union and they hoped each would weaken the other before they stepped in for the kill.

The great American liberators didn't even invade Sicily and then mainland Italy until the middle of 1943, after a split in the Italian ruling class resulted in Mussolini being deposed, and some of his former fascist supporters, including the king, formed a new government backed by the U.S. and Britain. After the invasion, as the Allies slowly inched their way up Italy, they disarmed the Italian resistance, arresting those who refused to give up their weapons, and banned all "political activity" in areas under their control. The ban did not apply to the existing fascist state machinery and personnel, including the Italian army which was used to control a population that was increasingly demanding the destruction of the old order. Meanwhile, the U.S. and Britain were jockeying back and forth over whose puppets would be placed in power, uniting only on the need to keep the masses from rising up. (An analysis of the erroneous and often outright revisionist lines of the communist parties that led this and other resistance movements in Europe is beyond the scope of this article.)

Of course, in the "Big Red One" the only sign of a resistance movement is a lone woman posing as an inmate in an insane asylum; there isn't any power-jockeying; there aren't even any generals to enforce the American military oc-

Continued on page 14



Sam Fuller directs Lee Marvin in the "Big Red 1"—would you buy a used war from this man?

The Big Red 1

Continued from page 13

cupation of all the areas the GI's "liberate." Apparently all this wasn't part of Fuller's "true experience."

But D-Day is—the valiant invasion of France when the U.S. finally gets serious about getting into Europe. Of course, by now it is 1944 and the German imperialists are already on the run, weakened and rapidly retreating from the Soviet counteroffensive. And not only does the U.S. have to worry about the Soviet Union *actually* liberating areas that the U.S. desperately needs to control, but the masses are rising up all over Western Europe as well, threatening to dramatically change the scenario of imperialist domination that the American imperialists have envisioned as the war's final outcome. In the real world, the U.S. moves into Paris and Brussels hot on the heels of uprisings of the masses; in Paris, they install DeGaulle to restore order—those fighters who resist this "liberation" are sent to southern France to do hard labor in concentration camps. In Belgium, they rely on the Belgian police backed up by British tanks to restore yet another monarchy, with the police opening fire on the masses when they refuse to turn over their weapons to the authorities.

Sam Fuller told a writer for the *L.A. Weekly*, "Listen, you're living in a world where you have to belong to something, even if you're a loner. We can't go around being men without a country. That's no damned good. But we can't go around telling each other what to do either. That's what all that damned flag-waving is all about. You never see that up at the front. If you're *there*, you don't need it. The more you go to the rear, the more the flags begin to fly. I don't like those goddamned flags waved in my face."

So Fuller waves the *front* in our faces. The front is where boys become men. Unlike many World War 2 movies, this is no nostalgia piece, no longing for past glory "fighting the good fight." The squad is not the typical squad of 30-year-old tough guys—they are youth, fresh-faced boys who come of age surviving the war and above all become men in the realization that there was a good reason for all the madness. This is the "poetry of survival," as one liberal critic has called it, a sort of bourgeois opposite to the John Wayne flag-waving variety, that leads the audience to the same line of supporting the imperialists.

The main form of this survivalist message is played out in the voice-over narration by one of the youthful GI's that runs throughout the "Big Red

One." His name is Zab, but he's an obvious surrogate for Fuller from his aspirations to be a writer to his constant cigar-chomping. Zab almost sounds like he's anti-war, if you don't listen too carefully. "The creepy thing about battle is that you always feel alone. All you can see is the guys right next to you and the bodies you keep tripping over." War is hell, isn't it? Zab thinks so, and he doesn't hesitate to say so—repeatedly. He doesn't like the warped values—"we got a bunch of medals, not for delivering the kid, just for killing krauts." He doesn't like the warmakers too much either—"You know how you smoke out a sniper? You send a guy out in the open and you see if he gets shot. They thought that one up at West Point." But all this only reinforces the big question here—will our heroes survive? The answer is, yes you *can*, and that's what makes it so exciting. Survival is what war is all about, and the way to pull it off is to feed all your replacements (sometimes called "wet noses") into the enemy's firepower, leaving you without a scratch.

"By now, we've come to look at our replacements as dead men who temporarily have the use of their arms and legs," says Zab (Fuller) as he reiterates the point over and over again. Sure, this is cold and cruel, but face it, that's the way it is...and you can make it. The audience never knows the wet noses' names, and you are not supposed to. You are meant to identify with the little fraternity of survivors and hope they don't get hit. And sure enough, this film has a happy ending. Here, consciously or unconsciously, Fuller has created the perfect metaphor for U.S. imperialism. How did the U.S. make it through World War 2 and come out smelling like a rose? Why, by having others do the fighting, most especially the Soviet Union and resistance forces in Europe, while the U.S. came out, comparatively speaking, with hardly a scratch. The little squad thus becomes a metaphor for U.S. imperialism coming out of World War 2...and heading into World War 3.

In the "Big Red One," every war horror, every insanity comes right back to this—the "righteous" survive. Fuller told an interviewer, "That's the thing about the infantry. In war! In life! You've gotta be nuts, but you've gotta be *lucidly* nuts." Check out the insane asylum, where the squad has to knock over the Germans holed up there. Why can't they have the air corps bomb the place? Sergeant: "Killing insane people is not good for public relations." But killing sane people is OK—get it? So the squad has to invade the asylum, and when the battle breaks out into a hell-fired shooting match, one of the inmates picks up a machine gun and starts blasting away, shouting, "I am one of you. I'm sane." Zab (Fuller) says, "For a minute there, before I dropped him, I was thinking he might just be right."

But the whole scene is meant to make the opposite point—there is "lucidity" in imperialist war which is all revealed in the movie's conclusion. There the horror of the enemy is revealed—the "insane" murder in the concentration camps which the audience is meant to distinguish from the cold calculations of the little band of youthful heroes and their heart-of-gold sergeant who send their replacements into the line of fire for a very good reason—so they can "survive."

In the final scenes, doubters are converted, won to an understanding that all of this has not been in vain. All through the movie one of the boys, Griff, is portrayed as a pacifist—and this is pictured as meaning a "coward." In an early scene in north Africa he tells the sergeant, "I can't murder anybody." The sergeant says, "We don't murder, we kill." Flash to the Germany army. German sergeant to soldier: "We don't murder the enemy, we kill." Parallel scenes—like Fuller told one critic, "equal death machines." Wrong. When the German soldier says he's had it with fighting for Hitler and tries to split, the German sergeant shoots him in the back. In contrast, when Griff freezes on the battlefield at Normandy, the American sergeant shoots around him, not at him, until he gets mad enough to do his job in battle. The point which Griff comes to realize in the last scenes is not "equal death machines" but that the cause of U.S. imperialism is just.

It all comes together when the boys get sent to Falkenau, Czechoslovakia. There they confront the concentration camps and suddenly the whole squad knows what it's fighting for and fights with a passion that has not been seen before. Griff becomes an instant convert. He tracks down a German soldier hiding in one of the ovens and when the German's gun won't fire, Griff shoots him over and over, firing round after round for all the shots unfired when he did not understand the true meaning and purpose of the American liberator.

At the time that this scene in the movie is supposed to have taken place, the situation in Czechoslovakia was as follows: The people of Prague had just risen up against the German occupiers and were defeating them. Soviet troops were rapidly moving across the eastern border to deliver a final death blow to the German imperialists. The Germans were ready to surrender but were afraid of their fate at the hands of the masses of Czechoslovakian people or the Soviet army. They wanted to surrender to the Americans. The same day that the Prague uprising began, Eisenhower moved troops into Czechoslovakia and waited for the Germans to surrender to U.S. imperialism. He didn't have to wait long. As for the concentration camps, these came as no surprise to the U.S. imperialists, who were fully aware throughout the war that the German

imperialists had enslaved and murdered millions of various nationalities in the camps, and like everything else, used the camps and their "liberation" for their own cynical political aims.

Of course, the realities of history and the "creative exaggerating" of director Fuller have little in common. And why should they. After all, Fuller's reactionary interpretation of making the past serve the present has much more to do with the present necessities of U.S. imperialism than with correctly summing up the past. A comparison between the very first scene in the movie and the last scene gives a screaming clue to the future—the movie is objectively aimed at serving.

In the opening scene, filmed in stark, grainy, black and white, Lee Marvin as a soldier in World War 1 stabs a German soldier, not knowing that the war has actually ended four hours before. He has no remorse. This is because in the very next scene—which telescopes to World War 2 in living color—the German imperialists are still the enemy.

At the end of the movie, the sergeant again stabs a German soldier who is trying to surrender. For a moment it seems that this is a repeat of the first scene. But this time it's different. The German soldier is still alive, and the boys rush back to patch him up, while the sergeant says, "Look, you son-of-a-bitch, you're gonna live if I have to blow your brains out." The narrator, Zab, sums it up ironically. "We had more in common with him than we did with all our replacements who got killed, whose names we never even knew. We made it through, we were alive. I'm gonna dedicate my book to those who shot, but didn't get shot. Because it's about survivors—and surviving is the only glory in war, if you know what I mean."

But the point really is not that the sergeant has had a change of heart. Nor is it just a question of *individual* survival, because these guys have come to represent the U.S. in war. On one level the revival of the German soldier might be taken as a metaphor for a mini-Marshall Plan. More, it is a metaphor for the future. Where does the "survivor" of World War 1, Lee Marvin, sergeant from the Big Red One, end up? On the battlefield in World War 2. And where will these young "survivors" end up? Or more to the point, what is the future that U.S. imperialism has in store for the youth who are meant to sit and watch this movie and identify with the little fraternity of survivors? On the front lines for U.S. imperialism against their social-imperialist rivals, the Soviet Union. The message is that all the critics and doubters will find out sooner or later that the cause of U.S. imperialism is just—and there are a few "survivors" like Sam Fuller around who will prove it to you.

Dogfight

Continued from page 8

sheet" on Mao will not be out till next year.

The trial of the Four keeps getting put off. Recently it was announced that part of the trial would be public (meaning open to a small select group of people), then it was said that it has been delayed because Chiang Ching (who is targeted with special hatred by the revisionist rulers, partly because she was Mao's wife) was threatening to "divulge state secrets." All this can only mean that the revisionists are still too much at each others' throats to let this trial go ahead. (Deng, in his interview, took another side-swipe at Mao by saying that Mao "need not" be brought up in the trial, because the Four's crimes were enough to convict them.)

The Soviet revisionists, meanwhile, are watching the attack on Mao with glee. A September 4th French news agency report from Moscow revealed that Brezhnev gave a talk in which he said, "A lot of things are beginning to change in China...many of Mao's conceptions, which have nothing to do

with socialism, are being questioned by Peking...China is beginning to understand that the Cultural Revolution was a big disaster." But he warned that, "whether this process will succeed or not is still too early to tell." The revisionists in Russia and China may fight like cats and dogs, but this is a quarrel between bourgeois nationalists and it can be patched up quickly, especially as the forces begin to line up for world war. The biggest thing holding back such a development is the legacy of Mao, a most implacable foe of Soviet revisionism.

* * * *

A final note: Last week was the fourth anniversary of Mao's death. Unlike the past few years when a perfunctory hat was tipped by the official circles in his direction, *not a word* about it appeared in the official press on this occasion. On the other hand, a small tip of an iceberg surfaced in Peking's central square. At the Monument to the People's Heroes a wreath appeared with the inscription, "While the whole country is kept silent, people remember you." China's revisionists and all reactionaries internationally know that Mao's legacy, remembered by the people, will be far more than a memory.

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Legal Lynching of Pontiac Bros. Set to Begin

"I have dreams sometimes about going down a dark tunnel and at the end of the tunnel there is a door and it opens up where I am strapped down in a chair and they wet my skin. Then they wet my head and put on that metal cap and I see that guy getting ready to pull the lever. It's really heavy to be facing death in the electric chair. That's probably how they got to Angelo (one of the former Pontiac Brothers who turned state's evidence—RW). But in the end he's going to lose more than he gains. He'll certainly be ashamed of himself for selling his soul—for telling lies that will put people into such danger."

Yes—death by electrocution—that's what surrounds the trial of the 16 Pontiac Brothers which begins September 15 with jury selection. Death for rebellion. The biggest legal lynching in the history of this country if the state succeeds. A lynching that will be meant to say to prisoners in hellholes across the country: "If you rise up against oppression, we will kill you." For Pontiac, July 22, 1978, was one of the largest and most significant prison rebellions in recent years—revolts which, from Reidsville, Georgia to New Mexico to Idaho, have been increasing.

Three guards were killed in the rebellion, and now 16 Black prisoners are on trial with fifteen counts each on charges of murdering the three guards five different ways. But what is on trial, what the ruling class is out to convict and execute, is rebellion in the prisons. As one of the Pontiac Brothers recently told the RW, "It's like a message they're giving to the others. If they destroy us then the next person who comes along will say 'if we do that (rebel) we'll get burned.'" Governor Thompson wants to use us for a stagecoach to say to the other

prisoners, 'be cool, sit down and let my officers run this prison 'cause y'all my slaves."

Pontiac Correctional Center in downstate Illinois is a 107-year-old, rat-infested dungeon originally built as a reformatory for 600 boys. On the day Pontiac went up in smoke more than three times that number—1,982 inmates, 80% Black and Latino—were crammed into this hole. On July 22, prisoners refused to submit any longer to sadistic guards, to brutal punishment, to the intense harassment of Black and Latino prisoners and the insidious pitting of prisoners of one nationality against those of another. Over 1000 inmates poured into the yard at the height of the uprising and set fire to the hated commissary with its vile food, the laundry which hadn't issued clean clothes for months, the general store with its exorbitant prices, and other buildings. The revolt raged for five hours before it was put down by a force of 300 police. When the smoke had cleared three million dollars worth of property had been destroyed and three guards were killed.

19 months of pre-trial hearings. 19 months of coercing witnesses, holding all the powers of the prison over people to force them to say what was wanted. 19 months of preparing a legal web, a railroad.

Judge Ben Miller and the two prosecutors were hand-picked by Illinois Governor Thompson, who had made the reinstatement of the death penalty one of his first acts in office. And the judge knows what his job is—to prepare a legal lynching. Does the defense want to object to the railroad? Too bad—"Motion denied!" Over 500 times the defense heard these words in the course of pre-trial hearings.

The major motion for dismissal of the case was based on prosecutorial misconduct. The judge heard testimony that witnesses had been gathered through brutal intimidation during an unprecedented 8-month deadlock following the rebellion in July 1978. They were kept for months without a shower. Food was put on a paper plate which was folded and shoved through the bars, spilling food on the floor, then deliberately left there to attract vermin. Prisoners were told by their interrogators from the Illinois Dept. of Law Enforcement (IDLE) that their deadlock would not end until somebody talked. They were asked "questions" like: "We have evidence you were present when Officer XX was stabbed. If you don't cooperate, we are going to charge you. Even if we can't convict you, this will hurt you before the parole board." They were also openly threatened with, "We're going to fry you in the electric chair by June." The 16 Pontiac Brothers remained defiant throughout this, refusing to cooperate with their captors.

The prosecution openly conceded the fact that they had paid witnesses a total of \$50,000 and at the very least transferred them out of deadlock into better conditions, many into minimum security jails and many more onto the streets through parole. One witness who was in no way eligible for parole was given executive clemency for "aiding the state," then paroled. The judge even reviewed agreements between the prosecution and their so-called witnesses which openly threatened, "If you change your statement and say something favorable to the defense (read: if you tell the truth), then your parole will be violated."

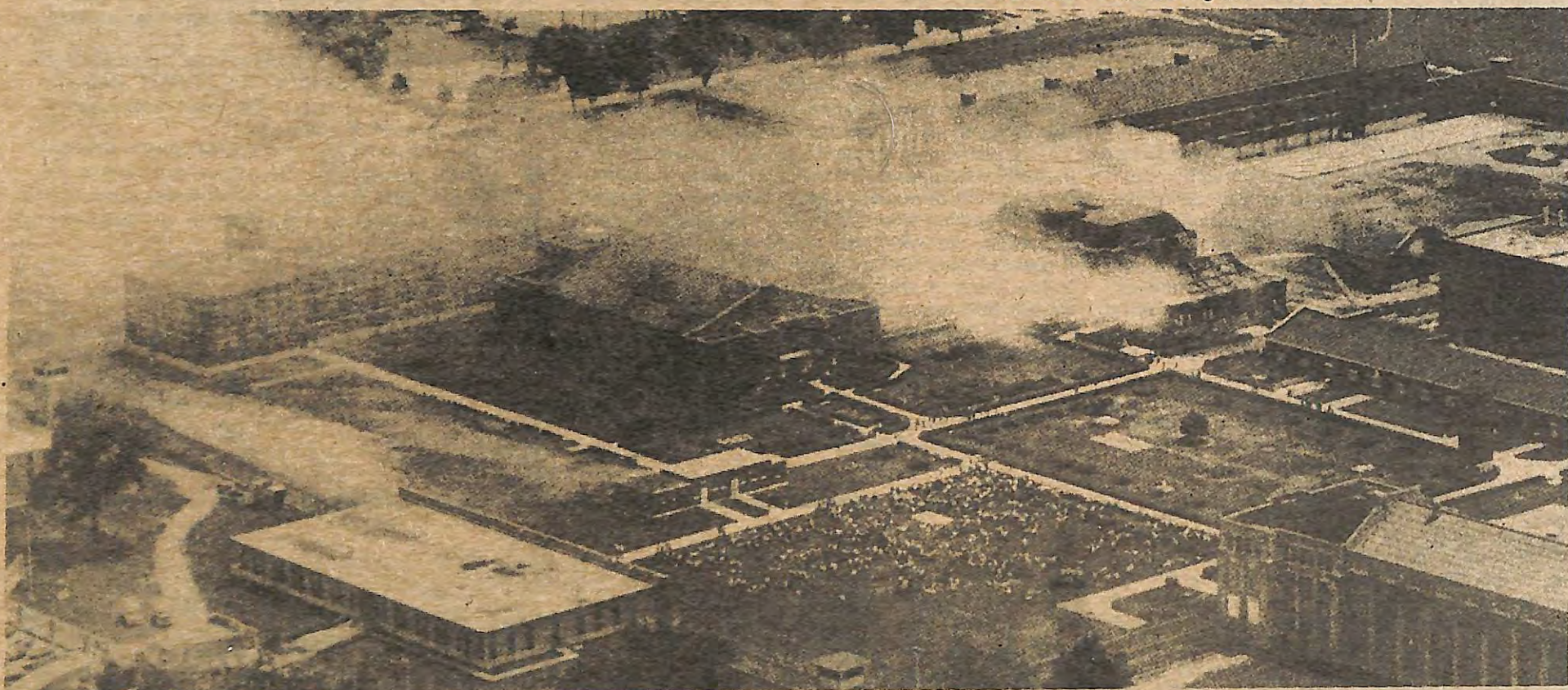
Judge Miller found *no grounds* for dismissal in any of this testimony. He refused to order the prosecution to stop such practices. He denied the defense a protective order for witnesses who testified in favor of the defendants. Finally, Judge Miller ruled that the defense is *not even going to be allowed to question prospective jurors*. Instead, the Judge, in his benevolent wisdom, will do it "for" them.

As the pre-trial hearings came to a close on August 14, Judge Miller ruled that the 16 prisoners would be split and tried in two separate groups. This action by the judge gave a final boost to the prosecution's case, which is riddled with inconsistencies.

The idea is that the prosecution will pick those witnesses who have proved by this point to be the best for them and can keep their story straight. Then they'll take the prisoners who are being testified against by these "best" witnesses and try them first. Their logic, of course, is that a victory in the first case would more than compensate for the weaker case to follow.

The courtroom at Cook County Jail stands ready, the bullet-proof glass partition separating the audience from the rest of the court. One of the defense lawyers, Chokwe Lumumba, recently told the RW that in the courtroom "the deck is stacked against us and we have to understand that because the U.S. process ends with the jury's verdict or the appeal—that doesn't have to mean *our* process ends there. We have to build support for the brothers to the point where we will have a popular demand for their freedom—a popular demand where people will not allow them to be killed no matter what the Supreme Court says."

Pontiac Prison during the 1978 rebellion.



UT

Continued from page 11

between the original arrests. And the debate has overflowed the bounds of the campus. The *Daily Texan* is circulated city-wide throughout Austin and many throughout the city are being politicized over these trials, the attacks on the paper itself and on the Iranian revolution.

The trials have been nothing but a political railroad from start to finish. The one bright spot to appear in the courtroom was during the defense's closing arguments, when the attorneys turned the floor over to one of the Iranian students. He spoke for a solid hour, exposing the crimes of the U.S. in backing the Shah, who Hoveyda really was and the crimes that he is connected with, and the plans the U.S. has for further adventures into Iran to suppress and control the revolution. The District At-

torney's response was, believe it or not, to demand freedom of speech. "If Adolph Eichmann came to Austin, we should let him speak," he exclaimed. And his closing arguments revealed that a lot of political exposure had gone on as he wailed, "Everyone has been on trial in the course of this except the defendants—the University of Texas, the police, the judge, me, the U.S. government..." The judge found 12 of the 18 guilty as charged and failed to convict the other six.

As we go to press, the sentencing of the 12 is scheduled to occur in two weeks. They still have the threat of deportation hanging over their heads. Mark McKinnon and the *Daily Texan* could still be re-called into court and again ordered to hand over the photographs or face additional contempt charges. But what is happening in Austin, and what frightens the authorities, the pompous judges, and the "learned" administrators, is that through the course of the last few mon-

Shine the Light of Revolution Behind the Prison Walls

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

The Revolutionary Communist Party receives many letters and requests for literature from prisoners in the hell-hole torture chambers from Attica to San Quentin. There are thousands more brothers and sisters behind bars who have refused to be beaten down and corrupted in the dungeons of the capitalist class and who thirst for and

need the *Revolutionary Worker* and other revolutionary literature. To help make possible getting the Voice of the Revolutionary Communist Party as well as other Party literature and books on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought behind the prison walls, the *Revolutionary Worker* is establishing a special fund. Contributions should be sent to:

Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund
Box 3486, Merchandise Mart
Chicago, IL 60654

ths, not only are many more people coming to support the Iranian revolution, but more, many are coming to

hold this whole rotten system in contempt.

Chile

Continued from page 1

voted yes or no was irrelevant and the only question was whether the government would emerge strengthened or weakened by its success or lack of it in carrying off this farce, the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile called for the formation of thousands of Abstention Struggle Committees and an Abstention Struggle Front to carry out agitation and propaganda and enable the people to find the ways to boycott this election. Although the U.S. TV news reports from Chile Sept. 11 slyly indicated that there was no point in staying up late for the junta's announcement of the results, the political results of this day will be known only through much slower arriving reports from Chilean revolutionaries.

The outcry against the coup which arose from every corner of the world forced the U.S. government to put a certain distance between itself and its bastard fascist offspring in power in Chile. But in fact U.S. support for the Pinochet regime has never ceased for an instant. This was underlined by a recent U.S. government decision to halt legal and diplomatic proceedings against the head of the Chilean secret police for the murder of Chilean exile Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffit in Washington, D.C. in 1976—a murder led by an American who conveniently confessed to being a Chilean agent in return for the promise of an early release from prison. Now the British government has announced it will resume open arms shipments to the Chilean junta. Clearly there are hopes that a "good show" in Chile Sept. 11 will allow far more open support for the regime, including from the U.S.

American business publications count Chile as among the best places for what is politely called investment—that is, robbery and pillage. But there's a persistent "image problem" which plagues the Pinochet regime (and the U.S.). In order to deal with this, they made repeated efforts to wipe the blood off. Most notorious was a phony referendum conducted in January 1978 which gave "public approval" to the government's condemnation of a UN exposé of mass murder and torture in Chile. But in fact that 1978 plebiscite marked the beginning of a new wave of struggle that has grown in strength, organization and combativeness ever since.

This week's plebiscite, with its so-called opportunity to vote "no" to fascism, represented yet another such political maneuver by the junta and its backers. What prevents these efforts from being nothing but a sick joke is the role of the Christian Democrat semi-legal and pro-U.S. opposition and the pro-Soviet revisionists, who have in common the denial that what Chile's people need is revolution and common efforts to derail its development. Eduardo Frei's Christian Democrats have lent to the junta's game completely, carrying out a public campaign in favor of voting "no" in the election, while the revisionist Communist Party of Chile prattles about "spaces of legality" permitted by the dictatorship which supposedly can be expanded piece by piece until fascism disappears.

The U.S. bourgeoisie itself has played two cards; on the one hand discretely supporting the military junta, and on the other, offering a hand to the Christian Democratic opposition (such as with Kennedy's pro-Frei floor show in the Senate Sept. 11), in this way promoting the hope of a peaceful evolution of the Chilean regime and assuring continued U.S. domination.

The military junta has given ample proof that its main plan to deal with its isolation and the people's hatred is terror, torture and mass murder. The July 15 killing of Lieut.-Col. René Vergara Campos, the director of the military intelligence school, has been used as a pretext for mass arrests amounting to thousands of people, with soldiers and tanks conducting dragnets in the streets and a new round of "disappearances" among suspected revolutionaries. On Aug. 27, a government authorized rally in a stadium conducted by Frei turned into a riot as tens of thousands who had not attended the meeting clashed with police outside in the most spectacular street fighting in recent years. Since then the repression against revolutionaries has mounted steadily as it became increasingly clear that the junta considered this essential for its plebiscite's success. For Pinochet and his backers, the tolerated (and tolerant) opposition of Frei is a necessity, while the revolutionary opposition must be gotten rid of to ensure that the government not only wins the election, but the whole game. Through all this the question of pinning all hopes on a peaceful "evolution" that would somehow bring about a government in the interests of the masses, or instead, preparing conditions for the armed overthrow of the Pinochet regime, has posed itself more sharply than ever.

The following is a declaration by the Revolutionary Communist Party of Chile, published Aug. 21 in a special bulletin to its newspaper *El Pueblo* in Chile, which analyzes this situation and contains the PCRCh's call for a political counterattack to the plebiscite. The translation is ours.

After seven years of massacres, abuses and the super exploitation of our people to serve the interests of U.S. imperialism, the monopoly capitalists and landowners, Pinochet and his gang have approved *their* Political Constitution. Now they are trying to legitimize it. Toward this end, with great fanfare they have called a

mockery of a plebiscite whose character is "consultative," since everything is already decided beforehand and there's nothing more to decide.

In the face of this new maneuver by Chilean fascism to maintain, consolidate and prolong its power and the present state of affairs by a combination of arms and demagoguery, it is necessary to put forward an alternative of struggle to wreck their plan and advance the Chilean proletariat and people towards the overthrow of the dictatorship.

In accordance with this necessity, the REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE declares:

1) This is a new and shameless farce, calculated down to its smallest details, a rerun of the fascist "national Consultation" carried out January 4, 1978, a spectacle carefully prepared and set up by the dictatorship.

They have selected a favorable time to try to complete their plans against the people. They have completed seven years in the government, during which they have committed all kinds of outrages. More than 30,000 Chileans murdered in different ways, more than 2,500 prisoners "disappeared," hundreds of thousands of political prisoners, more than a million people exiled, hundreds of thousands of unemployed, constant massive layoffs, closings of workplaces, the constant rise in the price of necessities, wage freezes, the suppression of social benefits, growing denationalization of the economy and culture, systematic destruction of small and medium businesses, scandalous financial frauds, constant growth of all the bleeding sores of society, government acts of terrorism, the denial or restriction of the most basic rights of the people, etc., etc. This is the worn-out "peace, tranquillity and security" Pinochet's mouth is so full of. The so-called "national reconstruction" has been only for the benefit of imperialism and the oligarchy, who have made Chile a paradise for them and a hell for the workers, which they are trying to keep going until 1989 and beyond.

Completing this picture, in the last three months Pinochet has unleashed a wave of stepped-up repression against the masses. Kidnappings, tortures, murder and banishment (to remote places within Chile) are the coronation of this period of seven years. At the same time a violent clash is developing within the regime, resulting in resignations, threats and "mysterious" deaths.

Despite all this, the spirit of rebellion, of unity and of struggle has been reinforced among our people.

2) The fascists have chosen and prepared their field of combat, one that most suits them. They have already approved *their* Constitution and the "temporary measures" that go with it (so that Pinochet can "legally" continue for nine more years). They have determined the rules and who will participate in *their* "plebiscite." They will control and make known the results. Already they have thrown thousands of cops into the streets to assault whatever dissident voice which might obstruct their plan. Under these conditions, the "plebiscite" is no more than a formality designed to give a "legal" appearance to their fascist decisions.

Since the aim of the dictatorship is to give the appearance of legitimacy to *their* Constitution, this means they need the presence and participation of the biggest possible number of people in this new circus. If there are people who vote "yes," all the better for them; but it doesn't matter whether people vote "no," leave their ballots blank or spoil them, because the results have already been arranged. Fascism needs a chorus for its carnival, which is why it is trying to trick and intimidate the Chilean proletariat and people. On the one hand it offers the "alternative" of voting "no" (in case anyone falls into the trap) and on the other hand it threatens to punish those who don't show up or don't vote, so as to assure the maximum participation. Voting "no" won't

change the present situation in any way, not even as a way to protest, since, as we've said, everything's been arranged (a certain majority of "yes" votes, a certain minority of "no" votes, another number of blank and spoiled ballots just for window-dressing). This shows, once again, that Pinochet and his gang will not give up the power that has given them so much monetary satisfaction. If they aren't swept aside by the struggle of the people led by the proletariat, they won't go of their own will.

3) For the dictatorship, people who don't vote commit the most serious crime. This is exactly the *weak point* of Pinochet's maneuver. His worst fear is that the masses won't play his game. A massive abstention would be a very hard blow to his aspirations.

With this in mind, the Chilean proletariat and people must choose the battlefield that most suits their interests. They must set their own rules in this struggle. In this way they can maintain their independence, increase their fighting capacity, heighten their morale, hit where it hurts the most and in this way have the opportunity to hit the dictatorship with a closed fist.

On the basis of this analysis of the situation, the REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE calls on all social forces who oppose the dictatorship or struggle against it to unite and coordinate their organizations and struggle to mobilize to **FLATLY REJECT THE PLEBISCITE BY REFUSING TO PARTICIPATE IN IT.**

This is a clear call to the Chilean people and proletariat to boycott the fascist "plebiscite" by **ABSTAINING**. Far from what might be imagined, abstaining *does not mean staying home idly waiting for Pinochet to fail*. Abstaining means struggling, agitating, propaganda, etc. This requires the organization of thousands of **ABSTENTION STRUGGLE COMMITTEES** in the factories, in the countryside, in the mines, in the schools, in the offices, in the shantytowns and in every area of national life.

These Committees should meet continually to plan their activity—how to mobilize trade union and neighborhood organizations, how to explain and convince the masses of the necessity of **NOT VOTING**, how to carry out propaganda, etc. Together with the masses, it is necessary to seek and figure out ways to elude the repression against those who don't vote (the experience of the past Consultation can give some ideas). Bulletins, leaflets, "pigeons," painting on walls, joint declarations, etc. are good (but not the only) methods to awaken the consciousness of the people and mobilize them for the struggle.

The **ABSTENTION STRUGGLE COMMITTEES** must spark the struggle of the masses in all its forms, starting from the immediate problems of the masses (wages, repression, unemployment, health care, culture, etc.).

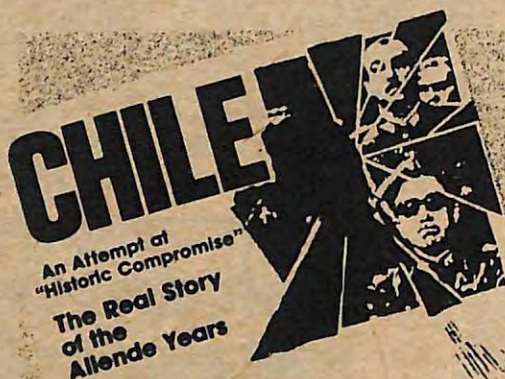
Last, great efforts are necessary to try to form a broad **ABSTENTION STRUGGLE FRONT**, including within it all the committees and mass organizations which are in favor of abstention.

The REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE believes that the basic condition for the establishment of a truly people's government with a truly popular constitution is the overthrow of the dictatorship.

**BOYCOTT THE PLEBISCITE!
FORM ABSTENTION STRUGGLE
COMMITTEES!**

SECRETARIAT OF THE CC
OF THE RCP OF CHILE

August 21, 1980



**CHILE: AN ATTEMPT AT
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The Real Story of the Allende Years
by Jorge Palacios

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Prison Revolt in Monroe, Wa.

On Friday, Sept. 5, the prison facilities at Washington State Reformatory at Monroe were marked by the pungent odor of burnt wood and other materials. The prison yard was entirely deserted. Monroe is on lockdown, and the ashes were the remains of a night of rebellion. Five small buildings burnt to the ground were still smoldering. The guard shack, commonly known as the "shakedown shack," was the first to go. All that remained standing was a charred file cabinet, its doors filled with ash. On the wall of the cement hut in the yard was scrawled in big letters, "POWER."

Prisoners took over the prison for over six hours on the night of September 4. Some 350 prisoners seized

the prison yard and drove guards from the area. The revolt quickly spread to prisoners inside the prison's main cell block. As over 100 state police, sheriffs, guards and a special corrections department riot squad raced to the prison, prisoners set guard shacks and prison buildings aflame and destroyed prison cells and controls to the locks. Even after firing on rebelling prisoners and wounding many, guards were unable to immediately stop the rebellion, and only six hours later were prison officials able to suppress the uprising and force the prisoners back into their cells.

In the wake of the rebellion, the local press launched a wave of propaganda portraying the uprising as mindless gang warfare between Black and Native

American prisoners. In the distorted picture drawn, the guards and prison officials were simply caught in between warring factions of inmates. This story was concocted after a brief interview with one inmate as he was being treated at a local hospital. But even if a scuffle between prisoners was in some way involved, things quickly developed far beyond that. The guards clearly knew they weren't "caught in the middle" because at the very start of the rebellion, they began firing on prisoners.

Only a few weeks before the rebellion, prisoners had been subjected to a "shakedown" in which guards rifled through prisoners' cells and belongings, destroying and stealing at will.

This shakedown triggered widespread protests by the prisoners and was undoubtedly still burning in their memories last week. Immediately after the rebellion, prison officials attempted to reassert their authority by putting the prison on lockdown and conducting yet another infamous shakedown. Also the reformatory, like the penitentiary at Walla Walla, is crammed with twice as many prisoners as it was built for. Prison Superintendent Look, unable to deny this fact, simply claimed that he "didn't know" if these hellish conditions had anything to do with the revolt.

This latest revolt broke out while controversy over the brutal conditions and rebellions at Walla Walla was still raging, and since this rebellion it has been learned that on September 10, the prisoners at the State Corrections Center in Shelton conducted a sit-down strike and presented prison officials with a list of demands.

100,000 Campaign Escalates

Co-Conspirator Kidnapped by Seattle Police

In the early hours of September 2, Larry Jackson was walking down the street near his home. Suddenly, three Seattle police cars roared up and surrounded the young Black man. Larry was viciously and methodically beaten by the pigs, an occurrence that takes place 1000 times a day in ghettos across America, as tin-badged gunslingers patrol like occupying troops. But what was taking place this time was more than their regular forays into the Black community—it was a conscious political attack on a revolutionary. Larry was beaten, perhaps drugged, and taken to a Detox Center where he was strapped face down on a bed. Seattle had not witnessed a political kidnapping like this since the Black liberation struggles of the 1960s. As in Houston and in Atlanta, the bourgeoisie had lashed out again, in an attempt to halt the campaign to meet the goal of 100,000 *Revolutionary Worker* co-conspirators. And in Seattle's Black community, Larry Jackson, who had found a reason to live in the struggle for Revolutionary May Day and had joined the west coast May Day Brigade, was best known for distributing the *Revolutionary Worker*.

The only reason it became known that the cops had snatched Larry off the streets was that a person who had seen the deal go down, went immediately to tell Larry's roommate. Where the hell was he? Was he alive or dead? *Revolutionary Worker* networks were alerted and from there, the word spread like a brush fire—especially through the grapevine in the Black community. The phones at the central police station began ringing off the hooks as outraged people demanded to know Larry's whereabouts and that the cops release him immediately. A number of lawyers phoned an *RW* distributor to offer their legal services and whatever else they might be needed to do to secure his release. For 10 hours the cops slimed through every call, until at four o'clock that afternoon and after literally hundreds of phone calls, Larry's kidnapers began to feel the heat. The straps that pinned him face down on the bed were untied and he was helped to sit up and was washed. A few minutes later a lawyer came to talk to Larry.

But by 9 o'clock that night Larry was still their captive. Around that same time, a private doctor came banging on the door of the Center demanding to see Larry and to examine him. While the front office nervously explained that it simply was impossible to do that, and that was not the standard operating procedure for the Center, Larry was whisked out the back door by his keepers and taken to a hospital where he saw a doctor for the first time since his abduction.

The next morning, with Larry still being held, *RW* selling teams fanned out through the city, exposing this calculated attack and calling on people to become co-conspirators themselves. At the welfare office, which was buzzing about Larry's capture before the

RW sellers arrived, a woman bought a paper and quickly volunteered to get on the phone to the police station. At another spot, one brother took a bundle of 10 papers for the first time, saying simply, "Yeah, I bought papers from him. He'd be all over with that paper, you'd see him everywhere." Later that same day, Larry was finally released.

That afternoon, the Seattle pigs moved in to bust some agitators who had gathered a crowd in front of a Safeway store, just three blocks from where the kidnapping occurred barely over 24 hours ago. As two agitators were arrested, the *RW* sellers grouped and marched across the street and into the Holly Park Housing Project, continuing to expose the bourgeoisie's attempt to silence the *RW*. The owner of a soul food restaurant, a regular *RW* distributor, took 90 papers instead of his usual 20. He said he was keeping 50 to distribute himself and was giving the other 40 to a friend he was sure would be eager to get them out. One man said that he knew exactly what happened to Larry because he was in Houston when six cops drowned Joe Torres. He was not willing to take a whole bundle yet but bought a paper saying, "I agree with a lot of what you are saying. If you're for real, then you're what I've been looking for all my life."

Saturday afternoon, the RCP had called for a co-conspirators' march through the Holly Park projects, where many residents were familiar with both the *RW* and with Larry Jackson. Many people immediately grabbed up leaflets about the attack on Larry and began passing them out. A big question on the minds of the people there was why the hell did Larry take such risks? What was to be gained? And what could really be done today to make revolution? Larry tried to sum it up:

"People are concerned, wanting to know a little bit more about why in fact I had my life on the line, taking out the word, the word of revolution, the spirit of revolution. And that can be answered through the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker*, the paper that has sparked me to be conscious to a lot of things that I didn't look at before. But now I'm looking. Like the struggles in Iran and what's happening right here in this country. Here I was being held prisoner, held hostage in the claws of U.S. imperialism, held back, strapped down to a bed and possibly drugged. Because they thought they could get it into my head that I didn't have no place but under their boot. But in fact it was the other way around. It came out to be that when word hit the streets that, yes, I was being held hostage, people stepped forward. Bundles of the *Revolutionary Worker* got out and people wanted to know exactly what this paper was saying, exactly what was I bringing out to the community... out of all this, it only intensified me to be out here more with my work. 'Cause I know that if we don't do it, the class-conscious force out there, the unity of brothers

and sisters of all nationalities, then it won't get done. This is where my work comes from, this conscious understanding—only through reading the paper."

The march began, with Larry riding in a car equipped with a sound system. The car set the pace, travelling about a block in front, with Larry agitating along the route. A number of Black people from the housing project joined the ranks of the march. As the lead car reached the crest of a small hill, it was suddenly blocked by three pig cars. The marchers double-timed it to surround the car, and dozens of residents of the projects poured out of their houses. More cop cars pulled in. The scene grew tense as over 100 people crowded around. But the pigs were out for the one person who concentrates all that they hate and fear—the unbending slave—and who has become an inspiration to many others.

Two people blocking the cops' path to reaching Larry were busted. A chant rumbled from the crowd: "Release them! Release them!" Another cop went for Larry's arm through the car window. More people pressed in between them. Someone told Larry to roll up the window and lock the doors—he did—and kept on agitating. A towtruck arrived on the set, to impound the car and Larry with it. "Surround the car! Surround the car!" the crowd chanted as they surged forward to do just that.

"Tow the pigs!" A couple of rocks bounced across the top of one of the squad cars. The cops, suddenly realizing that they were deep in enemy territory, suddenly vanished. People were jubilant at their retreat and the march moved on—but without Larry. Some of the residents had gathered around him and had taken him to a house in the projects for protection. A dozen people jammed into the house, many with their own bundles of *RWs*, and began discussing the article on the recent trials in Houston—a reader circle of *RW* distributors was underway. The next night, the first discussion of the RCP's *Draft Programme and Constitution* in Holly Park, took place.

Over those two days, 200 *RWs* (90% of them distributed in bundles) and a dozen *Programmes* circulated through the projects. New co-conspirators were enlisted. One brother, who had been reading the *RW* regularly for the whole summer, took his first bundle of 10. He also took five *Programmes* to sell. "I had to think about it. I don't care about getting their money. I care about freedom and I'll fight 100% for it." He took his literature and walked across the grass to a group of people who were sitting and talking. A little later he came back smiling. "We've got one more."



"We Are Internationalists Millions Around

MR. GORDON (defense attorney—RW): Your Honor, you are, obviously, quite familiar with this case, both from the trial and from the things you have read either in the media or things you have seen on television, tape recordings, and also things that have been sent to your Honor.

I think it is clear that what Mr. Yip and Mr. Gan were doing was making a political statement and making it obviously in a very dramatic way. It was a statement against war and it was a statement against the United States and against the Soviet Union.

And, obviously, many people in the government were not happy with that statement, certainly, the way it was made.

Certainly the amount of correspondence (sic) you received suggests that other people were not as upset with the statement.

THE COURT: There are 200 million people in this country.

MR. GORDON: I said "some people," your Honor.

THE COURT: I was about to say, if I got 300 pieces of correspondence, that was about it. That leaves an awful lot of people who did not condone the conduct here. And I would suggest that the Court has indicated on prior occasions, and I will indicate now, that I do not condone the conduct here.

I would not suggest that you equate this with the right to speak, because I will defend these defendants and you so far as free speech is concerned. And each of the defendants will have a chance to address the Court, just as they (sic) had an almost unlimited opportunity to express their views to the jury.

So my suggestion is that throwing paint does not represent an expression of a right guaranteed by the Constitution.

And, under the circumstances, I don't feel that you can equate what was done here with the exercise of the right to free speech or the right to petition.

MR. GORDON: Your Honor, there are many people, in addition to the 300 or so that wrote to you, who certainly are against war, and many of them, at least the defendants, feel that if many of them realized what the country was doing, what the Soviet Union was doing, there would be many more supporting them...

THE DEFENDANT YIP (to Judge—RW): ...Like you said, there are 200,000,000 in this country, and when I was in the Revolutionary May Day Brigade, I saw with my own eyes the lies, like the working class in this country are a bunch of Archie Bunkers or Fred Sanfords.

I saw with my own eyes, taking out the message of May Day 1980, what a reservoir of hatred people in this country have for the way they have to live, despite all the pretty talk about freedom and democracy, because, you can check it out, even the United States Government has to concede that there are certain things that they've got within the Soviet Union that we don't see over here while we over here tell the American people we got a lot of things they don't have over there.

The fact of the matter is, who are the real criminals and who is doing what and for what reason and what is the source of this next war? Is there going to be a next war? You can't deny that. No one can deny that. How can we deny that?

The fact of the matter is that the source of this next war is precisely the politics, the economic-political system that controls both the United States and the Soviet Union...

...Red paint flew. Yes, that's right.

The Red flag flew. That's precisely why the United States Government wrecked the railroads (went after the UN2—RW) with such a vengeance. The fact of the matter is it is a political trial. They cannot tolerate, they cannot have anyone stand up against them. They will not tolerate or have anyone stand up against the draft. They cannot tolerate the fact like people protest against nuclear power plants. They cannot stand the fact that 40 percent of Vietnam veterans polled showed distaste for their experience in Vietnam.

So this is exactly why we are convicted. We reflected the fact of the fears and weaknesses of this country.

I say this government represents a small handful of parasites. When I say that, I use that as symbolism, because I am talking about capitalists, the gigantic corporations, because they are talking about the Arabs while they in fact control 50 percent of the wells in the Arabian countries, and they scream about how the Arabs are holding back oil, these people who rob the American people every day and are directly responsible for the economic crisis and misery that we are entering into.

More fundamentally, the fact that more and more out there there are people taking the political stage, people waking up, people forced into political life. By who? By us? No. Forced into political life by this society itself, by this decline that America is indeed in, and by the fact that as these people come into political life, there will be more active people taking out their leadership, revolutionary leadership.

This is why the United States Government came down on us, because they cannot tolerate the fact that there will be an alternative. They (want to—RW) impose the dilemma on the

American people: You can't do anything about it. You got to line up for war. We want your sons and daughters. We want some warm bodies to chew up, to decide who is going to control Afghanistan. We are still going to control Western Africa. We are going to decide whether or not to sneak back into Nicaragua, whether or not we are going to sneak back into Iran. So that's what is at stake here in this trial.

At the same time I think we can see that what they have tried to do, to railroad us, is only boomeranging back into their faces. So they can't believe that mass support can be built up around this case. They thought we were a bunch of isolated terrorists, a bunch of crazies. The New York Daily News, in an editorial the day after, called us left wing loonies.

But the question is, what is loonier, to expose the... world war by the two biggest superpowers in the world or to go to your slaughter like sheep? Or is it loonier to say that it is legitimate, it is legitimate to shoot missiles across the oceans, to incinerate, to cremate tens of thousands of people while it is illegitimate and it is wrong, illegal to dramatically take the message out, take this question out to the great majority of people in this country?

So there are two sides here, there are two sides here... the dramatic incident that took place in the United Nations represented something... It broke through that stranglehold this country has imposed on people, a very suffocating stranglehold. (They tell us—RW) You can't do anything about it.

Line up between us and the Soviet Union. If you are not for us, you must be pro-Soviet.



HEAR Nation

1st Tour (Steve Yip)

Chicago: Sept. 11-16

St. Louis: Sept. 16-18

Dayton: Sept. 18-22

Greensboro: Sept. 22-24

Boston: Sept. 25-27

Washington, D.C.: Sept.

... We Stand with the and the World''

You see, the point of the matter was we hit both of them, and the message was very clear that there was another road, that we don't have to follow behind either one, especially our own ruling class. We may live here, we may be born and raised here for several generations, like my family was, but this ain't our country because we don't own no oil wells, no insurance companies, we don't own no auto factories.

So that's what is at stake, the question of what is going to happen in the 1980s and what the United States Government tried to do to squash that, and make a lesson out of it.

So I submit to you that they have failed despite this conviction, and the struggle will continue on an even larger scale, just like in The New York Times, today's New York Times. In a short period of time they raised \$10,000 to put this ad in there, to show that there are over 9,000 people who made that ad, to support us.

That's all...
MR. SCHECK (defense attorney—RW):...And I would like to address four points which I think perhaps would be helpful to the Court because, Judge, from a personal perspective, I am 30 years old, the same age as my client, Mr. Gan. And though in very many ways our lives are quite different, from where we came from and from where our parents are and many other aspects of our lives, what we do share is that we grew up in a very turbulent decade and I went to law school in the same place where he went to college, and in many ways our political perspectives in the world were formed in opposition to the conflict in Vietnam and what was occurring in this country at that time.

And I think it is from that historical

perspective that much of what occurred at the United Nations, and occurred at this trial, has to be understood. So what I propose to briefly do is to address four points to the Court...

...First, Judge, I think it is fair to recognize that this is a new decade in which the question of world war is going to become a central issue. It is a central issue now. It is a matter of survival. And this is just the first salvo because, as draft registration commences July 21st, as demonstrations begin around that, as the presidential candidates come before the country and each outdoes the other in calling for increased defense expenditures or, war expenditures, really, as efforts at stopping the arms race go by the boards, as politicians of all kinds, for reasons that I think it is fair to say are in some ways opportunists, begin to whip up a lot of super patriotism and even jingoism, to get people to support a war over the importation of oil from the Persian Gulf, to engage in nuclear brinkmanship against the Soviet Union, things that people really don't want and want to somehow avoid, as that political climate begins to occur in this decade, the issue is going to be joined.

And I think that what happened in the United Nations on April 30th was just the first act of resistance...

...In the final argument during the trial, Mr. Sudler (one of the Assistant U.S. Attorneys—RW) said, and he said it other times, frankly, "Well, they say they are against war. Well, everybody is against war. What is so special about that?"

And what struck me at the time about the remark was the aspect about it that, well, since everybody is against war, we really don't have to think about it; we really can all be secure that it is not going to happen because, after all, in

theory everybody is against it.

But the fact of the matter is, Judge, that we do have to think about it...

...Judge, for all of us who did have our political consciousness formed in opposition to the war in Vietnam at the turn of this decade, in the late sixties and early seventies, the 1970s has been a very difficult decade because, in fact, the fundamental reasons why the war was started, why the war was prosecuted, why the war took place have not really changed and there are many, many, many people, the majority of people I daresay in the country, who still feel that way, although the political direction that they could take over the last ten years to get at the fundamental problems has not been all that clear.

And although people have gone to different walks of life and made accommodations to get along in the system, that doesn't mean that they have such a fundamental disagreement with the basic point that Glenn Gan was making, and that is that the basic fundamental issues have not been resolved and that caused the Vietnam (war—RW) are leading us down the path to world conflict now and the fundamental issues have not been addressed, and that is why he threw paint on both Soviet Ambassador and the American Ambassador, in effect saying, "Look. As working people, we have no interest in what both of you are doing to cause this world conflict, because the fundamental issues have not been resolved and you are not trying to resolve them."

And that was the message, and I think that there is a lot of agreement with that message that is going to become manifest as time goes on and as the issues are joined in this coming decade...

THE COURT: I will ask Mr. Glenn Gan if he has anything he wishes to say in his own behalf or any information he wishes to present in mitigation of punishment.

THE DEFENDANT GAN: I think that, you know, both my attorney and co-defendant said quite a lot already. But I want to emphasize the fact that, we stand here convicted under your laws, facing a possible eight years and \$15,000 fine apiece. For what? I think you would like to say that it was for a criminal act, a simple felonious assault; it was an act of terrorism; that throwing red paint is not all right, as you said. But the slaughter of millions is okay.

What you are saying and what this trial represents is the fact that the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the rulers of these countries, of these respective countries, are preparing to send millions of people to fight and die under their flag to con-

tinue the right of enslavement for millions around the world. That's okay for you, for the ruling class of this country. But for the millions around the world it isn't all right.

This is what happened at the U.N. Then why did we go to the U.N.? Mr. Sudler says that's our only hope, you know; everyone is for world peace but that's our only hope.

What about the U.N.? Here is where the U.S. and the Soviet Union sit behind these closed doors, imperialist politics only. They put on this disguise of saying each is a peace maker while the other is a warmonger. We are talking about how Mr. vanden Heuvel gets up and testifies they were discussing the rights of the Palestinian people on that day.

What about 30 years ago, when they justified the stealing of the Palestinian people's homeland and recognizing the Zionist state of Israel? You want to forget about that is what you are saying. We should forget that in Korea, in 1950, U.S. troops flew under the U.N. flag until they were repelled by the Korean people.

You want to say—
THE COURT: They were repelled by the Chinese People's Republic.

THE DEFENDANT GAN: They were repelled—

THE COURT: Apparently you opposed that.

THE DEFENDANT GAN: They repelled the U.S. troops who crossed over the Yalu River. That's right. The Chinese people took an internationalist stand in support of millions around the world. And we are proud of that.

THE COURT: Now, 30 years later, when we seek to have friendly relations with the People's Republic in Peking, I gather you oppose this. I don't understand your philosophy.

Has the Chinese People's Republic suddenly joined the ranks of the warmongers, so that our attempt to have friendly relations with almost one billion of the earth's people is wrong, is misguided, is an act of aggression and war? Is that what you are saying?

THE DEFENDANT GAN: I think you put it very aptly. I think you understand very well.

THE COURT: Well, let's see. You oppose the one billion people of China and our having friendly relations.

THE DEFENDANT GAN: We oppose the ruling class in China that sits there preparing to continue to enslave the Chinese people under the banner of the U.S. flag.

THE COURT: All right. Now you oppose our attempting to have some dialogue with the several hundred million people of the Union of Soviet

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R THE UN 2 nal Speaking Tour

2nd Tour (Glenn Gan)

San Francisco: Sept. 16-20

Houston: Sept. 21-24

Atlanta: Sept. 24-27

Washington, D.C.: Sept. 27-Oct. 1

27-Oct. 1

Free the UN 2

Statement from Afghan Support Committee

The Afghan Support Committee upholds the anti-imperialist stand taken by the U.N. 2. The speaking tour by the two would widely expose not only the super-powers' war preparation, but also exposes the American imperialists' demagoguery. The sentencing of the U.N. 2 certainly unmasks the U.S. government's empty talk of supporting Afghanistan in their struggle, while making an all out effort to intimidate the U.N. 2, who genuinely stood in defense of the people of Afghanistan.

The U.N. 2 represent the interest of oppressed people not only in Afghanistan, but people all around the world. Their cause is just and our Committee along with millions of people around the world stand with them.

Down with Soviet Social Imperialism!
Down with U.S. Imperialism!
Victory to the anti-imperialist struggle of the people!
Victory to the armed struggle of the people of Afghanistan!

UN 2

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Socialist Republics; you oppose that. You oppose—

THE DEFENDANT GAN: You are talking about dialogue. You are talking about whether the U.S. and the Soviet(s) are preparing to slaughter millions of people by shooting these missiles across the ocean. You are saying it is all right. That is what you are trying to justify here.

THE COURT: I would just like to know if you believe that we should have relations with any country in this whole world.

THE DEFENDANT GAN: We do not have state power in this country.

THE COURT: Oh, yes, you do.

THE DEFENDANT GAN: A handful of the Rockefellers, the Bank of Americas, the Exxons.

THE COURT: The Bank of America? You from San Francisco, you from San Francisco, do you know who founded the Bank of America?... Mr. Giannini, who came from no higher state than you. No one knows, I guess, about Mr. Giannini. But he achieved something in this country.

THE DEFENDANT GAN: Your Honor, am I going to be able to continue my statement?

THE COURT: You are not making a statement, you see. That is the trouble. You are making a political speech, or your version of it.

I am going to let you finish. But I just want you to know that this is not the way to achieve the result which you seek.

THE DEFENDANT GAN: You would like us to achieve it—

THE COURT: Go ahead. Finish. I'll give you all the time you want. Go ahead.

THE DEFENDANT GAN: It is all right to continue. I think we got to look at what is going on inside the U.N.

THE COURT: Go ahead.

THE DEFENDANT GAN: The U.S. will—

THE COURT: Go ahead. Come on. Tell me something that is meaningful. Come on.

THE DEFENDANT GAN: I am saying look at what the U.S. condemned, Soviet aggression in Afghanistan. During the whole time of the Vietnam war not one resolution was ever passed condemning U.S. aggression in Vietnam... Some of these Vietnam vets will come back today and say, "Why won't they fight another war?" They won't fight it because they thought, millions of them thought, that they were fighting for freedom and democracy when in fact it was a war of plunder for the Bank of America and Standard Oil, and that is why more and more, increasingly in that war, Vietnam vets came back and took part in the larger movement in this country, exposing the hypocrisy what you call freedom and democracy.

That is why I think, you know, we went into the U.N. to expose that. And it was important. It wasn't just the two people. See? I think we are internationalists. We stand for the millions around the world today who are fighting for their own liberation, and the lessons that they taught us were paid in blood, the people, the students from Afghanistan.

It is a painful lesson and something that we are going to take to heart, to understand and expose the nature of the Soviet Union. And Chilean people, everyone knows that the CIA slaughtered thousands, tens of thousands of people in Chile and continues to back Pinochet. But what painful lesson was taught there? The role of the Soviet Union, that they set up the masses of the Chilean people.

And that's the responsibility we have in this country, you know, to repay, to take inspiration from people around the world, to repay by exposing both the U.S. and the Soviet Union...

And...you say that in this country

we are going to have the choice of the lesser of two evils. We say that is no choice at all. That's why the Red flag of revolution flew that day at the U.N., see? Because that is what you are afraid of.

This is why millions of people are not going to go along with your plan, because they see you are telling us to fight and die for the red, white and blue. You are telling us that we should go and fight for the Fords that will lay off, that will throw thousands of people into the streets at the push of a button when they can no longer be used for a profit. You are telling millions of youths to go into those armies to fight and die for this red, white and blue that offers them the future of starving in the streets, of dope. That's the future you are telling us to go fight and die for.

You are telling us to continue the oppression, the enslavement of millions around the world. And I think that that's what is on trial. That's why we were convicted. That's why we face this eight years. Because they know that millions of people will not go along with it.

That's why today is our sentencing, not a month from now, because six days from now those youths are going to, millions of youths are going to be out in those streets, if not on Monday. They will, and that's what you are afraid of.

You are afraid that those people are going to wake up to the reality of what life in this country is all about and what fighting for this red, white and blue is all about, like those Vietnam vets who came back from Vietnam and exposed that. You are afraid that those lessons are going to be out there. You are afraid that those people are not going to forget. And you want us to forget.

And I think that, yes, those 9,000 people are not enough. But (it—RW) is growing. This is what you are afraid of. That's why you want to have a conviction. That's why you want to have some kind of jail term, for standing up and exposing that.

I think that this is what is at stake, and that's why more and more people are coming forward to support us. That's why today around this country, the U.N. 2 has become the hundred thousand, when people are putting on these red arm bands.

...And that's why I think that despite whatever sentence you give us, and I realize that no matter what you do, you have only picked up a rock to drop it on your own feet, you and this whole ruling class, because more and more people will come forward, more and more people will come and see what is at stake here and come forward to defend it. And that's what you can never understand.

MR. SUDLER: Your Honor, I'll be brief. As they did to the jury, the defendants now seek to justify their conduct to the Court on the grounds that when they threw the red paint they were sincere and committed and making a political statement.

As we said to the jury, we now say to the Court, that the fact that one is sincere and committed does not justify the commission of a crime. Undoubtedly Hitler was sincere and committed when he did the things that he did.

THE COURT: I wouldn't go that far.

MR. SUDLER: Well, your Honor, I use that as an example to point out, as the defendants did today in their speech, that sincerity and commitment to a political cause does not justify the commission of a crime, and that is what this case is about, your Honor. We were not here—

THE COURT: Give me a moment.

I look at this differently. These young men say that they are against registering people for the draft, against fighting for this country. If millions hadn't been drafted in the 1940s, far before most of these people were born, and thousands hadn't died for "the red, white and blue," I daresay that we would not be here today and there would be no place where these two young people could stand and speak their minds, which I have let them do.

You see, freedom is a precious gift. Freedom must be earned and it must be defended. History is full of instances, from ancient times to now, where peo-

ple refused to stand up and defend freedom and they lost it.

You may proceed, Mr. Sudler.

MR. SUDLER: Your Honor, what I am trying to do is to sever the act that these defendants used from their politics. Quite frankly, the government couldn't care less what their politics is. We are not interested in their politics. Quite frankly, we don't understand their politics and we couldn't care what their politics is.

What we do care about is that we have an institution, which happens to be located in this district, which has its faults but which is the only show that we have in town, and that is the United Nations.

And it is ironic to me, and I think I said this to the jury, that if the defendants' political objective was to deter the United States and the Soviet Union from a nuclear war, the action which they took, I would respectfully submit, did not further that objective but in fact enhanced the likelihood of its occurring and creating more ill will between the United States and the Soviet Union.

We respectfully submit that the Court cannot tolerate that conduct, that people cannot go to the Security Council and reflect their political views by committing assaults therein. That conduct is improper. That is the conduct that the defendants have been convicted of and that's what they should be sentenced for, and only that.

So let's address our thinking, your Honor, to the conduct that was committed, the stage where it was committed, and separate all this business about political views and political briefs, because it is not relevant to the offense that was committed, which was an assault on two Ambassadors to the United Nations shortly before a Security Council meeting.

Addressing that conduct, we contend that the actions that were committed were serious, that although injury did not result, it well might have in this case, that these defendants are not children, that they knew exactly what they were doing and did it because it suited their political purpose, whatever that might be, and that they should pay a price for that, not for rehabilitation, because that is not the goal to be served here today, your Honor, we were not interested in rehabilitation, but to deter them from further examples of this type of felonious conduct and, hopefully, to deter others who might do the same type of thing.

That is what is to be served here, your Honor, in the sentence today, and we think that an appropriate period of incarceration is warranted under these circumstances, and we ask the Court to impose it.

THE COURT: Thank you.

The Court is prepared to impose sentence. I would ask the defendants to rise.

Steven Yip, age 29, and Glenn Gan, age 30, stand before the court for sentence after having been convicted by a jury of conspiracy to commit an assault on Ambassador William vanden Heuvel, deputy U.S. representative to the United Nations, and Oleg Troyanovsky, permanent Soviet representative to the United Nations, and individually with an assault on Messrs. vanden Heuvel and Troyanovsky, who are respectively internationally protected persons and foreign officials.

The assault and the conspiracy to do so occurred at the United Nations here in this district on April 30th, of this year. The assault consisted of splattering red paint on the two individuals named and apparently attempting to display a red flag and to utter certain statements in support of their political cause.

Each defendant faces a maximum sentence of five years in prison and/or a \$10,000 fine on the conspiracy count and a maximum of three years and/or a \$5,000 fine on the substantive assault count.

The facts I think are undisputed. The defendants obtained press passes permitting them to enter the Security Council chambers, purportedly to take photographs, and while on the floor of the Security Council chamber, instead of carrying out the activities they were purportedly there to carry out, that is,

to take pictures, they took cans of, I am told, water-based paint and threw it over Ambassador vanden Heuvel and Ambassador Troyanovsky.

Each defendant appears to contend that this was not an assault but rather a political statement to draw attention to the war preparations of the United States and the Soviet Union...

Mr. Yip appears to feel that this was a political statement and a justifiable one. He has no remorse and apparently feels that the modest notoriety the case has given him and his political views is beneficial.

MR. GORDON: Your Honor, I made a note on the probation report in connection with that. He is not interested in personal notoriety at all.

THE COURT: I'll take that. To his political views.

MR. GORDON: I think he wishes that there had been more notoriety. He is only concerned about the political views.

THE COURT: In any event, he regards what he did as an expression of political views.

MR. GORDON: Certainly.

THE COURT: It would appear that although he is intelligent, possesses the potential to serve himself and his views, he has done so in a fashion which has brought him into conflict with the law.

The Court has concluded that a period of confinement is appropriate in his case and hopefully will give him a chance to think things through and then, when he is released, he will have to make his own decision as to where he goes from here...

Mr. Gan is also an intelligent individual...

It is clear that he knew what he was doing. I must say his views appear somewhat narrow, and I would suggest, and maybe it is due to his experience in those sweatshops that he told us about, that there is an unwillingness, I think, to come to grips with the realities of having obtained the age of 30.

He has intelligence, he is articulate, he could do a great deal, I think, more than he has done. At this time he stands before the Court to be sentenced. I believe that in his case too a period of confinement is required. It is basically because of the nature of the crime.

I suggest that justification for the sentence here lies in what is sometimes called special and general deterrence. This was not the thing to do, and it is the Court intention to deter Mr. Yip and Mr. Gan from repeating this conduct, at least during the period they will remain under supervision.

This is also intended as a message to those other people who would seek to emulate the conduct of the two defendants. I think, fairly, that the defendants, when they walked into the U.N., didn't know what they were walking into, something like the person who walks into a buzzsaw without looking.

And therefore I have determined to mitigate the sentences to a certain extent.

However, the buzzsaw has now been revealed as being there, and I would suggest that others who would follow be put on notice that these activities which have brought the defendants here are not only serious to the government but are viewed seriously by the Court...

This is the sentence of the Court with regard to Steven Yip and with regard to Glenn Gan:

It is adjudged that on Count 3 each defendant—that is, Steven Yip and Glenn Gan—is hereby committed to the custody of the Attorney General or his authorized representative for imprisonment of a term of one year and one day.

It is adjudged that on Count 1 each defendant—that is, Steven Yip and Glenn Gan—is hereby committed to the custody of the Attorney General or his authorized representative for imprisonment for a term of three years. The execution of said sentence of imprisonment of three years with regard to each defendant is hereby suspended and each defendant placed on probation for a period of five years, said sentence on Count 1 to run consecutively to the sentence on Count 3...