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Under the Guise of Neutrality U.S. ORCHESTRATES NEW ATTACKS ON IRAN

The imperialist rulers of the U.S. have upped the ante in their bloody gamble to shore up their domination of the Persian Gulf. This has come in the form of a new Iraqi offensive against Iran, launched in direct coordination with U.S. client states in the Middle East and the involvement of U.S. armed forces themselves. Against the background of these reactionary intrigues, the Iranian people are waging fierce and heroic resistance. New forms of organization have sprung up among the workers; at least one coup plot has been uncovered and defeated; and tens of thousands have headed to the front to join the fighting against Iraq. In the thick of battle, new possibilities are opening up, not simply for the defeat of Iraq and the U.S., but for the overall

advancement of the Iranian people's revolution. This new phase in the war between Iran and Iraq began this past Sunday, as Iraq's first offensive thrust ground to a halt. They hadn't been able to take control of any of the 4 key cities in the Khuzestan area along the border: Abadan, Khorramshar, Dezful, or Ahvaz, no matter how many times the Iraqi command announced their capture. A reactionary attempt at a pro-U.S. coup in Iran in conjunction with the Iraqi attack likewise didn't come off. Without control of Khuzestan, Iraq didn't have the club

they needed to cut off Iran's supply of oil and imports and bludgeon Iran into submission on U.S. imperialism's terms. Iraq's and the U.S. government's dreams of an easy victory in 3 or 4 days went up in the smoke of their tanks burning on the battlefields and their oil refineries burning at home. Once again the Iranian people stunned the political and military "experts" of the bourgeoisie, who had proclaimed their revolution dead and buried, their military too weak to resist and the

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New Developments in Bob Avakian

In the last few weeks there have been some significant developments relating to the appeal of the charges against Party Chairman Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. The national office of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants wrote the following letter when it was raging at an earlier date. We are reprinting it here because awareness of these developments needs to be spread even beyond these people to others who have only since the time of the appeal come to know of, follow, or support the Party's activities.

Dear Friends,

We are writing to inform you of the developments in the government's attempts to railroad Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. It has been almost one year since the government was forced to dismiss the 25-count felony indictment on the grounds of "prosecutorial vindictiveness" in the face of thousands taking a

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Revisionist Lin Biao Group Added

Vile Maneuver in Trial of Chinese Revolutionaries

The counterrevolutionary clique now ruling China is about to add a major count to their long list of crimes against the Chinese and international proletariat. All the bourgeois trappings have been set in motion for the trial—and conviction—of the so-called "Gang of Four." In the finest tradition of bourgeois "justice," the new Chinese rulers are masking a political trial of revolutionaries behind charges of "criminal acts."

But no matter how much they tout "criminal charges" and high-sounding and "legally correct" language from Western books and experts, no matter how much they try to dress up the trial with an aura of "socialist legality," this is decidedly a political trial. The Four are being tried for being thoroughgoing revolutionaries in carrying out Mao's line to lead the masses in struggle against capitalism and capitalist restoration.

The revisionists want this trial to serve as a serious warning to all "remnants of the four"—those who genuinely uphold Mao in China: "The possible punishment for your crime is death." Hua Guofeng (Hua Kuo-feng), in an earlier announcement of the trial, had ruled out the death penalty. But a government spokesman recently warned that this was "not entirely accurate" and the Four will be "tried according to law." In a recent (and vague) UPI report from Peking, a "close associate" of the Four was sentenced to death for his "crimes" last week.

In a blatant attempt to muddle the real issue in this trial, the Four are being tried together with followers of Lin Biao (Lin Piao), Chen Boda (Lin's right-hand man) and five former top military men in the Lin Biao clique. According to their official announcements, "The ten principals accused will be prosecuted and tried on the following four counts: 1) Sedition and conspiracy to overthrow the political power of the proletarian dictatorship; 2) Frame-up and persecution of party and state lead-

ers and usurpation of party leadership and state power; 3) Persecution and oppression of cadres and masses of the people, and the practice of a fascist dictatorship; 4) Plotting to murder Chairman Mao and engineering a counter-revolutionary armed rebellion." In particular the revisionists deliberately created confusion around the fourth charge, at first implying that the Four were even guilty of plotting to murder Mao. A spokesman for the government later "clarified" that the Four would be charged with a coup attempt, and Lin's followers with the murder plot.

The purpose of this grouping of the two forces, along with officially referring to all these people together as the "Lin Biao/Chiang Ching counter-revolutionary group" is quite transparent. It is to dump on the whole period of the Cultural Revolution—and Mao who initiated it—as "terrible." It is on the basis of the Cultural Revolution itself that the Chinese revisionists will try and get away with lumping the Four and Lin Biao because of the complicated struggle and alliances that took place during the upheaval of this great revolutionary period. As pointed out by the RCP Chairman Bob Avakian in the book *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, "As for being associated with Lin Biao, what genuine leftist wasn't so associated during the high tide of the Cultural Revolution?" (p. 95) But analysis of what actually went down and the political lines of Lin Biao on the one hand and Mao and the Four on the other will lay bare the utter bankruptcy of trying to equate these two forces. By Lin Biao's fall in 1971, he and the Four were on opposite, and antagonistic sides in the class struggle. In fact in terms of the basic questions of political line, it is the present rulers in China and Lin Biao who have a lot in common as members of the same revisionist species.

By the start of the Cultural Revolution in the mid-'60s, bourgeois forces in Chinese society and the Party wielded

tremendous influence and power. In the economic sphere, they openly pushed capitalist measures in the name of combating economic difficulties resulting from natural disorders and the pull-out of aid by the Soviet revisionists. Advances made during the late 1950s in the Great Leap Forward, like people's communes, were coming under attack. In industry, the revisionists pushed bonuses and piece rates as well as stiff regulations that treated workers like mere work horses. The revisionists controlled key parts of the superstructure, especially culture and education, through which they spread bourgeois and feudal ideas and values. Parts of security agencies and other vital organs of power were also in their hands.

Mao saw the growing power of the Right and knew that the stage was being set for the revisionists to directly challenge the proletariat for state power and restore capitalism. Mao's response was the Cultural Revolution—a revolution under the conditions of working class rule, aimed at overthrowing "those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road." It was a mass

movement of millions, unprecedented in the history of socialism, which brought the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism to its greatest heights yet.

Within the camp of the revisionists, however, there existed different factions. One, headed by Liu Shaoqi (Liu Shao-chi) and Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-ping), was the Soviet-style revisionists who looked toward Khrushchev and the Soviet Union as a model of what "socialism" should be, and would have led China to become dependent on them. From the opposite pole of the same stupidity, Zhou Enlai (Chou En-lai) opposed Soviet domination by pushing for capitulation to the U.S. and the West. Mao analyzed that the pro-Soviet revisionists like Liu and Deng posed the greatest threat to socialism at that time, because the capitalist nature of the Soviet Union was not yet fully exposed, and it could still be argued with some effect that the USSR was a socialist country, and that China should emulate and even be dependent on it. Zhou's line of capitulating to U.S. im-

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In Revolution, Is Relying on the Masses An Optional Accessory?

In an important speech last Nov. 18 in Washington D.C. Comrade Avakian made a point that merits repeated study and discussion.

"The fundamental, critical and decisive question in the tremendous, tumultuous struggles and upheavals of the decade ahead, with everything going on the line throughout the world," he said then,

"is our ability to grasp revolutionary theory, apply it and deepen our understanding of this revolutionary line and on that basis take it out, spread it more broadly, take it more deeply among the masses of people and bring forth increasing numbers of the people themselves to step to the forefront and, in turn, become organizers and activators of broader and deeper sections of the masses of people."

While this quote refers to the entire period ahead, it is undeniable that "bringing forth increasing numbers of the people themselves to step to the forefront" of the current campaign to boost *RW* circulation to a consistent 100,000 a week is critical to that campaign's success. Grasping more firmly and applying more deeply the principle of relying on the masses—this is a task for now.

Relying on the masses is not a moral question. It is not something that can be "added" on to the way we carry out our tasks. Still less is it the last resort when you absolutely, positively can't figure out any other way to carry out a task. Rather, relying on the masses is a cardinal principle of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and is at the heart of genuinely communist practice. Why is this so?

For one thing, from where do the theories, ideas and analyses come that make up our newspaper and constitute our Party's line? They are nothing more—and nothing less—than the scientifically summed up experience gained by the masses in the spheres of production, scientific experiment, and most especially the class struggle. Were this not true, if our line was not based on the practice of the masses in its broadest and loftiest sense, then our theory would be dull and lifeless, the one-dimensional wispy castles in the sand of utopians, and would be by-passed by history. The daring and fire of our revolutionary line, its ability to bring forth and inspire people, to ignite their smoldering and suppressed aspirations—all this is ultimately due to its source, the struggle of the masses.

This was powerfully spoken to by Comrade Avakian in a speech to the 200 volunteers who went to Washington, D.C. in the battle against the political railroad of the Chairman and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants.

"Where does (the Party's) line come from?" he asked.

"Is it in fact a product of a few people, is it the product of a genius or two? Is this person that you're calling on us to defend somehow some unique individual who personally is a genius or really a great guy? Or in fact is this the product of the whole struggle, not just in this country but internationally, not just in the last ten years but ultimately throughout history, while most immediately and directly during the period of the last 10 or 20 years?"

In the same speech Comrade Avakian emphasized the need to learn from the masses' initiative in creating new forms to transform society and carry on struggle:

"Where do you think the Soviets came from in Russia? They didn't come from Lenin's brain, I'll tell you that. In fact, Lenin had nothing to do with the soviets at the very start. They were formed spontaneously by the masses (and some were even developed by Mensheviks, reformers and opportu-

nists). But what did Lenin do? Did he say 'well fuck it man, it's not my invention, so it can't be any good.' No, he said something very important has been brought about here through the struggle of the masses, a mass form through which the masses themselves and their political representatives can actually take control of society and begin to bring forward the millions and millions of people to actually administer society as well as laboring to make society go forward. On that basis, he took up the model of the soviets and he waged a struggle to win over the masses of people who supported and looked to the soviets but who by no means were loyal to or following the line of the Bolsheviks—or maybe followed it in this aspect and not that, or in this hour and not the next, or on this day and not the day after, this week and not the week after."

History, and increasingly the current scene, is full of similar examples. Take the subbotniks—days of voluntary labor initiated and led by advanced workers and communists in the do-or-die stage of the Russian Civil War, in which the unpaid labor of class-conscious activists was in some cases 13 times greater than that of the workers normally doing the job. Lenin grasped immediately the significance of these subbotniks and fought for them.

In an important essay "A Great Beginning," Lenin included an account describing how the first subbotnik itself was only undertaken after much struggle among the communists and their sympathizers.

This subbotnik was not only crucial for breaking through the very dire production problems which seriously endangered the survival of the besieged young Soviet Republic; it also, as Lenin

emphasized, was a shoot of the "communist organization of social labor (which) rests...on the free and conscious discipline of the working people themselves who have thrown off the yoke both of the landowners and capitalists."

"'Communist subbotniks,'" he wrote of this spreading mass movement, "are of such enormous historical significance precisely because they demonstrate the conscious and voluntary initiative of the workers...."

Inevitably this path-breaking initiative incurred opposition and Lenin had to defend it against those who "sneered at the insignificance of the number of subbotniks compared with the vast number of cases of thieving, idleness, lower productivity, spoilage of raw materials and finished goods, etc." The advanced experience of the masses was

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Above: Chinese peasants study a wall map of the Shansi-Suiyan anti-Japanese base area during the anti-Japanese war.

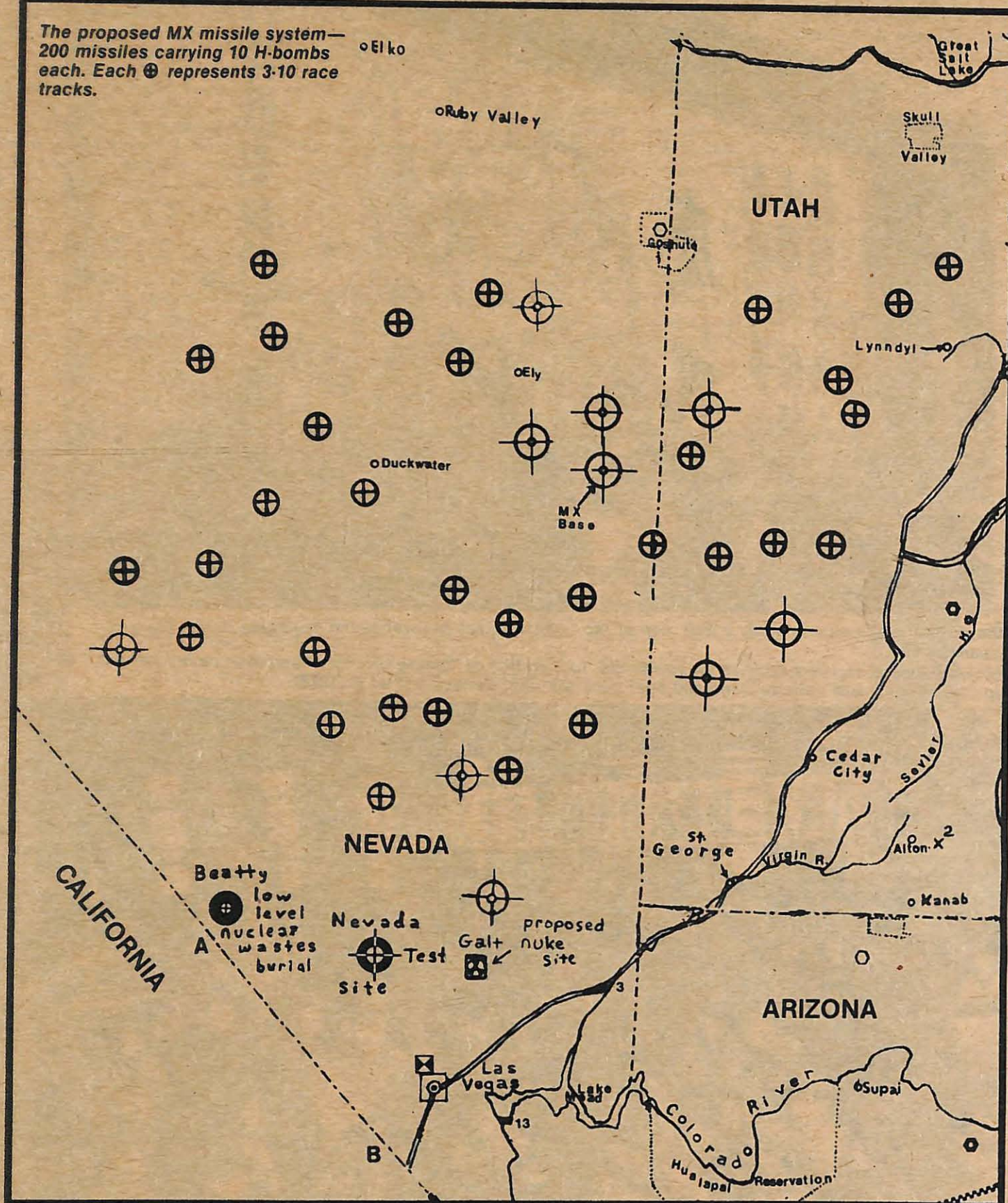
Below: Shanghai workers criticize the revisionist formulation of "taking the three directives as the key link" during the movement to criticize Deng and beat back the right deviationist wind (1976).



Government's "Legal" Steal

Shoshone Land Targeted for MX Missiles

The proposed MX missile system—200 missiles carrying 10 H-bombs each. Each ⊕ represents 3-10 race tracks.



have to blast all 4,600 shelters to be sure of knocking out the system, thereby turning almost half the states of Nevada and Utah into one large bullseye, what an air force general called "a nuclear sponge."

While this plan has been on the Pentagon drawing board for a long time, since its approval last year, it is setting new speed records for development. The air force expected to pull together its environmental impact statement for the most massive "public works" project in history within the next few months. But for the Shoshone people, whose treaty lands make up 30% of the MX area (and whose original land takes up the whole thing), all this means that the normal process of eviction has shifted into overdrive. And the grease is being provided by an "award" of \$26 million to the western Shoshone from the government, money which is designed to clear the way for the building of the MX—all nice and legal.

The vast majority of the Shoshone people don't want the money—even though their average income is only about \$3,000 per year. They want their land. As we were repeatedly told, the traditional Shoshone religion forbids the sale of land. And even more emphatically stated is the point that they don't want the MX. But not surprisingly, all that's irrelevant to the authorities. After years of bouncing Shoshone attempts to prove they own their land from court to court, the government's Indian Claims Commission, with the help of a lawyer who claims to be representing the Indians but has since been fired by them, decided in the mid-'70s that the Shoshones had lost the title to their land back in 1872. The reason: that was the year that "gradual encroachment" of the settlers took it. The case got shifted to another department in the bureaucracy, the court of claims. The court of claims ruled that the Shoshones were entitled to \$26 million, about \$1.05 per acre. Supposedly this was the value of the land at the totally arbitrary time of 1872—the date the government decided that the Shoshones had lost it. It is worth approximately \$100 per acre today.

The older Shoshones had originally hired a lawyer to prove that the land belongs to them. When they were talked into bringing a claim for money before the Indian Claims Commission, their lawyer told them it was just for damages not for the sale of the land. Carrie Dann, a Shoshone rancher who is fighting against the land ripoff and has been charged by the Bureau of Land Management with "trespassing" on the ranch her grandparents built at the turn of the century, told us of the damages the Indians thought they would be compensated for. "It wasn't only for the destruction of our land and the killing of our game for sport. It was also supposed to be for the rape of Shoshone women. When the settlers came through, if there was a woman there alone or with her children, both the mothers and daughters would be raped. In fact, Shoshone women began carrying a whole lot of straw whenever they took out their wagons to hide their daughters from the ranchers. That way, while the mothers would still get raped, they could protect their daughters... Some of the elders still think the money is for things like that. They don't realize it means the end of our land."

The trespassing case reveals the government's intentions. Originally, federal judge Thompson used the Indian Claims Commission date of 1872 as proof that the Dannes' land no longer belonged to them, but rather, belonged to the federal government. But the Appeals court thought the ruling was too blatant, since there had never been a shred of evidence presented anywhere to back up the government's claim, and kicked the case back to the judge. He

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Our correspondent sent this report from the Shoshone homeland in Nevada.

Driving west on Interstate 80 through western Utah and into Nevada, I kept thinking to myself—how could people have lived off this land for so long? We passed miles and miles of sagebrush, punctuated by periodic mountain groups that appear to be mostly rocks. The highway never crosses a river or even a small pond, and the air is hot and dry. Once you cross the border into Nevada, the parched landscape is broken every 60 miles or so by a clump of gas stations and neon lights flashing, "Liberal slots, poker, roulette," or here and there a mining operation pouring a ton of black smoke into the air. Then, nothing but sagebrush and mountains again, as far as the eye can see.

But when you pull off the main highway onto one of the back roads, you discover that there's more to this land than Highway 80 lets on. Herds of cattle and sheep graze all day alongside the roads, deer and rabbit run through the brush and the mountains, and groves of piñon trees containing millions of cones full of pine nuts suddenly come into view. This is the homeland of the western Shoshone, who for 10,000 years (up until about 100 years ago), roamed the area in nomadic bands living off the small game and sparse vegetation. And even though many

Shoshones have been forced off the range into the towns along the highway, most of the people still eat pine nuts as a staple of their diet, still supplement their diet by hunting small game of the area, and still have strong cultural ties to their land, referring to it as "sacred."

But for the U.S. ruling class, the term "sacred" has a different meaning. Despite the fact that they signed a treaty in 1863 guaranteeing the Shoshones the major part of their traditional homeland, they have continuously grabbed at the Indian's land. First the ranchers came and forced the Indians off at gunpoint, putting up "No Trespassing" signs and fences where Shoshone clans had hunted and gathered natural vegetation for centuries. Those that persistently resisted were herded into concentration camps—the small reservations that some of the people still live on today. Then, in an effort to attract more white ranchers to the area, the federal government began cutting down pine trees and reseeding grass, forbidding Indian encampments near the water sources, and demanding high-priced licenses for grazing and hunting—all the while claiming that the land was owned by the government (they call it "public domain"). The Department of Interior took away two more large stretches of Shoshone land and turned them into National Forests.

When the Shoshones realized that the

U.S. had no intention of living by its treaty commitments, they began fighting to prove legally that they still owned the land. For 50 years, that fight has run up against one criminal court ruling after another—after all, there has never been anything "illegal" about capitalism's armed robbery of the Indians.

But today, the Shoshones main opponent is more desperate than ever, and he's dealing for his very ability to continue that armed robbery all over the world. For the U.S. government has invented a new use for the traditional homeland of the western Shoshones. As quickly as they can remove their main obstacle, the Shoshone people, the government plans to turn the Great Basin into the new home of the MX-mobile missile.

Requiring an area of 24,000 square miles for its 10,000 miles of roadway, 2,000 miles of railway tracks, and 4,600 missile shelters, the MX system is designed to conceal from the Soviets the actual location of its 200 missiles carrying 2,000 nuclear warheads. Each of these warheads will be 28-40 times as powerful as the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima and each is pointed directly at similar targets in the Soviet Union. With the missiles being periodically moved around from shelter to shelter along the network, the Russians won't know where any of these missiles is at any given time. Theoretically, they will

Debate on 100,000 Campaign

LET 100 FLOWERS BLOSSOM: LET 100 SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND

RW:

Before I knew about the Party, my friends and I thought the only way to change things was to kill some pigs. The plan was to get a small gang together and start offing some of those big-time pigs that make us so outraged. I don't think we even dreamed of making revolution, but more just to get some revenge, vent our hatred. I thought that was the only way, the only line, and my friends still think that way. This one friend, he just got out of jail and he asked me what the hell I was doing selling papers, the *RW*. I told him that we've got to study and understand the Party's line and be conscious in our struggle, that he still didn't know who the real enemy is, and by fighting consciously, you could take on a lot of adversity. But he said he wants something bigger now, he wants action. When he sees us struggling with other people, he gets discouraged and just goes off with his other friends. I know he wants revolution, but he's got no patience with all this struggling around correct line and backward line stuff.

My friends have got a lot of hatred for the system. But they see too many people who are still under the illusions of this system and think that these people can never understand. So they think like I did, let's pick up the gun now. They are advanced but they just aren't aware of the Marxist understanding that now is not the time, that we need to gain some understanding first. What good is it if we take up some arms now without any revolutionary theory? Just being angry and shooting everything up won't do it. If it is not conscious, there'll be a lot of people dying for nothing, including innocent people.

In Mexico, the system bludgeons people into submission. They killed a number of my friends. Any time a leader comes along who wants to help raise people's heads to understand things, they kill him or throw him in jail or torture him till his mind is all twisted. When we see that, we think there is only one way to respond, and that's to kill those dogs, starting with the highest one. This is the way things are in Mexico. What else can we do about it? So we thought that was the best way to take care of it.

When I crossed the border, I thought these gringos here weren't going to do anything, that they are the enemy and just like mules and donkeys, you got to step all over them before they'll do anything. I had that line. We've got to dump that line, we're infected with it and not just us but thousands of us—that's why we just wanted to pick up guns right away.

My friends, this was another idea they put out there, that some of us are bad and some are better. We have to understand this nationalism thing. What about the Cubans, Puerto Ricans, Blacks, whites, Chicanos? Otherwise they'll knock us all off one by one. Now there are Chicano border guards and they're the worst. May Day had a big effect on my friends, even though they still have a lot of questions. There were some who weren't in the march but followed it a block or so behind, and they were armed. They were very excited, they saw it was really great that this here's an organization with some real power, maybe the potential to lead a real revolution in the U.S., and they changed their thinking a lot about a whole lot of people. They are reading the paper now too, but their line is still they want to start it all right now.

I think the key thing is for people to know the line of the Party better. The nature of the system is criminal, no more, no less, and we have to dump it, violently. But we've got to be prepared, we got to read and sell this paper. Lots of comrades don't want to understand this, some think it's just another paper. But this paper is special, it is terrorizing the bourgeoisie. These guys that have just come over here and just read the paper are already really into it. It gives me a lot of pleasure to see that. These guys I work with, four new guys, I invited them to a meeting and they said right on. They're even wearing the red bandanas like mine and a (revolutionary) t-shirt and reading the paper.

The other day my boss tried to put me down in front of everybody, saying I'm just a child. I told him everybody's got a lot of real questions here. He

said, they're not serious about it. But one of the guys said, give me one of those May Day buttons you're wearing. I think that guy's really into it because he was in the September 23 League in Mexico. I want to make revolution, even if everybody else breaks, I'll still do it.

Sometimes I get so damned pissed, especially with the Iran stuff. The only way we'll be able to beat imperialism is for the struggle to be international. It's the only way. I've turned this thing around and around. If I were out here on my own, pretty soon they'll bust me. Sometimes I think it's just an excuse for them—police—'cause they got arms too. But they aren't the ones who'll fight the war, it's us workers. They'll be up there in those houses while

we're getting our asses beat. I think we're out there with the *RW* opening people's eyes, making them more aware, more conscious of what's going on. I see not all the people are the same, and the innocent can't pay for the guilty. A lot of "let's hold the line" and "let's get the guns now."

But I think I'm more conscious now. I changed my thinking. I think we need to learn more Marxism-Leninism, study and know the Party's line and other parties' lines. That's the way we'll fight and know what and why. Not just taking up the paper, but also other books, like the *Draft Programme*. Before revolution, there's gonna be a struggle to sharpen up the line. We still got bourgeois

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Above: Mass street corner debate.
Below: Question—What will guarantee that after a revolution we won't end up the same old way, just with a new class of exploiters on top?

Pontiac Brothers Hit With Bogus Gang-War Scenario

As jury selection in the case of the Pontiac Brothers entered its third week in Chicago, the press once again rushed to aid and assist the state in its efforts to frame-up and murder the defendants. Ten of the 16 Black prisoners charged with killing three guards during the July 1978 rebellion at the Pontiac Correctional Center are on trial here. On October 5 the *Chicago Sun-Times* began a three-part series on Chicago street gangs. Featured prominently in part 2 is an inside look at how gang leaders order prison murders. The series dovetails exactly with the prosecution's line that the Pontiac Rebellion and the death of the guards was the result of a "gang conspiracy," and not an uprising against oppression. The state's case, built on the "gang plot" argument and a long string of bribed and intimidated prisoner-witnesses, is so shaky that it must be bolstered by slander against the Brothers. The objective of the authorities here is not only to execute the Pontiac Brothers, but to crack the whip of the death penalty over the heads of the thousands of other rebellious prisoners incarcerated across the country.

The *Sun-Times* series opened with a bang. Featured on the front page of the Sunday paper was the giant headline "Mob Losing Rackets to Inter-City Gangs." Just inside, on page 5, mug shots of the old-line Mafia bosses were

juxtaposed next to "the upstarts"—three Black gang leaders. One of those pictured, Larry Hoover, was labeled the head of the Black Gangster Disciples; he is one of the 16 Pontiac Brothers. The second article reports on "Inside the Street Gang: How El Rukn Orders Killings." While never making a direct connection between the Pontiac trial and the gangs, the very first paragraph of this article is bound to call the state's charges against the 16 to mind. It reads: "A Chicago street gang descended from the Blackstone Rangers, patterning itself on the crime syndicate, has built an organization so powerful it can order killings in state prisons..." Defense motions to declare a mistrial based on this inflammatory coverage were denied by Judge Miller, as were 500 other pretrial motions.

In pointing a horrified and law-abiding finger at the gangs, the *Sun-Times*, of course, fails to mention that historically, gang leaders have been backed to the hilt by the ruling class when it has served its purposes. And in Chicago this is true of no one more than Jeff Fort, former chief of the Blackstone Rangers and now head of the El-Rukns. In response to the *Sun-Times*'s article, defense attorneys have revealed cooperation between the state and the El-Rukns against the 16. Apparently many witnesses recruited by the state to

testify against the Brothers were El-Rukn gang members at Pontiac. As lawyer Chokwe Lumumba said, "The state will use gangs whatever way they can to stop the righteous struggle of Black people. The El-Rukns are being used as a tool to commit murder against the Pontiac Brothers."

These gang members have been heavily paid off for their services. It seems that even "law-and-order" Illinois Governor Thompson has a soft spot in his heart when it comes to stool pigeons who can be valuable in the state's persecution of the Pontiac Brothers. In a touching show of leniency, Thompson personally granted executive clemency to Johnny Cross, an El-Rukn drug addict jailed for murder, who had agreed to act as state's witness. Of the 49 witnesses the state plans to introduce at the trial, 43 were immediately given 90 days good time (subtracted from their sentences for good behavior) just for agreeing to talk; 33 with especially helpful information got another 90 days off; 28 were released from deadlock and sent to other prisons; and 25 have been paroled since spring.

The cozy relationship between the authorities and El-Rukn leader Jeff Fort, now posing as the religious leader Prince Malik, is nothing new. In the late '60s during the high tide of the Black liberation struggle when the

Black Panther Party was becoming a powerful social force for revolution and the West Side of Chicago was erupting in open rebellion, Fort, as head of the Blackstone Rangers, was deliberately bankrolled by government money and private capital to defuse the powderkeg and undercut the Panthers. Many FBI memos attest to the agency's goal of promoting clashes between the Rangers and the Panthers, who were assaulted by Fort's thugs. Some powerful figures obviously recognized they had a good thing going with Fort. In 1967 the Office of Economic Opportunity granted \$1 million to the Rangers to run a job training program, money in which the Disciples also shared. In 1968 Ford got a \$50,000 grant from the Kettering Foundation (funded by General Motors) to continue this work.

But as the Black liberation struggle died down, Fort temporarily outlived his usefulness. He and other leaders were tried for "misuse of federal funds" and wound up in Stateville Prison by the early '70s. Since his release from jail in 1976, the El-Rukns now control most of the drug traffic in the city's Black neighborhoods stretching down to the south suburbs and Gary, Indiana. This position of power itself indicates the El-Rukns have

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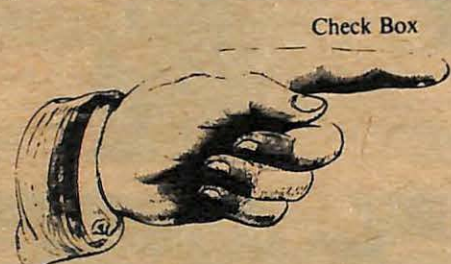
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KEEP THIS ONE AND DO SOMETHING CREATIVE WITH IT YOURSELF ON ELECTION DAY.

Elections '80:

The "Lesser of Two Evils" Ploy and the "Rise of the Right"

"The outcome of this election will determine whether this nation will make progress, and whether we have peace or war," Jimmy Carter declared at an AFL-CIO convention. At the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, he referred to the Reagan campaign, saying, "You've seen in this campaign the stirrings of hatred and the rebirth of code words like 'states' rights'... Hatred has no place in this country. Racism has no place in this country." A major part of the Carter campaign has been to portray himself as the reasonable alternative, the "lesser of two evils" as compared to the racist and warmongering Reagan.

Carter is of course right on one thing: Reagan is indeed a warmonger and a racist and is well respected as a great hope for the future by every neanderthal reactionary from the KKK to the John Birch Society. And there is an important difference between Carter and Reagan—Carter is the warmonger and reactionary in office. Carter campaign ads are constantly reminding us that the Commander-in-Chief is an experienced military man and "for a strong defense," as the TV screen is filled with missiles firing, planes taking off from aircraft carriers, Carter reviewing the troops and watching war games and so forth. And let us not forget (in case anyone had) who it was who ordered the abortive raid on Iran or whose Carter Doctrine is being followed with a steady military build-up in the Middle East, including the U.S.-inspired war against Iran by Iraq. What would Reagan have done differently? Perhaps he would have sent "offensive" AWACS, aircraft carriers, F-15 fighters, tanks, guns and troops into the area whereas Jimmy has only sent in "purely defensive" AWACS, carriers, etc., etc. And who has forgotten Jimmy's past calls for "preserving ethnic purity" and so forth?

And after all, it was that same smiling Jimmy who opened his campaign in Tusculum, Alabama, a stronghold of the KKK, greeted warmly by none other than George Wallace. Even Ronny was quick to point out the nature of this little appearance. Looking beneath the surface, you find that the real meaning of the "progressive"-sounding accusations Carter and Reagan are exchanging is that the other one is "dividing the country." That is, each is really accusing the other of "imagining" or "reminding the country" that there are such things as racism, national oppression or class divisions in this great land of ours. Do they really think that Black people, for example, need to be "reminded" that there is such a thing as racism? The real content of these back-and-forth accusations should shed some light on the question of whether one is really any more "progressive" than the other!

But there are many who put forward the same "lesser of evils" argument above in a disguised form, precisely because of the difficulty in arguing straight up for this malarky. Typically, the disguised form of this argument makes use of the newly invented phenomenon, much heralded in the bourgeois media—the so-called "rise of the right." This notion, spread by the media, goes something like this: "The leaders of this country are responding to a rightward wind coming from 'pressure groups' and large sections of the people, or at least the white people. This is forcing these leaders to make bolder and bolder war moves and generally step up reaction on all fronts. In particular, Ronald Reagan's candidacy is a result of this tide of reaction, and the increased military spending and war moves, etc. by the Carter administration are a response to this demand from the people."

The bourgeoisie has spread all over its press story after story about this so-called "rise of the right," with hyped-up stories about the growing strength of every right-wing organization from the KKK to the Moral Majority and other

groups of the "evangelical right." This is where the masses of people (at least the masses of white people) are turning as the deepening crisis spreads across the land, we are told. "The mobs are demanding blood and we the U.S. imperialists are forced to oblige—after all, this is a democracy," they say. First, this is not a new trick; actually, every time they act to maintain their rule by whatever means necessary, especially openly and violently, they portray it as either in response to the call of the masses or at least in response to the felt needs and will of the people. It is one way in which they try to use this democratic facade they have set up to legitimize their monstrously criminal rule.

A Creation of the Bourgeoisie

Certainly there is no shortage of right-wingers and neanderthal reactionaries in this country. One would have to be blind not to recognize this fact. There is a so-called "evangelical right." There is a John Birch Society and a KKK. There is an American Legion and a VFW, etc. And there are backward masses, especially in the petty bourgeoisie, but also among the workers.

But there has been no dramatic or sudden enlistment of millions of new members in right-wing organizations, and in fact what rise in membership there has been has been accomplished with the direct help and publicity of the bourgeoisie. In fact, it is the bourgeoisie who prop up, nurture, promote, and in many cases actually finance these organizations and movements for their own political purposes, and is also constantly trying to win people over to their reactionary politics. To portray what the bourgeoisie does as a response to pressure from the "increasingly right-wing masses" is both to stand reality completely on its head and to actually legitimize the rule of the bourgeoisie, because, as they say in true gangster style, "This is a democracy and we just give the people what they want." More on this later. But let's look at how this "rise of the right" hullabaloo is used to push voting for one of two or three evils, or simply hoping for the lesser of two or 3 evils to win, or if not either, wishing that there were a lesser of two evils running to vote for—all of which amount to nothing but arguments for continued enslavement to democracy,

U.S. imperialist style.

A few excerpts from recent issues of the "independent radical news-weekly" the *Guardian* provide us with some perfectly choice examples of how this line is run out. We choose the *Guardian* because in many ways it is typical and because it tries to cover itself slightly with some "radical" talk. Any number of publications or groups could be used, but why not use a classic case?

First, a brief note. These folks are not new to the "lesser of evils" game. Placing their hopes on the liberal bourgeoisie and fearing and disdaining the masses of people, they supported the McGovern candidacy in 1972 with the reasoning that if he were elected he would end the war. McGovern lost and the warmonger Nixon ended the war. The results of the 1972 election had nothing to do with ending the war. The bourgeoisie made that decision, as they do all their decisions, based on what they determined best suited their interests. This is a crucial lesson on the nature of the imperialist state, but it is totally lost on the *Guardian*—and many others who cling to, or promote, illusions.

The September 10, 1980 issue of the *Guardian* ran an editorial entitled "Right Wing on the Rise." In it they say in part, "Many of the economic, social and military ideas of yesterday's right wing have become today's mainstream thinking among the ruling class and large sections of the people." And later on, "The bourgeois presidential candidates—'born again' Christians all—reflect this trend to a greater or lesser extent, depending on how open they are about it. Carter and Reagan seem almost ready to start WW3 if it will get them elected. Neither offers an economic program which will help the working class one bit. Both stress traditional religious values to pander to the gathering rightist constituency."

99° vs. 101°?

Besides promoting lesser-of-two-evils thinking in themselves (with the "greater or lesser extent" bit) and despite being laden with lies about the nature of this system (implying that some bourgeois candidate could or would "offer an economic program which will help the working class"), these two quotes

present the argument that lays the basis for the bottom line which is run out in the July 30, 1980 issue of the *Guardian*. If the masses are swinging to the right and if there is "no serious left alternative" to this year's candidates, as they put it, then what can be done except reluctantly and impotently to choose the lesser of two evils and hope for the best? Here's how they run this out (emphasis ours):

"The 2-party elections are the bourgeoisie's bread and circuses, intended to make the workers think they are living in a genuine democracy with some say over their lives and the welfare of their class. But the right wing is ascendant in both parties, not one. At this point, Jimmy's doing what Ron's saying while letting it be known that Ron's suggestions are dangerous for the republic."

"Sure there is a difference—just as there is a difference between Jimmy's style and Billy's or Ed's or Zbig's—but it is a question of degree, not kind. Degree is not to be discounted and some years it's important. This year, too, we'd rather be 99 in the shade than 101 in the sun, but let's not kid ourselves about the present difference: hot is hot; it's futile to pretend otherwise...."

"We wish there was more to do to purge ourselves of the Jimmy, Ron, Fritz and George syndrome, but the left is still too small and disunited this time around. So we'll go for the people's alternative (the Coalition for a People's Alternative counter-convention, held in New York at the same time as the Democratic Convention—RW) and any other opportunity that comes our way to discomfort the bourgeoisie and keep talking about the need to get organized, united and relevant."

Here it is in its full flower. Even their obligatory denunciation of the elections is carefully worded to leave the door open for some "democratic alternative" to come along and make American democracy work. Only the "2-party elections" are decried, and here they are content to demand only a "democracy" where the workers have "some say over their lives and the welfare of their class." A lofty goal indeed! Let the bourgeoisie rule over us and the rest of the world. Just give us some say in our lives. But the bottom line here is the "question of degree." The *Guardian*

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Mon, Oct. 6th—Thousands flock to Daley Plaza in Chicago to hear Carter's campaign speech.



Revolutionary Worker

90 Years of U.S. Plunder

'WE'VE DONE IT BEFORE WE'LL DO IT AGAIN'

A few weeks ago, (RW, No. 72), we published an article entitled "30 Years of Imperialist Peace." The article included a list of 215 incidents between 1945 and the middle 1970s in which U.S. military forces had been used "to influence" U.S. foreign policy—in other words, to protect the interests of U.S. imperialism around the world.

An RW correspondent has since sent us a list of incidents before World War 2 in which U.S. military forces swung into action for the same reason. The list, dubbed "Instances of the use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798-1945," was presented to a joint meeting of the Committee on Foreign Relations and the Armed Services of the United States Senate on September 17, 1962. The hearing on the "Situation in Cuba" preceded passage by Congress of the resolution expressing support of the President for possible use of force against Castro in Cuba. This document was introduced by Secretary of State Dean Rusk to show that there is ample precedent for the use of such force without specific Congressional authority (never mind all the military ventures of the U.S. capitalist class in the protection of its interests which *did* have specific Congressional authority).

The period in question spans the turn of the century, when, with the development of capitalism into imperialism, the entire world became carved up among a few imperialist powers, only to be recarved later through world war. Dean Rusk's list included 48 incidents prior to 1849 which have been omitted here. The list was exposed in the middle '60s by a student movement publication and was appropriately introduced in this publication by the following quote from the radical bourgeois democrat, Jonathan Swift ("A Voyage to the Houyhnhnms," from *Gulliver's Travels*):

It is a Maxim among these Lawyers, that whatever hath been done before, may legally be done again: And therefore they take special Care to record all the Decisions formerly made against common Justice and the general Reason of Mankind. These, under the Name of Precedents, they produce as Authorities to justify the most iniquitous Opinions; and the Judges never fail of directing accordingly.

United States Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations and Committee on Armed Services, *Hearing, "Situation in Cuba,"* 87th Congress, Second Session, September 17, 1962 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1962), pp. 82-87.

1851—*Turkey*—After a massacre of foreigners (including Americans) at Jaffa in January, a demonstration by our Mediterranean Squadron was ordered along the Turkish (Levant) coast. Apparently no shots fired.

1851—*Johanna Island (east of Africa), August*—To exact redress for the unlawful imprisonment of the captain of an American whaling brig.

1852-53—*Argentina*—February 3 to 12, 1852; September 17, 1852 to April (?) 1853—Marines were landed and maintained in Buenos Aires to protect American interests during a revolution.

1853—*Nicaragua*—March 11 to 13—To protect American lives and interests during political disturbances.

1853-54—*Japan*—The "Opening of Japan" and the Perry Expedition.

1853-54—*Ryukyu and Bonin Islands*—Commodore Perry on three visits before going to Japan and while waiting for a reply from Japan made a naval demonstration, landing marines twice, and secured a coaling concession from the ruler of Naha on Okinawa. He also demonstrated in the Bonin Islands. All to secure facilities for commerce.

1854—*China*—April 4 to June 15 or 17—To protect American interests in and near Shanghai during Chinese civil strife.

1854—*Nicaragua*—July 9 to 15—San Juan del Norte (Greytown) was destroyed to avenge an insult to the American Minister to Nicaragua.

1855—*China*—May 19 to 21 (?)—To protect American interests in Shanghai. August 3 to 5 to fight pirates near Hong Kong.

1855—*Fiji Islands*—September 12 to November 4—To seek reparations for depredations on Americans.

1855—*Uruguay*—November 25 to 29 or 30—United States and European naval forces landed to protect American interests during an attempted revolution in Montevideo.

1856—*Panama, Republic of New Grenada*—September 19 to 22—To protect American interests during an insurrection.

1856—*China*—October 22 to December 6—To protect American interests at Canton during hostilities between the British and the Chinese; and to avenge an unprovoked assault upon an unarmed boat displaying the United States flag.

1857—*Nicaragua*—April to May, November to December—To oppose William Walker's attempt to get control of the country. In May Commander C.H. Davis of the United States Navy, with some marines, received Walker's surrender and protected his men from the retaliation of native allies who had been fighting Walker. In November and December of the same year United States vessels *Saratoga*, *Wabash*, and *Fulton* opposed another attempt of William Walker on Nicaragua. Commodore Hiram Paulding's act of landing marines and compelling the removal of Walker to the United States, was tacitly disavowed by Secretary of State Lewis Cass, and Paulding was forced into retirement.

1858—*Uruguay*—January 2 to 27—Forces from 2 United States warships landed to protect American property during a revolution in Montevideo.

1858—*Fiji Islands*—October 6 to 16—To chastize the natives for the murder of two American citizens.

1858-59—*Turkey*—Display of naval force along the Levant at the request of the Secretary of State after massacre of Americans at Jaffa and mistreatment elsewhere "to remind the authorities (of Turkey) of the power of the United States."

1859—*Paraguay*—Congress authorized a naval squadron to seek redress for an attack on a naval vessel in the Parana River during 1855. Apologies were made after a large display of force.

1859—*Mexico*—Two hundred United States soldiers crossed the Rio Grande in pursuit of the Mexican bandit Cortina.

1859—*China*—July 31 to August 2—For the protection of American interests in Shanghai.

1860—*Angola, Portuguese West Africa*—March 1—To protect American lives and property at Kissemba when the natives became troublesome.

1860—*Colombia, Bay of Panama*—September 27 to October 8—To protect American interests during a revolution.

1863—*Japan*—July 16—To redress an insult to the American flag—firing on an American vessel—at Shimonoseki.

1864—*Japan*—July 14 to August 3, approximately—To protect the United States Minister to Japan when he visited Yedo to negotiate concerning some American claims against Japan, and to make his negotiations easier by impressing the Japanese with American power.

1864—*Japan*—September 4 to 14—*Straits of Shimonoseki*—To compel Japan and the Prince of Nagato in particular to permit the Straits to be used by foreign shipping in accordance with treaties already signed.

1865—*Panama*—March 9 and 10—To protect the lives and property of American residents during a revolution.

1866—*Mexico*—To protect American residents, General Sedgwick and 100 men in November obtained surrender of Matamoros. After 3 days he was ordered by our Government to withdraw. His act was repudiated by the President.

1866—*China*—June 20 to July 7—To punish an assault on the American consul at Newchwang; July 14 for consultation with authorities on shore; August 9, at Shanghai, to help extinguish a serious fire in the city.

1867—*Island of Formosa*—June 13—To punish a horde of savages who were supposed to have murdered the crew of a wrecked American vessel.

1868—*Japan (Osaka, Hiogo, Nagasaki, Yokohama, and Negata)*—Mainly, February 4 to 8, April 4 to May 12, June 12 and 13—To protect American interests during the civil war in Japan over the abolition of the Shogunate and the restoration of the Mikado.

1868—*Uruguay*—February 7 and 8, 19 to 26—To protect foreign residents and the customhouse during an insurrection at Montevideo.

1868—*Colombia*—April 7—at Aspinwall—To protect passengers and treasure in transit during the absence of local police or troops on the occasion of the death of the President of Colombia.

1870—*Mexico*, June 17 and 18—To destroy the pirate ship *Forward*, which had been run aground about 40 miles up the Rio Tecapan.

1870—*Hawaiian Islands*—September 21—To place the American flag at half mast upon the death of Queen Kalama, when the American consul at Honolulu would not assume responsibility for so doing.

1871—*Korea*—June 10 to 12—To punish natives for depredations on Americans, particularly for murdering the crew of the *General Sherman* and burning the schooner, and for later firing on other American small boats taking soundings up the Salee River.

1873—*Colombia (Bay of Panama)*—May 7 to 22, September 23 to October 9—To protect American interests during hostilities over possession of the government of the state of Panama.

1873—*Mexico*—United States troops crossed the Mexican border repeatedly in pursuit of cattle and other thieves. There were some reciprocal pursuits by Mexican troops into our border territory. The cases were only technically invasions, if that, although Mexico protested constantly. Notable cases were at Remolina in May 1873 and at Las Cuevas in 1875. Washington orders often supported these excursions. Agreements between Mexico and the United States, the first in 1882, finally legitimized such raids. They continued intermittently, with minor disputes, until 1896.

1874—*Hawaiian Islands*—February 12 to 20—To preserve order and protect American lives and interests during the inauguration of a new king.

1876—*Mexico*—May 18—To police the town of Matamoros temporarily while it was without other government.

1882—*Egypt*—July 14 to 18—To protect American interests during warfare between British and Egyptians and looting of the city of Alexandria by Arabs.

1885—*Panama (Colon)*—January 18 and 19—To guard the valuables in transit over the Panama Railroad, and the safes and vaults of the company during revolutionary activity. In March, April, and May in the cities of Colon and Panama, to reestablish freedom of transit during revolutionary activity.

1888—*Korea*—June—To protect American residents in Seoul during unsettled political conditions, when an outbreak of the populace was expected.

1888-89—*Samoa*—November 14, 1888, to March 20, 1889—To protect American citizens and the consulate during a native civil war.

1888—*Haiti*—December 20—To persuade the Haitian Government to give up an American steamer which had been seized on the charge of breach of blockade.

1889—*Hawaiian Islands*—July 30 and 31—To protect American interests at Honolulu during a revolution.

1890—*Argentina*—A naval party landed to protect our consulate and legation in Buenos Aires.

1891—*Haiti*—To protect American lives and property on Navassa Island when Negro laborers got out of control.

1891—*Bering Sea*—July 2 to October 5—To stop seal poaching.

1891—*Chile*—August 28 to 30—To protect the American consulate and the women and children who had taken refuge in it during a revolution in Valparaiso.

1893—*Hawaii*—January 16 to April 1—Ostensibly to protect American lives and property; actually to promote a provisional government under Sanford B. Dole. This action was disavowed by the United States.

1894—*Brazil*—January—To protect American commerce and shipping at Rio de Janeiro during a Brazilian civil war. No landing was attempted but there was a display of naval force.

1894—*Nicaragua*—July 6 to August 7—To protect American interests at Bluefields following a revolution.

1894-96—*Korea*—July 24, 1894 to April 3, 1896—To protect American lives and interests at Seoul during and following the Sino-Japanese War. A guard of marines was kept at the American legation most of the time until April 1896.

1894-95—*China*—Marines were stationed at Tientsin and penetrated to Peking for protection purposes during the Sino-Japanese War.

1894-95—*China*—Naval vessel beached and used as a fort at Newchwang for protection of American nationals.

1895—*Colombia*—March 8 to 9—To protect American interests during an attack on the town of Bocas del Toro by a bandit chieftain.

1896—*Nicaragua*—May 2 to 4—To protect American interests in Corinto during political unrest.

1898—*Nicaragua*—February 7 and 8—To protect American lives and property at San Juan del Sur.

1898—*Spain*—The Spanish-American War. Fully declared.

1898-99—*China*—November 5, 1898, to March 15, 1899—To provide a guard to the legation at Peking and the consulate at Tientsin during contest between the Dowager Empress and her son.

1899—*Nicaragua*—To protect American interests at San Juan del Norte February 22 to March 5, and at Bluefields a few weeks later in connection with the insurrection of Gen. Juan P. Reyes.

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Defense Sec'y. Brown on U.S. War Strategy:

"It's not Necessary to Await the Firing of the First Shot . . ."

If anyone has any doubts that the U.S. imperialists are not only ready, willing and able to engage their Soviet social-imperialist rivals in World War III, but are quite prepared to *initiate* this war, they would do well to listen to U.S. Sec'y. of Defense Harold Brown. In an address to the Council of Foreign Relations in New York last March creatively entitled "What the Carter Doctrine Means To Me" (excerpts of which were recently reprinted in *MERIP Reports*, Sept., 1980), Brown revealed some interesting insights into just how the U.S. rulers are thinking when it comes to world war. Brown's speech to the CFR rather openly revealed that in regard to WW III the thinking of the U.S. rulers is like a military version of the age-old adage uttered by many a veteran football coach: "The best defense is a good offense!"

While Brown's remarks were, of course, couched within the context of the usual gibberish about how "our first objective is to deter," he made no bones about exactly what sort of "deterrence" the U.S. has in mind. "Deterrence," he said, "involves both U.S. military

presence in a troubled region and U.S. forces that can be quickly moved to it."—in other words, being *in place* with reinforcements ready, prepared to go down with the Soviets at the drop of a hat! But are the poor, beleaguered U.S. imperialists who are, after all, only trying to "defend their vital interests" going to sit there like gentlemen waiting for the Soviets to start swinging?—hardly! Brown wasted no time in clearing up any confusion on this point: "It is not necessary for our initial units to be able to defeat the whole force an adversary might eventually have in place. *It is also not necessary for us to await the firing of the first shot or the prior arrival of hostile forces; many of our forces can be moved upon strategic warning, and some upon receipt of even very early and ambiguous indications.*" (emphasis ours—RW)

Clearly there is little ambiguity about what is being indicated here by Brown as far as taking on the Soviets is concerned—"One false move and we'll

shoot first!" This concept of "getting the jump on the Soviets" is one the U.S. has been putting out (and acting on) more and more openly in the past few months including with their "updated" nuclear strategy in which the concept of a successful "first strike capability" and the ability to wage a "prolonged" nuclear war has suddenly become quite "thinkable."

As if this were not already enough to indicate that U.S. motives are something other than "purely defensive," Brown also indulged in some rather undisguised blustering about the capabilities of the recently created U.S. Rapid Deployment Forces: "...while the terms 'rapid deployment' and 'power projection' are relatively new additions to the jargon, the military missions they signify are not new at all. The United States has been in the rapid deployment business for a long

time. If you doubt that, ask the Marines, who five years ago celebrated their 200th anniversary... It has long been a part of our military doctrine to be ready to engage in contingencies in remote areas..." But while this is certainly a candid confirmation that the aggressive behavior of the U.S. imperialists has never changed one iota, Brown's point here is *not* that the purpose of these forces is to engage in a Vietnam-type "contingency" here or there in the way they were once able to get away with in the past. What Brown is alluding to is that, unlike WW II, this time around the U.S. is in the difficult position of having to solve the problem of waging WW III against their Soviet rivals in literally every corner of the globe!

Indeed, the very formulation of the Carter Doctrine in the first place (re-

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The "Lesser of Two Evils"

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says, of course, there's no difference "in kind" between Carter and Reagan; only "in degree"—and it's better to be "99 in the shade" than "101 in the sun." True, "hot is hot," evil is evil, but those 2 little degrees are still 2 degrees less evil! It's better than nothing—and that's the best we can do this time around, snivels the *Guardian*. Boom! They got you in their trap. It's the same pitch as the bourgeoisie. "Yeah, things are all messed up and there's no real choice, but step right up here and try your luck. Just step in the booth and play our game—maybe you'll win this time." But the minute you step inside you've taken the bait, you've been played for a sucker and you can only lose, no matter how many times you pull the lever. This one armed bandit never pays off except to shoot you in the back while the curtains are closed.

But since the *Guardian* has raised "the question of degree," let's get into it a little. Doesn't it even make the slightest difference who gets elected? After all, Reagan is a reactionary dog. Aren't there differences among the bourgeoisie between various sections and interests, and isn't Reagan a spokesman for the right wing of the bourgeoisie? Isn't a vote for Reagan a vote for a more warmongering foreign policy? Are the elections really *simply* a show, a facade for the bourgeoisie to perpetuate their lies about "freedom and democracy" for the masses of people and a forum to push their imperialist politics in? These are real questions that must be answered.

To begin, yes, Reagan is a reactionary dog, a right-wing neanderthal and a wrinkled-up has-been grade B movie actor. Yes, the KKK likes him, as do the "moral majority," the John Birch Society, the American Legion and so on. Yes, there are different sections and interests in the bourgeoisie and they are continually struggling things out among themselves over how to best maintain their rule. Yes, these various sections even publicly air their differences from time to time, when forced by the heat of crises, in a disguised and watered-down form. But there is no such thing as a right wing or left wing of the ruling class in this country. And even in crisis, their disputes are never resolved by the elections.

While certain interests in the ruling class may back one candidate more heavily or even exclusively, the largest and most influential back both candidates and both major political parties with

huge sums of money and even more significantly with massive amounts of publicity in the newspapers, magazines, radio and TV that they own and control. And this year we can include in this their very own third-party entry in the race, John "the clean-up man" Anderson whose openly declared job in this election is to keep as many people as possible who are giving up on the "electoral process" trapped in its web once again.

Through its control of the press and media, the ruling class can and does set about to push pretty much who they want and how they want them to come off. If they want to create "the rise of the right," presto! the newspapers (most of the major ones anyway) and the magazines from *Time* and *Newsweek* on down will begin to more and more take note of this striking phenomenon that is suddenly sweeping the land. The national TV and radio networks will tell hundreds of millions that "that's the way it is." While there may be certain very slight differences, in the main, all the major media will portray the presidential candidates in a certain light, promoting each in such a way as to make a horse race out of the campaign while in the end pushing the one most favored by the class as a whole and dumping on the other one enough to make him the loser. Ask yourself this: if there were a real split in the ruling class, and if all the most powerful sections of the ruling class were opposed to one of the candidates because he was the darling of a smaller less influential section with an opposing point of view on a major question, wouldn't they simply destroy him in the press? No, it can be safely said that the rulers of this country have other means than the elections to resolve their disputes. The elections are purely for the masses to be dragged in to give their "seal of approval" to predetermined ruling-class policies.

The whole poll game and election analysis trip are a tremendous aid in all of this. These polls both allow the bourgeoisie to keep constant tabs on roughly what effect the PR jobs they are doing on each candidate are having, and to then help reinforce the public opinion they are in the process of creating. They serve as a means for tasting and adjusting the seasoning of the election stew the bourgeoisie is cooking up.

Is it any surprise that, lo and behold, every TV network has already declared the winner of the election before the voting has even ended? There is no need

for such crudities as ballot box stuffing and the like (though this certainly goes on to a minor extent, especially in local races). The whole election has been stuffed. And just in case, by some fluke, the candidate that they favored less ends up winning, he is still, after all, *their* candidate, and they haven't lost a thing.

This is all a vivid illustration of what is said in the draft *New Programme of the RCP, USA*: "In addition, the more or less 'normal functioning' of capitalist society, upon examination, reveals undeniably that political affairs are thoroughly controlled by the bourgeoisie and its representatives. They completely dominate the mass media—millions and millions of dollars are required just to reach anything like a majority of the people with your political views—and they control access to vital information about political issues and world events."

The real power they wield over the elections by controlling the purse strings of society and especially the mass media can be seen in the fortunes and misfortunes of one George Wallace. Remember George? In 1968, when it was useful to the ruling class to have him around as a mouthpiece for one form of their attacks on the movements of the '60s, especially the Black liberation movement, he was funded with millions of dollars and kept on the news almost every night. Wallace served two functions. First, he was *one* method—the ruling class had many—of encouraging and unleashing attacks on the civil rights and Black liberation struggle and the anti-Vietnam War movement as well. The second function Wallace served for the rulers of this country was acting as a spokesman for the "common white working man" and thus taking some of the heat of the movements off the ruling class as a whole. To the extent that people believed that Wallace represented some "greater evil" right wing, it helped sap the strength of the struggle. So when the bourgeoisie needed him, Wallace not only got millions of dollars but also 9.9 million votes, roughly 10% of the presidential vote in 1968 on the American Independent Party ticket. His strength began to wane rapidly, however, along with the struggles of the late '60s and early '70s. He was no longer necessary or useful. Except for a few campaign appearances, Wallace is not heard from these days.

It cannot be denied that there is a real purpose for the bourgeoisie pushing the notion of the rise of the right and the candidacy of such a well known and open reactionary as Ronald Reagan in this year's elections. In many ways, the Reagan campaign is acting as a spearhead, in a certain sense, for the kind of aggressive stance that the imperialists

are being forced to take as America declines and the struggle between the U.S. and the Soviet Union heats up rapidly toward a massive showdown. What better way to push patriotism and the devotion to fight and die for the greater glory of U.S. imperialism than to set it up as a demand from the masses embodied in the figure of a well known trigger-mouthed fool? And Reagan's pitch and style is different from and more strident than Carter's. But then, doesn't it make a difference who is elected after all? Wouldn't stopping Reagan keep a slightly less aggressive administration in office? Yes, there are differences around the question of world war and the strategy in fighting it within the ruling class. But no, it doesn't make any difference who wins the election. A look at how recent disputes on foreign policy have been carried out and what the Reagan campaign has to do with this will help clear up this question.

Where Real Policy is Set

In order to see how the ruling class hashes out the policies that they carry out, we have to look way behind the scenes and out of the public limelight. As Lenin put it, "Take foreign policy. In no bourgeois state, not even in the most democratic, is it conducted openly. The people are deceived everywhere, and in democratic France, Switzerland, America, and Britain this is done on an incomparably wider scale and in a subtler manner than in other countries." It is in the offices of the various departments of the government bureaucracy, in the meeting rooms and retreats of the various policy-making councils and boards of the bourgeoisie, and in the board rooms of the giant banks and financial institutions that the real decisions get made. And in the various board rooms, government departments, think tanks and highly influential organizations such as the Council on Foreign Relations and the Trilateral Commission (both headed by David Rockefeller), the Business Council, the Atlanta Council, the Brookings Institute and the Business Roundtable, to name a few, there are members of both political parties, and their disagreements do not break down by party. For example, the well known rift between Cyrus Vance, the recently ousted Secretary of State, and Zbigniew Brzezinski, Carter's national security advisor, represented real tactical differences within the bourgeoisie.

Both these men are highly influential imperialist representatives, both have nothing but the interests of expanding the U.S. empire at heart while arguing about how this goal is best served, both are plotting U.S. war strategy, and both are Democrats. Clearly, the booting of

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Vile Maneuver

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perialism could not be fully developed and have great influence in China at that time. Therefore, Mao entered into an alliance, on a temporary and conditional basis, with Zhou and forces associated with him. They went along with the Cultural Revolution, although this took place only after much struggle, and then only to a certain extent; and they vacillated and tried to stifle the masses at every turn.

Lin Biao's History

Another factor entering into the alignment of forces against the Liu-Deng headquarters was Lin Biao. At the start of the Cultural Revolution, Lin occupied a position of great influence especially the military. Lin had replaced Peng Dehuai as Defense Minister after the latter had conspired with Khrushchev and attacked the Great Leap and was kicked out of office in 1959. In the years following this incident and up to the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, Lin overall played an important role in strengthening Mao's line in the military. Lin carried out the rectification of Peng, who opposed Mao and wanted to model the military after the Soviet army model of military professionalism, not politics, in command. Before it became a common sight in society as a whole, Mao's Red Book of quotations was used widely in the army under Lin.

Because of all this, Mao saw Lin as playing an important role at the start of the Cultural Revolution. Lin's power base in the army was especially important because Liu Shaoqi had a firm grip on the Party apparatus. Therefore the army became a crucial tool for the revolutionaries in bursting open the floodgates. For instance, a forum on literature and art was held in the People's Liberation Army in February of 1966, under the sponsorship of Lin Biao and presided over by Chiang Ching, Mao's widow and one of the Four. The forum affirmed the correctness of Mao's line on literature and art, and denied it was outdated and fit only the Yanan period, as the revisionists claimed. The minutes of the forum were read and revised three times by Mao himself, and distributed widely. Thus, the revolutionary line was able to make a breakthrough in the bourgeois stronghold of culture, and a road was paved for an assault on the Ministry of Culture in Peking (which Mao referred to as the Ministry of Emperors, Generals, Ministers, Talents, Beauties, and Foreign Mummies).

But even from the start, Mao was wary of Lin Biao. In May of 1966, Lin made a speech which extolled Mao as a "genius." Referring to the fact that Mao was forced to go along with the Central Committee decision to publicize and distribute the speech, Mao said in a letter to Chiang Ching a month later that "the situation changes from a great upheaval to a great peace once every seven or eight years. Ghosts and monsters jump out by themselves. Their destiny being decided by their own class, they have to jump out... I have never believed that the several booklets I wrote would have so much supernatural power... it seems that I have to concur with them. It is the first time that I unwillingly concur with others on major questions. I have to do things against my own will!" But still, Mao warned Chiang Ching that to make public criticism of Lin at that time would be "like pouring cold water" on the genuine Left and "thus helping the right wing," and "at the moment, all the Left speaks the same language." That is, at that time, both the genuine Left, represented by Mao and the Four, and the ultra-"Left" (at that time, Lin's line was usually "left" in form, although his rightist essence was to jump out very quickly), were united against the Liu-Deng bourgeois headquarters.

Lin Biao welcomed the chaos and upheaval of the Cultural Revolution because he figured it would further his own opportunist goals. He wanted to ride the tide of the Cultural Revolution

to get rid of his rivals for power and ultimately to put himself on the top. To pursue this goal, Lin fomented disorder and chaos devoid of any revolutionary content. One of his tools was the "May 16 Corps" (or the 516), a semi-secret society with passwords and admission rituals which ran wild, making armed attacks and carrying out burnings, lootings, etc.

The current rulers try to blur the distinction between the destruction caused by Lin Biao to further his own game and the destruction which was a necessary element of the class struggle led by Mao and the Four against the capitalist roaders. The two are lumped together by the revisionists to back up their charge that the Cultural Revolution was "ten years of calamity to the country and the people" and their "legal" charge that Lin Biao and the Four "persecuted cadres and the masses" and "practiced fascist dictatorship." But Lin Biao and the Four based themselves on fundamentally different political and ideological lines. Lin's line had much in common with the present revisionists' bourgeois dictatorship. He was not at all interested in mobilizing the masses, but ultimately only in suppressing them. He saw the people as being interested in only food on the table and wood for the fire. Because he was using the Cultural Revolution not to mobilize and increase the power of the masses, but like a brick to knock down any opposition to his own clique, he undoubtedly did resort to gangster-style methods against those who stood in his way. But Mao and the Four had unshakeable confidence in the ability of the masses to grasp the correct line and act on that understanding. And, for them, the goal of the Cultural Revolution was to increase the mastery of the masses, especially the working class, over society. But beyond this, as Mao put it in a talk in 1967 to an Albanian Military Delegation, while the principal task of the Cultural Revolution was the struggle against capitalist roaders, the main object was still more sweeping—dealing with the problem of world outlook—in other words revolutionizing even the Left. This meant that while force and proletarian dictatorship were necessary, reliance on simple force and not mainly on the masses and their consciousness was ultimately useless to these revolutionaries. Of course in the mass struggles led by them there inevitably were some excesses. As Bob Avakian pointed out in *Revolution and Counter-Revolution*, "I have no question that bad forces jumped into the fray, some of them fighting with the Four and perhaps some good people were wrongly attacked—as far as I know it is not possible to make revolution without this happening. Doesn't this kind of thing happen in every major struggle?" (p. 107)

That the revisionists attacked the Four for creating "disruption" and even "civil war" is part and parcel of their peddling the "theory of dying out of the class struggle." Again, as Bob Avakian pointed out in the same book, "There is no doubt that in struggling against the revisionist line they and their followers caused some 'disruption'—how could that be avoided?—but as I pointed out before this does not cause nearly as much disruption to socialism as the carrying out of a revisionist line. Communists are for order under socialism but not any kind of order, not 'order' which means capitalist restoration—in other words, they do not raise stability and unity above class struggle." What the current rulers do is exactly to raise "stability and unity" above class struggle. Their high-sounding calls for "stability and unity" is nothing but a cover for bourgeois dictatorship and brutal suppression of revolutionaries and the masses of people.

While undoubtedly the Four did get drawn into some of the sectarianism fostered by Lin and his henchman Chen Boda (who had become the head of the Cultural Revolution Group working directly under the Politburo) in the early stages of the Cultural Revolution, they later made self-criticisms, and overall the Four distinguished themselves in combatting ultra-left tendencies as well as the Right. For example, at a certain point in the upsurge of the Cultural Revolution, Chiang Ching raised the slogan "Attack by reason,

defend by force," which contained a certain danger, because anyone could use the pretext of having been attacked first to use force. But this was not raised as a general slogan for the Cultural Revolution, only in particular circumstances.

According to many sources, including Han Su-yin, a supporter of the present regime, she told the Red Guards at a rally in July 1967, they should attack only by words, but since they were being attacked by the 516, she conceded they could use force to defend themselves. And in a September 1967 speech, Chiang Ching made it clear that "When the class enemy attacks us, how can we afford not to have an inch of iron in our hand? This 'attack by reason, defend by force,' must not be deprived of its class content; it must not be viewed in isolation from definite circumstances and conditions." She goes on to denounce the 516 as a "counter-revolutionary" organization, and warns of capitalist roaders "appearing either as ultra-leftists or as rightists." (Since this was the first speech by a leader of the Party attacking the 516 which it turned out was headquartered by Chen Boda with Lin behind him, it is a bit ironic to be trying Chiang Ching together with Chen Boda).

The Four's Role

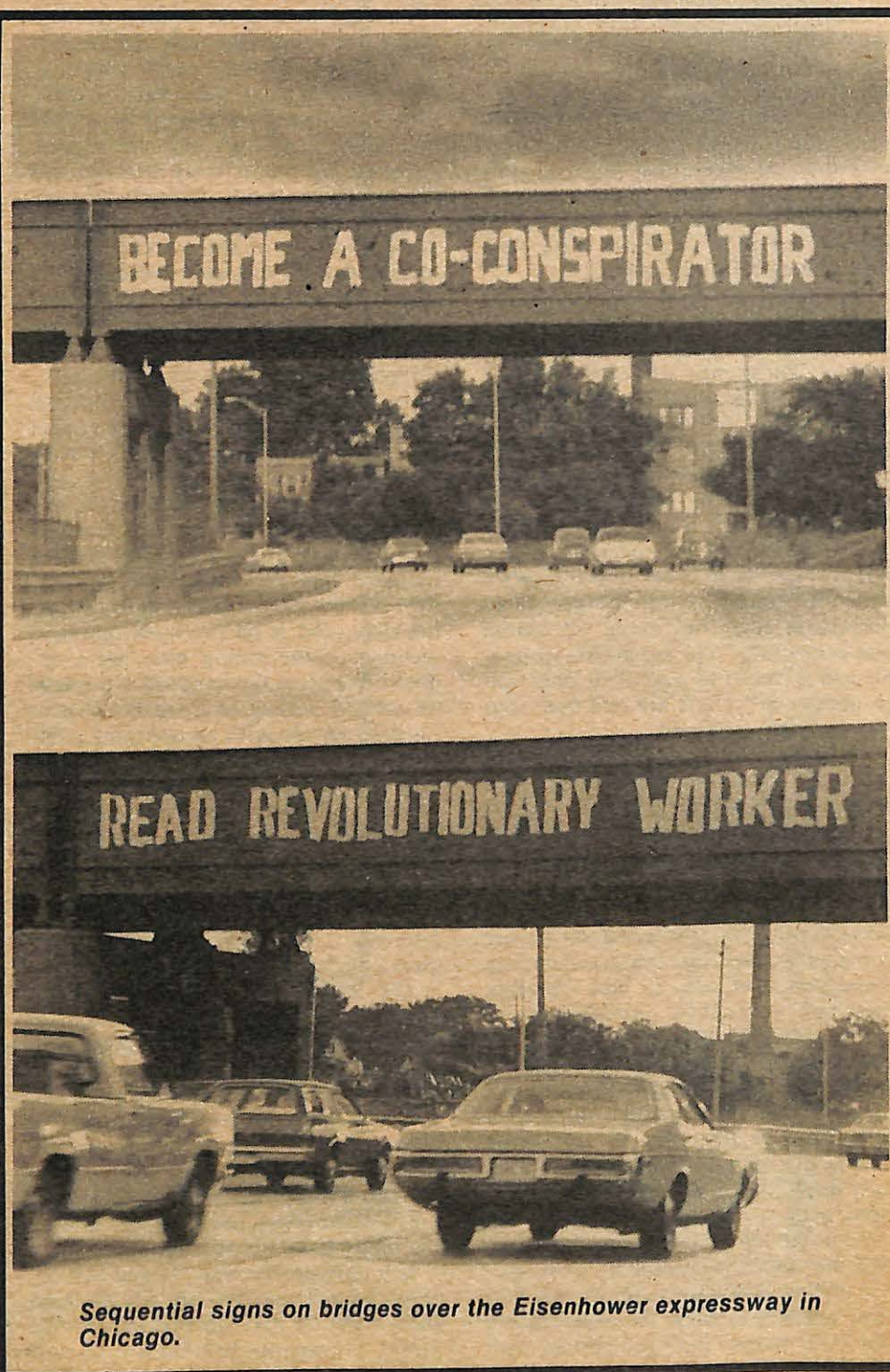
It was the necessity posed by the objective situation—the relative strength of the Right—that forced Mao to make use of the contradictions within the revisionist camp to align with Zhou and Lin in order to declare war on the Liu-Deng headquarters. But he knew that both Zhou and Lin each had their own ulterior motives for joining the alliance. It was the Four that Mao relied on as a genuine Left force that would wage the struggle with the Right to the end. In the years just before the Cultural Revolution, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao led the struggle in the cultural field to challenge the revisionist hold on literature and art, helping lay the groundwork for the Cultural Revolution. Another member of the Four, Yao Wen-yuan, wrote a scathing critique of a play in 1965 which attacked Mao for knocking down Peng Dehuai—this was the opening shot of

the Cultural Revolution. Chang Chun-chiao, Yao Wen-yuan and Wang Hung-wen, a revolutionary worker and the youngest of the Four, led the 1967 "January storm" in Shanghai, where hundreds of thousands of workers, together with students and peasants united to overthrow the municipal Party committee, a stronghold of the Liu-Deng revisionist headquarters, and take over power "from below." This was a great inspiration to the masses throughout China, who followed Shanghai's example in overthrowing the capitalist roaders in power.

Mao knew that many of the "veteran cadres" would go along with the Cultural Revolution only grudgingly or even oppose it outright. So the Four were brought into leadership of the Cultural Revolution, and Mao guided them politically and protected them from attacks. At one point in 1967, when the attacks on Chang Chun-chiao from the Right as well as the ultra-"Left" were getting very heavy, Mao warned that "If that meeting is held to bombard Chang Chun-chiao, we will certainly take the necessary steps and arrest people."

One particular incident involving Chang Chun-chiao blasts away the charges of the current rulers that the Four, colluding with Lin Biao, caused disruption for their own self-interest. At a certain point, counterrevolutionaries, especially from the ultra-"Left" camp, instigated the masses in Shanghai to "suspect all—knock out all" and only to rely on Mao. On this basis, they mobilized large numbers of workers to leave work and head for Peking to talk with Mao. Chang, risking his own safety, intercepted the train to Peking and struggled with the workers, while the counterrevolutionaries again agitated, saying, don't listen to him, he's a counterrevolutionary. In the end, Chang convinced the masses that the counterrevolutionaries were luring them away from Shanghai so that they could not make revolution there. The thing for the Shanghai workers (who were a vanguard force in the Cultural Revolution) to do was for the bulk of them to stay in the factories to carry on

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Sequential signs on bridges over the Eisenhower expressway in Chicago.

Letters on the Draft Programme and Draft Constitution of the RCP, USA

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

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

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

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

On Youth

RW,

I would like to propose that a point be added to the draft *New Programme* on the role of youth under socialism as an initiating force in society. I feel that the point should be what Chairman Avakian said in *Communists Are Rebels* (p. 14): "But who can be unleashed as a powerful force to challenge it (the way things are), as well as convention and the 'force of habit' in general? Mao understood, very profoundly, that the youth are a major, dynamic force for this. Let them rebel, let them challenge the old fogies, even—especially—in the leadership of the party. Let them spark the rest of society to do the same."

I feel this point should be added on page 16 of the draft *New Programme*, in the first full paragraph, within or after the sentence beginning, "This can be resolved in the interests of the proletariat only by..."

In order to explain why I think this point needs to be inserted let me start off with criticizing reasons I have heard raised for putting in a point of this kind, which I feel are the wrong reasons. First of all, the very important question of "roads to the proletariat," and the fact that working class youth are one of these roads. I think that this is definitely true, and vital to grasp and act on, but I don't think that in and of itself this requires adding a point in the draft on the role of the youth as a spark to the rest of society.

To begin with, the point is actually in there, on pp. 6 and 7: "Over the past decade and more, the working class within the U.S. has undergone significant changes. It has been influenced by and directly infused with the militancy of millions of Black people and other oppressed peoples, angry veterans of the Vietnam war, women no longer accepting their 'place' and rebellious youth." And furthermore, I certainly don't think that each of these "roads" requires going into. To insist that there needs to be special sections, for instance, on the foreign born, military veterans, etc., smacks of what Chairman Avakian said about making these roads "an absolute and go(ing) around looking for different strata within the working class and mak(ing) them into separate compartments." This line can only gut the heart out of the "roads" analysis. Additionally, it must be said that the draft *New Programme* can't and does not need to include every aspect of the Party's analysis of how we must come from behind to make revolution.

Second of all, my reasons for thinking that more needs to be said about the initiating role of youth have more to do with arming the masses of advanced generally, and especially the class conscious proletariat, than trying to sucker-bait the youth to "make them feel needed/wanted." (It shouldn't have to be said, of course, that I have nothing against youth understanding their role in making revolution more scientifically at all. In fact, it is very important, but secondary here.)

To me this is an important example of how the class-conscious working class, if it is to free itself and all mankind, must learn about the ideas and activities of every other section of society, in particular every other class, and how in fact this is even more important than them endlessly learning more about the working class. In addition, the position the working class, especially the advanced workers, will occupy after the revolution will not be the same, i.e., the ruled will become the rulers. This point is even more true of Party leaders. Because of this objective position there will be a spontaneous pull towards conservatism (added to the pull towards conservatism which comes with getting older), and understanding how this can (and must) be combatted and defeated is a cardinal question.

This gets us into a third part on the matter of the role of youth. Because of their rebellious qualities and characteristics, youth are and will be increasingly playing "in a certain sense a vanguard" role (as Mao put it). But actually my main concern is not on the question of the role of youth *before* the revolution, but rather afterwards, in continuing the revolution. To be sure, no mechanical separation must be made here, and overall we must be guided by what Chairman Avakian said about "unleashing the youth as a powerful force for challenging the status quo. Youth generally do not weigh the way things are as much against how they used to be, but much more so against how they feel they *ought* to be—and can see more or less that they *could* be. And they are not as set in their ways—they are more critical, daring, innovative, irreverent, less in thrall to and in awe of tradition and the 'force of habit.' These are qualities that communists—genuine communists—cherish and seek to both unleash and give a conscious expression to: this is a basic dividing line between communists and non- and especially anti-communists (including those revisionists who claim the mantle of communism and pervert it for their own private, selfish ends)." (*Communists Are Rebels*, p. 21)

I think that the points on the role of youth under socialism made by the Chairman in *Communists Are Rebels*, as well as those made in the *Communist* article "Beat Back the Dogmatic-Revisionist Attack on Mao Tse Tung Thought" slamming Hoxha's revisionism on the question of the role of youth under socialism (and secondarily, before the revolution), speak to a cardinal and dividing line question which has confronted, and I believe will continue to confront, the International Communist Movement. (Training successors to the revolutionary cause vs. robots to the revisionist cause.) This is what has led me to believe that what I'm raising here is not just "another (albeit correct) point," but one which is important enough to be included more explicitly in the battle plan for revolution in this country, and the battle plan for continuing that revolution on to communism!

A Reader

On Internationalism:

I wish to express agreement with much of the letter (the long one) from the Sept. 19 issue of the RW, concerning the *Draft Programme and Constitution*. In particular I would like to speak more to the question of proletarian internationalism, and how the developing international situation relates to "coming from behind to make revolution."

In particular, I would raise the question: Isn't there a tendency to view the crisis of U.S. imperialism, and the prospects of world war, too narrowly? While we have made an important analysis of the decline of U.S. strength, and have applied materialist dialectics to show the possibilities for a revolutionary situation to arise in this country, possibly within this decade, isn't there a current in our thinking that tends to downplay the overall opportunities for revolution throughout the world during this coming period, which tends to view the world situation too exclusively in terms of "what effects will this have in the U.S.?" It has been, and continues to be, necessary to emphasize the challenges and opportunities the developing situation affords the class conscious proletariat and its Party in this country. But we should be on guard, that such a necessary emphasis does not result in a little unnecessary one-sidedness in our thinking.

Page 7-8 in the *Draft Programme and Constitution* illustrate this problem, I think. The section proceeds from the international situation, and discusses its effect on the internal situation in the U.S. Such a sequence in and of itself is hardly wrong, but it is in my opinion lacking, in important ways.

"And now, with no possible resolution of its overall crisis except through the waging and winning of war, and therefore with the increasingly urgent need to shore up its bloc in preparation for this war, the ruling class in the U.S. must tighten the screws—on the financial structure nationally and internationally, on the overall economy, and most especially on the masses of people, including the working class."

"All these things are combining to rouse the working class from its relative passivity, political dormancy and even slavishness..."

What's wrong with this? What we're talking about is an international crisis of imperialism, a crisis which represents challenge and opportunity to the proletariat and oppressed peoples around the world. And while moves towards war, the tightening of the screws throughout both the U.S. and Soviet empires in lining up their war blocs may lead them to strengthening their hold for a time in a number of countries, overall this comes from their weakness and overwhelmingly it opens up opportunities for revolutionaries the world over. The effect of all this cannot simply be reduced to what effect it will have on rousing the working class here from its relative passivity. While it is necessary to grasp the profound qualitative leaps possible in this country, we cannot forget that in many parts of the world today, the situation is already intolerable for the majority of people. Quantity more closely approaches the qualitative leap towards a revolutionary situation.

True, all this will not proceed in a straight line. And true, the intensification of the contention between the superpowers, the outbreak of war between them, has contradictory effects. Straining to the limits in their efforts to knock the other down, taxing their respective blocs to the utmost, attempting to extract the utmost sacrifices from nations and peoples whose "sacrifice" to imperialism under "normal" conditions is already intolerable—all this invariably stretches the imperialists' ability to control their respective empires to the limit. And in parts of the world, some will undoubtedly seize this opportunity to rattle and ultimately break the chains of imperialism. I cannot believe this will not happen—how many revolutionary struggles rage throughout the world today? In how many more cases do the flames still flicker, the embers still smolder?

No, not all this struggle will directly lead to proletarian revolution—the majority will probably not (though that's hardly something to be passively resigned to). In many cases, new leaders will ride the backs of revolutionary struggle against one imperialist power, only to attempt to deliver the masses into the arms of the other, or to extract a better "deal" for themselves while remaining in the same bloc. Well, before the October, 1917 revolution in Russia, there was the February revolution. And between Feb. and Oct. of that year, the Russian masses learned more than they had in the previous ten (at least!).

As stated, things do not move in a straight line, there will be twists and turns, in particular there is great urgency in developing correct leadership based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse Tung Thought to guide these battles through to final victory. But the overall direction is clear.

Can we speak of an intensification in the world-wide struggle against imperialism in the Party Programme? In answering in the affirmative, it is still necessary to speak to some problems that could arise in doing so. Even as we intensify our efforts to unite on a principled basis with revolutionary forces the world over, we cannot confuse our own tasks in this country with those of the international communist movement. Nor should we speak presumptuously. Because we shoulder the responsibility to lead the masses in this country to make revolution, we can certainly "presume" to speak to the development of the situation here—indeed we cannot lead without doing so. Our relationship to the struggles in other countries cannot and should not, obviously, be of the same order. And furthermore, we certainly cannot "promise" outbreaks of struggle elsewhere in such a way as to even suggest that internationalism is in any way "conditional"—that is, conditional upon what the workers and oppressed of other countries do. No, as Lenin said, there is only one kind of internationalism, "work-

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From coal miners in the U.S. to frontline fighters in Iran:

We admired you and cheered you on when you chased the U.S. government's dog—the Shah—out of Iran. We are proud of you that you kept right on fighting for freedom: freedom from any more U.S. domination, ever, and freedom from all exploitation once and for all.

The U.S. government was burned deeply when you threw them out, and they were frantic as you took their spy-nest embassy and captured their spies. They've tried to get us whipped up against you, because they are desperately hoping that we won't rise up like you did, but instead line up like chumps and fight against you and for them.

People of Iran: We have learned from your heroic fight that your enemy is our enemy. We stand with you against the U.S.-backed and U.S.-pushed Iraqi attack aimed at toppling the Iranian government and stopping the revolution. We will not fight against you—as one part of the international working class, we stand shoulder to shoulder with you in the battle.

Signed by 26 West Virginia coal miners

This letter was signed by workers of five different nationalities in a Chicago factory:

Revolutionary greetings to the heroic Iranian people:

Today as both superpowers step up their moves towards world war, you continue to be an inspiration to us with your determined struggle against U.S. imperialism, this time attacking with the hands of the reactionary Iraqi government. We assure you that we class-conscious workers in the U.S., many of us driven here from countries dominated by U.S. imperialism, are carrying out our internationalist duty, struggling with our fellow workers to stand wholeheartedly with you in the fight to end all oppression, and working for the joyous day when we will overthrow this bloodsucker, U.S. imperialism.

VICTORY TO THE IRANIAN PEOPLE!

LONG LIVE PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM!

7 Class-Conscious Workers from a Chicago factory:
J.S., J.V., J.M., M.D., A.L., B.B., E.

Statement from a Houston Dockworker

To our brothers who are in armed conflict with the U.S. imperialists:

There are many of us that understand and support you and that are trying to get those who do not understand to understand your true struggle and how it came about. I feel that if the world was enlightened as to the true facts as to why the hostages are being held, you would have more support to regain what is rightfully yours. Because everyone knows you can't ask the U.S. to do what's right because it's a plain fact you have to force them, or your demands have to be so strong that they only have one choice.

We want to be able to enlighten people here as to why your struggle is our struggle because we are fighting against the same thing. And if there is any way possible that we can get more knowledge to the people here showing them the real cause of the detainment of some of our citizens, then I sincerely believe that you would get more supporters against this capitalistic system that caused all of this.

It is quite evident that the U.S. is using the hostages as a puppet in their play, but the real issue is your country's right to keep its position plus the oil that is there. Those are the real issues. And in order for the rulers of this country to get support from the working class of this country, the hostages is the coverup issue.

Because I feel that a country that is supposed to be for the interests of the common man's welfare is being done all wrong. Like we are not supposed to intervene in any country's political struggles. But it seems like we always have "gifts", like airplanes, explosives, etc., to give to those who will benefit us. Because trickery and skulduggery is what this country was founded on. Power to your struggle. □

IRAN

Continued from page 1

masses incapable of playing any role in modern warfare, or modern history for that matter. As an editorial in the *Washington Post* put it a week ago: "The big surprise in the Persian Gulf war has been the failure of Iraq to polish off Iran." The hand of U.S. imperialism, acting through the sleeve of Iraq, had been dealt a sharp blow.

But as was pointed out in last week's *RW*, the U.S. imperialists were gambling for serious stakes here; they were not going to pull out after one defeat. This current offensive, centered around a new Iraqi thrust against Iran—but also involving moves on a wide number of fronts—was launched by the U.S. to achieve their goals of crushing the Iranian revolution; bringing Iraq more firmly into the Western camp; and positioning more U.S. forces directly in the Persian Gulf area. These moves were designed to strengthen the U.S.-led imperialist bloc in the Middle East and give them an edge that they desperately need going into world war with their Soviet rivals. Their desperation, and the high stakes involved—literally the whole world for the imperialists—forced them to take the road of escalating the struggle, in another shot at victory.

Friday, October 3rd, when their offensive was stalled, the Iraqi command declared, "Since our armed forces have achieved their main targets, their major operations will be dedicated now to preserving these targets." They also announced plans for a unilateral cease-fire the following Sunday, as a sign of "good-faith," and their willingness to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the war. (With their troops still in place on

Iranian soil, of course.)

Iraq's foreign minister discussed this plan with U.S. Secretary of State Muskie, who approved the initiative, and expressed the pious hope that it "might lead as soon as possible to a cease-fire and the beginning of negotiations of the issues in the hostilities." Along with his sanctimonious peace talk, Muskie reiterated the U.S. government's daily pronouncements about how they were not involved in the war. There was "absolutely no substance to any Iranian accusations that we were involved in collusion with Iraq in connection with the current fighting," Muskie said with a straight face immediately after his meeting with the Iraqi foreign minister.

Yet at the very moment these vampires were talking of peace, they were plotting and preparing an escalation of the war. The Iraqis admitted that it was a "foregone conclusion" that the Iraqis wouldn't accept their offer of a cease-fire; and the Iraqis simply used the lull in fighting to resupply their front in preparation for a new assault. These supplies included Soviet tanks, heavy artillery, armored personnel carriers, French repair trucks, bulldozers, and bridge-building equipment. Along with these supplies, the Iraqis brought another 3 divisions to the front—raising the total to 6 divisions and some 96,000 troops.

At the same time through a number of its client states in the Middle East, the U.S. has orchestrated a massive logistical effort to increase Iraqi supplies of arms, ammunition, medicine and foodstuffs; supplies that bourgeois military experts deem crucial to the success of any renewed Iraqi offensive.

Jordan's Role

The most direct and substantial aid

was provided by King Hussein of Jordan. Jordan has been a particularly pliable tool of U.S. policy in the Middle East for years, usually playing the particular role of suppressing the struggle of the Palestinian people. At present Jordan gets \$120 million per year in military assistance from the U.S. (an amount that will double next year); as well as a \$100 million "budget support" subsidy. As a further part in the U.S. "division of labor" in the region, Jordanian military officers occupy key positions in the armed forces of Oman, North Yemen, and the United Arab Emirates (including their Armed Forces Chief of Staff).

King Hussein visited Iraq's Saddam Hussein in Baghdad on the day the new attacks against Iran were launched, and declared that he was "fully on Iraq's side." Jordan's troops had already begun a general mobilization on September 22, and when the King (now nicknamed Iraq's "supply sergeant") returned home from Iraq, he also ordered the full mobilization of all transport vehicles to carry arms and other supplies to the front. He also opened the Jordanian Red Sea port of Aqaba to all ships with cargo bound for Iraq, and pledged the safe unloading and transit through Jordan of all Iraqi goods. During the following days, the number of ships at Aqaba increased from an average of 12 per day to 36 per day.

There were also reports that Jordan had sent as many as 40,000 of its 60,000 troops, armed with U.S. tanks and Hawk anti-aircraft missiles, to the Jordan/Iraq border. From there these troops could either join the fighting directly, or reinforce the Iraqi divisions elsewhere in the country who have been pinned down in order to protect against either a Syrian attack or a Kurdish

uprising. King Hussein later stated that he was merely waiting for word from Iraq to dispatch his troops into the battle.

Of course, the U.S. government went through its 'peace' and 'non-intervention' routine with Jordan also. In a farcical charade, the State Department said that it warned Jordan not to get involved in the war, and not to send Iraq any of its U.S.-made weapons. At the same time, it was admitted that Secretary of State Muskie had met with Jordanian officials, at the recent UN General Assembly Session, before Hussein's trip to Iraq. Of course Muskie expressed "my concern about the risks of a widening war involving more countries." But it is becoming a predictable signal that when a U.S. official meets with an ally and issues utterances about "peace" and "nonintervention," that war and aggression are in the offing.

Although they are not yet as upfront as Jordan, the other U.S. client-states in the area also stepped up their support for Iraq. The Saudi Arabian monarchy has secretly guaranteed Iraq supplies of arms, food and fuel; and last week King Khalid openly wished Hussein his best in Iraq's war against "the enemies of the Arab nation." The Saudis were also advised beforehand of Iraq's plan to launch a new offensive, and then gave their approval.

Other reactionary Gulf states have expressed their support for Iraq; and Oman, North Yemen as well as Jordan agreed to house Iraqi bombers and transport planes at their airfields. This is important for Iraq because Iranian air force raids did considerable damage to a major Iraqi airbase at Shuaiba—destroying planes, supplies, and maintenance facilities. North Yemen has also pledged its complete support to the Iraqi war effort, and U.S. lackey Anwar Sadat restated his willingness to let the U.S. use Egyptian military bases to help fight Iran.

This past week, the "independent" regimes of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf states graciously agreed to help the western imperialists out of their present oil difficulties by raising oil production some 3 million barrels a day, to make up for the approximately 3.5 million barrels a day they were losing from Iraq

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U.S. Imperialism—Hands Off Iran!

Down with U.S.-USSR War Moves!



Revolutionary Worker

Iran / Iraq War—The Bankruptcy of the “Who Fired the First Shot” Logic

“You started it!” the Iraqi government shouted on September 18, pointing the accusing finger at the Iranians. “You fired the first shot,” they cried, citing the closure of the Shatt-al-Arab waterway and the violations of Iraqi air space by Iranian jets. These events, which did take place, are being used by the Iraqi government to paint themselves as the ones responding to “aggressions,” merely “defending” their territory, and to cover up the real nature of the Iran-Iraq war.

While this conflict (the U.S. entering Iraq to crush the Iranian revolution or accelerate capitulation and strengthen the U.S. position in the oil-rich Gulf vis à vis their Soviet rivals) is basically one between imperialism and an oppressed nation and not an inter-imperialist war like the upcoming showdown between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, it still sheds some light on the gangster logic that imperialists of all stripes have used and will continue to use to justify their unbridled plunder. This war also drives home once again that the only scientific method to evaluate the nature of a war is provided by Lenin’s dictum, “The character of the war... depends on what class is waging that war, and on what politics this war is a continuation of.”

Yet the events of September 18 are being used to hide exactly that—what class, the imperialists, is behind this war and what politics, also imperialist, this war is a continuation of. For over a year and a half the U.S. imperialists have inspired and supported Iraqi attacks against the Iranian revolution. From the moment of the Shah’s fall in February 1979, the reactionary regime of Saddam Hussein in Iraq began issuing statements saying that the new Iranian government was a “tool of imperialism” and ruled “Nazi style.” Iraq unleashed air and artillery strikes against Iranian territory; aided reactionary pro-Shah Iranian exiles in plotting a coup; funded and armed reac-

tionary separatists in Iran’s Khuzestan province (not to be confused with the genuine and just movement for autonomy of the Arab minority there); and in the months and weeks preceding Iran’s so-called “attack,” escalated its border skirmishes into serious attacks on Iran.

Unfortunately for the imperialists, one incident cannot the class character of a war make. And 20 tons of sanctimonious pronouncements about there being no U.S. involvement in the Iran-Iraq war cannot hide the truth that it is this class of parasites and their willing accomplices in Iraq who are waging the war, and that it is precisely a continuation of the 30 previous years of U.S. imperial politics in the Middle East.

But what about Iraq’s claim that the entire Shatt-al-Arab waterway is their territory? Or their claim that the three islands near the mouth of the Gulf (Abu Musa, the Greater Tunbs, and the Lesser Tunbs) were stolen by Iran and should be returned to the United Arab Emirates? Wasn’t it the Shah, with the backing of the U.S., that snatched those islands and forced Iraq to agree to the boundary being drawn down the middle of the Shatt-al-Arab? Certainly these things are true. But far from supporting Iraq’s present claims and shining the pious light of “victim” on the current war aims of the Iraqi government, the history of these events exposes the hand of U.S. imperialism, protruding then from the sleeve of Iran, and today, from the sleeve of Iraq. In fact, the same logic and the identical language are being used by Iraq’s Saddam Hussein that were used by the Shah—revealing again that the U.S. puppeteer hasn’t altered its script very much.

The Shah, too, invoked the hallowed words of “guaranteeing the security” of the Gulf when he roped in the Tunbs and Abu Musa—the same argument that Iraq is now making in demanding their return. The Shah pointed the

finger at British imperialism when the Shatt-al-Arab border was confirmed in 1975—citing the British as the culprits that had imposed the previous borders in 1914 and again in 1937. And now Iraq explains that their border was imposed by the U.S. and the Shah and that they’re going to re-draw it with their tanks.

But then, as now, this metaphysical logic of separating out events as if they had no connection at all only serves to hide the class nature of the war. The Shah’s seizure of the islands in 1971 was part of his developing role of U.S. cop on the Persian Gulf beat. These islands were surely taken with an approving nod from the U.S. Of course, the Iraqis protested. And it was during this period, in the early ’70s, that the U.S. hit upon the plan to fund sections of the Kurdish resistance in Iraq in order to pressure the Iraqis out of the Soviet orbit. By 1975 Iraq was reeling from the war with the Kurds and agreed to meet secretly with the Shah under U.S. sponsorship. In exchange for promises from the Shah and the U.S. to cut off all aid going to the Iraqi Kurds, Iraq agreed to renounce its claims to several pieces of disputed territory—including the three islands in the Strait of Hormuz. They also agreed to draw the boundary between the two countries down the middle of the Shatt-al-Arab.

Thus, just as the U.S. tried to destabilize the Iraqi government several years ago through using Iran under the Shah, so too today, the U.S. is trying to topple the Iranian revolution through using Iraq. In both cases the continuation of imperialist politics determined the character of the conflicts.

But this is nothing new. The imperialists are skilled at trying to cover their predatory aims with the smokescreen of “they fired the first shot, we’re defending freedom, or security, or our vital interests,” blah, blah, blah. Hell, the Japanese imperialists claimed that the Chinese had blown up one of their rail-

roads and that forced them to invade in 1931. Hitler burned down the Reichstag, then blamed the communists as part of his taking power in Germany. And for the U.S. imperialists, the list is longer still; the Maine battleship in Cuba in 1898, the sinking of the Lusitania in World War I, Pearl Harbor in 1941, the Gulf of Tonkin in Vietnam in 1964, etc., etc. All these events were used to try and conceal the class nature of actions and wars of the imperialists, to try and deny that it was this class’s politics that were being continued.

And this is exactly the case in the Iran-Iraq war today. Plus the prostitute press of the bourgeoisie helps to spread an even thicker layer of fog over the area. They have “analyzed” the causes of the war to be: religious—Shiite Moslems vs. Sunni Moslems; racial—Arabs vs. Indo-European Persians; and historical—the battle of Kadiisiya, fought in 637 A.D., “remains an incendiary memory in the minds of today’s Iraqis and Iranians.” And of course, they have continually hinted that it is the Soviets that are behind Iraq—attempts to accuse their imperialist rivals of their own crimes as part of creating public opinion for whatever moves they might have to take in the Gulf, and especially for their moves towards world war.

Anything that can be dug up and piled high enough will be used to obscure the reactionary and imperialist character of Iraq’s U.S.-backed aggression against the Iranian revolution. No doubt, as inter-imperialist world war approaches, the people of the world will be deluged with even more and slicker versions of “they fired first.” This makes it ever more crucial that we strengthen our ability to apply Lenin’s perspectives on war to the coming world events. []

LET 100 FLOWERS BLOSSOM

Public Opinion to Seize Power is replaced by "training warriors"—one by one, by one.

Continued from page 5

ideas, and only by changing them that we will be able to make revolution. When I talk about what's happening in Iraq and Iran, some people say, all I want to talk about is politics, and they don't want to hear it. I tell them, what else is there to talk about?

A reader

It has been very hard for me to admit I have differences with the Party. I have followed the line and leadership of the RCP and Bob Avakian since the founding of the Party and I have tremendous respect for the Party and the Chairman and I think if anyone can lead revolution in this country it is Bob Avakian and the RCP.

But I have some differences with the Party around the 100,000 co-conspirators which the 100 Flowers campaign is painfully forcing to the surface. One thing I have to admit is in my thinking if we put out raunchy lines, I'm afraid that is what people will be won to.

A group of us sell the *RW* broadly out on the streets in a city where we aren't even close to how many papers we should be selling according to the Party. Week after week we've gone out, yes it's possible, yes, it's possible, I agree with the Party. But the practice doesn't reflect that it is possible—through sales, plans, and a long-term view.

I think that 100,000 newspapers out in the hands of advanced and intermediate workers and oppressed, is truly a qualitative leap over what we get out now. What effect would, could 100,000 out a week have—I think it would mean at least one-half million reading every issue and probably over 1 million people reading all or part of it at least once a month. 100,000 newspapers would mean networks and circles. I think this is pretty key—it's the embryo of the revolutionary organizations that will be necessary to lead the nationwide onslaught at the proper time. The paper will have circles organized around one or two active co-conspirators. They'll write in to the paper. They'll struggle to get more out at work or in the neighborhood. I see these circles existing in plants in certain communities, maybe even among certain nationalities (not because this is the way to organize or that we could attract more that way, but because of language or common community. The purpose of the paper would be to break that down through struggle). They will take up nationwide calls of the Party. They will provide finances and supplies to the Party, and work to protect the Party leadership and the ability of the paper to get out.

They will be hidden and they will surface at key junctures in the course of revolutionary struggle. Some will be on the surface as long as possible broadly distributing the *RW*—and they will figure out how to keep the *RW* on the streets. This is the kind of skeleton we need now as the leaves turn... to influence many more.

But, I don't think we can do it in time. I don't think I can sell 100 papers a day and frankly I don't know anyone that can on a sustained basis. To do that you have to set up networks. Why can't I win people to taking networks on the street. Because they don't think and I don't think that in and of itself just doing the 100,000 campaign right now is enough. And it ain't enough to take the risks it requires right now, too many say, "what good will it do?" especially now—as things have clearly gotten to the verge. The struggle as it is taking place right now which for me and I think many of the advanced only seems to be taking quantitative steps which if that is all it does in this period really it will mean steps backward.

Who are the advanced and how advanced are they? I definitely agree with the Party that it is people with the revolutionary experience or influence of the 1960s—Blacks in the liberation struggles, vets, foreign-born, women who don't accept their place. Yes it is these political experiences that make these people more clearly see the system of capitalism for what it is—but they also don't seem to think it will do any good in enough time. I think these people want to see an actual force today that is taking this shit head on through its actions, and I don't mean a big mass movement, but really why aren't we trying to have this force surface more.

I think the advanced—even the networks we do have still see themselves as too tiny a force and must see something more now. I have to, and I think the advanced also have to, see consciousness transformed into a material force now. I say this because, I see World War 3 rapidly approaching, and in fact where I think I actually was seeing World War 3 as a more distant question (i.e. the end of the '80s) it wouldn't surprise me now if the historians were to say World War 3 was most clearly ignited by the developing of the revolutionary situation in Iran and Kurdistan and the vital necessity of both superpowers to politically, militarily, strategically and economically control this land and water area.

So what I see is this—if we continue to just call for these 100,000—and the advanced who I have found can't see how we can affect the present situation in enough time, aren't being won over to become part of these revolutionary networks—I see the dialectic between raising consciousness to actually transform

the world through practice being broken.

What I'm raising is the actual effect May Day had, that I think the newspaper will play precisely that

Wasn't it the readers of the *RW* who actively took up and built for May Day? With even more at stake today than even a few months ago, why is there not also at this time more in the way of the working class actually putting its stamp on events of the day.

I think in the course of this 100,000 campaign and the present division of labor that some of this has been lost.

I see this as necessary to win this 100,000 campaign and as I understand the Party's line right now there is no emphasis on this. I don't think we can make this leap without this.

Another note, I think key to this is an actual visible multi-national force. Maybe there is a particularity to my area, but we really can't seem to break through and sustain the active, on the street involvement of Blacks and other minority nationalities. If there is quantitative advances on this front they too must give rise to a qualitative leap right now.

To continue to call for the 100,000 at this time without, say, organizing a visible conscious movement in opposition to war moves. Like I think the whole Autumn Forge support demo in the U.S. was played down—in terms of building this kind of visible opposition. I don't think this was necessarily errors in applying the Party's line (because I think it is pretty consistent with how this campaign (Autumn Forge) is being carried out both locally and in the pages of the *RW*). Actually I think Bob Avakian does speak to exactly what I think needs to surface now, in "Crucial Questions in Coming From Behind," (*RW* No. 68) when he talks of the needs of the advanced to act now, and he doesn't just mean selling the paper.

The way I see this 100,000 is that it has eliminated this aspect and I think that is holding back breaking through on the 100,000.

The dialectic here of course is just like during May Day—this can't be sustained without the *RW*. But the advanced need to see now how they can actually act. I think that the qualitative leap that 100,000 represents can't be done without this.

I think if the *RW* is the weapon we have now then it has to more visibly do this now as well as sink deep roots. What I see now is the networks should all be secret (which I definitely unite with) but that seems to be all there is—and not also a mass campaign like I said before, which would also deeply affect millions who long to take on this shit.

I think this line if persisted in will doom this campaign to failure. I know in my own practice when someone says, "what can I do?" and I say, "This newspaper is our main weapon now, take up a network," and I explain what we have to do is change people's minds—create public opinion to seize power, well like it says, that takes time and time is one thing we don't have too much of. Consciousness will transform reality, but along with building 100,000 co-conspirators a visible force must again visibly transform reality.

Otherwise we won't make this goal—people will be demoralized and we will not be in the position we need to be in both in terms of influence and organizationally.

Now is the time.

I do not think this is an economist line. In fact I think this is Bob Avakian's line, but it is not the line of the Wanted 100,000 Co-conspirators.

I welcome replies. I'm sure I'm not the only one who feels this way. I know some of the masses I've talked to want to act.

RW,

The letter from "a class conscious worker" (*RW* No. 74) had a lot to be united with from the standpoint of the importance of seeing the importance not to be tricked by perception—seeing people in motion and realizing that spontaneity can get you "fucked up" as he said. Also it's real important that the comrade recognizes the cruciality of training the advanced.

But overall I feel his take is wrong. The leap being called for in the 100,000 isn't just the realization that the advanced need to be united and trained—but united and trained to do what? And how should they be trained if it's not through taking up the paper and spreading it very broadly and not just to those people who "want it" with no struggle or no contradiction.

So his line on training the advanced is wrong. He says the main thing we should be doing is "propaganda and teaching Marxism." But by omission in what he's saying this teaching and learning will go on separate from the overall class struggle of the masses. What about the theory of knowledge—I feel the comrade throws it out the window and the hothouse training he proposes has the advanced getting propagandized to, but not going out and agitating and "wrangling" with others. In other words the advanced have no work to do—only the class conscious—and there is a view that the role of the paper and the work of the Party and advanced around and separate from the Party hasn't got much to do with those who don't immediately jump on the bandwagon. (Which is most of the advanced.) I think the question of influencing millions and Creating Mass

Comrades,

The call for the 100 Flowers Campaign was one of the most exciting things to appear in the *RW* since it began publishing. Is there any other party in the U.S. who, in the heat of a major battle, facing big difficulties yet to be conquered, would open the pages of its press, soliciting criticism and disagreement with its central battle plan for revolution? No! Because there's no other party in the U.S. that bases itself on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, on dialectical and historical materialism, grasping mankind's ability to transform society through understanding and consciously acting on its laws of development.

It is this understanding and a correct understanding of today's particular conditions that makes it possible and necessary for our Party to unleash the struggle to "Let 100 Flowers Blossom: Let 100 Schools of Thought Contend."

In our city, though comrades truly want revolution and have heroically fought against pigs and reactionaries again and again; though we daily meet advanced workers and others who deeply hate this system and dream of revolution; we have not come close to reaching the goal of the 100,000 campaign. I'm writing to say why I'm convinced that this goal is both necessary and possible and hopefully contribute to the struggle to achieve it.

We're living in a world that is ripe with the potential for revolution. The bloodthirsty plans of the imperialists for world war are very clear, not just to us, but to the masses.... As the imperialist crisis develops, political and economic, the relatively secure future that past generations of workers here could look forward to is rapidly breaking down—most are sure big changes are in the works and growing numbers are questioning the ability of the U.S. capitalists to come out on top.... Revolutionary struggle bursting forth around the world and especially the revolutionary victory of the Iranian people, though incomplete, flew in the face of the capitalist's lies that the defeat in China meant revolution was dead. We all see these things, but if we only look at them on the surface we miss the fact that they are producing tremendous changes among millions in this country today. As the crisis sharpens, if you look, you can see clearly what the Chairman meant—the bourgeoisie is dragging people into political life....

To fully grasp the significance of the Party's call for 100,000 co-conspirators and to make it a reality, we have to grasp very deeply who these advanced are, what is it that is bringing them into motion, what is it that is preventing them from working consciously and effectively for revolution today and what is the source of the contradictory thinking that exists broadly among the advanced and within the ranks of those who today consciously look to the RCP for leadership.

I think this is a big part of what the Chairman means when he stresses over and over that it's crucial to look beneath the surface and constantly struggle against the spontaneous pull to be satisfied with superficial answers, to look at today's still non-revolutionary situation statically, perceptually, to miss the secondary aspect of the contradiction, the revolutionary aspect inherent in this decaying imperialist society and especially to miss the speed with which it is developing and the demands this places on revolutionaries.

Some say these advanced people are a figment of our imagination, or are so few as to be meaningless. They seem to think all those people who tell us they hate this shit and would do anything for revolution are lying. But even if we never met them, or recognize them, or hear from them in the *Revolutionary Worker*, Marxism teaches us that they must exist. In "On Contradiction" Mao says: "Objective contradictions are reflected in subjective thinking, and this process constitutes the contradictory movement of concepts, pushes forward the development of thought, and ceaselessly solves problems in man's thinking." U.S. imperialism 1980 is a system in deep decay. Is it possible that nobody sees this but supporters of the RCP? Hardly! Especially in the wake of the mass revolutionary struggles of the '60s.

So if the advanced do exist and the system daily produces more of them, why isn't it easy to win the battle for 100,000 co-conspirators? What is it going to take to win it? It's difficult to win it because wanting revolution, no matter how badly, doesn't make somebody an instant communist, or an instant class conscious fighter. "Objective conditions are reflected in subjective thinking." To me that means that both aspects of the contradictions existing in the world, the revolutionary aspect that is arising and developing and the non-revolutionary that is decaying and dying, are reflected in the understanding of the advanced, and thus in their practice. We see it all the time, people who clearly see U.S. imperialism as the enemy but don't see the potential for the working class to lead revolution against it, people who want to take revolutionary action themselves but think the masses will only fight for bread and potatoes, people who see the need for revolutionary leadership but think they will inevitably be sold out, people who want revolution but think we have to "clean up our own backyard first."

A comrade

'Lesser of Two Evils'

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Vance, who represents the previously dominant thinking of the ruling class in the past period which was weighted more toward pushing detente with the Soviets and related policies while maneuvering for war beneath this smokescreen, is a clear sign of a changing policy of the ruling class as a whole. This past policy emphasizing detente and so forth was based on a certain assessment of the world situation, in particular the military strength and strategy of the Soviet Union, and flowing from this a certain assessment of U.S. imperialism's necessity. It was not a policy which was any more peace-loving than that now taking its place, but it is nevertheless an example of a real and important debate that has been raging behind the scenes. The debate has clearly been bi-partisan.

A Team—B Team

Actually, this latest debate began to take shape in a big way in late 1976, before Jimmy Carter entered the White House. Carter commissioned a team of government intelligence experts to study Soviet military strength and intentions in relation to U.S. military strength and necessity. He also commissioned another team of outside non-governmental analysts headed by Harvard professor Richard Pipes to do the same. The government team became known as the "A" team while the outside team was known as the "B" team. Two diverging assessments and views were reached. The "A" team concluded that the Soviet Union's military goal was that of moderate growth to achieve and maintain military parity with the U.S. The "B" team, however, concluded that the Soviet Union was not going just for parity, but for strategic superiority over the U.S. bloc in the shortest possible time. Of course, their conclusion was that the U.S. must take the offensive. The position of the "B" team is put succinctly in the following passage by team member William R. Van Cleave, a member of the first delegation to the SALT talks and a member of the Board of Directors of the Committee on the Present Danger:

"Soviet strategic force capabilities are rapidly outgaining or already surpassing those of the United States. Objective analysis clearly show a peak of relative Soviet superiority vis-à-vis the United States within a couple of years, well before the United States can respond, given current programs. This loss of essential equivalence is particularly threatening because of its precise strategic nature. It will be characterized by dangerous vulnerabilities in major components of our deterrent forces and by a substantial disparity in favor of the Soviet Union in the ability to fight, win, and recover from strategic nuclear war. In short, the Soviet Union will be able, during this period, to expect advantages based upon the ability to threaten nuclear war much more credibly than the United States. This cannot help but reduce the effectiveness of all U.S. military forces and influence the determination to use those forces. The implications for American security interests are obvious.

"Such a situation has developed as a result of a determined Soviet effort to achieve strategic superiority at the same time that U.S. strategic programs have been delayed, constrained by the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), or canceled outright. The shortfall in defense spending, compared with the last five-year defense plan proposed by the Ford administration, is already in the tens of billions of dollars. No area of military capability has been unaffected, but our strategic force programs, receiving less than 10 percent of the defense budget, have particularly suffered. Yet current strategic force programs are not only incapable of keeping pace with the threat through the mid-1980s, but it is also most doubtful that they will produce the turnaround projected by the administration for the late 1980s."

Along with this assessment, of course, came a whole approach to changing U.S. foreign policy accordingly. Henry Kissinger put out the bottom

line of all this in a speech last April, in which he said, in part (emphasis added):

"We are sliding towards a world out of control, with our relative military power declining, with our economic lifeline increasingly vulnerable to blackmail, with hostile radical forces growing in every continent, and with the number of countries willing to stake their future on our friendship dwindling... it can no longer be seriously denied that the overall military balance is shifting sharply against us. Whatever the causes, unless current trends are reversed, the 1980s will be a period of vulnerability such as we have not experienced since the early days of the Republic. In this decade we confront, for the first time, a potentially unfavorable strategic balance; a shifting balance against us in theater nuclear forces in Europe; and continuation of the long-standing Western inferiority in forces for regional defense... We face a period of maximum danger in the next five years, while the military balance is still tipping against us and the cycle of local revolutions is playing itself out. After that, the certainty is that Soviet domestic problems will mount, and our new defense programs can restore the equilibrium. But before then, Soviet reformers and Soviet conservatives may be able to unite on only one set of goals: to secure their international environment brutally and urgently before reassessing their domestic system. *It is within our power to close off the avenue of adventurism, but the time is growing short.*

"As is often the case, the seemingly boldest course is really the safest; procrastination will only prolong and thereby magnify our danger."

In other words, "the U.S. had better prepare to strike first in the next period (5 years) or it could all be over." This new approach put forward by the "B" team called for the scrapping of SALT II, the boosting of the defense budget, and the formulation of a new strategy for dealing with the changed conditions in the world vis-à-vis the USSR. Since the "B" team released its findings, debate has continued within the bourgeoisie, with agreement pretty much being reached with the "B" team's position.

So basically, what happened was that some among the ruling class (not some "right wing" or anything of the sort) became conscious that in order to achieve their imperialist aims against their equally imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union, a shift in U.S. policy and stance was essential. They began to see more clearly that the top dog position in the world the U.S. had had since World War 2 was turning into its opposite and that the Soviet Union was not only in reach of equaling the U.S. but actually gaining an advantage if something was not done. World war/nuclear war had to become not only thinkable but more consciously planned and prepared for within a short period of time. A break was needed with some past thinking. And they were able to win over many of those forces who held on to the old views. The masses of people in this country, too, would have to change their thinking and get prepared to shed their blood to keep the bourgeoisie's parasitic rule alive.

Has Carter simply hung on to his 1976 "A" team position? Certainly not. He has more and more embraced the "B" team position and implemented it. While he still stresses in his campaign that the strength of the U.S. military is adequate, this is more a defense of his record than an expression of opposition to the "B" teamers. In practice, Carter has withdrawn SALT II since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, sharply boosted the defense budget, declared the Carter Doctrine, carried out an abortive raid on Iran, and backed Iraq in attacking Iran, while greatly stepping up U.S. war moves in the Persian Gulf. These are just a few of the steps he has taken.

This shift in dominant ruling-class policy has been reached without any election. Not a single popular vote needed to be cast. And as far as "sections" go, it should be enough to note

that Henry Kissinger, who was sharply attacked for putting forward "soft," "detente" positions a few years ago, is now arguing strenuously for the "B" team type of positions. He was an imperialist strategist then, tied with the Rockefeller group of imperialists, and he is the same now. So not only don't you get to decide which policies the ruling class will implement when you vote, you don't even decide which section of the ruling class will be in charge. They will all be present, with their interests and opinion duly respected, even as they struggle among themselves. What this election represents, then, is an opportunity for the ruling class to get a "mass, popular" mandate for policies which have already been struggled out and agreed to in ruling-class circles.

This will be true whichever candidate is elected, though Reagan is playing a certain "spearhead" role in this process. Reagan was the perfect candidate for a war cheerleader. True, he's a little stupid, having great difficulty in speaking in anything other than reactionary clichés like such winners as "As far as I know, everyone that's for abortion has already been born." But surrounded by a phalanx of advisors and carefully coached, even he could play the part of President of the United States. He has constantly been on the road, denouncing big government, civil rights legislation and welfare. When the Symbionese Liberation Army forced the Hearst family to give away free food to the poor, Reagan publicly called for an outbreak of botulism poisoning, and once when speaking in Miami, he told his audience that shoppers in a local market were "outraged" to see a "strapping buck" buying T-bone steaks with food stamps. He has made a name for himself as a steadfast critic of the Carter foreign policy, denouncing the Panama Canal Treaty and the ratification of SALT II, and making repeated calls for the U.S. to stand behind its "faithful allies" like the Shah of Iran, the Kuomintang regime in Taiwan, and Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua.

Of course, Reagan's replacement as governor of California, liberal Democrat Jerry Brown, was quick to reverse the reactionary dirty work of Ronnie. Oh, sure. Among other things, Brown supported increased prison construction, longer prison sentences for repeat offenders, and funds for new police weapons. He also took campaign contributions from Gallo Wine, which was being struck by the farmworkers he claimed to support. And he slapped a

pay freeze on public employees and advocated constitutional changes to insure a balanced budget at both the federal and state levels, a well known tactic for pushing cuts in social service programs and the like. California under "liberal" Brown is just the same as under "reactionary" Reagan—maybe a bit worse, because the imperialist crisis is worse.

Reagan won the Republican nomination without even any serious competition and was immediately surrounded by the appropriate high-powered advisors from his running mate, former CIA director George Bush, to Alan Greenspan, William Simon and Donald Rumsfeld, to name a few of his domestic advisors. None other than Henry Kissinger was instrumental in formulating his "brain trust."

Well, so much for the question of the lesser of two evils on the main issue in this year's campaign—war. Perhaps our friends of the *Guardian* and the like would rather lounge with Zbigniew in the shade rather than get burned with Henry Kissinger in the sun. But we, however, would rather struggle for a whole different concept of "politics." For the broader purpose of the elections is to define politics as simply the politics of one class—the bourgeoisie. It is time instead to challenge all this, exposing it and actively putting the politics of the class-conscious proletariat on the stage.

For what is revealed when we look beneath the very thin and tarnished facade of the freedom and democracy of our rulers is nothing more than freedom and democracy for them to decide how to rule over their empire. To those who are actually working to strengthen and shine up this rotten facade with their "questions of degree" and "the rise of the right," we close with the following quote from Lenin:

"The more highly democracy is developed, the more the bourgeois parliaments are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers... Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed people at every step encounter the crying contradiction between formal equality proclaimed by the 'democracy' of the capitalists and the thousands of real limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into wage-slaves. It is precisely this contradiction that is opening the eyes of the people to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism. It is this contradiction that the agitators and propagandists of socialism are constantly exposing to the people, in order to prepare them for revolution!" [1]



Newsweek magazine's contribution to the "rise of the right" phenomenon.

Vile Maneuver

Continued from page 10

the struggle, while representatives were sent to see Mao. What kind of revolutionary example would the workers of Shanghai be setting for the whole country, argued Chang, if they deserted production. In fact, when Chang assumed the leading role in Shanghai, production boomed and new records were set, precisely because the workers had understood the line of "grasp revolution, promote production."

Lin Biao's Rightism

Lin Biao began to see that Mao's efforts to keep the focus of the Cultural Revolution on the Liu clique and away from Zhou were frustrating his own efforts to clear away all opposition to his highway to power. Although Mao knew the Zhou forces were also rightist and certainly should not be immune from criticism, he did not agree with overthrowing them. Any attempt to do so would bring powerful forces against the Cultural Revolution and tip the scales in favor of the Right. Lin, therefore, began to turn directly against the revolutionary upsurge and his rightist essence began to jump to the surface. This became very clear at the 9th Party Congress in 1969, when Lin wrote a draft report to the congress with the help of Chen Boda (who also co-authored Liu Shaoqi's revisionist report to the 8th Party Congress 13 years earlier). Their argument (which was also Liu's) was that revisionism had been soundly defeated in China already, and therefore that production, not class struggle, was the main task. Although Lin managed to get himself named in the Party Constitution as Mao's successor, his draft report was rejected, and he was forced to read a report upholding the Cultural Revolution and the need to persevere in class struggle. As the 10th Congress four years later summed it up, the original draft report was nothing more than "a refurbished version under new conditions" of Liu's line that the principal contradiction in China was between the advanced socialist system and backward productive forces. This is the very same line espoused by Zhou as well as the current rulers of China.

Although Zhou and Lin were more and more singing the same tune in their attacks on the Cultural Revolution and were promoting the "production first" line, they differed on one essential question—the danger of the Soviet Union. While Zhou took a hard-line anti-Soviet stand because of his preference for the West, Lin's line was that since the Soviet Union was such a mighty economic and military power poised on China's border, it was both necessary and desirable to make friends with it—after all, he argued, isn't a bad "socialist" better than the U.S.? But the Soviets were no socialists and by 1969-70, the Soviet revisionist rulers' stance had changed from one of col-luding with the U.S. imperialists to openly contending with them. Mao began to sum up that the Soviet Union posed the greatest danger to China (not to the whole world, as the present rulers claim), and came to a certain agreement with Zhou on the need for an "opening to the West," although they did so for different reasons and with different goals in mind. Lin, seeing this, became increasingly desperate and more openly against Mao.

Things came to a head between Mao and Lin at the 1970 Second Plenum of the Central Committee. Lin, behind Mao's back and using Chen Boda as a front, created a big wind around the "theory of genius" (which while in form referred to Mao's genius really meant Lin and Chen's) and conspired to create a post of State Chairman. Lin's scheme was to make Mao a harmless icon, while setting himself up in the seat of power as the State Chairman (above Zhou, who was Premier). Wang Hung-wen played a key role in the struggle. The Plenum—far more than the pre-revolutionary era—ended with the political defeat of Lin. A big campaign to attack the Chen Boda was

launched, obviously aimed at Lin. At the same time, Mao maneuvered to undermine Lin's base in the army. With his back to the wall, Lin and his followers drew up a program of counterrevolutionary coup d'état, the "Outline of Project 571" ("571" in Chinese is a homonym for armed insurrection), in early 1971. After an abortive attempt to assassinate Mao, Lin met his death in a plane crash in September of the same year as he fled toward the Soviet Union.

"Project 571"

Lin's rightist essence comes across loud and clear in this "Outline of Project 571." It paints a dismal picture of the situation in China: "The broad masses of the peasantry are oppressed, the economy is stagnant, the actual living standards of the masses, basic level cadres and soldiers is falling." Lin's solution is to "follow the slogan, 'A prosperous people and a strong country,' to make the people happy with their homes and content with work, to give them enough to wear and eat." In short, it's "give us ghoulish communism." Referring to Mao, the outline says that "We do not deny his historic role in unifying China... Now, however, he abuses his trust and status given him by the Chinese people... He is the biggest feudal despot in Chinese history." It's clear that he saw the Four as a roadblock to his plans. The "Outline" contains blasts aimed at the Four, calling their theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, of which the Cultural Revolution was a concrete example, a "Trotskyite theory of permanent revolution," and Chang Chin-chiao is especially singled out for attack by name.

All this has a familiar ring to it—the very same garbage, using at times almost the same words, that is being spewed out by the present ruling clique in China. For example, in his interview with Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci, Teng says of Mao, "Because of his great contribution to the revolution, he enjoyed a tremendous prestige among the Chinese people and so he received many praises. Too many." So later on, Mao "failed to institutionalize the very good principles he had set up for years, such as democratic centralism and the mass line," and began to behave in an "unhealthy, feudal way." The fact that Lin Biao and Deng Xiaoping sound alike in their attacks on revolutionaries is no accident. Lin Biao, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping, as well as Zhou Enlai, all have based themselves on the line of "productive forces" and "dying out of class struggle." "We have established socialism, so there is no more need to wage class struggle," they claim. "The task now is to concentrate on the economy and make China a powerful, modern country." This bourgeois line is dished up under the guise of "benevolent" concern for the well-being of the masses.

But the struggle between different factions within the revisionist camp did get very sharp at times, as in-fighting and back-stabbing among a pack of thieves has a tendency to do. This in-fighting relates to a great degree to the international situation. Especially in a country like China, with its legacy of backward productive forces, colonial domination and feudalism, the bourgeoisie is bound to capitulate to one imperialist power or another. Therefore, at times different factions fall on opposite sides, with conflicting interests based on which imperialist power they are kowtowing to. Mao and the Four were able to use these contradictions, uniting with Lin at a certain point to strike at Liu and Deng, and then joining forces with Zhou to wipe out Lin who had then become the immediate danger.

Lin Biao's fall, while necessary and in that sense a victory for Mao and the Four, was a traumatic event for all China and had deep repercussions at all levels of society. Here was Lin, who only a few years before was known as Mao's "close associate and successor" and a prominent figure in the Cultural Revolution, now denounced as a traitor and the gangleader of a reactionary coup. This gave a big boost to the Right, who used the pretext of combatting Lin's "ultra-left" line—focusing

"Party Work" in D.C.

To the Revolutionary Worker,

I drive a cab in the Washington, D.C. area—a job that can be extremely enlightening. A week ago Saturday, I was driving past one of the hundreds of D.C. bars featuring nude Go-Go dancers. As I waited for the light to change, a young Chinese man tripped out the door and called me over. When he got in the cab, he told me to drive according to his directions. As he talked, I could tell that he was more than a little drunk—the smell of stale liquor filled the cab with every sentence. Not so unusual for a Saturday night.

After a few minutes, the passenger began to talk, telling me how wonderful America is. I was just about to slam into him when I decided to ask him where he was from. He smiled and slurred, "China—The People's Republic of China." Frankly, I was a little surprised. As my mind raced, trying to put together something sharp and to the point in order to indicate to him how I felt about Chairman Mao, China and the treachery of the new revisionist rulers, the passenger shouted, "Stop!" I pulled over to the curb and the passenger slid over to the curb side window. I glanced at the intersection and noticed that he had stopped me on one of the D.C. street corners infamous as a pick-up point for prostitutes. After a couple of minutes of "Oohs" and "Aahs" coming from the passenger, he directed me to drive slowly around the block, while he oogled and leered at the women working the street. Finally he said, "Chinese girls aren't like this," and directed me to move on. I could barely hold back my disgust and was just about to let loose, when he informed me that he had been "sent to get an education at Columbia University, but had interrupted his education to do party work in Washington." I slowly turned and looked at him and said, "Yeah, I can see what kind of party work you're talking about." Then without giving him a chance to respond, I laid into him about China and Deng and how millions around the world were proudly upholding the banner of Mao and would bury scum like him and his class, including right here in "his America". When we arrived at the Chinese embassy, he hurriedly got out of the cab, pausing only to repeat his love for America and everything modern. A glowing example of China today.

Signed,
a D.C. cab driver

on some of its early and superficial features—to launch an assault on the Cultural Revolution and Mao's line as a whole. Many bitter opponents of Lin, knocked down during the Cultural Revolution, some unjustly but many for good reasons, were brought back from the dead into active political life. One of those knocked down for very good reasons and brought back in this period was Deng, who became the spearhead for the Right, while Zhou became the rallying point and guardian angel.

Amidst this fierce counterattack from the Right, the 10th Party Congress was held in 1973, and it was overall a victory for the Left. In summing up Lin Biao, his rightism and "production first" line was stressed instead of the superficial ultra-"Left" sloganeering that characterized him in the beginning stages of the Cultural Revolution and which the Right wanted to focus on. Nevertheless, many from the Right were put into high positions, and they came out on top organizationally. But Mao and the Four never depended on bureaucratic methods to achieve their aims—their strength lay in mobilizing the masses around a correct line to wage class struggle against the bourgeoisie. From the 10th Congress up to Mao's death, the Four led repeated campaigns under Mao's guidance to beat back the continuing danger from the Right. The international proletariat can learn much and draw great inspiration from the leadership given ultimately by Mao, but with the Four in the thick of it, in this intense and complicated struggle. In a very difficult situation, they persevered in relying on the masses and arming them with revolutionary consciousness to carry forward the revolution. But overall, the balance of forces was tipping in favor of the Right. With the death of Mao in September 1976, the Right seized the opportunity to pull off a coup and arrest the Four, putting a temporary end to proletarian rule in China.

Revisionists Need This Trial

That the capitalist-readers who seized power in 1976 have taken this long to finally convene this trial is not because they had no necessity to do so earlier, not because they lack any vindictiveness against the Four. In fact, they cannot afford to let the question of the Four float around unsettled too much longer. As they move further on down the road of capitalist restoration and attacks on Mao, they must stamp their verdict on the Four, leading successors to Mao's line. And the revisionists' hatred of the

Four has not abated any since the Cultural Revolution. Deng's ranting and raving against Chiang Ching in particular borders on the psychotic: "She's a very, very evil woman. She's so evil that any evil thing you say about her isn't evil enough, and if you ask me to judge her with grades as we do in China, I answer that this is impossible, there are no grades for Chiang Ching, Chiang Ching is a thousand times a thousand below zero." As Mao said, it's a good thing to be hated by your enemy, and to be so despised by an arch-revisionist like Deng is excellent testimony to Chiang Ching's proletarian revolutionary stand.

The Four's firm stand was confirmed again in a recent *Christian Science Monitor* article which revealed that the revisionists went through a dry run of the trial to make sure all the tracks on the railroad were laid in the right place. But Chiang Ching freaked them out, insisting the Four had acted on Mao's instructions, and displaying a remarkably keen memory for dates and details, events and conversations—undoubtedly highly embarrassing to these revisionists. Others said to have backed up her firm stand although constant rumors have been flying around within the past year that one or another of the Four had confessed to their "crimes." These have been spread to confuse and demoralize people, so we have no use for them. Even if any of the Four do cave in it could only mean completely repudiating everything they—and Mao—ever stood for, and everything the class conscious proletariat internationally honors them for. And this revolutionary line will shine brilliantly, independent of any individual. But exactly because of this revolutionary line which they have fought for it seems unlikely that the Four will capitulate. Why else must the revisionists hold the trial behind closed doors, with only a few "select" representatives under the pretext of guarding "state secrets"?

The questions of how to deal with Mao Tsetung, and as a key part of this, how to settle the question of the Four, has been the focus of infighting within the revisionist clique. Hua Guofeng, whose legitimacy for being party chairman (he was stripped of his premiership last month) depends to a great degree on the bogus claim of being Mao's chosen successor, wants to portray Mao as being hoodwinked by the Four into permitting them to have so much power. It is in his best interests to keep the question of Mao's "responsibility" in the background. Deng, on the other

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Statement of Support For The UN 2

I first heard of Glenn Gan and Steven Yip while watching the news one night on t.v. It was the same old garbage about somebody's hostages somewhere, the continuing ruination of the economy, some one-dimensional candidate for something. I was nodding out. Then I was jolted awake by the story of the U.N. 2. The obvious horror-mixed-with-disgust look of the newscaster couldn't disguise the fact that these two young men have performed a daring and powerful act of political expression. Letting their actions speak for their consciences. It wasn't just the bravery of their act which impressed me though. Here were people willing to ignore the pabulum of lesser issues spoonfed to the public, and strike directly at the only real issue of our times, the impending end of the planet earth. By targetting the U.S. and U.S.S.R. ambassadors of the U.N., Gan and Yip painted out the hypocrisy of these two superpower mouthpieces and in fact the role played by the U.N. itself in sedating the people of the world into believing that the self-serving conscienceless rulers of the imperialist powers have layed aside their greed in the name of peace and brotherhood. Nothing could be further from the truth. As each successive confrontation brings the world closer to World War III, it seems to me that we cannot afford to ignore the lessons of history any longer. Whenever they have had the means of support and a handy excuse, the powerful have never hesitated to plunge the world into orgies of destruction not previously thought possible. If we don't support the message given to us by the U.N. 2 today, we may not have a tomorrow in which to change our minds.

Down with U.S.-Soviet War Moves!
FREE THE U.N. 2!

A history Student, Tampa

HE UN 2!!



Glenn Gan (left) speaking at USF (University of South Florida), on the nationwide tour of the UN 2.

VILE MANEUVER

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hand, while still making a distinction between the "political mistakes" of Mao and the "crimes" of the Four, makes it clear that "it was Chairman Mao who permitted Lin Biao and the Gang of Four to exploit his political errors to usurp power." (Interview with Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci, August 1980.)

The trial seems to be a compromise between the Deng and Hua forces. The revisionists are still making a hypocritical pretense of upholding Mao to some extent, as one of the charges is an attempted murder of Mao. As Deng tells Fallaci in the interview, "The crimes committed by them (the Four—RW) are so many and so evident that we do not need to implicate Chairman Mao to prove them." A front page editorial in the September 30 *People's Daily* makes it a point to say the question of the Four "is of a distinctly different character from the mistakes made by our Party; it is also of a distinctly different character from the mistakes any of the comrades made in their work (by trying Lin Biao, Chiang Ching & Co. only for their crimes, and not touching on mistakes in the work, we can more fully expose their counter-revolutionary features)."

Obviously, "the mistakes made by our Party" refers to the role of certain forces within the present regime, like Hua and those associated with Zhou, who went along to a certain extent or at least did not actively oppose Mao and the Four's struggle against the Liu-Deng headquarters in the Cultural Revolution. Deng seems to have figured that to enlarge the scope of the trial beyond the "crimes" of the Four would meet too much resistance at this time from these forces. Although there was a large-scale purge after the revisionist coup, over half of the present party membership was recruited during the Cultural Revolution, and many still in top leadership belong in the category of the Hua and Zhou forces. By making a distinction between the Four's "crimes" and "mistakes made by comrades in their work," Deng is assuring them: "Don't worry, you won't be brought under attack—for now. After all, we all have a common interest in sealing the fate of the Four, so let's get together over this trial." But at the same time, preparations are being made for further blasts at the Hua and Zhou forces. Recent articles in the *People's Daily* have attacked the "feudal" and "autocratic" method of choosing successors, and there is speculation that Hua will soon be stripped of his party chairmanship. There have also been recent

reports of a widespread campaign to criticize Zhou Enlai for being too close to the Four.

The trial of the Four is a stepping stone to more open political attacks on Mao and his line. But even from this distorted viewpoint, the revisionists can see that the roots of Mao's legacy have spread deep and wide and will not be easy to dig out. In every step of their life-and-death struggle with the bourgeoisie, Mao and the Four's strength lay not in having control of the bureaucracy and barking orders; their strength was in their revolutionary ideological and political line and in leading the masses in grasping and carrying out this correct line in the class struggle. The effect of this orientation of the Four is still evident today, four years after their arrest. As Hu Qiaomu (Hu Chiao-mu), one of the top revisionist chieftains, warned earlier this year, "The ten-year history of the Cultural Revolution gave us an extremely painful lesson. But it seems this lesson was still not enough for a section of the comrades, certain people in society, and the youth. Some even think they should negate everything like they did in the Cultural Revolution, form a variety of factions, and continue activities to oppose the Party leadership. Among these people, foremost are the various remnants of the 'gang of four,' and in certain areas they are a significant force in endangering unity and stability." Hu said there are also people who are "not remnants of the 'gang of four' but in reality they put forward 'continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.' Although their numbers are small, their effect can not be considered small, and they are an important ideological trend in creating instability and disunity."

Because of the real crisis they are trapped in, the legacy of Mao and the Four poses a real problem for these revisionists. Their puffed-up dream of "catching up to the West" economically has been shattered by the realities of imperialism, and their hopes of a "peaceful international situation" to give them time to consolidate capitalism are being overshadowed by the looming threat of world war. Squabbling among the revisionists over the best way to deal with the situation is heating up to a boiling point. In this situation, the revisionists are forced to try the Four and step up attacks on Mao's line in order to consolidate their rule. But at the same time, this poses real dangers for them, as they increasingly expose their real nature to millions in China as well as internationally who look to Mao and the Four for leadership in making revolution.

IRAN

Continued from page 12

and the somewhat less than one million per day they were losing from Iran.

Recently the U.S. imperialist allies in France committed themselves to honor a \$1.6 billion arms agreement they had with Iraq, involving the sale of 60 Mirage F-1 jet fighters, tanks, anti-tank weapons, radar, guided missiles, and patrol boats. These weapons are designed to help Iraq diversify its sources of military supplies and lessen its dependence on the Soviet Union for its arms.

U.S. Direct Action

The U.S. government also moved on several fronts to take a direct hand in the fighting, although they still tried to hide this behind a smokescreen of non-interference. After sending 4 AWACS planes to Saudi Arabia last week—supposedly because of Saudi fear of an Iranian attack—the U.S. this week sent additional radar equipment and another 100 military personnel to Saudi Arabia for permanent installation there.

Along with the planes and equipment came General David Jones, the U.S. Army Chief of Staff, and on this past Tuesday the Pentagon sent a special 20 man technical team to Saudi Arabia to study ways of "improving the effectiveness of its air defense warning network."

And perhaps most significantly, the U.S. also announced that it would extend AWACS "protection" to Oman, Kuwait, and the United Arab Emirates—or any other states in the area who "believed they were threatened by Iranian attacks." Of course this was all supposed to be on the condition that these countries remained strictly neutral in the war.

The stationing of AWACS planes in itself is direct U.S. involvement in the war on the side of Iraq, and a component part of their latest offensive against Iran. For one thing, the AWACS planes will guard the Iraqi bombers and transport planes, since these planes have been stationed in precisely those countries that are being offered protection. These bombers are an important part of Iraq's strategy as they are being held back for later use in the war, when they hope Iran's air force will be depleted. This is also an obvious provocation against Iran.

Secondly these radar and communications planes can be used to detect and warn the Iraqis of the Iranian air attacks that have taken a significant toll on Iraq so far. AWACS have a range of detection of between 250 and 350 miles, so even from inside

the Saudi border, their coverage would extend throughout the area of heaviest fighting in southwestern Iran. These flying command posts could also be used to coordinate air and ground attacks by Iraq, something that bourgeois military experts contend is both difficult and vital to Iraq's success.

Ever since the fall of the Shah of Iran in 1979, the U.S. imperialists have greatly stepped up their shipment of arms supplies to their allies in the Middle East (which now account for 89% of all U.S. arms sales), and their direct military presence in the area. These efforts have expanded dramatically during the recent war.

Just outside the entrance to the Persian Gulf in the Indian Ocean, Western bloc forces total two U.S. aircraft carriers, with 170 airplanes which are armed with nuclear weapons; 28 other war ships; 3 Australian destroyers; 5 French ships; one British guided-missile destroyer; some 1800 U.S. marines; and 7 logistics ships loaded with enough materials and supplies to outfit 12,000 more marines. These forces will soon be joined by the Australian carrier *Melbourne*. Open talk of a joint Western naval force in the Gulf is still underway.

The U.S. has recently sent AWACS planes to Egypt, and just announced that it will send a squadron of Air Force A-7 attack planes, along with 1400 GIs, as part of the Rapid Deployment Force exercises in Egypt next month. Most importantly, all this is part of an effort by the U.S. to "pre-position" their forces, for a world war showdown with the Soviet Union.

This massive U.S. military buildup in the Middle East has been justified by a true exercise in gangster logic. The U.S. client-states, and the U.S. itself through the introduction of AWACS, have taken a side in the war, and directly provoked Iran. Yet any Iranian attacks against these Iraqi bombers would be immediately denounced by the U.S. as "aggression," and "intervention." In fact the U.S. hasn't missed an opportunity to warn about the "unpredictable Iranians," and the danger of them attacking "neutral states."

Secretary of Defense Harold Brown publicly stated that American naval forces would "defend" the AWACS planes in Saudi Arabia, and spokesmen for the Department of State said that the U.S. "will defend our vital interests in the Persian Gulf region." The placing of American military equipment and personnel in the rear areas of the war, as well as these official pronouncements, serve a number of functions. For one thing they are designed to intimidate the Iranian people into submission, and to warn the Soviets to

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Relying on the Masses

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more significant—more true, more real, if you will—than the more numerous other cases because it more deeply corresponded to the future, to the place where life was and the direction it was heading.

The movement in China to create people's communes in the countryside, in which peasants took the initiative to more highly socialize the land, pool labor to undertake new projects and begin to develop industry in the backward Chinese countryside—and in the course of which social relations among peasants, between workers and peasants, and between men and women were radically transformed—this too was begun on the "conscious and voluntary initiative" of the masses, and this too had to be analyzed, synthesized and fought for by genuine communists, most especially Mao Tsetung.

And what of today, in this country? Haven't we seen such examples, on an admittedly smaller but nevertheless still significant scale, not only generally but specifically in the current campaign around the *RW*? What of the unemployed worker who tapes the main articles in the *RW* for a circle of some more or less illiterate comrades? What of the workers and others who've come forward in more than one city during the current campaign to outsell everyone in their very first week or two of sales? The spontaneous "makings" of networks and circles already existing among the masses? Or the incidents like the one in one town on July 4, where regular network members on their own made a banner and took stacks of *RW*'s to a military patriotic parade, disrupted it, got out scores of newspapers, and were freed from arrest by the masses?

Plainly, to once again refer to Comrade Avakian's speech to the volunteers:

"...if we think that it's all one-way, that we have all the knowledge, that we know everything that has to be known and our job is simply to go out, grab the masses and forcibly restrain them all so that we can tell them what has to be done, then we're never going to be able to do what has to be done. Somebody else is going to have to do it, and we're going to have to learn the hard way that this is not what revolution is all about, this is not what raising the masses' consciousness is; that there is a store of knowledge, out among the masses of people, and a lot of them know a lot more things about this system better than a lot of us do."

Raise Consciousness to Unleash the Masses

Is this then a brief for tailing the spontaneous activity of the masses? No, for there's been far too much of that in the revolutionary movement and that too will not enable us "to do what has to be done."

To refer back briefly to the example of the soviets, had the Bolsheviks adopted the attitude and political line of merely tailing the soviets, of not attempting to transform them into instruments of proletarian dictatorship by the class-conscious masses, especially workers, had they merely followed in the wake of the spontaneous direction of the Soviets—then these excellent creations would have either dissolved or become mere screens for a counter-revolutionary regime. This was a real danger, prevented only by the dialectical approach of the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin.

Revolution depends on the conscious activism of the masses. Unless the advanced section of the masses is armed to consciously grasp the tasks at hand from the standpoint of making revolution, then nothing of much lasting significance can really be done.

And who is to arm the masses with this conscious understanding—who is to analyze and dig deeply into the activity, sentiments and ideas of the masses to synthesize what is correct and corresponds to advancing the proletarian cause—who if not the Party, which bases itself on and applies the science of

Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought? The inexhaustible struggle and questioning and creation of the masses linked to the revolutionary theory and line of the vanguard—this is a unity of opposites which is constantly interpenetrating and which communists must base themselves on, striving to transform each aspect into its opposite on ever higher levels. Within this unity of opposites the activity and struggle of the masses is overall principal—but the line of the Party plays a dynamic and initiating role in pushing forward the whole process and at certain times does itself become principal.

Mao in particular wrote extensively on this question.

"However active the leading group may be," he wrote in "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership," "its activity will amount to fruitless effort by a handful of people unless combined with the activity of the masses. On the other hand, if the masses alone are active without a strong leading group to organize their activity properly, such activity cannot be sustained for long, or carried forward in the right direction, or raised to a high level."

It is precisely because of this relationship between the party and the masses, because the party must mobilize the masses by raising their political consciousness and relying on them, that our Party puts central emphasis on our newspaper as our main weapon today. Because they are based on the masses' conscious, dynamic role, the kinds of links between the Party and the masses forged by the newspaper are all the more solid, and the organization developed on the basis of this paper will be all the more indestructible, more able to go quickly on the offensive, in short, more revolutionary.

In the political economy chapter of *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions*, Comrade Avakian shows how the whole spiraling development of Mao's thinking and practice on the question of political economy illustrated that fostering the conscious activism of the masses is not at all a secondary question but is essential, central to actually carrying through the critical tasks at any juncture of the class struggle. It was—and is—never just a cut-and-dried matter of organizing the masses to do the obvious, of unleashing people's just haired alone and then "pointing them in the right direction." Diversion of the spontaneous movement is a principle with universal applicability. All the economic campaigns carried out under Mao's leadership were full of complex contradictions and would have been impossible without rousing and unleashing the masses' activity by going deeply into the questions involved and relying on them to consciously understand the political basis for any given campaign.

For example, let's look at the agrarian policies during the anti-Japanese war. The invasion of China by Japan made it both possible and necessary to broaden the united front to include not only sections of the national bourgeoisie but even sections of the comprador bourgeoisie and some feudal landlords. The policy of the Chinese party in this case was to convince the masses of the correctness of the strategy of the united front against Japan, and on that basis to mobilize them on to carry out every policy—not only the policies of armed struggle against the Japanese armies and the military defense of the base areas, but also the necessary adjustments in the class struggle such as holding back on the confiscation of land from landlords who were in the united front, while at the same time unleashing the masses to carry out a quite vigorous rent-reduction campaign. Any tendency to not go deeply into the new policy, including the conditions calling for it, what it was intended to accomplish, and on what basis it might or could change, would not have been just a minor error or oversight, but might have done major damage, either through tailing the spontaneous tendency of the poor peasantry, once activated, to grab up everything and thus drive away possible allies, or else, through damping down any struggle at all against the landlords, pour cold water on and thereby sup-

press the initiative of the main fighting force in the struggle, the peasantry.

To take just one more example from revolutionary China—the successful construction in Shanghai in the early 1970's of the 10,000-ton freighter *Fengguang*, built in a 3,000-ton drydock. This unprecedented achievement could not have been done by browbeaten workers watching the clock, but only by conscious proletarians in a socialist society who had been won to understand the political terms of the struggle involved in building the *Fengguang*—that is, whether China would race from behind and rely on its own efforts to build its ship-building industry to top levels, or whether instead it would capitulate to imperialism's oppressive international division of labor and become a semi-colonial vassal dependent upon one or another superpower for its vital industrial needs. Moreover, the advanced core among these workers grasped well that the struggle over this question raged high in the top levels of the Party, and that every hammerstroke was a blow against the capitalist-roaders in authority. And not only was it necessary to arm the workers with a political understanding of the necessity to break precedent and build this ship, but in the course of it, it was also necessary to wage struggle to transform the division of labor and relations between workers in such a way so as to fully bring into play the initiative of the masses. And despite the later defeat of the proletariat in China, the lessons accumulated in its unprecedented struggle retain their value and applicability.

These examples, of course, focus on the sphere of production. But there are even more far-reaching and profound examples, especially from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, in which the conscious activism of the advanced not only transformed certain important spheres of the superstructure like education and art, but made the difference as to whether the proletariat was able to win out at all in the Cultural Revolution, keep its grip on state power and continue to advance. The earlier examples, however, serve especially to bring out the content of the principle of "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production"—a principle with particular relevance to a campaign to boost sales of the *RW*.

Destruction Precedes and Accompanies Construction

This Marxist-Leninist principle of relying on the masses must be applied to the storming of new positions on the circulation front. Not only are there hundreds of thousands of advanced workers whom people "bump into every day and don't recognize", as Comrade Avakian put it in a recent article, but there are in fact right now many scores and hundreds of activists who are influenced by and around our Party and who must be won to take up the campaign in a much more thoroughgoing way. Relying on and fully unleashing these fighters along with other fresh runners coming forward daily and literally hourly is decisive.

Comrade Avakian's "Opening Talk" at the 1979 Central Committee meeting spoke to the orientation that comrades must have towards the "fresh runners" increasingly inspired to come forward by the Party's revolutionary line:

"What do we say to people—and there are such people—who say 'listen, god-damn it, I've wanted to make revolution for 45 years, and I can't wait another day'? Do we tell them, 'look, if you're really serious about that you've got to take this paper out and not only sell it to one hundred people every week, or five hundred people, but you've also got to get at least 20 of those people to distribute it every week to at least 20 more'? Do we really see it that way, or is it just 'hey, that's really great, here's somebody who agrees with us'?"

Winning the advanced masses to sell 100 or 500 a week and set up networks besides—and that is no pipe dream, there are those today doing that—this is dialectically related to something else emphasized in that important opening talk, that:

"...these people (the advanced) are going to put us to the test—what about this and this, and are you really serious? And so are the intermediate and the backward among the masses, in a different way—they're gonna jump in your shit all the time about every question going down. You're going to have to really read the *Revolutionary Worker*, you're gonna have to study *Revolution* and *The Communist*, you're gonna have to struggle ideologically and deal with questions coming up from all different sections of the masses."

To put it another way, uniting with and relying on the masses to carry out the tasks demanded of the class-conscious proletariat is a unity of opposites with struggling with the masses politically and ideologically, and here again it's necessary to emphasize that those we are referring to not only "can't wait another day" but also, as Comrade Avakian pointed out in "Crucial Questions In Coming From Behind", "have many profound political questions...much and varied political experience and have been exposed to many different political lines and tendencies, and...precisely require—and often directly demand—serious answers to profound political questions..."

History proves that this can be done. The Bolsheviks did it, so did the Chinese Party under Mao, and so too shall we (and have, in fact, done so at every chasm we've faced, though the leaps looming ahead now are qualitatively greater). But we are not constructing this on virgin land—there are incorrect political lines and ideological orientations carrying the weight of long years of revisionist tradition in the communist movement, as well as the pragmatism that emanates from every pore of American society.

"To organize the strength of the masses is one policy," wrote Mao. "Is there a contrary policy? Yes there is. It is one that lacks the mass viewpoint, fails to rely on the masses or organize them and gives exclusive attention to organizing (a) small number of people..."

One source of this "contrary policy" today is plain old Yankee pragmatism—that it's easier in the short run, or rather seems so, to do a given task by yourself than it is to politically struggle with, arm and unleash others. Even in quiet times such an attitude is no good—but now, when there are ten thousand deeds demanding to be done and ten thousand forces that can and must be brought forward to do them, this orientation will land you in a morass.

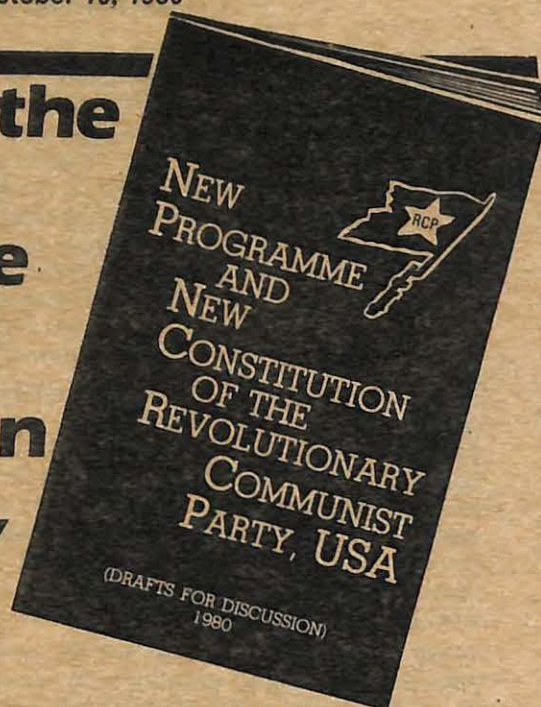
Another source lies in revisionist lines and tendencies in the international communist movement dating back many years. Discussing the role of Stalin, Chairman Avakian made the point in *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions* that during the struggles within the Soviet Union in the 1920's Stalin was more or less compelled to wage struggle to win over the masses in the course of sharp and complex two-line struggle, and to apply dialectics in doing so.

"Later, however, when the Soviet Union had become more powerful and Stalin's leadership was generally acknowledged and his prestige great, Stalin, while remaining a great revolutionary leader of the working class, did not as consistently and thoroughly rely on the masses and was not as consistently or thoroughly dialectical in his approach to problems. As Mao commented later, 'At that time (the 1920s) Stalin had nothing else to rely on except the masses, so he demanded all-out mobilization of the party and the masses. Afterward, when they had realized some gains this way, they became less reliant on the masses.'"

This deviation of Stalin's was picked up on, persisted in and immeasurably "deepened" by forces in the international communist movement of the time, though their material basis for refusing to rely on the masses was not the complacency following success in the struggle, but on the one hand fear and panic in the face of oncoming war and the other in many cases the philistinism spawned by living in an advanced im-

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ing wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own* country and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, *and only this*, line, in every country without exception."

Especially in this light, the overall thrust of the Programme and emphasis in this particular section, on the enormous contribution to be made to the world's peoples by overthrowing the U.S. imperialists in this country, is extremely important. It goes up against a heavy tradition of "second string" mentality that for a long time has relegated revolutionaries in this country to cheerleader status to the world's peoples' revolutionary struggle—all the while holding back from confronting the necessity to make revolution here as the greatest contribution to that struggle. And it is more than just a "better idea", it conforms to the real possibilities ahead, the sweeping and profound changes wrought by a declining U.S. imperialism.

But in preparing for revolution in this country, we must correctly grasp the interpenetration between that struggle and the international struggle. For instance, isn't there a tendency still to view the "blows from without" against the U.S. empire simply in respect to the material damage this causes the imperialists? And that the main effect this has on the U.S. workers is a material worsening of their situation, as a weakened imperialism can no longer so easily dole out crumbs to pacify large sections of the industrial proletariat. There is truth to this, although by itself it could tend to downplay the aspect of a moribund U.S. imperialist economy increasingly choking on its own contradictions. But even more importantly, to reduce—in the main—the question of revolutionary struggles against imperialism simply to the economic effects this has on the internal U.S. situation is false and can only strengthen economism. These liberation struggles "telegraph" more than material damage back upon the U.S. imperialists, they "telegraph" inspiration and challenge back to the masses. This is true even when most people in the U.S. receive their information of these things through the imperialist media; it becomes much more profound and powerful through the agitation and propaganda of the Party and its press—with growing international ties, with a growing international network representing and international class conscious proletarian minority linked to a common cause and struggle.

Actually, this is spoken to *somewhat* on p. 18 of the Programme—"In all these events the embryo of a revolutionary crisis can be discerned... When millions of people are suddenly engaged in active debate about world affairs, whether around Iran, Afghanistan or some other event, when they are urgently seeking answers to fundamental questions and open to new ideas even while still under the sway of the old, backward ones propagated by the bourgeoisie, here, too, is a taste of the future when the 'normal routine' of life will be disrupted throughout society by political debate and struggle and the even more urgent search for answers and solutions, not only in theory but in practice."

But the placement of this statement in the Programme, listing it as but one example of the "minor political shocks that jolt society and awaken growing numbers to political life" (p. 17) hardly places proper emphasis, nor does it really suggest the role of the Party and of the class conscious workers in upholding the banner of proletarian internationalism in such situations, educating, training the masses in an internationalist spirit throughout.

This problem is to be found on pp. 8-9, where we speak to the fact that as the decisive hour grows closer, two camps within the working class, representing two roads, will be increasingly shaping up and facing off: "those, a privileged aristocratic minority, who cling to the bribes imperialism affords them and fight to keep U.S. imperialism supreme in order to ensure the bloodsoaked spoils; and those, representing the great majority, who lead the masses in fighting for their real interests—to forge a revolutionary way forward out of this outmoded and barbarous system." Can one speak of "real interests" here—especially when posed in contradistinction to a privileged aristocratic minority who retain a certain "class-consciousness" concerning their unity with imperialism—without speaking to proletarian internationalism? The two roads will not only become more sharply posed internally in this country, but alongside this and interpenetrating with it, will be struggles against imperialism in other countries, which will, in varying degrees, also etch out in sharp relief that road which represents the future. It is inconceivable to speak of the role of the class conscious section of workers without mention of the struggle to forge this class conscious detachment as part of the international proletarian struggle. While this concept is far from absent in the Draft Programme, it remains insufficiently developed.

It is insufficiently developed in the section "Proletarian Revolution Requires The Armed Seizure of Power and Continuing Struggle by the Masses to Overthrow and Finally Eliminate the Capitalist System, the Bourgeoisie and All Class Distinctions," pp. 10-19. Here, I think the Draft Programme speaks well to the contradiction between the forces of production and the relations/mode of production, and why the proletariat must lead in the overthrow of the bourgeois order. However, it is rather weak on the question of imperialism. While imperialism hasn't changed the basic relations of capitalism—imperialism is, after all, monopoly capitalism at its highest, most parasitic stage—these relations have been extended on an international scale. Just as, for example, the proletariat occupies the bottom rung on society's division of labor, the underdeveloped nations occupy that rung on a world wide scale. As Marx said, the division of labor under capitalism turns men into freaks (a one-sided development of their qualities relative to their relationship to production). What could be more freakish than a national economy based on a monstrous dependence on sugar production?—or coffee and bananas, or opium, or gold and diamond mines? True, there's some diversification in imperialist investment; for that matter most workers in this country, chained to machinery for a livelihood, know how to read—the essential features, however, remain.

This whole imperialist order is beset with incredible contradictions—fundamentally the masses will always rebel against big shots, and the 2 super-powers make for the two fattest targets in history. Further, the top dog position of the U.S. was only fully made possible through the U.S. imperialists reconstructing a part of the post World War 2 world, shoring up German, British, Japanese, French, etc. strength, helping them to stabilize so as to more effectively act as

an international bulwark of reaction, and at the same time seize upon this stabilization as a manifest opportunity to penetrate—economically, politically, militarily—these countries along with their respective imperialist holdings. But this couldn't last forever—in a game where private self interest determines the destiny of international relations and one advances by eating up the competition—even the relations between these countries—united as they are through a thousand interlocking economic and financial ties—are marked by instability and dog-eat-dog competition. The system of imperialism has made an incredible mess of the world—from mass starvation and impoverishment, to transforming much of the world into a great armed camp capable of destroying the world many times over, to being totally incapable of rationally allocating the world's resources, to not being able to stage international athletic events without turning them into naked displays of great power chauvinism—all this and more marks the imperialist system for extinction. If I have failed in being fully scientific in my description here, I wish more to impart a sense of things, a sense that many people in this country have. They see that it's just not this country and their small part of it that's fucked up, it's the state of the world that seems increasingly dismal. The position of the proletariat, representing the future amidst the decay and rot of imperialism, stands out in sharp relief not only within any particular country, but in relation to the world itself. No other class can be consistent in its internationalism, no other class is capable of constructing a world wherein the words "equality" and "fraternity" are much more than the cruel hoax perpetrated by the bourgeoisie today.

Much of this, of course, is spelled out brilliantly in the section on International Relations, pp. 56-57. My purpose here on the one hand is to emphasize to your readers the importance of this section—it is much more than just "another point" in the Programme. (In fact in my own experience, it has provided the single most compelling answer to the question "What difference will 'you guys' make after a revolution?") But more than that, I suggest that the Programme be more consistent from the git in placing the revolutionary struggle in this country within an international context—a context that includes not only the material weakening of the U.S. imperialists, but one which presents great opportunities to revolutionaries the world over. The Constitution is much better in this regard. This does raise the question, among others, as to what is the relationship between the Programme and Constitution. If one wanted to make the argument that the Constitution establishes the overall orientation and speaks to general principles, with the Programme fleshing out in sharper relief the application of these principles, there still is a contradiction. It would be better if the Constitution was placed before the Programme. Still the Programme needs to be strengthened as indicated above; left as is, it tends to suggest a "tilt" that runs counter to the overall correct orientation of both Programme and Constitution. Surely one of the most significant factors revolutionaries have in this country in "coming from behind to make revolution" is the existence of this international revolutionary struggle. The history of past revolutionary periods (that of World War I and the Bolshevik Revolution is an outstanding example) suggests a complex and profound interpenetration between the revolutionary movements and Parties in many countries. As stated in the July issue of *Revolution*, in the article, "The International Unity of the Proletariat: What it is and How to Fight for It", "Although the proletarian revolution takes place country by country, since it means the overthrow of bourgeois governments, and develops unevenly from country to country, still, taken as a historical process, the proletarian revolution is most definitely international, with both its victories and defeats marking the development of a worldwide war between the old order and the new which will go on until capitalism and its remnants have been eliminated entirely—which will mean the complete disappearance of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and consequently of the state as well. Such development—from one epoch of world history to the next—is necessarily long and complex. The Paris Commune, the October Revolution in Russia, the revolution in China—especially the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution—were each new and higher points in the tortuous, spiral-like process of world revolution, and each in turn had a tremendous impact in raising the level of the whole movement everywhere." The 1980's are a period that scream out for and demand, and likely will produce, a new and higher point in the tortuous, spiral-like process of world revolution. And it is from *this* viewpoint, and not the other way around, that we must view the possibilities for revolution in this country, and make all due preparations.

A reader

On Agriculture:

From the *New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, USA* (Drafts for Discussion 1980) I would like to speak to the section, *The Proletariat, Upon Seizing Power, Will Immediately Take Up the Transformation of Society*. In the subsection on economy the program says "agriculture is the foundation of any economy" and that, "The main criterion of the proletariat in determining friends and enemies among the farmers and uniting with the former to oppose and defeat the latter, will not be the size of farm, (though that will be taken into account to some degree) but whether or not and to what degree they exploit wage labor. Some large farms, for example in grain, are worked entirely or overwhelmingly by their owner-operators (including the family), who may hire only a very small number of workers; on the other hand, some smaller farms, for example in fruits and vegetables, employ significant numbers of wage laborers and many even depend mainly on these farmworkers for production. In general, those farmers who exploit little or no labor, on small, medium, or even large-sized farms, will be united with; those who exploit a large amount of labor, and especially those who depend largely on this, will be the target of the revolution, even though their farm may be smaller than some of those with whom the proletariat seeks to unite." (pp. 49-50) I think that this formulation is too simplistic and doesn't take into account the distortion and the fettering affect that capitalism has had on the development of agriculture in this country, both in the development and use of technology as well as the development of different strains of crops (developing crops that are more adapted to more advanced ways of harvesting, i.e., being able to harvest with machinery).

A lot of the farmers that are now being squeezed right out of farming by "the big capitalists... (who) have 'surrounded' the small farmer by controlling the input and output sectors," (p. 48) are the ones that the programme later says will be the target of revolution. Agriculture has been affected by capitalism and many of these farmers are victims as well.

Now, in this country we have the ability to introduce technology both in farm machinery, safe pesticides and sprays, and stronger and more developed strains of crops in many areas of agriculture, that could alleviate if not almost completely eliminate a great deal of manual farm labor. An example of this is beans—15 years ago most beans were grown as pole beans that took manual labor to string, maintain, and harvest. That is, until it was more profitable to introduce bush-beans—beans that are grown on bushes and harvested with huge combines eliminating hundreds of jobs. But this was done only when it became "profitable." Those that had the money to invest in this new strain of bean and had the money to invest in the new machinery moved right into a more mechanized way of farming beans, those that didn't, eventually either went to a different crop or gradually fell away into the dust of this more "advanced technology." So what's the point? The point is that agriculture and its development has been distorted and it shows up in what crops are now being harvested manually and those that are now harvested mainly by machinery. Why should big business invest in building machines to harvest berries when it's more profitable right now to be building combines or what have you?

One night I was watching TV and there were these advertisements by General Electric that were called "200 Years of Progress for People." They had

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one advertisement that showed that right now the imperialists have developed the ability of raising tomatoes in an enclosed building on one acre of land and produce a superior quality of vegetable, as well as ten times the quantity, as it presently takes on ten times the amount of land under natural conditions. Yes, under the hand of capitalism you could say that nature has been conquered but for what reason? To sit in the experimental labs of the big bankers until it becomes "profitable."

The point is that I don't think that who our friends and enemies are among farmers can be based simply on who exploits the most labor in the fields but also has to be based on whether or not these farmers are willing and united with the proletariat to implement and use the existing technology, etc. and work to develop even more to transform agriculture after the seizure of power. I think that nationalization of land is what the farmworkers should concentrate on developing, especially the land that is now controlled by huge agribusiness and through joint effort and policies between the farmers move to eliminate the exploitation of labor altogether.

I think the program needs to address the fact that many farmers in this country have broader experience with U.S. imperialism than just the fact that they have been squeezed and no longer have any illusions of economic security (like those whose families will be torn by war, etc.) and have higher aspirations than a four-wheel drive and meat and potatoes for dinner. I grew up on a farm and in a middle-America farm community, and I certainly recognize the "me-first" ideology that the capitalist law of expand or die promotes. But, I've also seen farmers being driven by other forces as well—a deep desire to conquer nature and the pride of being a part of feeding the people of the world. When they see their crops wiped out by the forces of nature or the forces of imperialism while they know that millions worldwide go without, the anarchy of this system becomes stark. I think that under socialism many of these people will and can be won over to being led by the proletariat and its Party to transform the agricultural base in this country.

A second but important aspect that is related to the question of who are our friends and who are our enemies among farmers is the national question. One of my grandfathers was Native American, and my other grandfather is Filipino, both are the type of farmer that the programme would target as the enemy of the revolution because the kind of farming they do requires the exploitation of labor. I think that both are also potential allies.

Here again there's another contradiction with Imperialism. One has memories of World War II and Japanese internment camps that meant for every "foreign" (i.e., not white) face mistrust and discrimination. And for some losing their land as they were forced into these concentration camps. The other has the history of hundreds of years of having his heritage robbed from him as well as land. They both are small farmers that can't afford new machinery that eliminates manual labor and don't have field servicemen from universities coming out to their farms experimenting to improve their crops. They are the ones that join with other Mexican workers in the warehouses in the winter to bring in enough to get another crop into the ground come spring. These are the small farmers with more contradictions than just "getting squeezed by U.S. imperialism" as farmers and I think that there are many in this country. Especially those that are driven from lands like the Philippines at fifteen to be driven from U.S. soil at seventy.

I think that the question of the "important first step in overcoming the division between agriculture and industry and the urban and rural areas, the proletariat will further develop industry in the rural areas in order to help link together agriculture and industry in those areas, and to link together agriculture in those areas, and to link together the working people in both spheres" is complex. I also think that this section can be strengthened by also speaking to utilizing the links between education and the industry and agriculture. It would seem with the seizure of power the universities which are now serving the bourgeoisie and their profit-seeking ventures in developing agriculture would also be a force unleashed to serve the proletariat in socializing agriculture under the close leadership of the proletariat, both the industrial proletariat and the millions of farmworkers.

A reader

Dear RW,

The letter to the RW on nuclear weapons (Vol. 2, No. 7) promotes a pacifist and erroneous line. The heart of the letter's argument is contained in the first paragraph when it states that there is a "qualitative" difference between nuclear weapons and other types of weapons. What can this be taken to mean except that, in the contradiction between people and weapons, as to which is decisive in determining the outcome of war, the principal aspect is not people, but weapons with the presence of this new weapon.

Also, the line of this letter, despite its "humanitarian" concern for human life, would have the proletarian state all but send invitations to the bourgeoisie to plunge society backward into capitalist enslavement once more.

Of course, the bourgeoisie has long promoted the view that weapons determine the outcome of war—they have the most and the biggest weapons.

From the club and gun of the pig to their nuclear weapons, the bourgeoisie makes it crystal clear that there is an arsenal of monstrous proportions at their disposal which they have no hesitation in using to enforce their rule. And the political message behind this is equally clear—to tell the masses that it is pointless and suicidal to resist their rule. The response of Marxists is not to be more "humane" than the imperialists, not to throw the masses at the bourgeoisie's tender mercy, but to take up a scientific study of the laws governing warfare exactly in order to abolish forever the system that gives rise to this and countless other outrages. And the most fundamental of these laws is that the capitalists' vast arsenal will not be the critical factor in a war of revolutionary vs. counterrevolutionary forces. Linked to this is the fact that the proletariat, while striving to and actually getting a hold of the most technically advanced weapons possible in the struggle for power, and then developing armed forces with the most advanced (including nuclear) weapons following the seizure of power, will certainly not base its ability to combat the bourgeoisie militarily on whether or not we already have all those weapons, or have a balance in our favor. That will only come about in the actual development of the insurrection, and in particular the political and physical "battle for the troops". The writer of the letter seems to think that with the mass destruction the imperialists will wreak on the population, up to and including nuclear war, communists should only strive to limit the bloodshed, rather than waging a revolutionary war in opposition to counterrevolutionary war.

We must fight the bourgeoisie with everything at our disposal. Mao once wrote, "If one cannot fight unless one has the most modern weapons, that is the same as disarming oneself". This has to be done in full recognition of the fact that the imperialists are paper tigers, that, while striving to take from them, and use against them, the weapons they use to enforce their dictatorship, we will be able to do that because they are a deathbound class whose ability to rule will be increasingly strained as the very forces they've trained to wield those weapons are disintegrated by the class conscious proletariat, and many, bringing their weapons with them, won to the side of revolution. And mainly this is done in

recognition of another truth expounded by Mao, namely that "the so-called theory that 'weapons decide everything' constitutes a mechanical approach to the question of war and a subjective and one-sided view. Our view is opposed to this; we see not only weapons but also people. Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive."

The letter states, "Thus, nukes or no nukes, they (imperialist nations) will be forced to try and destroy socialist countries". This is not only generally true, but has particular weight considering the analysis of the last Central Committee report, that this spiral from imperialist war to imperialist war can emerge as an advance for the international proletariat, despite the loss of 2 formerly socialist countries, if there is a successful seizure of power in a country like this one. The remaining imperialists, being that much closer to their final extinction, will be all the more driven to desperate attempts to reconquer their "lost territory".

The response of the proletariat to this has to be to rely on the masses to build a Red Army, and people's militias, led by the Party, while at the same time developing the most advanced technology possible in modern weapons. In the event of war, the proletariat's response can't be to hinge everything internationally on defense of a socialist country, but we certainly don't relinquish power because of a general, abstract desire to avoid bloodshed, "making uninhabitable" great stretches of land of other countries". The proletariat will not use nukes the way the imperialists do, "slaughtering half a million for each airfield lost", but especially in a country like this one, where the overthrow of the bourgeoisie will have profound international impact and be celebrated by millions world-wide the way our class celebrates, by stepping up the struggle for revolution, we don't relinquish state power to the imperialists without using every means, political and military, to maintain it as part of the world-wide advance towards communism. And a key part of this is propagating among the masses internationally why we have nuclear weapons, and that we have no intention of initiating their use, contrasting this to the phony mouthings of bourgeois hypocrites, that we have these weapons precisely as part of ridding humanity of "this monster of mutual slaughter among men" by getting rid of the class that breeds it. In times of war this means promoting internationalism, revolutionary defeatism, among the troops and the masses of the warring imperialist country. But at no time does it mean throwing class analysis out the window, laying down our arms, and hoping to discover a peace loving side to the bourgeoisie.

Underlying the entire argument in the letter, I think, is agnosticism, a terrified awe at the "uncontrollable monster that man has created". The line of the paper is basically that we cannot know how to harness nuclear energy for the advancement of humanity, through gaining an ever deeper mastery of the laws of nature, and we cannot master the laws of warfare. What alternative does the letter propose? None. In fact, it almost grudgingly says there must be violence in revolution. "I agree that the oppressed must use violence to win liberation from the oppressor—no other way will work". But why will no other way work? Because it is a law of class divided society that no ruling class steps down from power peacefully, they all have to be overthrown, the state is their apparatus for suppressing, dictating to, and ruling over other classes, and within that, as Mao says, "the army is the chief component of state power". And even more, since the letter deals with the question of the proletariat in power, an overthrown bourgeoisie will throw itself into struggle to regain its position as the ruling class with even greater ferocity than that which it ruled with.

The approach of the proletariat to nukes is fundamentally different from that of the bourgeoisie. These things (the way they're developed, stored, used, etc.) do have a class character. And the main difference is one Mao spoke to long ago when he said "our study of the laws of revolutionary war springs from the desire to eliminate all wars; herein lies the distinction between us Communists and all the exploiting classes."

I think the section on international relations, and specifically nuclear weapons, is correct as it stands.

A reader

Critique of the RCP, USA General Line

Dear RW,

I feel that the RCP is correct in upholding Mao Tse Tung's most important contribution, that of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat by launching the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. I also feel that the Party is correct in putting this in its "general line" section.

My criticism is that the "General Line" is one-sided on the question because it overemphasizes the objective situation faced by the proletariat after the revolution; i.e., that it is surrounded by hostile states, riddled with "birthmarks" of the old society in the new and its Party is in danger of becoming revisionist and supreme power usurped by the new bourgeoisie. What the "General Line" leaves out is the principal aspect of the class contradiction, the proletariat; the new superceding the old; the tremendous advance and advantage the proletariat will have when it has state power. The "General Line" puts out only the struggle of opposites and not the transformation of one into the other as can be seen in the following passage:

Thus the proletariat can only maintain and further consolidate its political power and the socialist system by continually waging struggle against the bourgeoisie, most especially this new bourgeoisie, and by repeatedly overthrowing its representatives who usurp power from the proletariat in various spheres within the socialist society. (p. 99, top paragraph)

This view does not see the upward spiral development of history as laid out at the bottom of page 100; does not put out that socialism is the first stage in the transition to communism. It sees only thesis and antithesis, not synthesis, only proletariat vs bourgeoisie, not the proletariat progressively eating up the bourgeoisie and ridding socialist society of the "birthmarks" of the old society. The ideology, or self knowledge of the proletariat is not merely knowledge and struggle against the bourgeoisie, but also knowledge of itself as a class for itself and for the historic mission of doing away with all exploitation and inequality and ultimately itself as a class. Is it merely sufficient to only say "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" a couple of times without going into what that meant for the masses of people in China and historically? No, and I quote from the RCP (Chile) as an example of what needs to be put out:

... the mission of the proletarian party is to create the conditions for the working class and the masses to become conscious and take charge in all ideological and political matters in order to make itself unnecessary as a leading party and create conditions for the withering away of the state... and not prolong the need for its existence indefinitely by monopolizing consciousness and replacing the masses. (RCP-Chile, Evaluation of Mao Tse-tung. *Revolution* 5(1), p. 18, paraphrased in part)

Furthermore, the paragraph on p. 99-100 of the "General Line" is confusing in the way it tries to link the materialist conception of history with the quartering of the bourgeoisie within the top leadership of the Party, which constitutes the main danger to the revolution; in particular I refer to where it says, "... and the contradiction between the party as the leading group and the working class and masses under its leadership is a concentrated expression of the contradictions left over from the old society". This passage makes the Party seem like the main danger, to socialism, it paints a static picture of socialism "riddled with leftover contra-

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90 YEARS

Continued from page 15

1899—*Samoa*—March 13 to May 15—To protect American interests and to take part in a bloody contention over the succession to the throne.

1899-1901—*Philippine Islands*—To protect American interests following the war with Spain, and to conquer the island by defeating the Filipinos in their war for independence.

1900—*China*—May 24 to September 28—To protect foreign lives during the Boxer rising, particularly at Peking. For many years after this experience a permanent legation guard was maintained in Peking, and was strengthened at times as trouble threatened. It was still there in 1934.

1901—*Colombia (State of Panama)*—November 20 to December 4—To protect American property on the Isthmus and to keep transit lines open during serious revolutionary disturbances.

1902—*Colombia*—April 16 to 23—To protect American lives and property at Bocas del Toro during a civil war.

1902—*Colombia (State of Panama)*—September 17 to November 18—To place armed guards on all trains crossing the Isthmus and to keep the railroad line open.

1903—*Honduras*—March 23 to 30 or 31—To protect the American consulate and the steamship wharf at Puerto Cortez during a period of revolutionary activity.

1903—*Dominican Republic*—March 30 to April 21—To protect American interests in the city of Santo Domingo during a revolutionary outbreak.

1903—*Syria*—September 7 to 12—To protect the American consulate in Beirut when a local Moslem uprising was feared.

1903-1914—*Panama*—To protect American interests and lives during and following the revolution for independence from Colombia over construction of the Isthmian Canal. With brief intermissions, United States Marines were stationed on the Isthmus from November 4, 1903 to January 21, 1914, to guard American interests.

1904—*Dominican Republic*—January 2 to February 11—To protect American interests in Puerto Plata and Sosua and Santo Domingo City during revolutionary fighting.

1904-5—*Korea*—January 5, 1904 to November 11, 1905—To guard the American Legation in Seoul.

1904—*Tangier, Morocco*—"We want either Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead." Demonstration by a squadron to force release of a kidnapped American. Marine guard landed to protect consul general.

1904—*Panama*—November 17 to 24—To protect American lives and property at Ancon at the time of a threatened insurrection.

1904-05—*Korea*—Marine guard sent to Seoul for protection during Russo-Japanese War.

1906-09—*Cuba*—September 1906 to January 23, 1909—Intervention to restore order, protect foreigners, and establish a stable government after serious revolutionary activity.

1907—*Honduras*—March 18 to June 8—To protect American interests during a war between Honduras and Nicaragua; troops were stationed for a few days or weeks in Trujillo, Ceiba, Puerto Cortez, San Pedro, Laguna, and Choloma.

1910—*Nicaragua*—February 22—During a civil war, to get information of conditions at Corinto; May 19 to September 4, to protect American interests at Bluefields.

1911—*Honduras*—January 26 and some weeks thereafter—To protect American lives and interests during a civil war in Honduras.

1911—*China*—Approaching stages of the nationalist revolution. An ensign and 10 men in October tried to enter Wuchang to rescue missionaries but retired on being warned away.

A small landing force guarded American private property and consulate at Hankow in October.

A marine guard was established in November over the cable stations at Shanghai. Landing forces were sent for protection to Nanking, Chinkiang, Taku and elsewhere.

1912—*Honduras*—Small force landed to prevent seizure by the Government of an American-owned railroad at Puerto Cortez. Forces withdrawn after the United States disapproved the action.

1912—*Panama*—Troops, on request of both political parties, supervised elections outside the Canal Zone.

1912—*Cuba*—June 5 to August 5—To protect American interests in the Province of Oriente, and in Habana.

1912—*China*—August 24 to 26, on Kentucky Island, and August 26 to 30 at Camp Nicholson—To protect Americans and American interests during revolutionary activity.

1912—*Turkey*—November 18 to December 3—To guard the American legation at Constantinople during Balkan War.

1912-25—*Nicaragua*—August to November 1912—To protect American interests during an attempted revolution. A small force serving as a legation guard and as a promoter of peace and governmental stability, remained until August 5, 1925.

1912-41—*China*—The disorder O.S.C., p. 58, which were redirected by the invasion of China by Japan and finally ended by war between Japan and the United States in 1941, led to demonstrations and land parties for protection in China continuously and at many points from 1912 on to 1941. The guard at Peking and along the route to the sea was maintained until 1941. In 1927, the United States had 5,670 troops ashore in China and 44 naval vessels in its waters. In 1933 we had 3,027 armed men ashore. All this protective action was in general terms based on treaties with China ranging from 1858 to 1901.

1913—*Mexico*—September 5 to 7—A few marines landed at Ciaris Estero to aid in evacuating American citizens and others from the Yaqui Valley, made dangerous for foreigners by civil strife.

1914—*Haiti*—January 29 to February 9, February 20 to 21, October 19—To protect American nationals in a time of dangerous unrest.

1914—*Dominican Republic*—June and July—During a revolutionary movement, United States naval forces by gunfire stopped the bombardment of Puerto Plata, and by threat of force maintained Santo Domingo City as a neutral zone.

1914-17—*Mexico*—The undeclared Mexican-American hostilities following the Dolphin affair and Villa's raids included capture of Vera Cruz and later Pershing's expedition into Northern Mexico.

1915-34—*Haiti*—July 28, 1915 to August 15, 1934—To maintain order during a period of chronic and threatened insurrection.

1916-24—*Dominican Republic*—May 1916 to September 1924—To maintain order during a period of chronic and threatened insurrection.

1917-18—*World War I*. Fully declared.

1917-22—*Cuba*—To protect American interests during an insurrection and subsequent unsettled conditions. Most of the United States armed forces left Cuba by August 1919, but two companies remained at Camaguey until February 1922.

1918-19—*Mexico*—After withdrawal of the Pershing expedition, our troops entered Mexico in pursuit of bandits at least three times in 1918 and six in 1919. In August 1918 American and Mexican troops fought at Nogales.

1918-20—*Panama*—For police duty according to treaty stipulations, at Chiriqui, during election disturbances and subsequent unrest.

1918-20—*Soviet Russia*—Marines were landed at and near Vladivostok in June and July to protect the American consulate and other points in the fighting between the Bolshevik troops and the Czech Army which had traversed Siberia from the

western front. A joint proclamation of emergency government and neutrality was issued by the American, Japanese, British, French and Czech commanders in July and our party remained until late August.

In August the project expanded. Then 7,000 men were landed in Vladivostok and remained until January 1920, as part of an allied occupation force.

In September 1918, 5000 American troops joined the allied intervention force at Archangel, suffered 500 casualties and remained until June 1919.

A handful of marines took part earlier in a British landing on the Murman coast (near Norway) but only incidentally.

All these operations were to offset effects of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and were partly supported by Czarist or Kerensky elements. No war was declared. Bolshevik elements participated at times with us but Soviet Russia still claims damages.

1919—*Honduras*—September 8 to 12—A landing force was sent ashore to maintain order in a neutral zone during an attempted revolution.

1920-22—*Russia (Siberia)* February 16, 1920 to November 19, 1922—A marine guard to protect the United States radio station and property on Russian Island, Bay of Vladivostok.

1920—*China*—March 14—A landing force was sent ashore for a few hours to protect lives during a disturbance at Kiukiang.

1920—*Guatemala*—April 9 to 27—To protect the American Legation and other American interests, such as the cable station, during a period of fighting between Unionists and the Government of Guatemala.

1921—*Panama-Costa Rica*—American naval squadrons demonstrated in April on both sides of the Isthmus to prevent war between the two countries over a boundary dispute.

1922—*Turkey*—September and October—A landing force was sent (a) shore with consent of both Greek and Turkish authorities, to protect American lives and property when the Turkish Nationalists entered Smyrna.

1924—*Honduras*—February 28 to March 31, September 10 to 15—To protect American lives and interests during election hostilities.

1924—*China*—September—Marines were landed to protect Americans and other foreigners in Shanghai during Chinese factional hostilities.

1925—*China*—January 15 to August 29—Fighting of Chinese factions accompanied by riots and demonstrations in Shanghai necessitated landing American forces to protect lives and property in the International Settlement.

1925—*Honduras*—April 19 to 21—To protect foreigners at La Ceiba during a political upheaval.

1925—*Panama*—October 12 to 23—Strikes and rent riots led to the landing of about 600 American troops to keep order and protect American interests.

1926-33—*Nicaragua*—May 7 to June 5, 1926; August 27, 1926 to January 3, 1933—The coup d'etat of General Chamorro aroused revolutionary activities leading to the landing of American marines to protect the interests of the United States. United States forces came and went, but seem not to have left the country entirely until January 3, 1933. Their work included activity against the outlaw leader Sandino in 1928.

1926—*China*—August and September—The Nationalist attack on Hankow necessitated the landing of American naval forces to protect American citizens. A small guard was maintained at the consulate general even after September 16 when the rest of the forces were withdrawn. Likewise, when Nationalist forces captured Kiukiang, naval forces were landed for the protection of foreigners November 4 to 6.

1927—*China*—February—Fighting at Shanghai caused American naval forces and marines to be increased there. In March a naval guard was stationed at the American consulate at Nanking after Nationalist forces captured the city. American and British destroyers later used shell fire to protect Americans and other foreigners. "Following this incident additional forces of marines and naval vessels were ordered to China and stationed in the vicinity of Shanghai and Tientsin."

1933—*Cuba*—During a revolution against President Gerardo Machado naval forces demonstrated but no landing was made.

1940—*Newfoundland, Bermuda, St. Lucia, Bahamas, Jamaica, Antig(u)a, Trinidad and British Guiana*—Troops were sent to guard air and naval bases obtained by negotiation with Great Britain. These were sometimes called lend-lease bases.

1941—*Greenland*—Taken under protection of the United States in April.

1941—*Netherlands (Dutch Guiana)*—In November the President ordered American troops to occupy Dutch Guiana but by agreement with the Netherlands government in exile. Brazil cooperated to protect aluminum ore supply from the bauxite mines in Surinam.

1941—*Iceland*—Taken under the protection of the United States, with consent of its Government, for strategic reasons.

1941—*Germany*—Sometime in the spring the President ordered the Navy to patrol ship lanes to Europe. By July our warships were convoying and by September were attacking German submarines. There was no authorization of Congress or declaration of war. In November, the Neutrality Act was partly repealed to protect military aid to Britain, Russia, etc.

1941-45—*Germany, Italy, Japan, etc.*—World War II. Fully declared.

1942—*Labrador*—Army-Navy air bases established.

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Greensboro: Nazi/Klan "Trial":

Red, White and Blue Defense for Murder

The defense recently opened its case in the trial of 6 Klansmen and Nazis who murdered 5 anti-Klan demonstrators in Greensboro, North Carolina last November 3rd. As expected, their main defense is anti-communism.

Two defense attorneys opened their case with a truly incredible picture. One of the defendants, Lawrence Morgan, 28, "has never been in trouble. He is just a country boy, and I don't mean that derogatorially," according to his lawyer. He joined the Klan because he opposes communism, "the greatest threat to our country." He, along with the others, felt compelled to come to Greensboro to protest the communist rally. The federal agent involved in the planning of the Klan/Nazi caravan (Bernard Butkovich, an Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms agent) didn't report to his superiors that any violence was planned, so there must not have been any, the "shootout" was "a spontaneous and lawful reaction to an unprovoked attack on a caravan driving down the street. The communists were attacking the very society that gives them the right to demonstrate out there in the street." Get the picture?

The second attorney spoke for David Wayne Matthews, the Klansman who told one of his jailers "They can't hang me for all the murders, 'cause I only got three of them." According to his lawyer, Matthews too only intended to "heckle, harass, throw eggs and generally hassle the communists." But "the communists assembled there at Everett and Carver Streets, set upon the (Klan) vehicles at the head of the caravan... the defendants were responding to violence at the head of the caravan, where cars were attacked by sticks and fists and feet. They left their cars to assist members being viciously attacked by communists... Then they were attacked by the CWP with sticks, clubs and guns. They went back to their van, couldn't leave because of the traffic conditions and returned the fire of the communists in defense of themselves."

The defense's opening arguments even included—believe it or not—communist manipulation of the press. According to one defense lawyer, the "communist leaders gathered at Windsor Center (the decoy location advertised as the starting point of the anti-Klan rally) and advised the media that the rally site had been changed. They said, 'We want you to know but we don't want the police to know.' The evidence of the defense will show what happened away from the cameras that were trained on the Klan caravan that day." The idea here was to discredit T.V. video tapes of the massacre which clearly show the shootings.

It was also a blatant distortion to which the prosecution did not object. The police knew perfectly well where the rally would be since they had issued the parade permit for Everett and Carver Streets—in fact, this was admitted as evidence in the prosecution's case. This follows the whole pattern of

the prosecution's case, in which no police witnesses were called on to explain why they weren't on the scene or why they made no effort to stop the Klan caravan, though they knew it was armed and were even following it in an unmarked car.

The defense summed up, "The burden is on the State of North Carolina to prove that the defendants were not acting in self defense on that occasion, beyond any reasonable doubt."

Not surprisingly, after six weeks and almost 100 witnesses the state's case didn't come close to this. Of course, the point of this trial all along has not been to convict the Klan—but at most maybe slap a few wrists—but get the Klan out there. Not one piece of evidence was presented about the planning of the Klan/Nazi caravan. Butkovich was not called to testify nor was Ed Dawson, the Klansman who was a Greensboro police informant and who has admitted his role in leading the caravan to the rally site on November 3rd. The state is not going to reveal its own agents, serving its interests in planning and carrying off this massacre.

Five of the 6 defendants have so far taken the witness stand to claim that they all came only to protest communism, that no violence was planned, and no guns were supposed to be brought along. Nazi Wood even had his Jewish stepfather testify to his "good character." Klansman Smith whose 357 Magnum has been proved positively to have killed Cesar Cauce, has pleaded "automatism." (This is a legal defense in North Carolina—it means that one can't control himself and is not responsible for his actions.) He claimed to not remember what happened November 3rd after being struck on the head. Then how did they happen to be so heavily armed? Fowler, who drove the car with the weapons, testified that the weapons were supposed to be left behind, that he was out getting sandwiches when the caravan left to confront the demonstration. When he caught up with the caravan, he asked to have someone follow him back so he could leave the arsenal at the planning house, but again Ed Dawson (the informant, and the individual the Klan has implied masterminded the killings) intervened and said there wasn't time.

Despite this picture of peaceful patriots they tried to paint in the courtroom, the KKK let out the reality of the red, white and blue they uphold at a "support rally" for the "Greensboro defendants" held on September 13th in Lincolnton, North Carolina. The rally included Klansmen dressed in black, red and white satin robes, a cross burning and a display of autopsy photographs of the 5 killed on November 3rd.

The event was emceed by Joe Grady, leader of one Klan faction, who said, "In Greensboro we had more firepower, it backfired on them... and Sambo is following them and he'll be

the first to go. Support (the defendants) and thanks to the media for being so fair to the Klan in their coverage of the trial." The rally drew together members of at least 4 different factions of the KKK "under a great movement."

The leaflet distributed there, entitled, "Which Way America? Communism or Freedom?" ran down how American money and lives were spent "stopping communism" in Korea and Vietnam. "Yet when 14 men put their own money, time and lives on the line to try to stop Communism here in our own country they are accused of murder. Can you tell me please is this justice?..."

Uninhibited by any potential legal problems, three of the defendants spoke. Jerry Paul Smith, the murderer claiming, "automatism" declared, "I'll fight for my white race even if it means dying in the streets of Greensboro or the gas chamber in Raleigh... The Klan did it in 1865 and we can do it in the 1980s. What happened in Greensboro is nothing compared to what's coming..."

As it turned out, the defendants had nothing to worry about in making such blatant statements. When the transcript of a tape made of these speeches by a reporter was offered as evidence to contradict the testimony of Smith, the jury was quickly hustled out of the courtroom. The defense lawyers objected to its use on the grounds that the defen-

Relying on the Masses

Continued from page 18

deralist country, the empirical view that since there had been a number of years of either non-revolutionary development, or failed revolutions, in these countries then the masses were incapable of rising to seize the time on a revolutionary basis, and must therefore be either bribed or scared into action.

Many in what used to be the "new communist movement" of the early 1970's, including the Menshevik faction that split from our Party in early 1978, swallowed this orientation whole and attempted to mis-label their fascination with spontaneity and their focus on the average worker as "relying on the masses". "The masses" were demagogically invoked to justify tailing behind reformist and liberal views of intermediate workers and smothering the interests and requirements of the advanced beneath the muck of imperialist prejudices. This goes against the Leninist view of the masses as being those who are awakening to political life and the view of Mao himself that "leaders must be skilled in uniting the small number of active elements... and must rely on them to raise the level of the intermediate..." Clearly, the revisionist distortion of this Marxist principle, and the lingering in-

dants' statements were "too remote" from November 3rd to be used as evidence of their intentions in coming to Greensboro that day. Further, the statements of some defendants might "inflamm" the jury against all of them; in other words, even the handpicked, all white, backward jury would have a hard time swallowing this! The judge agreed; the transcripts could not be admitted as evidence.

"Can you tell me please, is this justice?" Yes, exactly the justice the ruling class is always prepared to give to protect and defend its own. And nothing more or less than the oppressed can expect from bourgeois democracy.

Correction

Last week's RW (No. 74, October 3) made the error of reprinting a map of Iran and Iraq from the *New York Times*. In the larger of the two maps, on page 7, the Shatt-al-Arab waterway that Iraq has seized by armed force is located well within Iraqi territory—whereas the southern border between Iran and Iraq should run down the middle of this waterway that both countries use for much of their shipping. This demonstrates how the bourgeois press makes use even of maps to promote the current interests and alliances of U.S. imperialism around the world.

fluence of that distortion, must be exposed and "eaten up" by the correct and Marxist line.

Of course, the point in all this is not to ignore the "average" workers, for as Comrade Avakian points out in "Crucial Questions" they too need to raise their consciousness. But that can only be done by relying on the advanced, meeting *their* interests and requirements, and unleashing *their* conscious activism.

To conclude, it is worth quoting once again the remark made by the Chairman in his talk "Coming From Behind", a remark that strikes at the heart of the question of relying on the masses:

"So especially with regard to the advanced workers—including those who have for some time, for various reasons, been more inclined toward a revolutionary position, but generally those who more readily gravitate toward and tend to take up revolutionary agitation and propaganda—we have to struggle with them to understand our analysis of the objective situation and its possibilities. I believe that if they do not grasp that, we cannot win them to take up May Day—and not just to come out themselves, but to *build* for it... They are not just going to come out and struggle, no matter what their sentiments might be, they are not going to come out in large numbers and in any kind of sustained way unless and until they see the possibility for it to make a real difference, to have a real effect on society, to actually contribute something important toward basic change, toward revolution."

Shoshone

Continued from page 4

then decided to wait until the government made its announced money award and transferred the funds into an account for payment to the Indians. When the transfer was made, he took that date as officially representing the Shoshone's loss of ownership of the land, and again ruled that the Danns were trespassing on federal land. Now there are two decisions declaring the government's theft of Shoshone land "legal"; the only thing they disagree on is the date of the crime. Undoubtedly, further consultations on the matter will result in a new compromise date right about the time that the MX is ready for

deployment.

The Western Shoshone Sacred Land Association, formed by Shoshone elders to fight this whole process, has been battling to retain the land and stop the MX missile system from being built. Through publishing their own newspaper and mobilizing people for government-called hearings on the question, they have exposed what this "award" is really about to a great many Shoshones, and won over the majority of the Indians to their position. A member of the Association told us that "Our young people have been brainwashed by the government, but now they're beginning to see what's going on. They don't want the money anymore either." Most of the Tribal Councils on Shoshone land have also undergone a transformation. The Duckwater Shoshone Tribal Council, for example, discovered an air force map with an MX missile site located right in the middle of their reservation; they quickly voted to join the battle

against the government, and after the air force announced that it was moving that particular site off their reservation, they remained firm against both the money and the MX. And the MX is bringing out some new allies for the Shoshones—some of the white ranchers have said that they want to join the fight against the MX also.

Right now, the conflict is focused on further court appeals of the \$26 million payoff, the Dann trespassing case, and the MX missile decision. But as Carrie Dann told us, "It's all political... the courts are bound by political power. We are right... but when it comes to the treatment we're gonna get, that's something else... I figure they'll rush it through and pay us off."

Meanwhile the air force, claiming that it's all "public domain land, we'll just withdraw some of it for military use," is moving ahead with the final stages of development of the MX. They've already been drill testing the water of the area, determining whether

a state that gets 8 inches of rainfall a year will have enough of a water table for them to drain, or if they'll have to import water from somewhere else for their usage. They have announced that they will file the fastest environmental impact statement ever completed before the end of the year, with a missile soon to follow. And the Bureau of Land Management's helping out. They've just started putting up signs near the piñon groves, saying "Woodcutting Area".

By the time we drove away from the Shoshone homeland I wasn't thinking about how they had managed to live on this land for 10,000 years any longer. Now, the future was a much bigger question, but not only the murderous plans of our rulers for World War 3. What I mean is that our trip to the Shoshone homeland showed us yet another particularly vivid illustration of how closely the struggle of Native Americans is related to revolution in this country.

Party Chairman Replies to Letter from: "Black Nationalist with

A letter received from a Black worker in California, who is obviously not a Party member but has had some contact with the Party, brings up a number of very important questions (the letter is reprinted here — *RW*). The two main arguments raised directly in this letter are, essentially, that while Black people are ready for revolution and are already taking revolutionary action, whites are not (and serious doubt is expressed about whether they ever will be), and that our Party talks a great deal about revolution but does not seem to be "ready to fight and 'get down'." Looked at more broadly, however, this letter actually touches on several decisive points concerning the overall orientation, basic line and central task of the Party as well as some crucial immediate objectives, especially the campaign to expand distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker* to 100,000 on a sustained basis, and the relation of this to the goal of mass armed revolution. For all these reasons, I feel it is important to respond to this letter in the pages of the *RW*, and in doing so I will try to address both the main points it raises directly and the broader issues and implications that arise from a serious reading of it.

Near the end of the letter, the comrade sums up his own (present) viewpoint in a fairly concentrated way: "Until our white brother starts a revolution instead of philosophizing one, I can only consider myself a Black Nationalist with communistic inclinations." In examining this one statement, a number of important points stand out. Not the least important is the fact that this is certainly not the viewpoint of this one person alone but of a great number of revolutionary-minded Black people (and, it should be added, revolutionary-minded people of other oppressed nationalities) within the U.S. today. And, very significantly, what is expressed here is not only a real doubt about whether masses of white people will actually rally to the revolutionary position and revolutionary struggle but also, on the other hand, a real desire to see this happen; and further, there is the clear suggestion that should it happen he (and others) would have a much greater inclination toward the communist stand.

These sentiments do not, of course, arise out of nowhere, nor do they merely reflect the influence of nationalist ideology, abstracted from the actual situation in U.S. society (and more generally the world as a whole). In part, they reflect the fact that on the whole there are real and significant differences in the conditions and sentiments—and level of spontaneous rebellion—of masses of Black people (and of other oppressed peoples) on the one hand, and those of white people generally, including white workers, on the other hand. The draft *New Programme* of the Party speaks to this—indicating the many different and especially intense forms of oppression and exploitation that the masses of the oppressed nationalities in the U.S. are subjected to and the great importance of the struggle against this. It stresses that this is one of the most decisive questions confronting the proletariat and its Party in actually making revolution here. As the draft *New Constitution* of the Party sums up, "Given the whole history as well as the present day reality of what is now the United States of America, proletarian revolution is not even conceivable here unless it takes up and carries through as a central and decisive question the fight to abolish every form of oppression and discrimination against these peoples and to uproot every basis for this, material and ideological." (p. 102, *New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA*).

The oppression of millions of Black people and other peoples (generally

referred to as "minorities") which is rooted in the whole historical development as well as the present day structure of capitalism and imperialism in the U.S., and the divisions within the working class in particular and among the masses generally—especially between whites and the oppressed peoples—that are based in all this, certainly do pose real problems and challenges for the development of the proletarian revolutionary movement here. But they pose much greater and, in the final analysis, unsolvable problems for the enemy and target of that revolutionary movement—the bourgeois ruling class.

Why? Because, as Mao Tsetung expressed it, where there is oppression there is resistance; and because, as a general rule (though like everything this involves contradiction and is not a simple one-to-one equation), there is a relationship between the intensity of oppression and the intensity of resistance it gives rise to. Certainly this has been the case with the masses of Black people and other oppressed peoples throughout the history of this country and down to today. Further, and more fundamentally, just because the vicious oppression of these peoples, in many different forms, has been from the beginning and remains an essential feature (a crucial component part) of the capitalist system here, the masses of these oppressed peoples are bound to continually rise up against the thousands of outrages and insults they suffer and are bound to be impelled toward developing that resistance into a struggle that strikes at the capitalist system itself. This is a very important part of the reason why such resistance is

To the Chairman of the R.C.P.:

I've heard you speak before at the Oakland Auditorium via cable video from the east coast for the May Day celebration of 1979. Like most of the people there, I agreed with your speech and the urgency of the time to act. Nevertheless, it seems to me that you want people to act now, though you are not in fact acting now.

I heard the R.C.P. whipping up sentiments for the cause, yet I don't see any manifestations of those sentiments being realized. To be more specific, if you and your followers feel about revolution as you talk about it, "then what the fuck are you waiting for." You don't have to convert the entire state of California to start a revolution, all you need is a sincere group concerned with the betterment of mankind and some good tactics. The people will support you whenever and however they can.

I know you feel that the people need the science of Marx, Lenin and Mao. I strongly differ with you in that respect, they need only to be aware of equality among men and the theory of these three men previously mentioned will prove to be components of equality.

In 1965 during the Watts riots the Black people not having any philosophical theory, but feeling the boot of oppression, spontaneously lashed out at the system via its agents, effectively destroyed the shops and petty lending institutions that aided their daily oppression. When the news of this hit the media other cities followed suit. It appeared to me this would be the opportune time for the whites and communists to start their revolutions and fol-

low suit by picking up arms against a sea of trouble. Yet I saw not a ripple of activities in the white neighborhoods. Whites have always had more access to firearms than minorities. Why didn't they supply the Blacks with weapons if they didn't have the nerve or awareness to blemish their neighborhoods with revolution. That gesture could have consolidated a Black/white coalition but the opportunity came to pass.

Just recently in North Carolina and South Carolina when Blacks were viciously murdered by Klansmen, the R.C.P. could have bought weapons for the cause and assisted the Blacks in protecting themselves but that has not yet happened. It seems that the R.C.P. and whites are waiting for a Boston Tea Party where support from the masses will be imminent.

Blacks under this system can not wait for guarantees, we have to fight when we're attacked which is constantly under this system. When the climate is right for whites to join the revolution most Blacks will be dead or wounded, since the weight of oppression falls ten times heavier on Blacks than whites. Until our white brother starts a revolution instead of philosophizing one, I can only consider myself a Black Nationalist with communistic inclinations.

Every country in the world knows the Blacks, out of no choice of our own are inherently revolutionist. So until you're ready to fight and "get down," the only scientific theory I want is not from Marx, Lenin or Mao but instruction in how to assemble a bomb or rob a military arsenal.

not only a tremendous blow itself against this system but is also a tremendous igniting force and rallying cry to the masses of people of all nationalities who are exploited and degraded by the very workings of this system, and especially to the advanced workers—those who, at any given time, already are aroused to revolutionary sentiments, not only because of their position as exploited wage slaves but also because of their life experience as a whole, of all different kinds. And just as this resistance provides great inspiration, especially for the advanced workers, it also places great challenges, and great opportunities, before them—and before the Party, which has the task of marshalling the advanced workers in particular as a class-conscious force at the head of all the exploited and oppressed in the struggle against the common source and enforcer of this exploitation and oppression, the capitalist system and its bourgeois dictatorship.

I will come back to this more fully later, but immediately a critical point arises which relates directly to (and is in opposition to) basic ideas presented in the letter: resistance, rebellion against oppression, while it is clearly a crucial ingredient of revolution, is not the same thing as revolution itself, which must be led by conscious forces armed with the most advanced theory. And this is especially so with the revolution of this epoch in human history, the proletarian revolution, which has as its goal the final abolition of all forms of exploitation and oppression and all class distinctions, together with the thorough revolutionizing of the thinking of the

people, in correspondence with this radical transformation of the economic, social and political relations of society, throughout the world.

It is from this standpoint and with this goal in mind that a communist views every event, including particular uprisings of different sections of the people in the different countries. It is basically true, as the comrade's letter argues, that "In 1965 during the Watts riots the Black people not having any philosophical theory, but feeling the boot of oppression, spontaneously lashed out at the system via its agents.... When the news of this hit the media other cities followed suit." Mao Tsetung also spoke to phenomena such as this, stressing that "The oppressors oppress the oppressed, while the oppressed need to fight back and seek a way out before they start looking for philosophy. It is only when people took this as their starting-point that there was Marxism-Leninism."

Both parts of what Mao says here are of great importance: first, that the oppressed fight back and seek a way out before they start looking for philosophy, and on the other hand, that in fighting back and seeking a way out they do start looking for philosophy, for a theory and outlook to guide their struggle and point the way out. Class struggle—the struggle between the oppressor and the oppressed in general terms—is indeed the foundation for philosophy, but philosophy in turn plays a very great part in that class struggle, and just as the oppressor and the oppressed classes have fundamentally opposed interests in general, so too there are fundamentally opposed

Communist Inclinations"

philosophies representing the one and the other class. Further, everyone has one kind of philosophy or another, although they may be more or less conscious of what philosophy they are following—and to the degree that they are not conscious around this, they will (in the main) follow the dominant (bourgeois) philosophy. Because the bourgeoisie is the ruling class in capitalist society; because its philosophy has the force of habit and thousands of years of tradition behind it—society divided into classes, into exploiters and exploited, oppressors and oppressed—and finally because proletarian philosophy (Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought) both requires and makes possible the penetration beneath the surface of things to grasp their essence, to discover the internal contradictions and motion within things and the interconnection between things; for all these reasons, it is possible (and a general phenomenon) that people, even exploited and oppressed people, will more or less unconsciously follow bourgeois philosophy while they can only grasp and apply proletarian philosophy through conscious effort, and struggle. Thus, while it is true, as for example in the Watts rebellion, that the oppressed can and do rise up spontaneously against the system, it is also true that spontaneously they will still be dominated by the philosophy of the very system (and its ruling class) that they are rising up against, and to the degree that this is so their struggle will be held back (for example, a few years later, in 1968, Black people in Watts turned out in overwhelming numbers to vote for Bobby Kennedy!).

This is not to deny or diminish the tremendous importance of such rebellion, for again, as Mao points out, it is in fighting back and seeking a way out that the oppressed start looking for a philosophy that can lead to their liberation. And as Mao also indicates, this will lead them toward Marxism-Leninism, which is in fact the only thoroughly revolutionary philosophy in today's world, the only ideology that can guide the struggle to the complete emancipation of the masses of people from all forms of oppression. This kind of thing also happened on a wide scale during the upsurges of the 1960s, especially among Black people, with more than a few taking up Marxism-Leninism (or parts of it) as their philosophical weapon. At the same time, however, it was also generally the case that this proletarian ideology was only taken up part way, and combined with it were aspects of nationalism and other forms of ideology which, in the final analysis, still represent the outlook of the bourgeoisie—the notion of "my nation, my people, first" and other ideas which ultimately are an expression of "me first." Thus, while nationalism among an oppressed nation or people can in fact be a force that propels them into struggle against their oppression (or at least against aspects of it), it cannot lead them to thoroughly uproot that oppression, nor more basically can it lead to uprooting all forms of oppression and exploitation and the basis for this.

Actually, the contradictions involved in all this find rather sharp expression in the letter from the comrade in California. For example, on the one hand he insists on the need for action as opposed to philosophy, yet on the other hand he ends up saying that "...I can only consider myself a Black Nationalist with communist inclinations." But is that not, after all, a philosophy—or rather an outlook composed of contradictory philosophies—"Black nationalism" on the one hand (and still principal) and on the other hand (and still secondary) "communist inclinations"? Here again it can be seen that the real question is not whether some-

one has a philosophy or not (because everyone does), but whether they follow one kind of philosophy or another (in the main).

The letter argues that all that is needed "to start a revolution" is a "sincere group concerned with the betterment of mankind and some good tactics." I wish this were true, but unfortunately it is not, as life itself has shown many times over. In just the recent history of this country (to say nothing of other countries and indeed the history of mankind as a whole) there have been many individuals and groups sincerely concerned with the betterment of mankind (and more than a few with a good tactical sense) and yet by far the great majority of them have not started—let alone finished—a revolution or really brought about the betterment of mankind.

And more basically, it is necessary first of all to ask: what is meant by "the betterment of mankind"? When we dig into this it will become clear that this, too, is something on which different classes, with different philosophies, will have different, even antagonistically opposed, views. The bourgeoisie and exploiting classes throughout history have had many representatives who, in their own way, were "sincere" and "concerned with the betterment of mankind." It is just that they have always identified the "betterment of mankind" with the interests of their class. And, at certain points in history, when these classes in their turn were on the rise and challenging the old order, it was true that their interests coincided with and represented—in the main and for a time—the interests of mankind on the whole in advancing from a lower to a higher form of society. But, exactly because society has advanced through the engine of class struggle to its present stage, it is now only one class, the proletariat, whose interests really and fully represent the interests of mankind as a whole in advancing society. And more than that, unlike any other class in history, the proletariat and the revolution it must and will carry out represent not the advance from one form of society based on exploitation to a higher form of society based on a new form of exploitation, but the elimination of all forms of exploitation and indeed all class distinctions and the advent of a whole new era in human history, where as Mao put it, mankind will for the first time consciously and voluntarily transform itself and the objective world. This is the historic understanding that is revealed by Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and it is impossible to start—and certainly to carry through—such a revolution and achieve such an unprecedented historic mission without "the science of Marx, Lenin and Mao."

The comrade in his letter says he strongly differs with this and insists that the people "need only to be aware of equality among men and the theory of these three men previously mentioned will prove to be components of equality." But here the limitations of nationalist ideology, even of the most progressive kind (and even if combined with "communist inclinations"), stand out. Such an ideology, at most, can involve a vision of equality among nations or peoples, but in reality it cannot even consistently stand for that, since by definition it is the ideology of "the nation" and ultimately must include the idea of "the nation" (that is, the particular nation one belongs to) as "first among equals." For otherwise it would not be the ideology of "the nation" but of *no* nation—which in fact is the outlook of the proletariat, *internationalism*. The comrade describes himself as a "Black Nationalist," because that is his nation (and even if he merely described himself as a "Nationalist," he would have to mean

"Black nationalist," or it would make no sense at all) and in so doing, whether he wishes to or not, he is putting his own nation first—otherwise he is not after all a *nationalist*. But how can such an outlook lead to a consistent stand of *equality* between nations? In fact, only the *internationalist* stand of the proletariat—guided by "the science of Marx, Lenin and Mao"—can and does consistently represent equality between nations... so long as nations exist.

And that brings us to the next point: nations are not, any more than classes, an eternal category. They had a beginning (generally modern nations are associated with the rise of capitalism and are in an overall sense a phenomenon of the bourgeois epoch) and they will have an end, when communism has been established throughout the world, with the complete abolition of class distinctions. This does not mean that communists stand for the forcible assimilation or destruction of nations. In direct opposition to this, and as a crucial part of its internationalism, the proletariat (and its communist vanguard) is the champion, in word and deed, of the thorough abolition of national oppression in all its forms and the real achievement of equality between nations, which is an indispensable component part of the proletarian revolution and the advance to communism world-wide. Still, equality between nations, for a communist, is not the end point or the highest goal, but is exactly a component part of the struggle for a much higher goal: the abolition of classes and of national barriers (and nations themselves) and the advent of a whole new stage of human society and world history.

And the same applies to equality in general. As a general category, equality is itself a phenomenon of the bourgeois epoch. Historically, in its struggle against the feudal system, the bourgeoisie raised the banner of equality, by which it meant, as experience has clearly shown, essentially the equality of commodity owners in the marketplace. Of course, from the start, this formal equality was founded in a profound inequality in fact—specifically the fact that the bourgeoisie owned the means of production and thereby ap-

propriated to itself (and sold) the goods produced by the workers (the proletarians) who were deprived of all ownership of the means of production and had only one commodity to sell—their ability to work (their labor power). And even if all the loudly-proclaimed "equalities" of bourgeois society—such as "equality before the law"—were really and fully implemented (that is, if judges, prosecutors, etc., showed no prejudice toward the poor) this would not and could not change the basic fact that the rich and the poor do not face an "equal" need to steal a loaf of bread (or perhaps money to pay their heating bill) nor have "equal" access to legal advisors, representatives, etc. In short, regardless of any laws or practices whose professed aim is to establish "equality"—and even if they were all "fairly" applied—there can be no real equality between exploiter and exploited, there can be no equality between different (and especially between antagonistically opposed) classes.

But, once the division of society into classes has been finally abolished, then the very concept of "equality" will lose its meaning. Everything exists only in relation to its opposite; and once social inequalities are eliminated with the advent of communism (I say "social inequalities" because individual differences between particular people will never be eliminated—though in communist society this will not have the same consequences as in class society) then social *equality* will also be eliminated as a category. To look at this another way, all equality implies inequality—it is impossible to have the one without the other (for example, no two workers who get the same wage do exactly the same amount or quality of work, nor do they have exactly the same needs, so "equality" in wages is both equality on the one hand and inequality on the other hand). In communist society, the principle will be "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need"—people will not work for individual survival (society will have developed to the point, materially and ideologically, where that will not be a question as it is now)—but consciously

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SUMMING UP THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

by Bob Avakian

"...in the final analysis, the reason for the destruction of the Black Panther Party as a revolutionary organization did not lie outside of it but inside of it. It lay not in the policies and vicious acts of repression that the government carried out—murder, harassment, jailing, hounding people out of the country—not in all that, though that played a crucial role, a vicious, crippling role—but fundamentally in the ideology and philosophy of the Black Panther Party, which ultimately determined how they responded to not only that repression, but how they responded to events in society as a whole." (from the pamphlet)

(Excerpts from a speech given in Cleveland, 1979, as part of a nationwide speaking tour.)

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Letters on the Draft Programme

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dictions", and it makes the Party no different from a bourgeois Party. From the paragraph as a whole one gets the impression that the Party itself is a birthmark of capitalism and the main difference between socialism and state capitalism is whether a proletarian or a bourgeois line is in command in society. One gets the impression that any departure from Marxism-Leninism is automatically antagonistic contradiction since it leads straight to a revisionist line. The paragraph leaves out the dialectical materialist *raison d'être* of the Party—to lead the proletariat in the task of destroying the old and creating the new, and thereby further revolutionizing itself and the masses. By adhering to the science of revolution, the Party resolves never to be content with "expressing in a concentrated way the contradictions of the old society."

What does history show but that it is because of the contradictions and force of habit of thousands of years of society divided into classes and dominated by nature and because the mission of the proletariat is to abolish classes and the state and conquer nature, that the party is necessary as the "leading center" of the revolution and the continuing revolution under socialism. The question of party members, especially leading party officials deviating from Marxism-Leninism, departing from the socialist road and divorcing themselves from the masses, forcing them back towards capitalism—in the name of "socialism and communism", is a "concentrated expression of the contradictions left over from the old society." But when one figures that the proletariat is the only class capable of continually revolutionizing the relations of production with each advance in the productive forces and of revolutionizing the superstructure to conform with and transform the base, then, it can only be seen that the Party, as the proletariat's headquarters is in contradiction with the masses from the standpoint of being the vanguard and of wanting to apply the mass line, which narrows the difference between the leadership and the led and moves things forward.

Marx alluded to the problem of bourgeois democrats developing in the Party when he said:

The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brains of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honored disguise and this borrowed language... a beginner who has learnt a new language always translates it back into his mother tongue, but he has assimilated the spirit of the new language and can freely express himself in it only when he finds his way in it without recalling the old and forgets his native tongue in the use of the new. (The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. p. 97 in *K. Marx and F. Engels: Selected Works in One Volume*. New York: Int'l Publ., 1977.

But as to the Proletarian Revolution he had this to say:

The social revolution of the nineteenth century cannot draw its poetry from the past, but only from the future. It cannot begin with itself before it has stripped off all superstition in regard to the past. Earlier revolutions required recollections of past world history in order to drug themselves concerning their own content. In order to arrive at its own content, the revolution of the nineteenth century must let the dead bury their dead. (op cit. p. 99)

Thus by applying Marxism to the concrete conditions the proletariat, its party members and the leading officials must make and lead and innovate in making the unprecedented "journey through purgatory" as Marx put it, through all the muck and the mud of the past and "concentrate all its forces of destruction on it. And when it has done this second half of its preliminary work, Europe will leap from its seat and exultantly exclaim: well grubbed, old mole". (op cit. p. 170)

In light of my criticism, I feel that the errors in the "General Line" can be rectified by a rewrite of the paragraph on p. 99-100 towards which I propose the following:

Still further, experience has shown that the heart of the new bourgeoisie within socialist society, the greatest

danger to the dictatorship of the proletariat and therefore the main target of the continuing revolution under this proletarian dictatorship lies within the vanguard party of the proletariat itself, especially among its top leadership. This is because, with the seizure of power by the proletariat and the socialization of the ownership of the major means of production, the party becomes both the leading political center of the socialist state and the main directing force of the economy, and two roads open up: whether the masses will increasingly become conscious, struggle over line, take charge politically and ideologically in these matters and solve the contradictions left over from the old society, swell the ranks of the party and infuse it with ever-renewed Marxist spirit and thereby revolutionize the party, or whether they will become passive and placated politically, line struggle resolved higher up, matters of state handled in the old way, society allowed to be dragged back by the pull of the old contradictions, and the party and the masses stagnate and weaken ideologically. These questions will become very sharp. Where and to the extent that party members, especially leading party officials, deviate from Marxism-Leninism, depart from the socialist road, divorce themselves from the masses and seek personal aggrandizement, then by that much will their positions of authority be transformed from leadership guiding the masses in revolution toward the goal of communism into oppression over the masses, forcing them farcically back toward capitalism—in the name however, of "socialism" and "communism".

A reader

Dear RW,

The section of the Programme that begins on page 10 (Proletarian Revolution Requires etc. . .), while overall correct contains an error in the second paragraph when it says "whichever class can in any period organize society in such a way as to most rationally utilize the productive forces at hand will hold sway for that period". This argument turns against itself, and in particular can be taken to mean there is no need for revolution, and runs counter to the rest of the paragraph immediately following it.

How can it be said that the bourgeoisie today, which definitely "holds sway", (state power) is most capable of rationally utilizing the productive forces? At one point, long since past in this country, this was true. As the Programme states on page 11, "The capitalist class, which arose within feudal society and ultimately led the struggle to overthrow it in past centuries, has beyond all doubt outlived its historical usefulness and can only act in this period as an obstacle to further progress—its mode of production suffocates and strangles the development of the productive forces and repeatedly hurls society into ever more paralyzing and destructive crisis".

My proposal is that the 2nd paragraph on page 10 be changed to read "So long as society is divided into classes, in whatever form, the economics and politics as well as the ideas, culture, etc. of society will be dominated by one class or another—they cannot serve all classes, exploiter and exploited, oppressor and oppressed, master and slave, equally—and the class holding state power in any historical period is the class that can utilize the productive forces at hand more rationally than the class it has overthrown."

A reader

Correction to letters on the Draft Programme and Draft Constitution of the RCP, USA. In the last issue (No. 74, p. 8) the end was left off from the second letter ("From a discussion among some Party members").

6. Question of male chauvinism should be spoken to more.
7. Disagreements on the analysis of the Soviet Union being imperialist.

Addition to section on "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power"

We both felt that this section should go into more the question of why this is the central task, as opposed to building struggle, e.g.—the fact that the bourgeoisie maintains its rule principally through its ideological hold on the masses, the fact that the objective conditions themselves will spontaneously give rise to mass resistance, but that only those armed with Marxism-Leninism can do the kind of revolutionary agitation and propaganda necessary to break the ideological chains and divert the mass movements that will arise on to a revolutionary path.

Shot . . . "

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emphasized by Brown in his speech) is an indication of the dilemma the U.S. imperialists find themselves in. To wit: "An attempt by any outside force to gain control of the Persian Gulf region will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States. It will be repelled by use of any means necessary, including military force." What this reflects is that, as a result of its emergence as the undisputed king imperialist power after WW II with the division of the world in its favor, the U.S. for the most part *already* dominates this area along with much of the rest of the world and is now being put in the awkward position of having to defend its far-flung imperialist turf. Clearly, the U.S. imperialists have already summed up that the old Nixonian-type military strategies of "Vietnamization," "getting Asians to fight Asians" and relying on "regional gendarmes" like the Shah to enforce and maintain U.S. domination just aren't going to cut it in a situation of world war with the Soviets, where the U.S. imperialists' entire empire will be up for grabs and will mark the boundaries of the front lines.

The U.S. forces are likely to be stretched out thin and the Soviets, clearly the up and coming imperialist challenger,

seeking a redivision of the world more favorable to *them*. Does this mean that the U.S. is any less aggressive? Not by a long shot. In fact it is *more* likely that the U.S. will strike the first military blow in the rapidly approaching superpower showdown. The U.S. rulers know full well that there *are* no other means except military force by which they are going to defeat the Soviets in the Persian Gulf or anywhere else; and more, they are well aware that to strike the first devastating military blow could well be decisive. As proof of this Brown went on to outline in detail some of the "ingredients" of the Carter Doctrine that constitute what he called "an effective U.S. response to aggression." These included, among other things, "an enhanced continuing *peacetime presence*", "pre-positioning of equipment", "major improvements in our rapid deployment capabilities", "access and transit rights", and "frequent *deployment and exercises* in the area"—all, of course, for defensive purposes only!

That these are no idle threats and that the U.S. rulers have been quite serious about undertaking this kind of large-scale offensive military buildup speaks for itself considering that since Brown's speech all these factors have been put into effect and are being even further escalated now under the pretext of "concern" about the hostilities between U.S. AWACs and C14Is loaded with U.S. advisors and military equipment are pour-

ing into the Persian Gulf. Iraq and Iran just last week, Brown bragged that "We have in the Arabian Sea the most powerful concentration of naval force, including naval air forces, that have ever been in that area, in that ocean. We have more capability than all the other countries in the region put together." Of course, this is merely a response to "deter" the threat of Soviet aggression!

All this places in a rather ridiculous light Brown's conclusion that "The policies and the approach I have outlined here are not steps toward war. They are designed to build strength and reasonable response to real needs." Truly, the U.S. imperialists have a real need to be in a "reasonable" position to stomp on the Soviets before the Soviets stomp on them. But the height of hypocrisy is Brown's closing cry that with Afghanistan the Soviets have demonstrated their "willingness to use surrogates and indeed units of the Red Army to assert military and political power outside the borders of the Soviet Union." Of course, the U.S. has *never* gotten involved in anything like this (Brown's previous bragging about the U.S. Marines notwithstanding!) and has no intentions of doing so! There is rarely anything more hilarious than watching one imperialist yell "Imperialist!" at another.

Brown's comments are a vivid confirmation of the statement made by

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COMMUNISTS ARE REBELS

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

A Letter from RCP Chairman Bob Avakian to His Parents On Philosophy, Religion, Morals, and Continuous Revolution

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Party Chairman Replies to Letter from: "Black Nationalist with Communist Inclinations"

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to contribute to the development of society, and in turn they will receive what they (actually) need to live (this too will mean that a high degree of social consciousness has been reached, so that people voluntarily subordinate individual needs to the overall advance of society) while increasingly being enabled to develop and contribute to society in a fuller, more all-around way, both physically and intellectually. "Equality" does not enter in here—in fact "equality" will have been *surpassed* and *superseded*, along with the bourgeois epoch to which it belongs.

This, again, does not mean that, before the achievement of communism, communists regard the question of equality as unimportant or fail to fight to eliminate social inequality of all kinds, including between peoples and nations. Quite the opposite—this fight is, as indicated, a crucial component part of the overall struggle to overthrow capitalism and uproot all the soil giving rise to it and nurturing class distinctions generally. But, if we set our sights no higher than the goal of "equality," if we failed to grasp that it is impossible to achieve in a society divided into classes and that it can only be a subordinate part of the world-historic battle for a much higher goal, then we would be incapable of actually advancing to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the replacement of the bourgeois epoch by the epoch of communism and therefore incapable of actually eliminating social inequality along with all the other evils characteristic of capitalism (and exploiting systems and backward societies in general). Thus, the theories of Marx, Lenin and Mao are not "components of equality" but the guide for the revolutionary proletariat in emancipating not only itself but mankind as a whole from class society and achieving something far beyond the historically conditioned and confined horizon of "equality among men."

Moving on to another main point raised in this letter—the role (or non-role) of whites in the revolution, and in particular the responsibilities of white revolutionaries in relation to the uprisings of Black people—the comrade says that, when rebellions were raging in the Black communities (he is speaking specifically of the '60s), if whites could not "follow suit by picking up arms against a sea of trouble," then the least they could have done was to "supply the Blacks with weapons if they didn't have the nerve or awareness to blemish their neighborhoods with revolution." First of all, and more or less in passing, it should be said that a number of white revolutionaries did do many of the things the comrade calls for. But beyond that, millions of people (of all nationalities) engaged in protests, especially against the Vietnam war, and tens of thousands engaged in militant actions, including some level or other of street fighting against the police, national guard, etc., including many whites who did so directly in solidarity with and support of the Black people's struggle at the time.

It is certainly true that the most militant and profound uprisings in that period were those of the Black people and other oppressed nationalities, and it is also certainly true that this has much to do with the special—and additional—burden of oppression that these peoples have been (and continue to be) subjected to. But it is also very important to have a clear, scientific understanding of the nature of the political movements and mass protests and rebellions of that period and of the social groups—most fundamentally the *class forces*—that were and were not mainly in motion then. Specifically, while in particular many Black (and other "minority") workers played an active part in the rebellions and overall struggles of that time—and this is one of the important reasons why the strug-

gles of Black people and the movements as a whole then developed as far as they did and as much in opposition to the system as they were—still, looking at the overall picture, the struggles and movements of that time were not mainly based among nor characterized by the outlook of the only thoroughly revolutionary force in society, the proletariat (of all nationalities). On the whole the working class was not found at the forefront of the struggles and movements of that period and was in fact a relatively dormant, even backward force then (this was more true of the white workers but it was also the case that the working class in general did not play an advanced, class-conscious role in that period).

Further, and dialectically related to all this (both effect and cause of it in certain aspects), despite the genuinely heroic actions and important contributions of groups such as the Black Panther Party, there had not yet developed a thoroughly revolutionary party, representing the revolutionary class, the proletariat—not tailing behind the general level of consciousness and struggle of the mass of workers in this country at that time, but upholding and fighting for the interests of the international proletariat and rallying especially the advanced workers (of all nationalities) around the banner and to the front ranks of the forces rising up in protest and rebellion. In sum, as much as the struggles and movements of that period truly shook this country and its ruling class and pounded at the system, and as much as revolutionary sentiments and even revolutionary organizations of various kinds developed then—and as much as all this laid important parts of the foundation for revolution, for the overthrow of the system, in the future—still the fact remains that, in opposition to what the comrade writes in his letter, this was not yet "the opportune time" to start a revolution; nor, as pointed out before, did the Black rebellions of that time, as literally earth-shaking as they were, represent a revolution, or even the "starting" of a revolution. This is basically because the objective and subjective conditions for revolution—in particular a deepgoing crisis engulfing all of society and making it impossible for the ruling class to rule in the old way and the masses of people (in their majority) to live in the old way, and along with this the existence and role of a genuine vanguard party of the proletariat capable of leading the working class and broad masses in seizing this opportunity to rise up to overthrow the system—such conditions had not yet developed. And this, in turn, was mainly because the reserves of U.S. imperialism, from plundering the world and exploiting vast numbers of its peoples, especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, were still strong enough that it could make concessions to the masses—and most strategically to key sections of the working class—while also, of course, bringing down vicious repression on people rising up in revolt and on revolutionary forces with a base among them.

It is true that a revolutionary situation has still not developed here as yet. But on the other hand, and most important to grasp, the prospect of this happening in the not-too-distant future—perhaps even within this decade—is a very real one, because of the situation internationally, the deepening crisis and accelerating developments toward world war, and because there is now a vanguard party of the proletariat (of all nationalities) in this country, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, which is based on a scientific understanding of revolution and on that foundation is actively working to heighten developments toward and prepare its own ranks and the masses for proletarian revolution.

It is in this light that a few remaining

points relating to the comrade's letter should be taken up. He writes that "Blacks under this system can not wait for guarantees, we have to fight when we're attacked which is constantly under this system.... Every country in the world knows that Blacks, out of no choice of our own are inherently revolutionist." There are aspects of what he writes here that are not only true but vitally important and carry heavy implications, especially in the present and developing situation; and at the same time there are aspects of thinking which are mistaken and if followed would actually lead away from revolution.

It is true—and a truth so obvious that for someone not to recognize it almost requires them to be determined not to recognize it—that the masses of Black people (and people of other oppressed nationalities) suffer extreme forms of oppression and exploitation constantly under this system in the U.S. More than that, it is also true—and no less obvious—that their resistance against this, frequently erupting into violent rebellions, has been and continues to be a powerful force against this system. But is it the case that this oppression and the resistance against it constantly remains the same, in form—and for that matter, in intensity? No, obviously, this is not the case. Certainly Black people were brutally oppressed long before the 1960s, and yet it was in that decade that the truly unprecedented uprisings of Black people, involving in one way or another millions of people, literally swept across this country like a prairie fire. Why is this? It is because masses (millions) of Black people had been driven off the southern farmlands, out of the conditions of sharecropping (or other forms of bare subsistence farming), into the urban ghettos of the north (and south) and, in larger numbers than ever before, into the ranks of the working class—specifically its most exploited ranks. This was not merely a geographic change but a basic change in their position in the overall economy and society as a whole, a change which put them in a much more powerful position not only to strike back against their oppression (including in its new forms) but to influence even broader masses of people and the whole society, including by sparking protest and rebellion among millions of other people in society and raising profound questions about the whole nature of the system among these and even millions more.

After the 1960s (more or less) there was a temporary ebb in the struggle of Black people (and generally in the movements against the system throughout society). Was this because things had improved for the masses of Black people (or the masses of people generally)? Clearly, no—in fact they have continued to grow worse (despite ups and downs within that) over the past 10 years or so. But the fact is that the struggles and movements of the 1960s ran up against the objective and subjective limitations of the time—and the fundamental fact that things could not then develop "all the way" to revolution—and as a result there was an inevitable, if temporary, "retreat"—not a passive acceptance of oppression but a certain amount of confusion, even demoralization, but also (among many) a deeper questioning as to the source of this oppression, the nature of the beast we are up against and the basic problem: is there a solution to this, a way out of it, and if so what is it?

But at the same time, and underlying this, it is not simply the case that the same system, with its constant oppression and exploitation, is "still there," but more importantly it is sinking, both within this country and internationally, into a deeper crisis, from which it has no way out except world war, and on the international level it is being powerfully battered once again by mass revolutionary struggles, especially right now in many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, where the oppression of the people and the devastating effects of the international crisis are even more intense than they are in countries like this one (even for the oppressed nationalities). All this is once more calling forth protest and rebellion, including the resurgence of violent uprisings among Black people, which are beginning a new upsurge.

Although there are some similarities

between these events and the 1960s, far more important is the different—and for the proletariat far more favorable—context in which this is occurring. For while it is not a certainty that the conditions will emerge in this country in the period ahead in which it will be possible to carry the struggle all the way through to revolution—to the actual armed uprising of the masses, with the overall leading role of the Party—it is a certainty that the opportunities for revolutionary struggle will greatly increase throughout the world, and it is a real possibility that the necessary conditions for revolution—for mobilizing and leading tens of millions, of all nationalities, with the working class (and first of all the class-conscious proletariat) at the forefront, in determined struggle to overthrow the system by force of arms—will actually arise in this country.

In this context especially, it is crucial to grasp the key role that the masses of Black people can and will play in the revolutionary struggle in this country. It is not true that Black people (or any other people) are "inherently revolutionist." First of all, among Black people there are different class forces with different and conflicting class interests and outlooks, and among the working class masses of Black people there are advanced, intermediate and backward, as there are among the masses generally. But more fundamentally, revolution, especially the proletarian revolution of this era, requires not just the desire for radical change nor even just the demonstrated determination to fight for it, but also the necessary objective conditions for overthrowing the old system and establishing the new and the leadership of conscious forces, armed with "the science of Marx, Lenin & Mao." Further, even the willingness to fight for revolutionary change—and the related question of whether one believes it is possible to achieve this—are conditioned by, and tend to ebb and flow with, the development of the objective situation, while at the same time they are qualitatively affected by the role and work of the conscious vanguard, which has the task of raising the consciousness of the masses themselves, especially the advanced forces at every point, including by instilling in them a scientific understanding of the development of the objective situation, and the challenges and opportunities it presents, at each decisive stage.

On the other hand, while they are not "inherently revolutionist"—and while spontaneous resistance to oppression, no matter how militant or determined, should not be confused with revolution—the rebellions and violent uprisings of Black people (and others), especially occurring in the context of the present and developing situation, can greatly contribute to the full development of a revolutionary struggle—as indeed they already are. In this light, while it is necessary to keep clearly in mind the difference between even violent rebellions of sections of the masses and the mass armed uprising of the masses in their millions, in which the Party plays the role of general staff, the latter cannot be brought about and the Party cannot play its leading role if it adopts a passive attitude toward such violent rebellions or if it fails to learn from them—to draw out and concentrate the decisive lessons, on a political but also a tactical level—and to lead the masses not only in learning these lessons but in acting on them.

Further, as I stressed before, such rebellions (certainly no less than other forms of mass resistance to oppression) place great demands before the Party itself and the advanced workers. Here it is not only or even mainly a question of "what whites will do" in response to such events—though that is important itself—but more generally and basically, what the advanced workers, and the Party which must lead especially them, will do to build the revolutionary movement. Here, too, Black workers and workers of other oppressed nationalities can play a kind of special and decisive role. This is because the dual oppression they suffer—as part of oppressed peoples and in their position within the working class, generally concentrated in its most exploited sections—puts them in a strategic position

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Party Chairman Replies to Letter from: "Black Nationalist with Communistic Inclinations"

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to play a key role in linking the struggle of the oppressed nationalities with the movement of the working class on a revolutionary basis, as the solid core of the revolutionary movement in this country; and in particular it puts them in a position to act as a special spark and lever in bringing forward the advanced workers to play a vanguard role in the fight against all oppression and in developing that fight into a struggle to overthrow the capitalist system.

But this will not and cannot happen either, without the leadership of the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line, for only with this line and leadership can these workers too develop their class consciousness and their full potential as a revolutionary force for the proletariat. And precisely an important part of this line and leadership consists in educating—and struggling with—these workers to grasp this kind of special role they can play and, on this basis, unleash and enable them to play it to the fullest.

It is up to the Party to help them sum up systematically and scientifically the experience—the oppression and resistance of various kinds—they have been through directly or are intensely familiar with, specifically as part of oppressed nationalities as well as more generally; to view, and to utilize, this experience as material for agitation and propaganda among broader ranks of the working class, to educate and activate these broader ranks politically, toward the revolutionary goal. It is up to the Party to train these advanced "minority" workers (as well as advanced workers and revolutionary-minded people generally) in carrying out such functions as agitation or propaganda, and in an overall way train them as communists, as front-line fighters for the cause of the proletariat—and not just the multi-national proletariat in the U.S. but the international proletariat as a whole and its historic mission of world communism. On the other hand, many such workers, even before they have had direct (or extensive) contact with Party members, should and do take initiative on their own to take advanced stands and fight to get others to do the same, and here too the role of the Party's newspaper—which can and must reach people far more broadly than Party members directly—is a crucial one in encouraging and assisting such workers and giving direction to their desire to act as a vanguard force. In this light, to those whose sentiments are like those expressed in the comrade's letter, we must say: you, as part of oppressed peoples and of the most exploited sectors of the proletariat in this country, have not only suffered an extra heavy burden of oppression but have therefore seen and felt in an especially intense way many of the hideous features of this system and have been part of intense resistance against it—take that experience and knowledge, inform, awaken and challenge broader ranks of your class, concentrate and sharpen your own understanding with the science of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, wield it as the most powerful weapon for the whole proletariat, with the leadership of its vanguard, and make your greatest contribution to the overthrow of the system of imperialism and the final abolition not only of these forms but of all forms of oppression and exploitation, not only in this country but everywhere in the world.

At the same time, of course, while the Party must fully unleash and give expression to this crucial role of Black and other "minority" workers, and their overall contribution to proletarian revolution, it cannot fully do this, nor advance the overall revolutionary movement, unless it works precisely to unite the working class as a whole around its common revolutionary interests and in particular to bring forward and train as revolutionary, communist

leaders the advanced workers of all nationalities (including obviously the advanced white workers, of whom there are more than a few)—brings them forward in revolutionary action and trains them concretely in this way as well as theoretically and through propaganda and agitation.

Thus it can be seen that the comrade is profoundly wrong when he writes in his letter that "When the climate is right for Whites to join in the revolution most Blacks will be dead or wounded, since the weight of oppression falls ten times heavier on Blacks than Whites." He is wrong, first of all, because the most important thing about the resistance of Black people to oppression, and in particular their violent uprisings, is not that some Black people are killed and wounded at such times—as the comrade indicates, that occurs constantly at the hands of the police, etc., whether Black people are openly rebelling or not, and in fact this is one of the main things giving rise to such rebellions. The truly important thing is that such rebellions strike tremendous blows against the system and its enforcers; it is *they* who are much more deeply wounded, and brought closer to their eventual doom. But more than that, he is wrong because *the climate is already right for whites*—in particular advanced white workers, along with advanced workers of all other nationalities—to "join the revolution"—that is, to actively take up and march to the forefront of revolutionary work and struggle to accelerate things toward and prepare for the future development of the revolutionary situation and the revolutionary struggle in its fullest sense: the mass armed struggle to overthrow the system. Today "the climate is right"—the basis exists and conditions not only make possible but demand—that thousands and tens of thousands of the working class, especially its advanced forces, vigorously and urgently take up this task, under the leadership of the Party. This is decisive not only in relation to the conditions and events of today (in this country and throughout the world) but even more so as active preparation for the future, when millions will be in motion and the possibility may well arise to lead millions and tens of millions not only to fight back against the system but to bring it down and lift the weight of oppression, which does weigh more heavily on Blacks and other oppressed peoples but which also bears down generally on the masses of the working class (and even other strata) and will do so with far greater force in the period ahead.

As suggested before, it is a critical part of our Party's analysis of the situation—within this country and internationally—in its development from the last world war to the approach of a new world war, that for a long period significant sections of the working class in this country have received a considerable bribery from the spoils that the imperialist ruling class ripped out of vast areas (and peoples) of the world, given their unrivalled top-dog position (and as a matter of fact, while this has been most true of many white workers, it has also been true, though in a lesser way, even of significant numbers of Black and other "minority" workers). But the more important part of that analysis is how all this is turning into its opposite and how the inevitable development of a profound crisis and developments toward a new world war are already and will increasingly result in increased exploitation and oppression of the working class in its masses and how all this will give rise to tremendous social "dislocation" and upheaval and draw millions of the masses, including particularly of the working class, into political life and struggle. This is not some notion of either the "automatic collapse" of the system or the "automatic transformation" of the working class into a revolutionary force. What it

does stress, however, are the tremendous changes that will in any case be taking place and the real possibility that millions of the working class will not only be jolted awake and into political action but, through the work of the Party together with the development of the objective situation, will be won to the revolutionary position and actually undertake the revolutionary struggle, at the head of the oppressed masses in this country, to overthrow the capitalist system and advance to socialism, in unity with the proletariat and the oppressed peoples and nations throughout the world. Can those who have long suffered under the system in this country, including especially those who have borne the heaviest weight of its oppression here, and all those who are becoming increasingly aware of not only their own suffering but the monstrous crimes committed by this same system throughout the world, those who have fought back against it and identified with and drawn inspiration from others who have done the same—and most of all where they have actually risen in revolution—can such people afford not to grasp these historic developments and to act to heighten the revolutionary prospects, perhaps even unprecedented ones, here and throughout the world?

As the conclusion from all this, let's return to the basic point raised at both the beginning and the end of the comrade's letter. He writes that after hearing a speech by me in 1979, "I agreed with your speech and the urgency of the time to act. Nevertheless, it seems to me that you want people to act now, though you are not in fact acting now . . . So until you're ready to fight and 'get down,' the only scientific theory I want is not that from Marx, Lenin or Mao but instruction on how to assemble a bomb or rob a military arsenal."

The crucial question in all this is *what does it mean to act now?* Or to put it another way, what is the most important form of action now that will actually contribute to making revolution in this country (and make the greatest contribution thereby to the international revolution)? The answer to this is comprehended in the Party's formulation of its central task: "Create public opinion . . . seize power." The most important form of revolutionary activity now is the consistent carrying out of Marxist agitation and propaganda to raise the consciousness of the masses, and first and foremost to rally forward the advanced workers (and revolutionary-minded people from other strata) as a class-conscious force for the proletarian revolution. On this basis, and in close inter-relationship with it, it is also crucial to support—and to learn from and popularize among the masses the lessons of—the protests and outbreaks of rebellion of the masses, and especially again to activate the advanced workers as a tremendous material force and influence in such events and in society and political struggle in general. It is in these ways above all that the greatest preparation can be made for the time when it will be possible to lead the broadest ranks of the working class

and other masses in the armed struggle for political power and beyond that for the continuing struggle, once power is seized, to rule and transform society in the interests of the proletariat and as a base area for its international revolutionary struggle.

In all this work of preparation the role of the *Revolutionary Worker* is most decisive. This is the most crucial weapon of the Party and the revolutionary forces it must lead at this time. It is key in raising the consciousness of ever broader ranks of the working class and other strata and in supporting their struggles and directing them toward the revolutionary goal; it is also key in training the advanced forces and coordinating and guiding their revolutionary activity as a concerted and systematic battle against the enemy in preparation for the eventual all-out battle. How widely and at the same time how sharply this weapon is wielded, now and throughout the period leading up to that all-out battle, will have everything to do with what the outcome of that battle will be when finally it can be, must be and is undertaken. Taking up the task of utilizing this newspaper in such a way—and in particular right now, carrying through the campaign to expand distribution of the paper to 100,000 on a sustained basis in order to make another qualitative leap toward revolution—this is indeed the most important form of the fight against the enemy in this country today.

This is the answer to the comrade when he writes that what he wants is "instruction"—an answer which is not apart from or opposed to, but is based on this science of revolution, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought, and its concrete application to the situation in the U.S., and the world, today and which points the way forward to proletarian revolution and its ultimate historic mission of world-wide communism.

The way he puts the kind of instruction he wants is wrong, but what he clearly wants and what we can strongly unite with is instruction in how to fight. And this is the real way to do it now. To this comrade, and to the many others whose sentiments are similar to those expressed in his letter, the challenge is there: if you really want to fight and "get down," then "get down" with the Party, take up the fight to hasten things toward and prepare for proletarian revolution, wield the weapon of the *Revolutionary Worker* and become consciously a part of the vanguard force of the proletariat that is steeling and tempering itself, in practice as well as theory, is broadening, deepening and strengthening its ties with the ranks of its class and the oppressed and struggling masses generally, is learning how to support the protests and outbreaks of rebellion of different sections of the masses and to utilize them to build for revolution, and is not waiting for but actively moving toward the time when the army of millions and tens of millions of the exploited and oppressed can be brought to the revolutionary front with overpowering force. □

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100 FLOWERS

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The battle for 100,000 co-conspirators is the battle to win thousands to use the science of Marxism to resolve these contradictions, to understand how to work for revolution and the urgency of doing so now. It's the battle to further weld together and broaden the class-conscious force that emerged on May Day.

It can't be won and neither can the war we're preparing for by capitulating to the metaphysical world outlook of the enemy—seeing only that the masses

in their majority are not in a revolutionary mood and refusing to see the effect of the monumental changes going on even today on millions and the conscious role demanded of revolutionaries to lead them in transforming society.

People will not risk their lives for revolution if they don't understand *how* it is obtainable. They can't work for revolution if we feed them nothing but platitudes and simple solutions, if we give them (and ourselves) "just enough politics to get by" and stay stuck in economism looking for something easier than applying Marxism to the complex problem of making revolution in one of the two most monstrous oppressors in the history of mankind.

This battle can only be won by recognizing the

contradictions in the understanding of the advanced for what they are, a reflection of real experience in the class struggle, contradictions thrown up by the sharpening situation itself. It means sharp struggle, taking their political questions and disagreements seriously, uniting with the revolutionary aspects of their understanding to defeat what is incorrect and raising our understanding in the process. Tens of thousands will be unleashed to train hundreds of thousands more if we persist in the struggle to grasp and deepen the line of the RCP and arm them with the all around exposure and propaganda of the RW.

CREATE PUBLIC OPINION—SEIZE POWER!!

IRAN

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stay out of the area. But they also lay the basis for direct U.S. military intervention in the area and a dramatic escalation of the war. In this case U.S. forces would serve as a "tripwire," when attacked, that would "justify" an American response. The U.S. could well resort to intervention if Iraq began to lose the war, and they could easily create a pretext of being "attacked," much like the U.S. used the "Gulf of Tonkin incident" in 1964—where U.S. ships off the coast of North Vietnam were supposedly attacked by Vietnamese torpedo boats—to escalate the war and start large-scale bombing raids against North Vietnam. Later, of course, U.S. claims about the start of the incident were shown to be "erroneous."

New Fighting, New Mass Mobilization in Iran

On Sunday, October 5, the day of the 'voluntary cease-fire,' Iraq's new push began. Since then, Iraq has poured long-range artillery fire into the cities of Khorramshar and Abadan; and Iraqi troops and armor have poured into the Khorramshar area. Iraq's air force renewed their attacks, hitting targets in the Khuzestan battlefield as well as oil refineries, air fields and even factories around Tehran and other Iranian cities. Fighting also continued near Dezful and Ahvaz. On Wednesday night, October 8, in an effort to terrorize the people of Iran, the Iraqi army fired 4 large Soviet-made ground to ground missiles from inside Iraq into Dezful, killing 180 people and wounding 500.

Iraq's goal is to capture the port of Khorramshar (through which Iran gets most of its imports) and then launch an assault on the key city of Abadan. Capture of these cities would give the Hussein government control of the Shatt-al-Arab waterway, Iran's port facilities, and much of its vital oil industry. From there Iraq and the U.S. would hope to either pressure Iran into capitulation or instigate an internal reactionary uprising and coup d'état.

However, these schemes are not going to be as easy to implement as they hope. Already the going in the battlefield is again rougher than they expected. After announcing in the middle of last week that the Iraqi forces had taken all of Khorramshar's port area, it turned out that the Iraqis controlled only the western edge of the 3-mile long port facilities. And these facilities themselves are some 2 miles from the actual city of Khorramshar, which the Iraqis have not been able to successfully penetrate. Since the Iraqis have entered into the towns to fight, their casualties have soared, and there is evidence that there are still many Iranian army units and revolutionary guards (Pasdaran) fighting in Khorramshar, sometimes even with tanks. Iraqi troops are still bogged down some 14 miles outside of Ahvaz, and there have been substantial Iranian reinforcements sent into Abadan from all parts of the country.

But more importantly, the mobilization of the Iranian people—kicked off by the initial Iraq/U.S. attack—has gained both depth and momentum. Its effects are beginning to show both at the front and elsewhere in the country.

Tens and hundreds of thousands of people have volunteered and demanded that the government send them to the front. Money, food, medical supplies, and blood are pouring in. The roads to the front are full of groups from cities such as Mashad, Isfahan and Shiraz;

some regular military units, but more scattered groups of volunteers going in cars, trucks, motorcycles, and even bicycles. Posters have been put up throughout Iran denouncing the Iraq government, and exposing the hand of U.S. imperialism in the attack.

The Iranian government has continued to insist they will fight until all Iraq's troops are driven from Iranian territory. They have put out a call that anyone with arms or military training can join the Pasdaran. 47,000 reservists have been called up for the war effort. Government television features regular programs on the use of weapons, first aid, as well as statements by rank-and-file soldiers and airmen from the front.

A pattern has developed of the masses spontaneously organizing themselves to fight Iraq, which has forced the Iranian government to give the people more freedom and avenues for entering the battle on their own. At the same time that the bourgeois government has its own class interests in defeating Iraq and has mobilized the people to a certain degree to do so, it is also attempting to prevent the masses from developing their own independent initiative, especially under the leadership of revolutionary forces.

One of the most significant developments inside Iran recently has been the formation of armed neighborhood shoras (councils) among the masses that are independent of the government. Many are significantly influenced by Marxist-Leninist forces. Over the last week, over 100 shoras in Tehran alone have sprung up to organize political and military tasks such as defending the city; these have developed most strongly in the working class neighborhoods of southeast Tehran near Mehrabad Airport that were hit by last week's Iraqi air attacks. In this area of the city, the Union of Iranian Communists and other revolutionary forces have played a major role among the workers in creating and providing leadership to these new shoras. The UIC has put forward the line that the masses have to rely on their own efforts and not depend on the army; and they are warning the masses to be vigilant against coup plots at the same time as they fight against the imperialist attack.

Near the front in southern Iran, revolutionary organizations have also helped form local defense organizations. Many of the Pasdaran fighting Iraq at the front—who originally joined the armed forces to fight against "the enemies of Islam"—have also deepened their understanding of the nature of the imperialist enemy they are fighting.

The upsurge of the people, and the influence of revolutionaries, has had a direct impact on the fighting. There is a dual war of sorts going on at the front, with army units and Pasdaran supplemented by the masses' own local defense groups. These groups have organized people to fight with homemade grenades, molotov cocktails, rifles, and any other weapons they can make or get their hands on. After getting a taste of house-to-house fighting against Iranian forces such as these in Khorramshar last week, the Iraqi armed forces have resumed massive artillery attacks on both Khorramshar and Abadan to level the cities before another frontal attack.

The U.S. press has reported with great dismay that Iranian air force pilots get together on their own, pick their targets for the day and take off, in the "barnstorming" style of World War I. Because their radios lack spare parts, they have often been forced to resort to hand signals. But radios or no, they have swooped under the Iraqi

radar, left anti-aircraft missiles ineffectually behind, and struck heavy blows deep inside Iraq.

People all over Iran are optimistic, and feel though they may lose ground in the short run, ultimately victory will be theirs. Many have expressed their willingness to wage guerilla warfare if necessary to defeat Iraq and their imperialist backers. In sharp contrast to President Bani-Sadr's complaints about Iran being "totally isolated from the world community" (especially the governments in Western Europe he admires), a taxi dispatcher in Tehran was quoted as saying, "We don't care if the whole world is against us—our cause is right and we won't rest until the Iraqis have been defeated."

After one Iraqi bombing attack on a number of factories and workers' neighborhoods around Tehran, the people discovered that many of the bombs that had been dropped didn't explode—in fact, many more than would normally be defective. (Apparently, more than a few Iraqi airmen are defusing these bombs that are supposed to kill their Iranian "enemy.")

All these developments within Iran are taking place amid complex struggle between forces of many stripes. There are organized reactionaries, especially concentrated in the top layers of the armed forces, who want to lose the war as a way of overthrowing the Khomeini government and reinstituting pro-U.S. rule. This was dramatically illustrated on the night of the first Iraqi air raids on Tehran two weeks ago. Several hours before the raids, a leaflet was circulated by the Armed Forces command, calling on people to remain in their homes, not take any action without orders from the military, and especially to stay away from the barracks. Word about this leaflet circulated quickly among the people in south Tehran, and many became suspicious. 3000 Pasdaran, smelling a rat, mobilized and took over the airport. (It was them, not the military, that shot down several Iraqi jets.) At the same time hundreds of people surrounded the military barracks to prevent any coup attempts.

From all indications, this was the coup attempt that the U.S. and the Iraqis expected to set off within Iran in the initial phase of their first attack. This was borne out by several things besides the incidents of that night. After that raid, which was suspiciously not picked up on Iran's sophisticated radar defense network, there were no more air attacks against Tehran for over a week. Second, one Air Force pilot was told by his commanding officer that there would be a raid, and he was ordered not to scramble to intercept the Iraqi jets. (He was so distraught that he later killed himself.) Finally, this whole set-up looks a great deal like the plans the U.S. imperialists tried to implement during their unsuccessful raid into Iran last April, which was clearly done in collusion with powerful forces in the Iranian military and government.

As the fighting has intensified, the bourgeois forces within the Iranian government are also vacillating in different ways. A full-scale nationwide mobilization has not yet been ordered, and some forces are moving toward capitulation to the U.S. For example, after originally shelving the hostage issue until after the war, the Iranian parliament reopened the debate as the war was raging. Some even called for direct negotiations with the U.S. After choosing a panel and again effectively closing off debate on the issue, there have been reports that the Iranian parliament has made a proposal to the U.S. for the release of the hostages. Coming through Citizen's Party

presidential candidate Barry Commoner, the offer supposedly proposed the release of the hostages in return for the freezing of the Pahlavi assets in the U.S. and the release of U.S. documents on the U.S.'s relationship with Iran. Both of these demands are a far cry from the original demands of the Iranian people. While none of these moves is yet a full blown effort at giving in to the U.S., they do represent feelers in this direction. And as the fighting and destruction of the Iranian military and economy increase, so too will the pressure to capitulate on the part of important sections of Iran's national bourgeoisie.

At the same time that the Iranian government has mobilized the people in the war, it has also tried to keep them strictly under its control. The government has insisted that all volunteers for the fighting go through either the mosques or the pasdaran. Since the government controls the roads and the transport vehicles, it effectively exercises control over who can and can't go to the front. When independent—and especially leftist-influenced—shoras have sprung up like they have in Tehran, the mullahs or pasdars have rushed in to try and take over the leadership. Revolutionary forces are, however, waging struggle to preserve and extend their ability to act independently.

In another case, last weekend the Iranian government shifted its plans and told people to remain in Tehran rather than going to the front. While to a certain degree this does represent an assessment that there could be a coup attempt against the government or even an attack against Tehran, it also reflects the desire of the government to protect its own ass *first*, and *then* worry about winning the war.

Also, to have maximum effect on the military front requires a thorough and deep-going organization and mobilization of the masses, encompassing training, organization and arms. But this is the kind of mobilization the present government in Iran will not undertake, for when the guns are in the hands of the oppressed, they may have a different idea about how they want it to end up. Even in the short run, because the government is insisting on relying mainly on conventional army units and the revolutionary guards already under their control, this is directly weakening their chances to decisively defeat the U.S./Iraqi invasion.

But while many politically conscious people in Iran are well aware of the limits of the government's bourgeois strategy to wage the war, at the same time, the prestige of the government and the armed forces—especially Bani-Sadr, who has taken direct command of the army—has increased greatly during the last few weeks because they have resisted the Iraqi attack. This poses a real danger, because the Iranian government, including the reactionary pro-U.S. forces within it, will attempt to use the prestige and loyalty it is able to generate during the war effort to build up its influence over the masses, which can and will be used after the war as a knife to cut the heart out of the masses' revolutionary struggle. This only underscores the need for the revolutionaries to further expose the class nature of the government and conduct their own independent activity among the masses.

Significant gains have been made by revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces like the Union of Iranian Communists (UIC), who have correctly analyzed the present war as an imperialist-inspired attack aimed at crushing the Iranian people's revolution. They have called

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for and actively worked to mobilize the people to defeat this reactionary attack and deal a sharp blow to U.S. imperialism, not only internationally, but also to its agents inside Iran. At the same time they have sought to spread their political line and build their independent strength and organization among the masses, again showing how only the proletariat can lead the people to thoroughly defeat imperialism and advance the revolution.

However, various pro-Soviet and opportunist forces have seized upon the struggle for other purposes. The Soviets' loyal fifth column in Iran, the Tudeh Party, has been openly agitating for Soviet intervention in the war on Iran's side. The Fedayeen-Majority are running out basically the same line, although in a slightly masked form. They have said that if sections of the government want to take revolutionary actions, they must move towards the Soviet-led "socialist camp." Following these revisionist lines would amount to nothing but replacing U.S. imperialism's domination of Iran with that of Soviet social-imperialism, and would throw away an opportunity for the Iranian people to advance towards genuine liberation.

Superpower Contention Heating Up

In this latest round of superpower contention in the Persian Gulf, the Soviets have overall been caught on the defensive by the U.S.'s Iraqi initiative; the Soviets have responded, however, with maneuvering of their own to try and regain the initiative and come out of the war with their interests intact, or advanced.

The Soviets' obvious move is toward the beleaguered Iranian government, with generous offers of aid and military assistance, in the hopes of wooing it into their camp. From their point of view, Iran, with its larger population and

more strategic location, is the richer prize of the two. (In fact, both the U.S. and the USSR are most worried that the other one will end up with control of Iran.) Also, from the point of view of the gangster logic of the Soviet imperialists, they are into wooing Iran, since Iraq has clearly been moving into the Western orbit in recent years.

The Soviets have already made some moves in the direction of Iran. Two weeks ago they secretly offered Iran military assistance, only to be turned down by Prime Minister Rajai. The regimes that are most closely linked to the Soviets in the Middle East—Syria, Libya, South Yemen and Algeria—have expressed support for Iran, and Syria has reportedly been supplying Iran with some arms. In addition, the pro-Soviet revisionist parties around the world have generally taken a line of supporting Iran; and the Iraqi pro-Moscow Communist Party has taken the tactic of calling (before the outbreak of the war) for Saddam Hussein's overthrow, after years of holding positions in this reactionary regime.

Yet this course also poses some difficulties for the Soviets as well. For one thing, no matter how much they would like Iran in their pocket, the Iranian people are not going to just submit to any superpower, and so far even the Iranian government has rebuffed closer ties. The Soviets are just as threatened by the Iranian revolution as the U.S. imperialists are. Also, the Soviets are not about to give up their foothold in Iraq, especially when nothing is guaranteed in return. Although the Western imperialists may be dominant in Iraq now, that doesn't mean that the Soviets will throw away the material base of their influence there—mainly arms supplies—and give up the hope of some day using that base to wean Iraq back into their camp, or at the very least, exert some influence on the outcome of the war through controlling supplies of arms.

Recently the U.S. press has reported that several Soviet-bloc ships are head-

ing to the Jordanian port of Aqaba with arms for Iraq. Although the maneuverings of both superpowers are full of intrigue and double dealing, some continued Soviet arms shipments to Iraq don't contradict the basic thrust of their tilt to Iran, but serve their overall purposes. For one thing, it appears that these shipments were started before the outbreak of the war. At this point, to supply Iraq with the spare parts and replacement material it needs, the Soviets, in the opinion of most bourgeois military writers, would have to conduct an air lift, and none has been forthcoming so far. But on the other hand, the arms shipments do serve a purpose in the Soviets' overall efforts to force Iran into their camp, because for Iran, these arms shipments represent a threat and a reminder of what the Soviets could do should the Iranian government choose not to enter their web.

The Soviets, for their part, have done the mirror image of the U.S. imperialists' call for "peace," "non-intervention," and for the other guy to keep his hands off the booty—"We stole it fair and square!" At a meeting last week with Syria in which they signed a 20-year "Treaty of Peace and Friendship" (read: military pact), Soviet Premier Brezhnev said, "We are not going to intervene in the conflict between Iran and Iraq. We stand for its earliest political settlement by the efforts of the two sides. And we resolutely say to others: Hands off these events." All the while, these great "peacelovers" have 30 war ships in the Persian Gulf themselves.

While both the U.S. and Soviet imperialists are moving toward world war, they do want to keep a certain control over events—a step-by-step move to war, not an uncontrolled rush. This was one reason that the U.S. apparently moved two weeks ago to prevent an Iraqi attack through Oman on the islands in the Strait of Hormuz, which are controlled by Iran.

In spite of the superpowers' attempts

to keep the situation under control, what stands out about the current fighting in the Gulf is their overall lack of control over events as they unfold. Both blocs of imperialist bloodsuckers are furiously maneuvering and attempting to weaken the other's positions in this strategic area of the world. And of particular importance right now, both the U.S. and Soviet Union would suffer a stunning defeat if the other emerged from the fighting with Iran in its grip.

Already many commentators are comparing the situation here to the tangle of imperialist alliances in the Balkan states of Eastern Europe just before the outbreak of World War I. In the new round of escalation looming ahead in the Iran/Iraq war, attacks against Iran could be launched by more U.S. client states such as Egypt, Turkey and Pakistan; Soviet-backed Syria might hit at Iraq or Jordan; and the possibility of the direct involvement of U.S. and Soviet forces in the fighting would also increase rapidly. Through all this can be seen more clearly the picture of the two opposing blocs of countries that are forming for World War 3. And it is especially noteworthy how both the U.S. and the Soviet imperialists make use of their "allies" in a key region of the world such as the Middle East to aggressively advance their own imperialist interests—while continuing to maintain that they are "strictly neutral" and only intend to give "defensive aid" to their allies.

Yet while these dinosaurs prepare to do each other in, the Iranian people are demonstrating in practice that there is indeed another alternative to being pawns in the imperialists' plans and cannonfodder in their wars. That is the road of turning the reactionary wars the imperialists unleash into ammunition for revolutionary warfare against them and their local frontmen. The imperialists started this latest attack on Iran and the continuing revolution there, but what began as an imperialist offensive is by no means certain to end as one. □

Pontiac Bros.

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friends in high places who give them political protection to operate. Contrary to what the *Sun-Times* says, it is not that law enforcement agencies are simply dragging their feet over the El-Rukns, but that this junior mob is a tool in the hands of the authorities—as so clearly illustrated in their role as stool pigeons against the Pontiac Brothers.

The *Sun-Times* articles are only the latest in a long series of media reports in which the bourgeoisie has screeched again and again about the bogeyman of gangs and prisons and prisons and gangs in connection with the Pontiac Brothers, all to absolve the authorities of any responsibility for the oppressive conditions that spawned the Pontiac Rebellion. It is very important to note, however, that this "gang conspiracy" theme as the cause of the rebellion did not appear either in the media or from public officials until three months after the rebellion. Up until then, everyone from Governor Thompson on down explained it as the spontaneous reaction of some vicious people to bad conditions. Said Pontiac's Warden Pinckney

shortly after the rebellion: "With the overcrowding and the tremendous heat, and given the right place and right opportunity, these things can happen any time, any place!" Said Charles Rowe, the state's corrections director, "I've talked with a lot of people and have come away with the feeling that there is no real cause.... It was a spontaneous, anti-authoritarian move.... The rebellion came a year later than most of us expected. You can only crowd so many people into a warehouse for so long before something happens." Said Gov. Thompson, "The tragic rioting at the Pontiac Correctional Center was due to chronic overcrowding of inmates and the shortage of guards.... Any spark can touch off men who are locked in cages and that's what prisoners are."

But the shortcomings of this explanation for the rebellion in terms of whipping up public support for sentencing 17 men to death were apparently summed up by Thompson and his ilk. So three months after the rebellion, the nature of the media coverage around the Pontiac Brothers changed radically. It was spearheaded by the *Chicago Tri-*

bune's Bob Wiedrich, a well known human funnel to the FBI, and the other news media joined in the chorus. Eleven articles by Wiedrich between October 26, 1978 and January 22, 1979 focus on the idea that the rebellion was planned by vicious and hardened gangs that "run both Pontiac and Stateville prisons." In an article published on November 29, Wiedrich describes the absurdity of "a prisoner with a warden's power." On December 4, "Gangs Still Hold Power in Prison," Wiedrich runs an interview with guard Danny Dill, injured during the rebellion, in which he puts forward Dill's view that the guards died as the result of a gang hit contract. To prove how "dangerous" the Pontiac Brothers are, Wiedrich has printed totally fabricated stories in his column. Speaking of "gang-generated unrest in Illinois penal institutions," one article goes on to quote the state's head of the Dept. of Corrections: "We had a huge incident a few weeks ago, in which ten of the inmates charged in the Pontiac Prison murders attacked and injured four correctional officers in the Stateville Law Library." According to sources inside the prison, this story was twisted inside out since it was the guards who threw a

chair and heavy ashtray, injuring the handcuffed Pontiac Brothers. Wiedrich's fictionalized story shows just how far the media is going to create public opinion in favor of convicting the Pontiac Brothers.

The next critical juncture in the Pontiac Brothers case where the "gangs and prisons" bogeyman was raised was just before the murder indictments came down on March 5, 1979. With great fanfare, Gov. Thompson undertook a massive invasion of Stateville Prison (where the Pontiac Brothers were housed at that time) by hundreds of state troopers "to take Stateville back from the gangs." This giant shake-down, lasting for weeks, was carefully staged and orchestrated for the press and received nationwide acclaim. Meanwhile many prisoners, including the Pontiac 17 (now the Pontiac 16 since one man turned state's witness) were gassed and beaten and their few personal possessions stolen or damaged.

"Gang conspiracy"? Yes there is—but the Pontiac Brothers aren't involved. Rather, behind it are the ring-leaders who have put the Pontiac Brothers on trial.

Shot...

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RCP Chairman Bob Avakian (in *A Talk with Bob Avakian On The Current World Scene*, Feb. 8, 1980, RW): "And how is the war most likely to start? It is actually most likely to start when the U.S. bourgeoisie militarily, politically, economically, ideologically, etc. feels that they have it together and decide to go down against whatever the latest move by the Soviets is in opposition to whatever U.S. moves are." But as the Chairman went on to stress, the spontaneous appearance in this country will still undoubtedly be that somehow "The Soviets instigated it." For the proletariat, this only underscores the fact that it doesn't make a damn bit of dif-

ference who in fact fires the first shot when world war does eventually break out or who came out fighting in what round of the slugfest for imperialist domination of the entire globe. Each imperialist will of course be pointing cynically to its rival as the "aggressor" like they always have to rally the masses behind their particular bloodstained banner—and they each will be equally correct. And both will naturally be claiming that the *real* first shot was fired by the other side, whether today, last week or the month before.

Whether ultimately the U.S. initiates the fighting or it goes down in the opposite way, the fact remains that both sets of these international gangsters are being driven by the same necessity to decisively conquer the other—not only to retain their present share of the world's

plunder, but to enlarge it still further, sacrificing millions in the process. And as far as our own imperialists are concerned, one thing should be clear—that, while certainly their strength has been seriously declining (and that this is a good thing as far as seizing on the opportunities that war will bring to overthrow them), at the same time they are by no means the "toothless tigers" they sometimes try and make themselves out to be (along with their synchophants who claim to be "revolutionaries")—nor do they plan to be fighting anything resembling a "defensive war." If you don't believe it, you can always ask Harold Brown for a further explanation of "What the Carter Doctrine Means To Me"—a.k.a. "How I spent My Summer Vacation Planning U.S. Offensive Strategy for WW III." □

