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Thousands of Support Statements To D.C. Court

Overturn the Railroad of Bob Avakian

Mao Defendants Committee Calls For Nationwide Campaign



Bob Avakian

One year ago on November 19 a major march and rally was held in Washington, D.C. The slogan of the event was "Keep Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants Free." The rally and march were a key juncture in the tremendous political battle that swept over D.C. and the entire country—the battle to stop the railroad of RCP Chairman Bob Avakian and to free the Mao Tse-tung Defendants. The hundreds who attended the rally and march on November 18th and 19th as well as the one on the West Coast and the many statements of support read at the rally, crystallized the overwhelming support that had been mobilized throughout all of society. As a result of the political strength built, and the potential of far greater strengthening brought into play, the ruling class was forced to temporarily retreat and maneuver in its attack on Bob Avakian and the RCP, and a few days before the rally the government dismissed the charges against the Mao Defendants.

Now, one year later, the government has renewed and escalated its attack on the legal front. On Tuesday, October 21st the D.C. Court of Appeals overturned the lower court and ruled to reinstate the charges against Bob Avakian and the other Mao Defendants. The latest escalation by the ruling class demands a swift and decisive response. The Committee to Free the Mao Tse-tung Defendants has just issued a call for a major political offensive, now. In the call launching this offensive the Committee states:

"The Committee to Free the Mao Tse-tung Defendants calls for a flood, thousands and thousands of statements, telegrams, letters and messages in any other form to be sent to the Appeals Court of Washington, D.C. by December 4th to protest and oppose their reversal of the dismissal of 26 charges—totaling 241 years of jail time—against Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tse-tung Defendants.

A petition to demand a rehearing by the full Court of Appeals will be filed on December 4th. This flood of statements and telegrams must spearhead and set the overall political context for this important juncture."

As it was stated in the article analyzing

Continued on page 14

Stage Set for Trial of Four

Mao's Line Indicted in Peking

On November 10th, the Chinese revisionist rulers made public four more indictments against the so-called "Gang of Four." The actual trial will possibly start this week. But don't mark the calendar yet, because the Four's trial has been moved back several times already, due to revolutionary resistance to this farce from the defendants, and the intensified infighting this is stirring up within China's ruling pack of thieves. Chiang Ching, Mao's widow, in particular is drawing the fire of the revisionists for her "unrepentant" and "unruly" behavior in the pre-trial hearings and investigations. She is demanding access to "unavailable" documents, denouncing the revisionists at every turn. However, the revisionists do face a definite

necessity to start the trial soon in order to build public opinion for the official "summation" (read: trashing) of Mao and his line, scheduled for unveiling at a party congress at the end of this year or early next year.

The Four have continued undaunted in the face of all threats. Chang Chun-Chiao, under intense pressure to "confess", reportedly refuses to answer any questions. Chiang Ching meanwhile is making a serious counter attack against her accusers. According to the latest issue of Taiwan's "Studies in Chinese Communism" (Issue No. 166), as early as February of 1978 during the first session of the Sixth National People's Congress, Chiang Ching wrote a letter of protest

Continued on page 13

Four Years "On the Blanket" in Northern Ireland

World attention is again being focused on the hundreds of political prisoners held by the British in Northern Ireland. The conditions and protests of these prisoners have sharply exposed British imperialism since the policy of internment was enacted under the "Special Powers Act" in 1971. Recent outpourings of general protest in the North (rivaling the massive demonstrations during the late '60s which preceded military occupation and direct governing by the British), have sparked great alarm as indicated by a November 1 news item in the *New York Times*: "On a well-fortified hillside just west of here (Belfast—RW), in one of Britain's most modern prisons, a political time bomb has begun ticking, arousing apprehension in London and beyond."

The occasion of this article in the *Times* was the announced hunger strike "until death" by seven prisoners in the infamous "H-block" at the massive Long Kesh prison. ("H-block" refers to the shape of the prison buildings.) While there are over 500 prisoners "on the blanket," the number "7" was chosen as a symbolic act. It was seven men that signed their names to the Proclamation of 1916, when the Easter Rising attempted to topple British rule throughout Ireland by taking advantage of the contradictions posed to Britain in its involvement in the first imperialist world war. The "Rising" was subsequently crushed and its leaders executed, but it became an historic milestone in the struggle. The British later conceded formal independence to most of the islands, but retained control of the industrial North.

The writing of the *Times* article itself, breaking virtually years of news blackout (except for the periodic lies and references to the struggle as a "religious war" and the typical cries of "terrorism" that the imperialists have become quite skilled at), testifies to how sharp the political situation is becoming in the British colony.

Since the arrival of British troops in Northern Ireland, a state of Martial Rule has existed, and has been continually refined in order to suppress all op-

position to imperialist domination. In 1973, two years after the "Special Powers Act," the "Emergency Provisions Act" (EPA) and the "Prevention of Terrorism Act" (PTA) were instituted as a basic updating and tightening of the British clampdown. The EPA provides the so-called "legal" scaffolding to the conveyor belt that runs from the streets of the North right inside the dank cages of Long Kesh and Armagh prisons. Under the EPA, any person can be stopped, questioned, searched, and have their property seized, and arrested or detained without a warrant and without being charged. The EPA also makes statements forced out of prisoners by torture and beatings admissible as "evidence," an illustration of the fact that no evidence is really needed at all. Juryless trials provide a 95% conviction rate. The EPA is used

precisely in attempts to crush all political protest, defining "terrorism" as "the use of violence for political ends." "Scheduled offences" listed by the EPA as crimes are identified in Section 7: murder, manslaughter, rioting, kidnapping, assault, possession of arms or explosives, and membership in the Irish Republican Army (IRA). In fact, any "crime" can be "scheduled" by the magistrates. And if a person is charged with a "scheduled" and a "non-scheduled" offence (for example, resisting arrest), then all the charges become "scheduled" as acts of "terrorism."

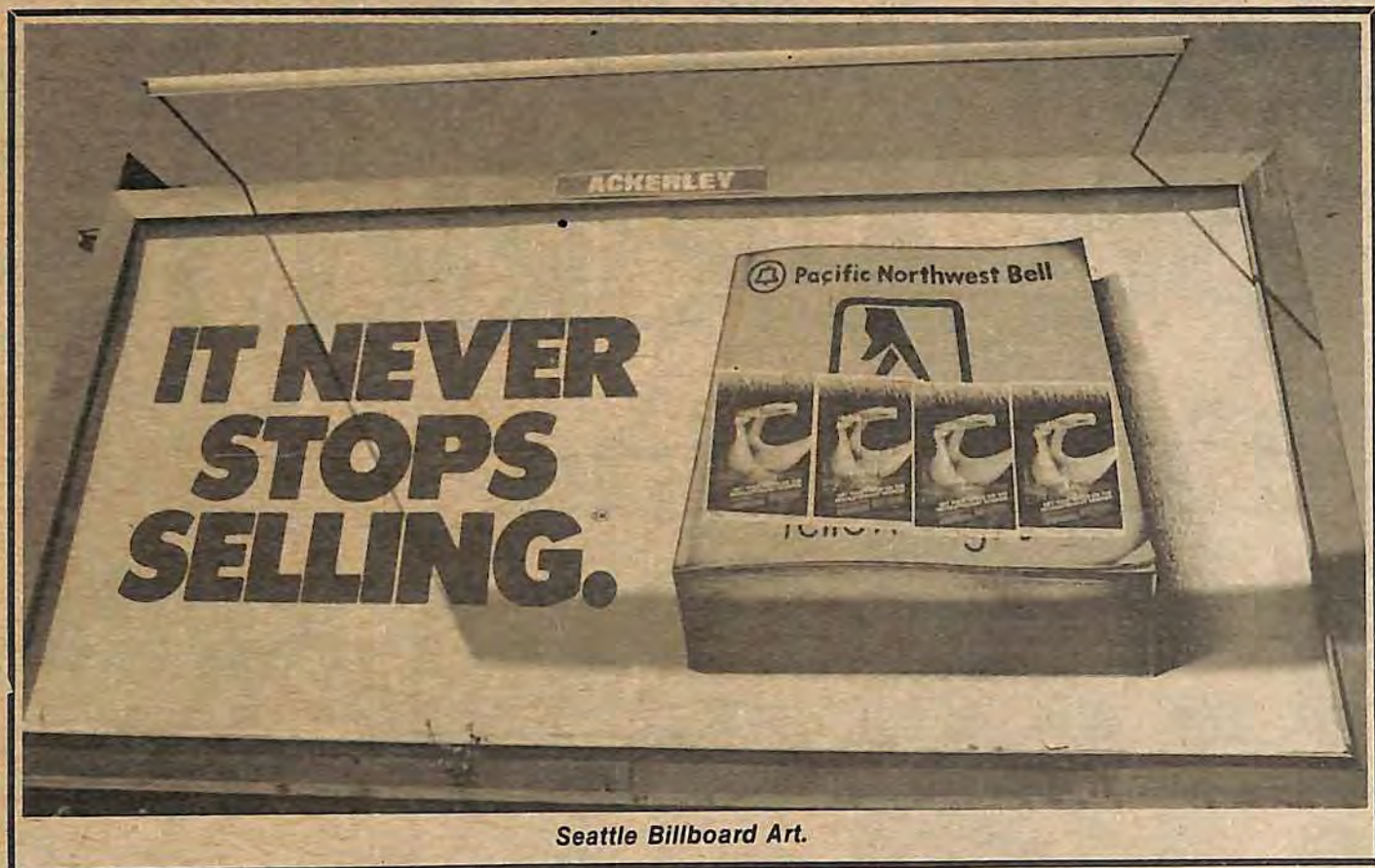
The PTA is mainly used in Britain itself. Its aim is to intimidate Irish people living there and keep them from involvement in political protest under threat of deportation. It also restricts anyone suspected of anti-British sentiments from emigrating to Britain from

Ireland—namely those who are citizens of the nationalist ghettos in the Catholic areas of the North. The PTA supplements the EPA in Northern Ireland by providing for 7-day detention for the interrogation of suspects.

Political prisoners in Northern Ireland have become known as the "blanket men." The term "blanket men" has its origins in the protest against the removal of political prisoner status of Irish internees. In 1976, the British resorted to a policy of "criminalisation"—branding all those arrested for political activities as "criminals" in an effort to counter widespread public opinion against British outrages in Northern Ireland by painting the political activists as "common criminals" and "terrorists."

The key part of the protest was the

Continued on page 19



Seattle Billboard Art.

Revolutionary Worker

Australia Burying War Books Down Under

On November 8 and 9 Australia's High Court issued orders banning the publication of two books which revealed details of Australia's position and role in the U.S. war bloc. The Australian government's attempt to stop publication of this information included an order which prohibited two newspapers, the *Sidney Morning Herald* and the *Age of Melbourne*, from publishing excerpts from one of

the two books. These newspapers were recalled from the racks—and later editions were printed with pages half blank from where the story had been pulled. This ban was the first court action ordering censorship of the press in Australia since World War 2.

The two books, titled *Documents of Australia's Defense and Foreign Policy, 1968-1975* and *A Suitable Piece of Real Estate*, threatened to expose just a small bit of the seamy web of intrigue, secret treaties and backroom diplomacy which binds the bloc together. But the Australian imperialists and their U.S. allies could not have even this small part of the truth exposed, particularly now when their most pressing need is to tighten the U.S. war alliance in preparation for a showdown with the Soviet rivals. Details of Australian involvement in the Vietnam war, secret provisions and arrangements that are part of the Australia-New Zealand-United States (ANZUS) military pact, and the

operation of the complex of U.S. electronic spy-base and communication facilities in Australia, are reported to be some of the topics covered by the banned book.

Australia occupies an important position in U.S. war plans. Both Australia and New Zealand frequently participate in military maneuvers along with the U.S. Also, because Australia is almost directly opposite the U.S. on the globe, it is a key site for U.S. military radar and communication facilities and various spy bases which intercept military communications from the Soviet Union and other countries. The number of those facilities and their exact purposes is a secret closely guarded. Official U.S. publications list only the three largest installations in Australia, but it is known that there are over 26 facilities with hundreds of personnel from the CIA, the National Security Agency and the Defense Department. Also the U.S. is currently discussing

with Australia the possibility of establishing a U.S. Naval and Air Base on the west coast of Australia for use in sustaining U.S. forces in the Indian Ocean and Middle East. And the Australian Navy has recently joined U.S., British and French Navy units in the Indian Ocean where the U.S. bloc has been steadily expanding its military presence.

Of course, it's not hard to see what "security" was at stake here. Certainly the Soviets are, in the main, aware of information of the nature of that suppressed in the two books and newspapers; their own information apparatus tells them this. The Australian High Court action sought to keep this information out of the hands of the people. The "security" jeopardized was merely the further exposure of the fact that the Australian government is firm in its participation and commitment to the western bloc's preparations for World War 3. □

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**As UAW Sells
"Buy America"...**

AUTO IMPORT RULING PROTECTS U.S. WAR BLOC

In a significant ruling, the U.S. International Trade Commission rejected this week a petition for import quotas and higher tariffs against Japanese autos. The petition, brought by Ford Motor Co. and the United Auto Workers, both of whom are promoting a campaign urging Americans to *Buy American* cars, claimed that Japanese imports were causing serious injury to the U.S. auto industry. The commission majority, however, said that the recession, oil price rises and consumer switch to smaller cars had been what hurt the U.S. auto industry, and that the Japanese auto companies had simply benefited from it all. In summing up the decision, commission member Paula Stern even pointed to the "perceived quality deficiencies of domestic autos" as the cause of the industry's troubles. Now that the commission has made this ruling, the only way import quotas could be imposed is through special action by Congress or the president; but Carter doesn't seem about to do it, and has cancelled a scheduled meeting with Japanese Prime Minister Suzuki at which the auto question was to have been discussed, while Reagan remains quite noncommittal, as his "transition officials" say they really couldn't get involved in the issue. The poor little U.S. car industry! Apparently the rest of their fellow imperialists are giving them the cold shoulder and don't care if they go under or not...

Then, on the other hand, there's been a big "Buy American" campaign over the past year, revolving particularly around automobiles. The UAW, for example, has begun an ad campaign on this theme in newspapers and on radio, and has made a big effort to convince auto workers that foreign, especially Japanese, competition is to blame for layoffs in the industry and that the solution is to cut down the imports and get people to buy American-made cars. A car dealer in Detroit had a big event where a brand-new Datsun was smashed by people—including laid-off auto workers—taking turns with a sledge hammer, and similar events have taken place elsewhere amid wide publicity. A Dodge dealer in New York gives customers a bumper sticker for their new cars: "This vehicle built in America by Americans for Americans." The idea, of course, is that Americans have a patriotic duty to support their car industry against the onslaughts of foreigners (especially the Japanese). The "yellow peril" rides again in this campaign of national chauvinism with more than a tinge of racism.

Apparently this is in sharp opposition to the decision of the Trade Commission and the inaction of Carter and Reagan. After the International Trade Commission ruling, Doug Fraser said, "I think the Japanese are probably astounded at home, at what a U.S. government agency has done to the U.S." Pretty strange, it seems—none of these ruling class figures and institutions is patriotic enough to stand up for the U.S. auto industry! In reality, as we shall see, the "Buy American" campaign and the Trade Commission decision are two sides of the same coin—each playing an important part in pursuit of the same impossible and reactionary goal: "Make America No. 1"—Number One World Exploiter, and to prepare to do so through war—world war.

The U.S. auto companies really are in trouble, there's no doubt about that. Chrysler's losses of \$1.5 billion for the first nine months of this year set yet another

gloomy industry record despite the massive bailout subsidies granted it. Ford's third quarter losses of \$595 million gave that company the distinction of having the worst quarterly record of any American company except U.S. Steel (another industry in trouble and very worried about Japanese competition), and GM, Ford and Chrysler together set yet another industry record with combined losses of \$3.5 billion in the first three quarters of 1980 (which would have been higher, but GM used tax credits to cut an actual \$953 million third quarter loss down to \$567 million). And it's not as if the Japanese auto industry isn't making serious inroads and causing some injury to the U.S. industry: about one out of every four new cars sold in the U.S. these days is Japanese.

And it's not that the U.S. imperialists are too committed to their professed doctrine of "free trade." It wasn't very long ago that the U.S., under the guise of an agreement on "orderly marketing," imposed a quota on the import of Japanese color TVs, sought to set limits to the import of both Japanese and European steel under the cover of "anti-dumping" ("dumping" is selling commodities at below cost, just to get rid of them and hurt your competitors), and in 1978 instituted the "trigger-price" mechanism which set a minimum price for imported steel. The Japanese imperialists, like their west European brethren, are very much the junior partners in the bloc, and the U.S. has not hesitated in the past (and won't in the future either) to make clear just who's top dog. So why the sudden U.S. government solicitude for Japanese cars, leaving the U.S. industry apparently high and dry?

Three Reasons Why

Basically there are three reasons for the Trade Commission decision: world war, world war, and world war. This apparently strange ruling from the U.S. ruling class can only find an explanation in the dynamics of preparations for war by the U.S.-led bloc against their rival gangsters headquartered in the USSR. Although there are very real contradictions between the U.S. and other imperialist powers of its bloc, like Japan, the situation now demands that these be increasingly subordinated to the coordination and tightening up of the bloc for war. How this plays itself out must be seen in terms of the development of U.S. imperialism and its bloc.

The U.S. emerged from World War 2 the undisputed top dog in the imperialist world. Japan, Italy and Germany were devastated and in large part under direct U.S. control, France and England decisively weakened. In the postwar decade the U.S. moved quickly to penetrate the French and British empires, trying to supplant these imperialists in the oppressed nations of the world while at the same time propping up the imperialist powers, forming them into a bloc under U.S. hegemony, and preparing to move against the countries headed by the then-socialist Soviet Union which had also emerged out of the war. But even this new division of the world, and the restructuring of capital which it brought about, were only partially and temporarily able to ease some of the contradictions of imperialism. By 1957-58, the U.S. was enmeshed in a serious recession. But the same period (1956) also marked a momentous development—counter-revolution in the USSR, the coming to power of revisionism, then personified by Khrushchev, bringing about the restoration of capitalism in this once-socialist country. This was more than simply a set-back in itself—it offered nothing less than a new lease on life for U.S. imperialism. For during the first period of its existence Soviet capitalism, while leaping at once to the stage of imperialism itself, was in a weak position in relation to U.S. imperialism, finding it more advantageous to collude and give way to the latter, especially in its exploitation of the oppressed nations, even as Soviet social-imperialism (imperialism with a socialist cover) began to stretch its own sucking tentacles out around the world.

For the U.S. and its bloc this was a godsend, and the relative growth and prosperity which they all experienced in the 1960s was the direct result. But everything develops and turns into its opposite, and the imperialist expansion of the sixties intensified the inner contradictions of imperialism. While the main world-scale contradiction in the '60s and early '70s was between im-

perialism and the oppressed nations, another of these contradictions is the contradiction among the different imperialist powers, springing from their different and uneven development. This took two principal forms in the late 1960s and '70s. On the one hand, the main contradiction among the imperialists was that between the U.S. and USSR. Today this is the contradiction that is driving toward war. But secondarily there were and are contradictions which sharpened within the U.S. bloc, with particularly German and Japanese imperialism developing at a faster rate, and coming up against the limits imposed by the hegemony of the increasingly more parasitic U.S. By the beginning of the 1970s these contradictions had sharpened considerably—but so had the contradiction between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. It is this inter-relation of contradictions that has defined relations of the imperialist countries of the U.S. bloc in the 1970s, particularly following the bloc-wide economic crisis of 1974-75. The common necessity to face off against the Soviet Union has come more and more to the fore—even as the economic crisis which grips the bloc intensifies contradictions within it (although it is clear to all, and above all imposes itself on the U.S. bloc leaders, that these are subordinate to the contradiction with the Soviet bloc). (For more on this, see "Western War Boat Finds Rough Seas in Venice Canals," RW No. 61, 6/27/80.)

The Days of "Free Trade"

One of the areas in which these contradictions within the bloc manifest themselves is that of trade. Coming out of World War 2, the U.S. loudly proclaimed the virtues of free trade—that is, the removal of tariffs, quotas, etc. This reflected the fact that U.S. exports had no trouble competing, since the U.S. had the strongest economy in the postwar capitalist world, and the U.S. imperialists were principally concerned to break down all the barriers to the export of both their goods and their capital. (It was also an expression of the fact that the U.S. was determined to use its hegemonic position to break down other countries' trade barriers without

Continued on page 18



Forming a unity with the recent Trade Commission decision is the campaign to "Buy American." But how to know what's really "American"? The Escort has parts from all over. And some of them may be made by U.S. companies overseas, others by non-U.S. companies. Then there are foreign-company cars made in the U.S.A., U.S.-company cars made abroad, foreign cars made with U.S. parts, etc. The possibilities are almost endless, no doubt a source of constant headaches for the conscientious neanderthal who wants to do his patriotic duty.

West German Youth Crash War Rites

November 12. Bonn, W. Germany—Gathered at night in the central square with thousands looking on are 150 new army recruits. In the shadows of a medieval cathedral—their helmets reflecting the flickering light of the burning torches they are holding—they say in unison "I pray to the power of love that Jesus has bestowed." This is followed a short while later by the recruits taking the oath to join the West German army while five of their numbers symbolically clasp a West German flag.

As millions watched at home on TV, the martial music which has filled the square for an hour reached a quieter passage. Suddenly, the almost mystical atmosphere that has been created is shattered by hundreds of shouting, whistling demonstrators who have infiltrated the crowd. As the thousands of riot-equipped cops who have cordoned off the square stand by helplessly, the spell the bourgeoisie has thought to have cast has once again been broken.

This mass public induction of draftees into the West German army—2,000 in all—is part of a series of similar events being held across the country this month to celebrate the 25th Anniversary of the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany after the Second World War. But for a great many people, these anniversary celebrations—which represent a sharp leap in previous attempts to whip up patriotism, and sentiment for war—bear a striking resemblance to Germany's round of orgies of military-religious pomp and circumstance the last time the world's imperialists launched a global slaughter for empire and profit.

The German bourgeoisie has a particular problem. During the last imperialist crisis and war, the bourgeoisie was forced to drop their "democratic" mask and rule through open dictatorship; and this act of self-exposure is part of the legacy they have to deal with in preparing to take part in yet another war to redivide the world, a redivision they desperately need. While they do more and more openly appeal to the reactionary sentiments inculcated, especially during the Nazi period (which their martial music is designed to awaken), the main way they try to deal with

this is to pretend that it was something other than the German *bourgeoisie* which used to be in power; and they try to turn this to their advantage by making it seem as though the question is "democracy" versus "dictatorship." They further attempt to twist this and apply it to the current situation, trying to paint the Soviet rulers as something other than an imperialist bourgeoisie to make the terms of the war the "democratic West versus the totalitarian" Soviet bloc.

In response to the criticism that these ceremonies were promoting militarism and harkening back to the Hitler era, Defense Minister, Hans Apel, replied, "I find that these ceremonies are very much in the democratic tradition. In swearing an oath of allegiance to the constitution and Republic, the inductees are in no way pledging to follow a Fuehrer or Kaiser." But these pious claims by West Germany's rulers that this time it's different because it's a "democratic" and not a fascist fatherland that these soldiers are meant to defend has not pacified the increasingly furious reactions of the people who know imperialist war preparations when they see them, and oppose them with all the means at their disposal.

Ever since May 6th when thousands of youth armed with rocks, bottles and Molotov cocktails tried to storm a similar ceremony being held in Bremen to commemorate NATO's 25th Anniversary (see *RW* No. 54), battle lines have been drawn. Will the West German imperialists—who have the largest army in the U.S. war bloc in Europe—beat the war drums for the coming showdown unopposed or will they be challenged and their plans to sacrifice millions on the altar of their God—Profit—be exposed? The mass induction in Bremen marked a significant escalation in the West German ruling class's war preparations. Before and even to an extent since then the rulers here have been hesitant to make the relatively more brazen calls to arms that have become so common in the U.S. Unlike the U.S., which was relatively untouched in the two previous world wars, Germany was devastated. Further, bordering directly with the Soviet bloc as it does, it cannot escape being a major battleground from the start of any large-scale fighting in Europe between imperialist blocs. It is therefore much harder to blind people

to the massive destruction and misery the masses will suffer in the coming showdown by parading around like John Wayne and calling on people to remember the Alamo. The bourgeoisie here have therefore relied much more on the "let's be reasonable, go the last mile for peace" approach, to convince the masses that everything possible is being done to avoid war and to paint it as something that is forced upon them by the "aggressor Soviets."

At the same time they are also faced with the necessity of lining the masses up behind their stepped-up war preparations and the national banner. The ceremony in Bremen marked an important step in this effort. The fact that their escalation of war preparations in Bremen got the response that it did, especially from the youth, literally freaked them out. The events there woke millions up to the whole question of world war and drew thousands into more active opposition. Since then Bremen has been the continuous subject of debate among the politicians and study and investigation by the various arms of the state apparatus. The scheduling of mass public inductions in six major cities in West Germany is obviously a conscious decision on the part of the ruling class, reflecting the necessity they face to push ahead with their more open chauvinistic war preparations. It is also in a sense a throwing down of the gauntlet to those forces who have come into motion to oppose these preparations. Chancellor Schmidt, the "socialist" whose reelection was to "Stop Strauss" (and the all but open neo-fascism he represented), has given the go-ahead for this. Fully aware of the powderkeg they are playing with, at each of the ceremonies to date, all demonstrations have been declared illegal and thousands of riot police and MP's have been massed to try to prevent a repeat of Bremen. Nevertheless in every city the authorities have been unable to stop the demonstrations and disruptions.

Nov. 6, Munich—2 demonstrations protesting the ceremony. At the same

time, hundreds infiltrated the ceremony itself and disrupted it despite the fact that before it started 200 people who police thought "might get out of hand" were thrown out.

November 11—Hannover—While 1,250 were inducted in a ceremony in a football stadium, 3,000-5,000 demonstrated in opposition. After a rally 200 tried to march into the stadium themselves and were beaten back by the cops with water cannons and billyclubs. As they marched back to downtown, two cop cars were trashed and a number of major department stores along the route suffered damage.

November 11—Saarbrücken—A large demonstration was held in opposition to the public induction of 2,000 troops. This ceremony was also disrupted by demonstrators whistling, chanting and booing from inside the crowd. In Bonn, in addition to the action during the ceremony, 5,000 people demonstrated the Saturday before to protest the induction.

These demonstrations have been organized by a broad spectrum of political groups ranging from the JUSOS (Young Socialists, youth group of the ruling Social-Democratic Party) to pro-Moscow and pro-China revisionists and also including numerous forces from the environmental and anti-nuke movements, along with the so-called "unorganized left" as well as generally youth and students and particularly in northern German cities—working class youth.

The fact that even the JUSOS and the revisionists have found themselves forced to initiate actions in order to maintain any credibility with their social base reflects how deeply the masses have been drawn into discussion and struggle and the extremely sharp sentiments these war preparations have provoked. Far from passively being dragged into the rising current, the role of the opportunists in general and the role of the JUSOS in particular has been to rope in and derail this struggle. The bottom line of the JUSOS' opposition to these ceremonies is to their form and not their content—"of course we need to build up 'our' army, let's just not remind people so much of Nazism." The revisionists, as well, have their own reasons for decrying "militarism" in the abstract and disguising the particular nature of the inter-imperialist war that is being prepared for. In practical terms, too, these organizations have worked to contain the movement by staging actions separated in time and place from the mass induction ceremonies to avoid and oppose the open confrontations between thousands of youth and the civil and military police that have brought these war preparations into such sharp debate and become such an obstacle to them. But more basically, the situation is increasingly out of control for the ruling class and its sycophants.

At the same time, there are a number of small but significant forces, particularly from among the youth and among some of these anti-nuke and environmental groups, who do raise opposition to the ceremonies in connection with preparations for world war and the fact that these ceremonies are themselves war preparations and the more this gets exposed, the more the question of war and in whose interests it's going to be fought will come to the fore. It is expected that this struggle will reach a crescendo in the next four weeks, particularly around the November 21 mass inductions scheduled for Stuttgart, where especially massive opposition is predicted. □

Reader Writes on Bauman Article

As a regular reader of the *Revolutionary Worker*, I am writing in criticism of an article in the October 17, 1980 issue titled "Moral Majority" Caught With Its Pants Down. While I think there was a lot that was correct in the article, particularly to the extent that it exposed and attacked the hypocrisy of those like Representative Bauman and the rest of his ilk of the Moral Majority, I must say that the numerous joking but none-too-cute sexual innuendos regarding homosexual activity ran counter to and actually detracted from the point the article should have been making. Such cheap comments (none of which is necessary to repeat here) run counter to the past practice of the *RW* and can only do damage. As I say, the point that should have been made more

sharply is the hypocrisy of these reactionary moralists, particularly around their pious opposition to abortion and devotion to family, God and country, etc. We should be spared the snickering comments on the methods by which Bauman and his buddies go about committing their "sins." All this abounds in most any bourgeois rags around today. This newspaper should continue to do what it does so profoundly and tirelessly, expose every aspect of the imperialist system in preparation for ending its existence ASAP. Create Public Opinion... Seize Power.

A Reader

Revolutionary Worker: We agree.

**COMMUNISTS
ARE REBELS**

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

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U.S. Economic Vise Squeezes Iranian Rulers

"Any progress on the hostages' release is up to the Iranians," intoned Deputy Secretary of State Warren Christopher as he got off a military jet after returning to Washington D.C. from a 30 hour long trip to Algeria to deliver the official U.S. reply to the Iranian government's conditions for releasing the hostages. While keeping the whole business shrouded in secrecy as much as possible, U.S. officials said they were informing the Iranian government that there are certain "legal problems" standing in the way of completing the deal, especially concerning U.S. banks' and corporations' claims against Iran and on returning the fortune that the Shah and his family of royal parasites stole from the Iranian people. However, as we will see, these "legal difficulties" are nothing more than a blatant ruse for pressing the Iranian government for major concessions on much more than the immediate question of releasing the hostages.

Throughout last week, the U.S. government said it was "studying" Iran's conditions and was "carefully considering" its reply; Swiss and Algerian diplomatic missions ran secret messages back and forth from the U.S. and Iran even while Christopher and his entourage of State Department and CIA specialists flew off to Algeria to publicly demonstrate the U.S. "commitment" to the negotiations. However, what these latest diplomatic moves on the part of the U.S. imperialists are really based on was laid out in a recent nationally syndicated column by a former director of the United States Information Agency, Carl Rowan: "It has been off Page One lately, but the Iran-Iraq war still rages...the United States now surely will want the Iraqis to roll on, increasing the threat of the fall of the Ayatollah and the dismemberment of Iran. How great must the threat to Iran's national integrity become before those posturing as leaders say 'Let those Americans go, now, so we can get the money and arms we need to defend ourselves.'?"

What distinguishes this Mr. Voice of America from Mr. Warren Christopher is not his politics, but his frankness and arrogant bragging about the naked blackmail operation the U.S. imperialists have been running in the Persian Gulf to force the Iranian government to come to terms with the U.S. They are putting a *double squeeze* on Iran—first unleashing the Iraqi invasion and pouring U.S. forces into the region to put the heat on Iran militarily, and then turning around like the international gangsters they are and offering to release Iran's sizeable economic holdings in the U.S. (after the hostages are released of course) in order to "assist" the Iranian bourgeoisie in rebuilding their economy and military after the massive destruction they themselves have wreaked on Iran.

Thus, the U.S. imperialists not only aim to get their hostages back, but they are using the whole "negotiating process" to bludgeon the Iranian bourgeoisie into submission and increasing dependence on the U.S. Like the spare parts and loans being discussed, the hostages are 52 bargaining chips for the U.S. ruling class to attempt to do just that.

Naturally the U.S. government is trying to camouflage its dirty work by claiming that what is actually holding up the release of the hostages is the "bewildering legal tangle of claims and counter-claims" that the U.S. and Iran have against each other, as well as the opposition of "anti-American hard liners" in Iran. There continues to be

struggle within Iran's ruling circles over the exact terms and timetable for releasing the hostages—but not over the need to cinch the deal itself. (Further, much of these "hard-line anti-U.S." speeches are staged for public consumption in Iran and to cover up the actual content of their dealings with the U.S.) While quite aware of all this, the U.S. imperialists have no intention of easing up on the terms they are demanding from the Iranian government.

As for these so-called "legal obstacles," many bourgeois commentators have already pointed out that the U.S. government has all the power it needs—including invoking the same International Emergency Economic Powers Act that Carter used to freeze Iranian assets in the U.S. in the first place—to deal with the situation. A fairly frank statement of how the imperialists mold the "body of law" that is supposedly above classes and how they are using this as a thin cover for political blackmail, provided by several Wall Street bankers and corporate lawyers who were recently interviewed in the *New York Times*: "*If the primary objective of the Iranian government is to improve their relations with the United States, then an agreement in accordance with these principles (the principles of being consistent with 'American interests' and 'American law') could be reached.*" (our italics)

Bank Blackmail

Central to U.S. imperialism's present plans to begin sinking its claws much more deeply into Iran is the role being played by U.S. banks. Chase Manhattan, Bank of America and several other major banks hold between \$6 and \$8 billion in Iranian assets in the U.S. and their foreign branch offices. Much of this is oil revenues that the Iranian government continued to deposit in these banks through 1979. Before the revolution, these big U.S. banks had extended large loans to Iran under the Shah that they are continuing to demand payment on. Take one example. Chase Manhattan (run by David Rockefeller, who used to handle much of the Shah's overseas investments and financial affairs) put together a syndicated loan of \$500 million to the Shah's regime in 1977 for the purpose of "balancing the budget"—that is, to pay for U.S. arms deliveries to Iran that were running at the rate of over \$3 billion a year at that time. As with many such loans, after the overthrow of the Shah, the new Iranian government continued to make interest payments on this loan, until after the embassy seizure, when Chase Manhattan gathered up its share of this big loan along with all its other outstanding loans to Iran (totalling \$340 million) and simply "paid itself back" by seizing \$340 million worth of Iranian assets deposited in its branch office in the U.S. and overseas.

While most certainly looking out for its own interests, (or as they like to put it, the "interests of our shareholders"), Chase Manhattan's blackmail scheme against Iran is part and parcel of a much larger operation with far more at stake than improving these banks' balance sheets. The U.S. capitalist class as a whole is attempting to force the Iranian government to commit itself to paying back these huge debts contracted by the Shah (estimated at around \$12 billion owed to Western creditors). This "commitment" will entail leaving billions of dollars in Western banks as "insurance" against defaulting on these loans, and it will require taking out even more loans from these same worldwide financial institu-

tions in order to pay back the original ones—leading to greater and greater dependency and subservience to the U.S. and its allied imperialist powers.

Thus, having unleashed the reactionary Iraqi regime against Iran and having done billions of dollars worth of damage to Iran's oil industry and to other sectors of the economy—and threatening to do more—the U.S. imperialists are making a truly generous offer to the Iranian government. But there's only one catch, says the U.S. bourgeoisie. "You're not gonna get any of this stuff—you're not gonna get the money you put in our banks or the spare parts your army needs—unless and until you start playing ball with us. We can and will strangle you economically and militarily threaten your rule. You're gonna pay a price for having gone along with this embassy seizure as long as you have and for opposing us in any way. And in fact, we don't want the hostages back until these conditions of ours are met."

The gangster rulers of the U.S. fully expect that this will be an "offer" that the Iranian government "can't refuse." For in fact, the Iranian national bour-

geoisie today is in an increasingly untenable position—caught in a vise between the increasing economic and military pressure of the imperialists and the continued revolutionary struggle of the Iranian masses—to do anything else. A basic contradiction they have faced since taking power with the downfall of the shah—trying to assert their "independence" from the Western imperialist powers to some degree, while requiring continued ties with the same imperialists in order to consolidate their rule over the masses of the people—is coming to a head with the acceleration of world events toward a third world war. Most particularly, the U.S. imperialists are more desperate and determined than ever to bring Iran back under their *total* domination in order to buttress their hold on the oil rich Persian Gulf in preparation for a decisive military showdown with the Soviet social-imperialists. This, combined with the long-standing tendency of large sections of the Iranian ruling classes to look to the Western imperialists for "protection" against the Soviets—has

Continued on page 20



Iranians in Ahwaz digging trenches against possible Iraqi attack. The Iranian masses are the hitch that most worries both the U.S. imperialists and Iran's bourgeois rulers as they move to conclude their reactionary deals.

Debate on 100,000 Campaign

LET 100 FLOWERS BLOSSOM: LET 100 SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND

On September 19, 1980 we called for open struggle and debate in the pages of the Revolutionary Worker on the plan for revolutionary work put forward by the RCP. This debate was called for, learning from Mao Tsetung, who put forward the policy of "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom, Let a Hundred Schools of Thought Contend," at an important juncture of the Chinese Revolution when differing views needed to come to light. We pointed out that "while our situation is different, the principles are the same: we need and welcome this struggle, particularly among the advanced workers. Mao also said, 'How can there be no wrangling in this world of ours? Marxism is a wranglingism, dealing as it does with contradictions and struggles. Contradictions are always present, and where there are contradictions, there are struggles.'" (Talks at Conference of Party Committee Secretaries, Selected Works, Vol. 5, p. 364)."

The RCP has put forward our plan for revolutionary work leading toward the proletarian seizure of power in this country—a plan centered around a revolutionary newspaper. We have put forward that the task of winning the immediate battle for 100,000 co-conspirators—readers and distributors of the Revolutionary Worker is an urgent question and that the revolutionary forces are lagging behind in meeting the interests and requirements of the advanced section of the workers who need to be further armed with a revolutionary understanding of the world and revolutionary organization, in order to change it. We know that not everyone agrees with this plan and have opened the pages of the newspaper to this struggle because the decisive question in this campaign for 100,000 is the political understanding and unity around a revolutionary line. Below are some of the views sent to us by readers of the newspaper in answer to our call to debate.

Because we are confident of the truth and correctness of Marxism, and of our Party's basic line and plan for revolution, we know that through open struggle, it will win out, and more than that, will be the motor for rapid leaps. It will win far more fighters, co-conspirators, from among the revolutionary-minded people." Through this "100 Flowers" campaign, we will continue to elaborate and clarify our views in the pages of the paper. But for the struggle to be thoroughly joined, for the common cause to be advanced to the max we must continue to hear from you.

"Decisive Political Action" Must Play A Greater Role Than It Does

I see events accelerating in the world—deepening economic and political crisis in both the U.S. and Soviet blocs; and I see the U.S. and Soviet Union rapidly moving towards world war. In many ways World War III has already begun with the Iran-Iraq war being yet another opening shot. Like a global chess game the superpowers are maneuvering their pawns, trying to get themselves in the best strategic position in order to wage and win the upcoming showdown. I see this throwing everything up for grabs in the Middle East including the possibility of proletarian revolution in Iran in the near future as well as revolutionary upsurges in Iraq and other parts of the Middle East. I can also see sporadic outbursts in other parts of the world (including the U.S.) becoming more prolonged and frequent. The masses here in the U.S. are beginning (again) to get dragged into political life by this objective situation. And I see great advances having been made by the conscious forces internationally (which include the birth and development of the RCP) applying Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of their own countries putting revolution squarely back on the map.

But what I don't see is a leap being made in multiplying our revolutionary forces by November which is what is being called for in the 100,000 campaign. I see big advances, I don't see a leap. Despite some positive changes in the mood of the masses, the people in the U.S. are still very backward—are generally under the political and ideological boot of the bourgeoisie which is still clinging to its super-exploiter position in the world, with its ability to bombard the

masses with all its bourgeois illusions. This is not to deny that there aren't millions in this country that have a burning hatred for the way they have to live, or that there won't be sudden and dramatic changes in the near future. But right now the atmosphere does intimidate and suffocate many of those advanced who logistically are often isolated and have difficulty contending with all this backwardness. I do not say we can't make breakthroughs and meet the needs and requirements of many advanced, who must be armed with Marxism if they are to be tribunes of the people—building networks and spreading the influence of the paper. But while getting armed with Marxism need not be an endless process (there has been some advanced experience of the masses using the *RW* and the draft *Programme* to arm themselves with Marxism) in order to go up against all this bourgeois shit in all its forms—reformism, cynicism, idealism, individualism, etc. generally requires intense protracted struggle.

In pre-revolutionary Russia, it is true that communists had to come from behind considering the economism that affected and narrowed the movement. But the fact that 1000s of workers were lifting their heads, questioning, debating, looking for some answers (as well as the deep ties the Bolsheviks had with the masses) was certainly fertile ground for multiplying the distribution of their paper. But here in the U.S. we often have to track down the advanced—and then wage sharp (often protracted) struggle just to get them to take up the paper, or to get them to continue taking out the paper in the face of some resistance they get confronted with. And while I do not argue against making the 100,000 campaign (or shall we say 75,000) the main focus of the work over the next month or so—because of the suffocating atmosphere that exists right now I do think that we have to look to other ways of creating public opinion. For instance, we need to find ways to put the stamp of the working class on some of these spontaneous outbursts. Last year 200 class-conscious workers were at an anti-draft demonstration in Washington—workers of all nationalities carrying red flags, and bringing out the outlook and discipline of the working class. At the same time hundreds of *RW*'s were sold. The action had a powerful impact on the masses and gave the class-conscious workers a sense of the kind of social force they can and must become in this country. And while it's true that the paper will play the decisive role in bringing advanced workers into the streets in a class-conscious way, these kinds of actions help to break the sense of isolation that these workers feel and brings out in a much more vivid way how consciousness can indeed become a powerful material force for revolution. We must continue to give expression to the fact that a class-conscious force was born on May Day.

The *Revolutionary Worker* with its networks will be the foundation on which this revolutionary movement must be built, but this must be dialectically related to creating broad public opinion around Iran, and U.S.-Soviet war moves. I think that the time to galvanize our forces is now—to reach sections of the masses that we might not see under normal circumstances—not in order to achieve palpable results—but to be a visible class-conscious force standing with the Iranian revolution and the international proletariat—exposing U.S. imperialism—spreading the lessons of the revolution—acting like a magnet for the millions out there who do not come into contact with the *RW* but are looking for answers. This along with a quantitative advance in the number of sustained readers will create new more favorable conditions for moving on to revolution. As the draft *Programme* states: "Through all this, the role of the class-conscious proletariat under the leadership of the Party and together with the work of the Party itself will be of crucial importance. The more that this revolutionary section of the working class mounts the political stage and takes decisive political action, the greater will be its influence, both among broader ranks of the working class and other strata and social forces, the more powerfully will the revolutionary potential of the working class stand out and the more forces will be attracted to its banner—the revolutionary banner of the international

proletariat. And too, the more that revolutionary struggles worldwide develop and the more that the influence of the proletariat grows within them, broader sections of the working class in this country will develop class consciousness and undertake class-conscious political struggle. It is through the twists and turns of such a process, and especially with the sharpening of the objective conditions and the strengthening of the influence and leadership of the Party, that the development of a united front under the leadership of the proletariat will proceed and the movement will advance toward the goal of proletarian revolution." We must see the dialectic between taking out the *RW* and "decisive political action." But it's my opinion that "decisive political action" must play a greater role than it does.

F.T.

How to Raise the Consciousness of the Masses

Comrades,

It is a very important battle we are in—one crucial to the class conscious proletariat and its Party making the necessary leaps to catch up to and influence the spontaneous upsurge of the masses, to divert them toward maximizing preparations for seizing power whenever the possibility for it develops. I am confident that both in the course of this debate in the pages of the *RW* and through that in the practice of making the vital leap to 100,000 co-conspirators, the correct line of the Party and its Chairman will win out.

In this spirit I would like to respond to the second letter in No. 75. Overall this letter reflects the same pessimistic and determinist outlook "I don't think we can do it in time," "we're too tiny" as previous letters which attacked the Party's line on the objective situation and possibility of coming from behind, while also incorrectly (with metaphysics and idealism) comparing our present situation with that of the Russian revolutionary movement and the role of the Bolsheviks.

But more central to this letter I believe is a wholesale opposition (economist as can be despite the author's claim to the contrary) to the Party's central task, Create Public Opinion... Seize Power. The author's disbelief in the possibility to win the campaign for 100,000 co-conspirators is based on the need for something more concrete than the Party's central task of carrying out systematic agitation and propaganda among the masses, with the *RW* the main weapon.

The author thinks that without a "visible force" out in the streets "like May Day," the advanced cannot be won to seeing the decisive importance of a revolutionary network of co-conspirators created in the wake of the *RW*, collectively trained in a Marxist line and outlook through the Party's line and collectively organized to act in common to spread the Party's line and influence broader and deeper among the awakening masses.

The comrade puts his/her line forward in the name of a better way to "raise consciousness" but the fundamental error of the whole letter is that it deviates from and opposes the Party's correct line on how to raise the consciousness of the masses.

At the time Lenin wrote *Where to Begin* and later *What Is To Be Done?*, he pointed out that due to the development of the spontaneous struggle of the masses and the struggle of revolutionaries led by Lenin to forge a correct line to build a Communist Party, that everyone "agreed" that there must be a Party capable of providing leadership, "a revolutionary organization capable of combining all the forces and of leading the movement not only in name, but in deed, i.e., an organization that will be ready at any moment to support every protest and every outbreak, and to utilize these for the purpose of increasing and strengthening the military forces required for decisive battle." But sharp disagreement broke over how to do this, a practical solution of it and in particular opposition to seeing that an all-Russian newspaper was key.

Continued on page 26

Leonard Peltier Writes

Marion Prison Strike Enters Eighth Week

Marion, Illinois. As we go to press, a work stoppage at Marion Federal Penitentiary is continuing in its eighth week, making it the longest strike in the history of the federal prison system. It is the third strike staged at Marion this year. The work stoppage is 100% solid among the 320 prisoners who actually have jobs and is receiving the support and solidarity of the 120 held in the notorious Control Unit who have no jobs.

Built in 1963 to replace Alcatraz, Marion is the heaviest maximum security prison in the U.S. today. Inside these well-guarded walls, the Control Unit, housing nearly one-third of the inmate population, acts as a prison within a prison. The existence of this infamous unit, containing 10 "boxcar" cells, which has used psychological deprivation and drug-induced stupors to "control" prisoners, forms the backdrop against which steady and determined resistance of the prisoners has unfolded. The Control Unit and its boxcars are nothing but a modern-day torture chamber and represent the bottom line

of what this prison is really about.

This unit is reserved not merely for "troublemakers," but for those inmates with a history of rebellion, and particularly those who have been political activists on the outside and at other prisons. A letter to the RW from Leonard Peltier, the Native American freedom fighter jailed at Marion for participating in the armed self-defense of his people, provides much of the information for this article. Also imprisoned at Marion are two participants in the Walla Walla Prison rebellion last year and 21 inmates transferred from New Mexico State Prison after the uprising there. These inmates in the Control Unit are not chosen by the warden, but selected on a nationwide basis by the regional directors of the bureau of prisons in Kansas City and Washington, D.C. Prisoners are locked up 23 and 1/2 hours a day in Control Unit cages which are two square feet larger than the standard dog kennel. The boxcar cells are politely called "sensory deprivation units" by psychologists. These cells, originally

equipped with a solid steel door with a slit in it, are completely dark and noiseless, designed for the sole purpose of literally driving a prisoner insane.

As the strike continues, it is clear that the Control Unit has not succeeded in its mission to break these prisoners. In fact it has tightened the unity among prisoners of all nationalities around many demands including religious freedom for Native Americans and Black Muslims. Leonard Peltier writes, "The Indian population has been outright denied our religious rights such as the sweat lodge. When I personally presented Warden Harold Miller with a petition signed unanimously by the population (over 300 names) that we be granted and allowed to have a sweat lodge, sometimes known as a purification ceremony, the warden answered with hostility and flat out said 'No.' ... When I asked if that was his final word, he said 'I gave you my answer. I run Marion and not the court or anyone else. This conversation is terminated.' Also, the Muslims and other Black/white religious sects receive

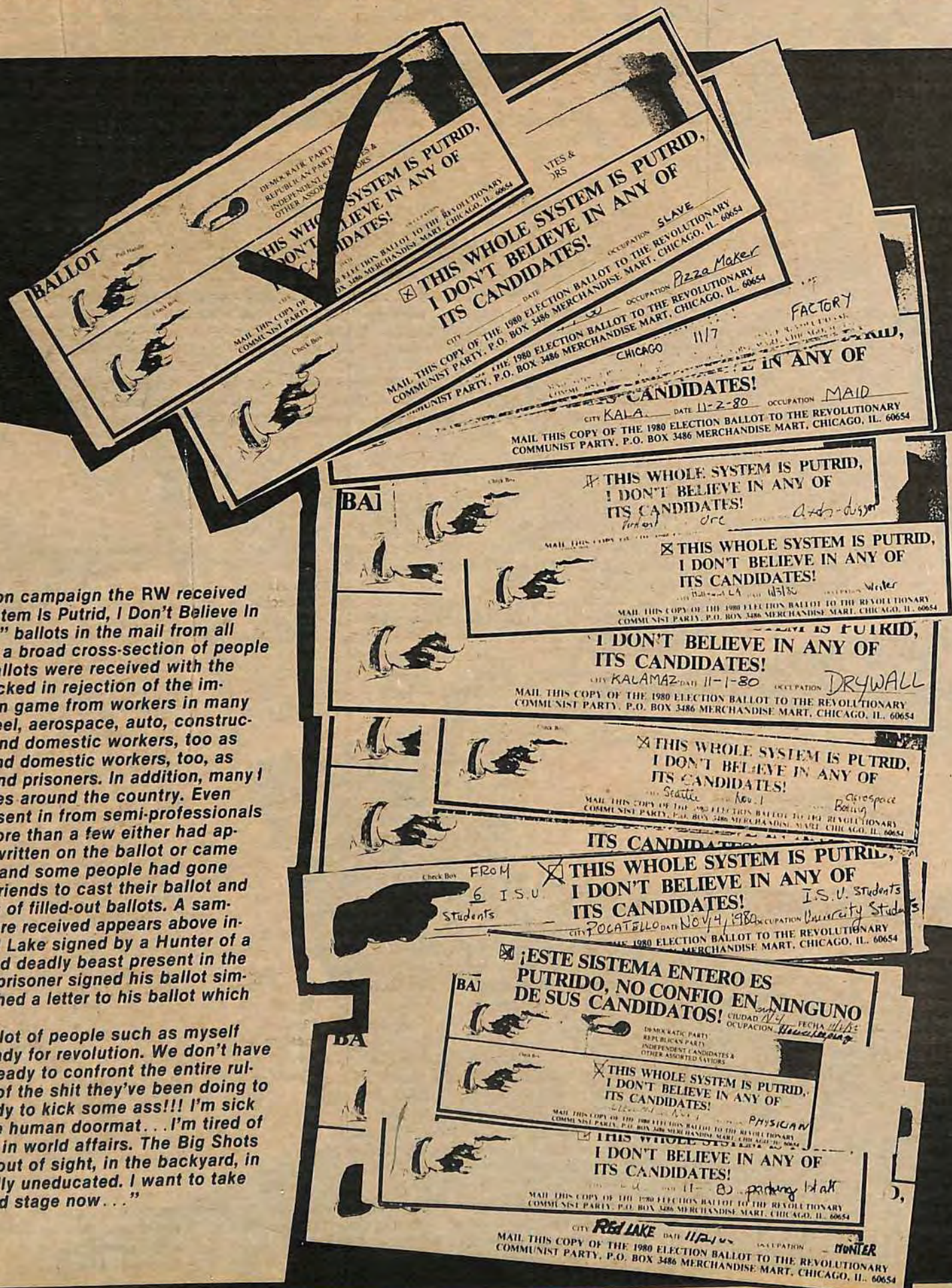
severe religious restrictions."

To keep themselves from being slowly starved and debilitated, the prisoners are demanding more and better portions of food since the ration was cut back by 20% early this year. They want an end to demeaning and degrading practices concerning visitors. Peltier writes, "The reasons for this harassment to our visitors is to administer extra punishment on us (and visitors), and also to discourage them from communicating with and visiting us. They (the authorities) would like to see us cut off completely with the outside world, especially those of us who are political prisoners." He adds that prisoners are also routinely isolated through being arbitrarily thrown into segregation. "The Bureau of Prisons' policy states that no one shall be sentenced to disciplinary segregation for more than 60 days, yet prisoners are sentenced from 90 to 120 days in violation of their own policy." Other demands include more recreation activities and higher wages for those working in the food service, laundry,

Continued on page 20

During the election campaign the RW received hundreds of "This System Is Putrid, I Don't Believe In Any Of Its Candidates" ballots in the mail from all over the country from a broad cross-section of people of all nationalities. Ballots were received with the proper box firmly checked in rejection of the imperialists' election con game from workers in many industries such as steel, aerospace, auto, construction, and restaurant and domestic workers, too, as well as unemployed and prisoners. In addition, many college from campuses around the country. Even quite a number were sent in from semi-professionals and professionals. More than a few either had appropriate comments written on the ballot or came with letters attached and some people had gone around getting their friends to cast their ballot and sent in whole packets of filled-out ballots. A sampling of some that were received appears above including one from Red Lake signed by a Hunter of a particularly smelly and deadly beast present in the area he lives in. One prisoner signed his ballot simply "slave" and attached a letter to his ballot which read in part:

"But there are a lot of people such as myself who are definitely ready for revolution. We don't have nothing to lose. I'm ready to confront the entire ruling class with some of the shit they've been doing to me for years. I'm ready to kick some ass!!! I'm sick and tired of being the human doormat... I'm tired of not having no say so in world affairs. The Big Shots keep people like me out of sight, in the backyard, in the dark and politically uneducated. I want to take my place on the world stage now..."



FRATERNIZE INTERNATIONALIST ART SHOW ANTI-WW3

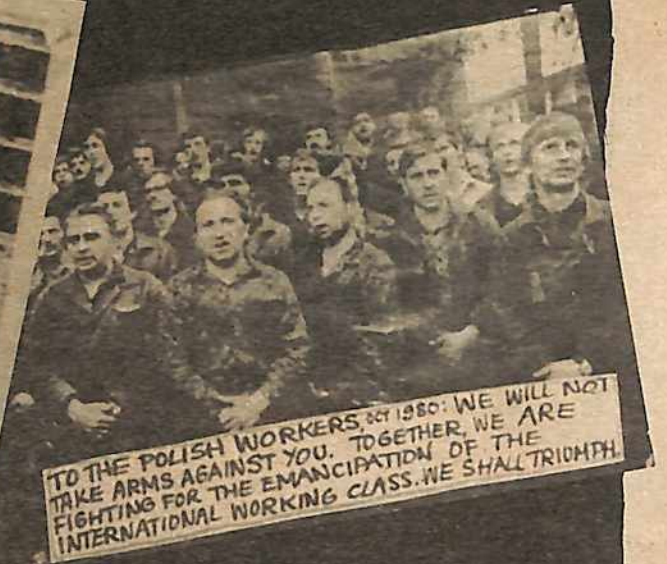
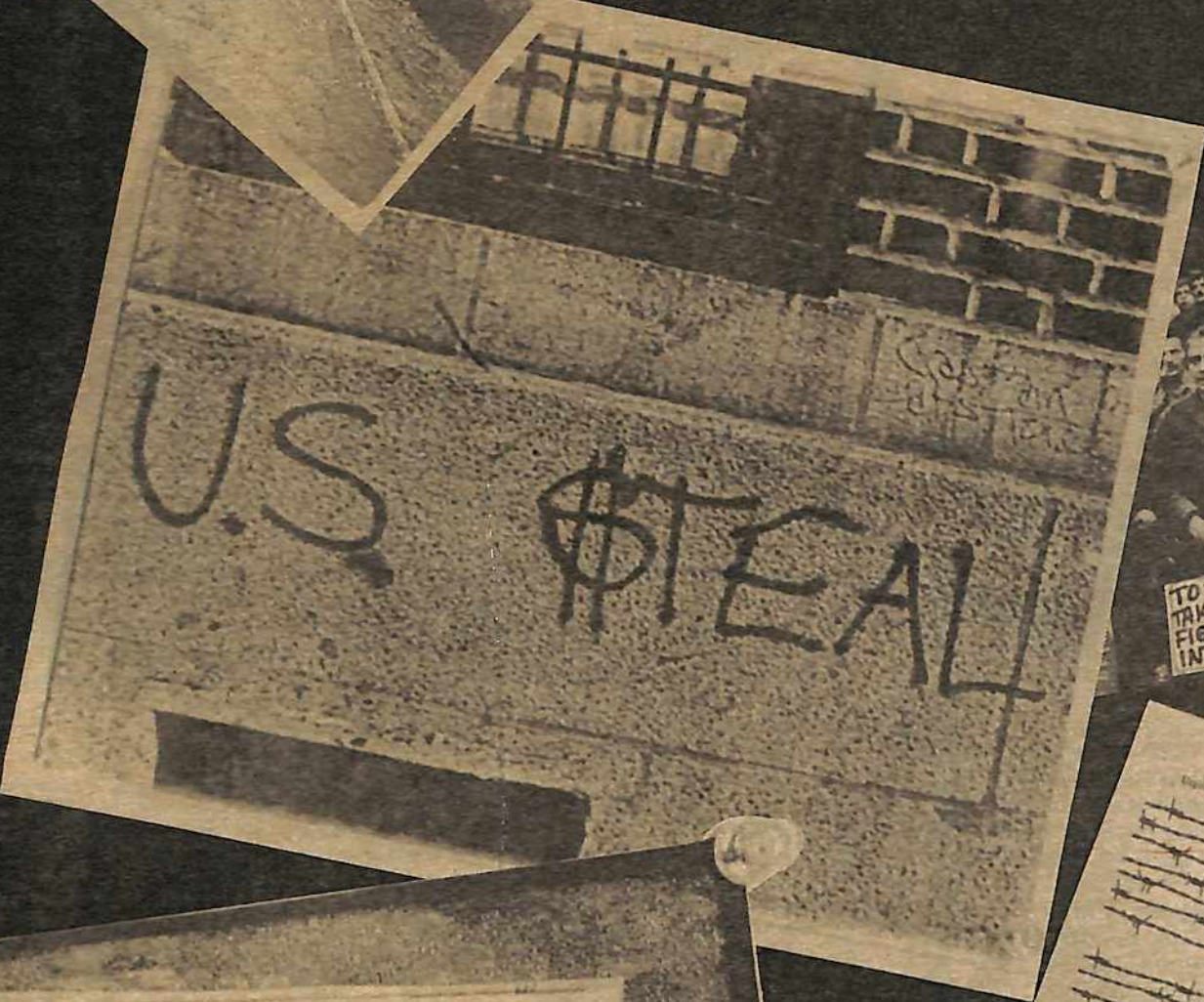
A collage of art and poetry from around the world.



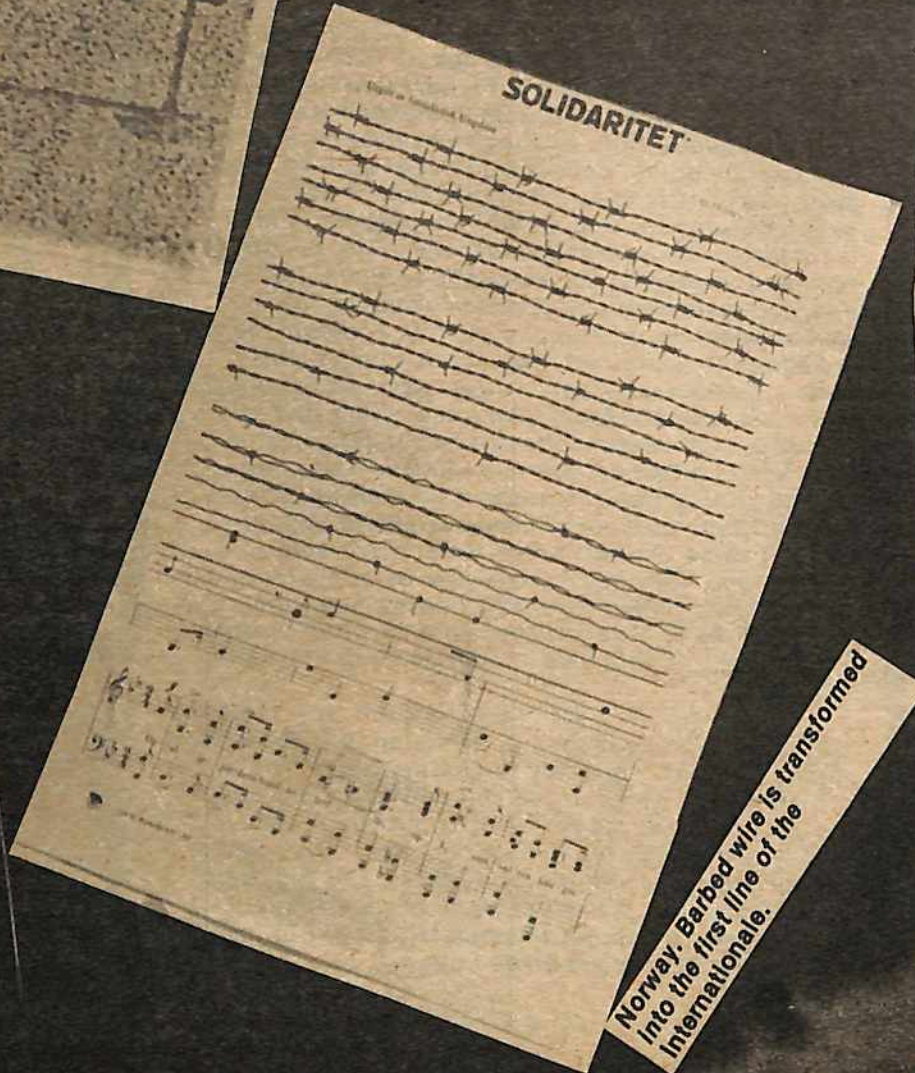
Netherlands



Old Venice Jail Gallery in Los Angeles where the internationalist art show is currently on display. It was a real jail until recently.



TO THE POLISH WORKERS, OCT 1980: WE WILL NOT TAKE ARMS AGAINST YOU. TOGETHER, WE ARE FIGHTING FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS. WE SHALL TRIONPH.



Norway. Barbed wire is transformed into the first line of the Internationale.



S.F. Poster Brigade

World War I. In the imperialist countries, there were those artists who rebelled, in the words of George Grosz, a leading German Dadaist, "as a reaction to the cloud-wandering tendencies of the so-called sacred art which found meaning in cubes and gothic, while the field commanders painted in blood." And then there were those like Gustave Apollinaire, a French artist and avant garde commentator, who refused the invitation of the exiled German Dadaists in Zurich to join them, stating that their position on Germany "was not sufficiently clear" and that joining them would be "an inadmissible position at a time when material, artistic and moral progress are all threatened and have to be victoriously defended." But while Apollinaire put on a uniform and parroted the French bourgeoisie, others struggled to build unity across the battlefields that would reflect the most profound convergence of interests, the unity of the people of the world against their common oppressors.

It's 1980, and for the third time in the century world war is on the horizon as the U.S. and Soviet Union size each other up for the kill. Once again artists are being called upon to choose the path of internationalism, and in numbers and with a vitality that is stirring up a storm, they are answering that call. The "ANTI-WW III Internationalist Art Show" has begun its tour in California, 600 pieces from over 30 countries, contributed by over 200 artists, a concentrated expression of ferocious internationalism. "The outspoken protest nature of the display of poster, color xerox, woodblock, etching and other lesser 'elite' forms of art, as well as poetry and agit-prop has turned a cowardly liberal and reactionary press away from bringing this important exhibit to the attention of the city, whose revolutionary spirit it has so graced," wrote Jack Hirschman, a well known poet who wrote his own review of the show in response to the virtual blackout in San Francisco, where it opened.

And revolutionary it is, in spirit and presentation. The San Francisco Poster Brigade, revolutionary artists who are the organizers and heartbeat of this show, told us that they initially began to hang the artworks in traditional gallery manner, but, "We started getting depressed, though. We needed the show to really jump and reflect the courage

of the people who were sending their work in...and we had to show the bright side, that it's not all somber. We tried to get into the chaos of the way the work came in. We wanted it to gyrate." It gyrates! Suzanne Boettger, reviewer for ARTBEAT, a San Francisco paper that recently carried a review of the show, observed, "The exhibit's dynamic presentation enhanced the intensity of the images which, instead of focusing on the violent destructiveness of war, emphasized the strength and courage of world-wide resistance movements and the art and language which communicate them."

The San Francisco Poster Brigade decided to do this show after the tremendous success of their May Day Mail-In Art Show (see RW No. 54). For many artists, that show had been an eye opener to the possibilities of wielding their art as a weapon for the masses of people, and against their enemies. One commercial artist had said, "I never had a place to show this kind of work before"; another, who is a mail clerk,

produced her first photo-montage for the current show—turning around the "Thank You Canada" billboards into an altogether different statement. (see photo) (For those who might have missed it on T.V., these billboards were put up by the U.S. government after the Canadian embassy smuggled 6 American spies out of Iran.) Many more artists who had not submitted their work but had come to see the May Day shows in the San Francisco Bay Area and New York City, got inspired and were demanding more. As a member of the Poster Brigade told the RW, "People were thirsty for that kind of thing. And they were asking us, 'What are you going to do next?' The Anti-World War 3 show is a logical result."

The Poster Brigade did some research into how to contact artists around the world, and sent out the call, in the form of a leaflet, for people to contribute to the show. But they didn't expect the response to be as great as it was. "This just took off even quicker and on a wider scale than the first show had.

People must have passed our leaflet from hand to hand... We got responses from artists in cities and even countries that we hadn't sent out the leaflet to." Much of it came in from wide-ranging international mail art networks that have sprung up among artists in the past few years. Artists send their work to others along the networks, sometimes for comments and criticism and sometimes to add their own concepts to the piece and pass it along. While some of the art that generally travels along these routes is not necessarily revolutionary, just the fact that it is out of the tight control of the bourgeoisie's monopoly on culture has freaked out various governments of both the U.S. and Soviet-dominated war blocs. Some artists at the L.A. opening of the show told the RW that postal inspectors rifle through their overseas mail regularly, and have them down on numerous lists, a modern day equivalent of what Lenin described in

Continued on page 10



From Yugoslavia—two artists toast the Anti-WWIII Internationalist Art Show.

Continued from page 9

Czarist Russia as "the persecution of even the most innocent cultural undertakings." (*What Is To Be Done?*, p. 87)

One Latin American artist, whose work is displayed here had recently witnessed the murder of his son by the U.S. puppet regime that rules his country—a vicious attempt to intimidate the father from speaking out through his art. Some packages from Eastern Europe were received that contained pieces from different cities as if they had all been run by couriers to a secret location and then sent off. And some that were sent anonymously had graphics from the leaflet announcing the show taped on the outside of the package—creating a new internationalist stamp.

The Poster Brigade pointed out that for some of the contributing artists who were able to see the whole show in San Francisco or L.A., the experience has opened up a whole new world. One example: A suburban Bay Area artist contributed a painting of a woman sitting at a table with her head down, covered by her hands—an expression of the despair she felt about the impending world war. But when the woman came to the show and saw all the optimism and defiance that it exuded, she began to see the possibilities this period presents. She came back to the show a number of times, bringing all her friends. As one of the Poster Brigade put it, "You can understand how she would do a piece like that, thinking she's all alone. But she made it clear after seeing the show that she didn't feel alone any more."

To the Poster Brigade, this example brings out an important aspect of the show. While their own art work is clearly revolutionary—they told the *RW* that they had been greatly influenced by Mao's writings on literature and art—they felt it was very important to present a broad range of viewpoints within the theme of internationalist art. And the range is broad, from revolutionary to pacifist. As the Poster



Brigade sees it: "This show is a forum for debate, and people get a lot of good ideas for their own work. We've got to talk to each other about how we're going to face the future, because it's coming down fast...and we don't just mean artists, this show wasn't intended just for artists. In San Francisco, over a thousand people saw it in the week it was there, and a lot of workers—especially postal workers—came over to see it." While the Poster Brigade rejected few of the entrants, since most fit within the criteria, they took a hard line against "dove art," which was banned from the show as representing capitulation, pure and simple. It is tremendously refreshing to see a show like this that doesn't have any stupid doves in it.

The show has proven to be both controversial and inspirational in the Bay Area and L.A. Poetry readings were held in both locations, with many poets reading progressive and revolutionary poems for the first time. After walking through the show on opening night in Venice, two artists decided to burn their old draft cards in the middle of the gallery (conceptual art?), and nearly everyone who came to the opening

stayed for two or three hours, debating the world situation and the possibility of war and revolution. One L.A. artist who had contributed a couple of his works to the show said, "I've got to go home and work. I've got so many ideas."

This is the spirit of the Anti-World War 3 Internationalist Art Show, and while the form of the art varies, the content, taken as a whole, is both a sign of and a significant contribution to the tremendous internationalist ferment that is rising throughout the world. Entries to the show are still being accepted, and it is hoped that people will take up raising money to enable the show to tour once it closes in Los Angeles. To help make that happen, send your contributions (both financial and artistic) to the San Francisco Poster Brigade, P.O. Box 31428, San Francisco, California.

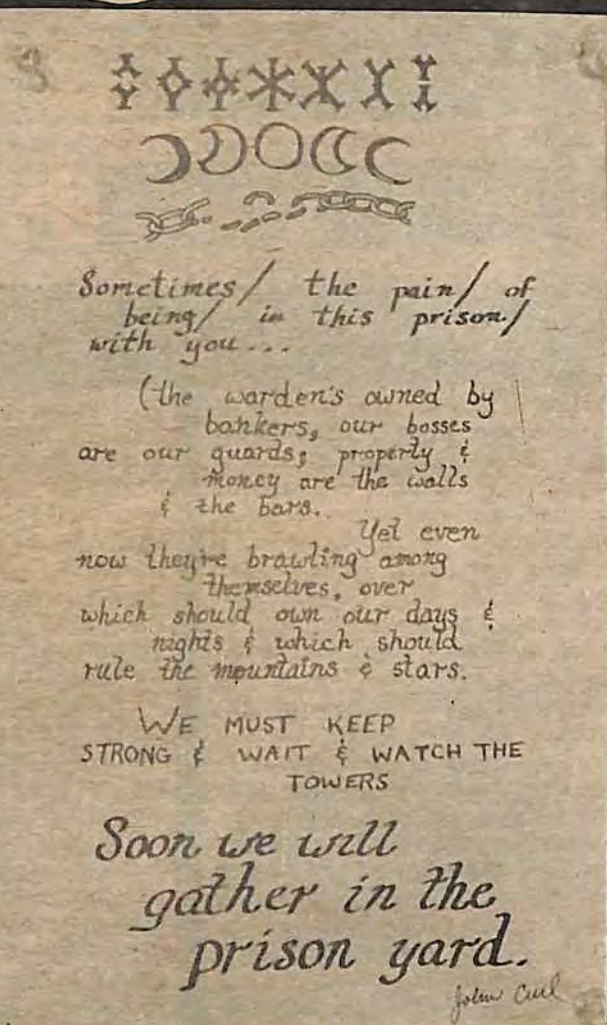
Anti-WW III Internationalist Art Show

Now—Dec. 5 (previous *RW* was incorrect)

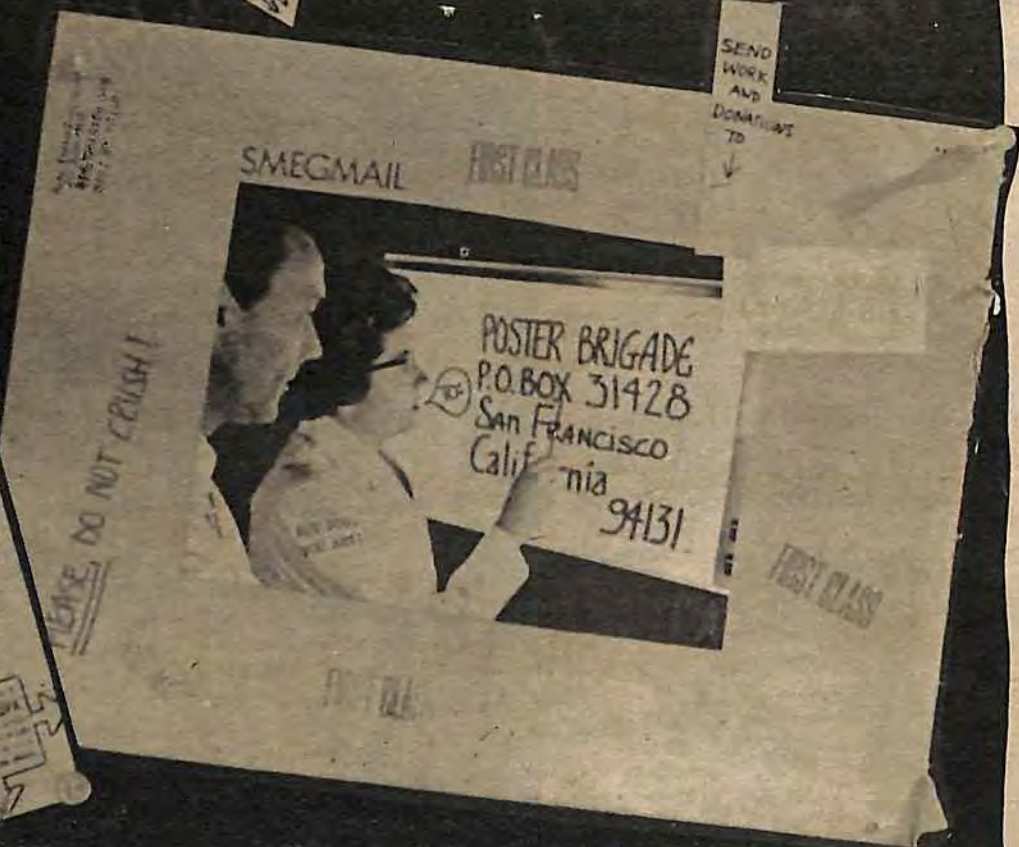
SPARC Old Venice Jail Gallery
685 Venice Blvd., Venice Ca.

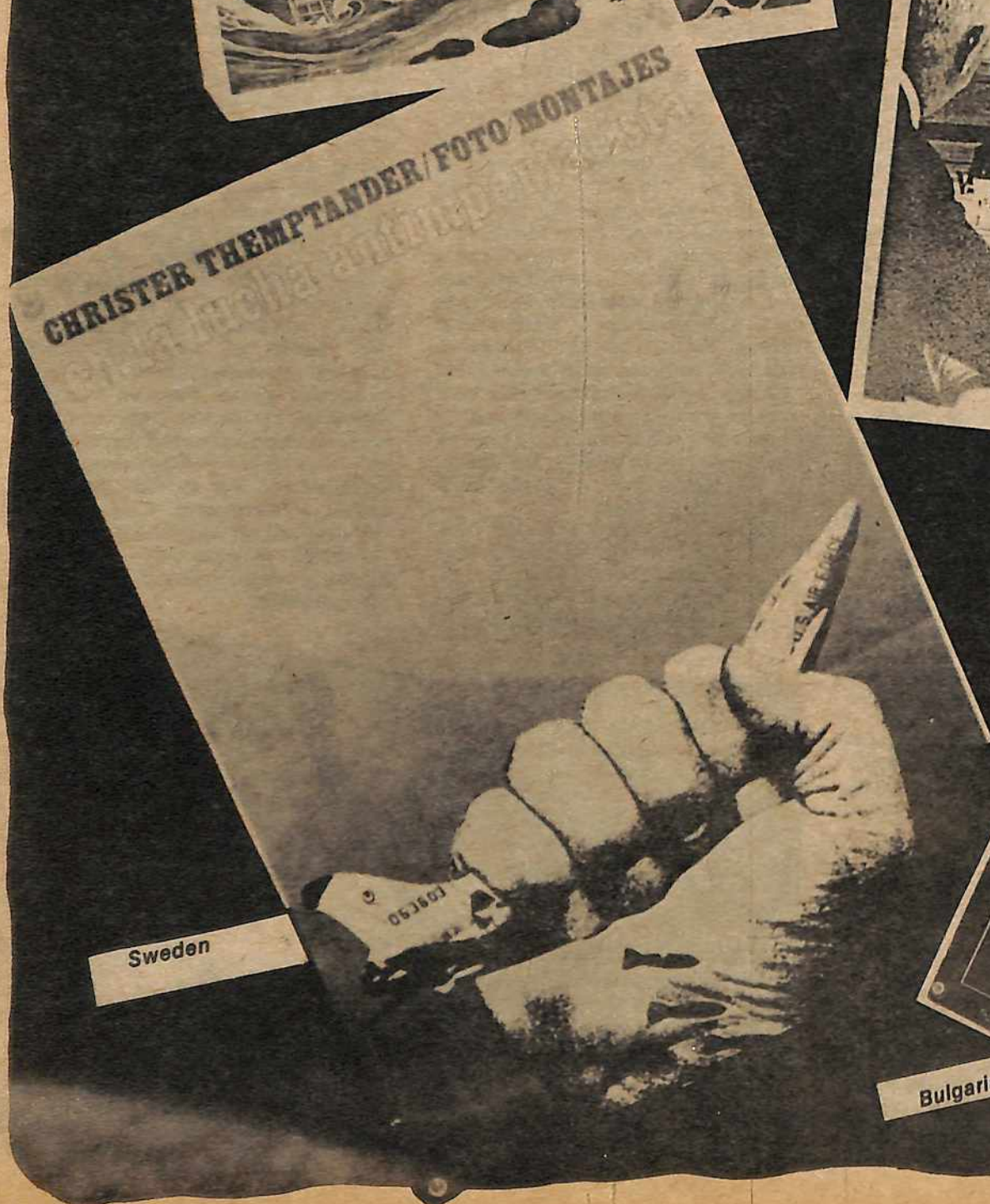
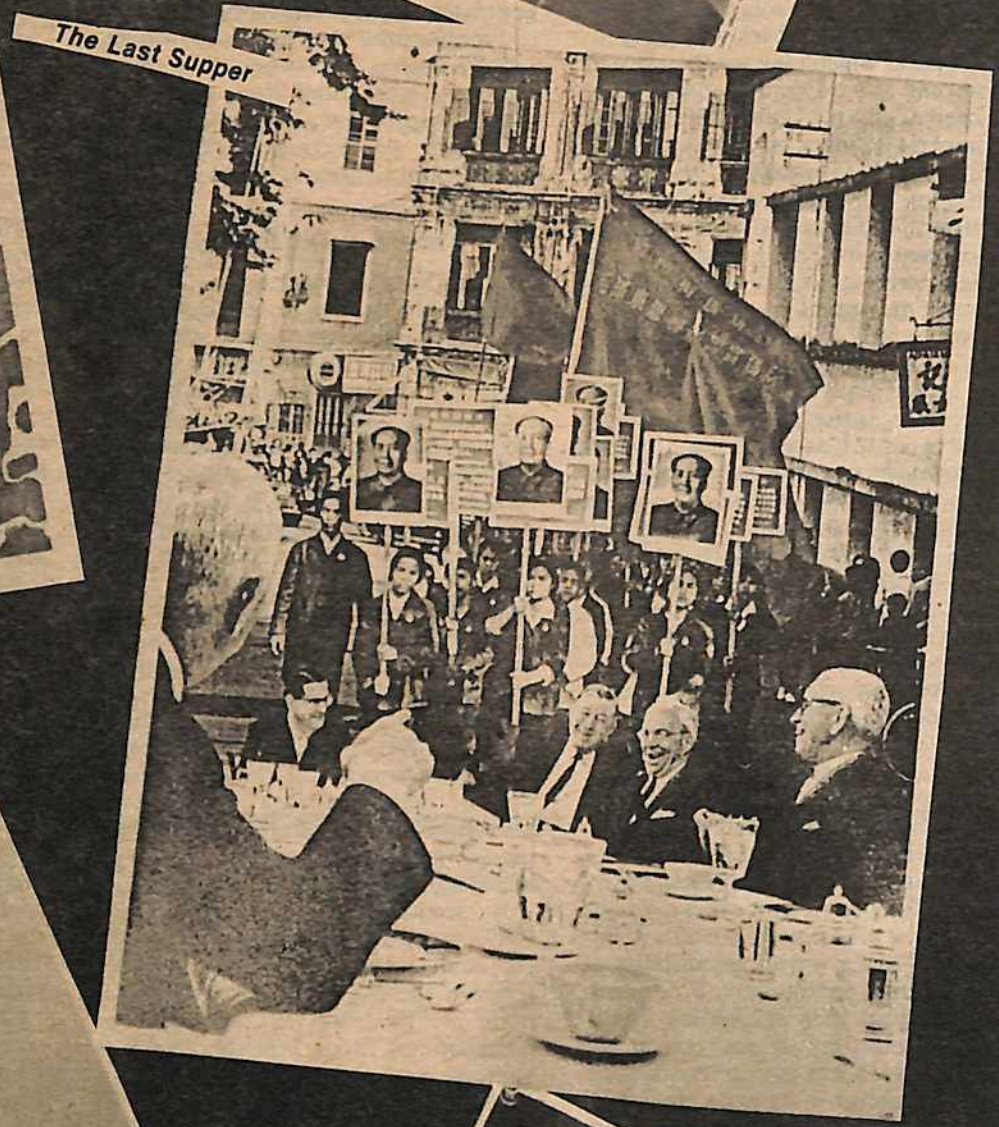
Mon.-Fri. 9-5

Sat. 10-5



Send contributions to the address





Deng Xiao-ping's Modern Industrial Boondoggles

The grandiose plans of Deng Xiao-ping, Hua and Co. for developing China into a "modern and advanced" country with the able "assistance" of western imperialism have suffered yet another round of major embarrassment recently, as the pipe dreams of these revisionists continue to go up in smoke. And these revisionist dreams are becoming a growing nightmare of dependency, chaos and what can only be described as a typical pattern of capitalist boondoggery. Recently, *People's Daily* was forced to reluctantly announce that the very first factory in China built under the "trade compensation system" worked out under the tutelage of Deng—a landmark effort in the revisionists' schemes to "attract" imperialism—has failed, forced to close down due, they report, to "poor management" and "inefficient labor."

Under this system, in which China's rulers hoped to take in new technology and expand their industrial base in exchange for permitting the exploitation of Chinese labor, a foreign company supplies the plant machinery and raw materials and is paid back with the processed goods which they are then free to sell abroad at a tidy profit. All in all, it has been a quite profitable little deal for the imperialist investors, not much different from their sweatshop operations in dozens of other underdeveloped countries. While they have no equity in a compensation trade factory, the foreign partners are allowed to choose the location, establish their own production norms, and are paid back in a specified time for their original investment by the remission of fees the plant charges for turning out the finished products. In the past two years several hundred such factories have been built in China as the revisionists have gone in for lopsided expansion of "get rich quick" industries like textiles and electronics—with companies from Hong Kong, Japan, the U.S. and western Europe rushing to get in on the action.

Shining model for this new type venture was a wool spinning mill, built with much fanfare in Zhuhai in 1978 on the border of the Portuguese colony of Macao near Hong Kong. The machinery and raw materials along with a number of technicians and supervisors, were provided by two companies owned by overseas Chinese, Novel Enterprises, Ltd. of Hong Kong and Macao Textile Ltd. But the problems began almost immediately—after a peak production of 76,000 pounds last January, production fell sharply in each succeeding month and for some mysterious reason the quality of yarn was not up to standard. Since the foreign investors were having trouble selling their product abroad, this September they announced that they were terminating their supply of wool to the factory, prompting the closing.

What had happened? The revisionists began desperately searching for explanations. *People's Daily* cried that the basic cause of the troubles was that "the management level of the leading members was too low and the workers lacked specialized knowledge and skills." But what emerged was a picture of the problems that plague any typical capitalist enterprise. *People's Daily* summed up that because supervision was not tight enough, packs of raw material which should have been added during the wool mixing and matching operation were simply "forgotten" by the workers (explaining the problem with the quality of the yarn). Machines were "badly damaged due to lack of maintenance and repair and improper handling." 40% of the factory's lights did not work and management never bothered to replace them. Obviously the workers at this factory were less than thrilled at slaving away in this dark and dingy revisionist sweatshop under

the oppressive rules and regulations that are necessary to enforce labor discipline in any capitalist-run enterprise or with being subject once again to the dictates of foreign capitalist overlords. Indeed, *People's Daily* was forced to admit that many of the workers became "desultory in work and refused to follow instructions."

Not surprisingly, these complaints by the revisionists sound not one bit different than those of a typical American factory owner scratching his head and trying to figure out how to motivate "his" workers! *People's Daily* whined that the factory management did not have enough power to discipline or dismiss the workers and became "complacent" when they should have "attached more importance" to the suggestions of the foreign investors on how to improve production (indeed, these capitalists have a lot of valuable know-how when it comes to squeezing work out of people!). Teams from China's National Textiles Import and Export Corporation as well as the Zhuhai city government are presently being sent in to "reorganize" the factory—which obviously means instituting even more repressive work rules along with much tighter supervision, figuring ways to speed up production to "expected levels," and tightening up on discipline and firings.

Trade Center Boondoggle

That China's rulers have set loose uncontrollable forces since they began restoring capitalism with a vengeance with the coup in 1976, and that these forces are roping them into an increasing state of paralysis is also illustrated by another recent development—the abandonment of a \$250 million trade center in Peking after it had already been half built by American companies at the cost of millions to the Chinese. The official reason for this given at the recent National People's Congress was that the project had proved to be too expensive and wasteful at a time when the government has fallen over \$11 billion in debt—and this is certainly part of it. But Chinese sources revealed the major reason for the cancellation was a vicious dispute between the Ministry of Foreign Trade and the Peking city government, which controls all land and construction in the capital.

It seems that when the Trade Ministry went to the city with a request for land, water, electricity and other services, the city demanded a large cut in the profits as well as construction of a department store near the center as another way to share in the bucks. When the Trade Ministry refused to let them in on the deal and proposed a price of \$1400 an acre for the land, the Peking city government in turn declined. Then, after the Trade Ministry reluctantly doubled its offer, the city produced an inferior site near the airport only one third as big as the ministry requested and claimed that all of its experienced construction teams were "busy" on other (undoubtedly more profitable) projects. Pretty soon the whole deal had fallen through and government was additionally faced with the prospect of having to make a severance payment to the American companies.

There you have it in a nutshell—a classic capitalist boondoggle fully at the "advanced" levels of say, New York City flowing from its anarchy inherent in its sacred drive for profit as China's rulers are more and more reduced to squabbling like vultures over which of them will get the biggest piece of meat off the carcass of China's rotting economy. Just as happened in the Soviet Union, government ministries are turned into competing state capitalist organizations. Quite a stark contrast to revolutionary China where

the relations between enterprises and their relationship to the state were based not on profit in command but on mutual assistance and cooperation in the interest of all-around development to meet the needs of the masses.

More and more, the revisionists' puffed-up fantasies of "using the imperialists" "beating them at their own game" are being dashed upon the rocks of capitalist reality. Oil exports, for example, were widely touted at the time of the coup as the big way in which China was going to make a bundle to pay for expensive purchases of advanced foreign technology and entire plants. But the wild rush to develop this sector has only resulted in a series of laughable failures like the building of a second refinery near the Karamai oilfields to the tune of \$140 million—only to find that the field does not produce enough crude to supply it. Today it sits idle. Far from using the imperialists, China's rulers have found that the result of this wildly spreading "export fever" has only been the increasing domination of imperialism, including at all levels of "China's ace-in-the-hole"—the oil industry. As the *New York Times* dryly remarked November 5, "... a series of difficulties have led Peking to seek foreign help in everything from seismic surveys to drilling wells, laying pipelines and snuffing well blowouts." China's oil exports are stagnating and the *Times* says, "Chinese officials say privately that production may drop next year. ... Peking had been counting on rapidly growing exports of oil to help pay for its expensive purchases." Desperate for results, next year China is expected to auction off leases on offshore as well as some domestic sites to no less than 46 foreign companies.

Meanwhile, in their frantic search for hard cash to cough up in return for even greater imperialist "development," China's rulers have increasingly turned to offering up another "special" commodity for export. *Newsweek* recently reported that Peking has now signed over 40 contracts with foreign companies in which thousands of Chinese workers will be shipped out to work as modern day "coolies" for American and other giant imperialist firms on construction projects in the Middle East and elsewhere. Though China's rulers are facing some stiff competition from such established slave-labor brokers as the U.S. dependencies of South Korea, Taiwan, Pakistan and the Philippines, *Newsweek* enthusiastically drooled that "Chinese officials maintain that their workers are up to almost any task. ... China's best selling point for its newest export may not be quality, but quantity: the biggest pool of cheap labor anywhere in the world."

All this is of course a far cry from China under socialism—led by Mao Tsetung and the Four—where the country's relative economic backwardness was not viewed as some insurmountable

obstacle demanding reliance on imperialism. During the Cultural Revolution in particular, by putting revolutionary politics in command people's enthusiasm was unleashed not only to master such things as technology and management but to consciously transform every sphere of society—science, education, culture, etc.—and develop new socialist relations while constantly restricting the remnants left over from capitalism that were holding things back. As part of this, in the realm of production, the masses were able to accomplish important advances by relying on their own efforts—10,000-ton freighters on 5,000-ton docks, feats far more impressive than putting up a prefabricated trade center or conducting a simple wool spinning operation with the imperialists "help." (For more on the difference between China's economy under socialism as opposed to now see "The Destruction of China's Socialist Economy," *Revolution*, May, 1979)

The supreme irony is that the more chaotic the attempts by China's rulers to emulate the methods of the foreign imperialists become, the more wary are the imperialists themselves of committing the kind of investment and advanced technology these revisionists are so desperate for—unless of course it is more directly under their command. According to the *New York Times* the abandonment of the trade center "is expected to dampen the enthusiasm that some American companies have for doing business in China." Likewise, they remark that "The record of the factory is likely to raise fresh doubts among foreign businessmen about investing in China. It tends to confirm the complaints of some businessmen about the lack of modern, technically competent Chinese factory managers and the low productivity of the Chinese workers."

For the revisionists this can only mean taking the hint and moving more quickly in the direction of giving foreign investors complete control of these operations. A prominent Chinese economist recently announced that Peking was considering a system of preferential treatment (including lowering the 33% income tax) in order to attract more of what is known as "joint ventures"—a more direct form of imperialist investment in which foreigners actually own part of the enterprise and exercise considerably more authority over matters of production—which have been somewhat limited up till now. In opening up the Pandora's Box of capitalism, the two-bit exploiters who run China have unleashed forces which are more than perhaps even they bargained for. For all their grandiose dreams of developing China into a "modern and advanced country by the year 2000," they can only opt for ever increasing reliance on and capitulation to imperialism. □

Pamphlet from the
Revolutionary Worker

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Excerpts from a speech by
**Bob Avakian, Chairman of the
Central Committee of the
Revolutionary Communist Party,
November 18, Washington D.C.**

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Mao's Line Indicted in Peking

Continued from page 1

to the Central Committee against the charges that were being brought against her. She demanded that her protest be discussed at the session of the congress, and that they speedily convene an open trial. She pointed out that a public trial would allow the people to fully understand and assess what has been happening in China in the last 15 years. "Studies in Chinese Communism" also reports that during a hearing by the Central Committee on discipline, Chiang Ching berated the hearing officials, telling them, "To try me is to try the Communist Party, to find me guilty is to find the Party guilty. What I have done corresponds completely to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought. If you want to repudiate me, that is because you have betrayed Marxism-Leninism."

From this, there can be no question why Mao entrusted the Four to carry out the correct line. Even after having been thrown out of power and locked up by the capitalist roaders, Chiang Ching still has 100% confidence in the masses' ability to grasp the correct line, distinguish genuine Marxism-Leninism from revisionism, and act to change the world on that basis.

Hua Catches Fire

Although the revisionists have been careful to keep a tight lid over what the Four are saying, they have allowed—with definite aims in mind—certain statements, reportedly made by Chiang Ching, to leak out. One deals with the 1976 Tien Anmen incident, a counter-revolutionary demonstration held before Mao's death, ostensibly to commemorate the death of the revisionists' guardian angel, Zhou Enlai, but which really served as a rallying call for the rightists to hit back against the movement that was being led by Mao and the Four against the right deviationist wind being led by Teng (with Hua wheezing along, too). The demonstration was quelled by urban militia soldiers and the police. When asked about the incident, Chiang Ching quipped, "I was not responsible for the suppression of the Tien Anmen incident. You can ask the minister of public security at that time to come act as my witness." The minister she refers to is none other than Hua Guofeng.

Chiang Ching's sarcastic remark hits dead center at the opportunism of revisionists like Hua who pretended to a degree to uphold Mao's line while the Chairman was living and then after his death, helped engineer the revisionist coup. The Deng forces are using this quote as part of their dog-eat-dog attack on those allied with Hua to show that Hua had acted with the Four against such "righteous" action as the Tien Anmen riot. But this too is sheer hypocrisy on Deng's part. Although after the incident Hua was promoted to premier and vice-chairman of the Party, while Deng was stripped of his posts, the Right gained overall through the Tien Anmen incident. They were able to get Hua, a revisionist in his own right, in these high positions, while Deng still had the chance of coming back, which he did. And very importantly, by forcing the hand of the revolutionaries to take organizational measures at that time, the Right was able to short circuit the mass movement that was being built against them before it bloomed fully.

While they were not at all opposed to using the dictatorship of the proletariat in forcibly suppressing counter-revolutionaries, the Chinese revolutionaries realized that their real strength did not lie in organizational measures, but in the mass movements that raised the consciousness and activity of the masses. The Right operated best in the former arena. As Chang Chun-Chiao put it in a speech shortly after the Tien Anmen incident, "What we relied on is the policy of making explanations to the masses. The counter-revolutionaries hope that we will

open the gunfire. They want to become martyrs in order to incite the masses' sentiments. We just do not play into their hands. Practice has proven that this handful of counter-revolutionaries are afraid of the masses and afraid of criticism." And, most interesting in the light of Chiang Ching's reported remarks at the trial, he went on to state "This time, Peking has arrested a few too many persons. At the beginning, no one opened up fire and the policy was upheld; afterwards, things were less than desirable... The good thing was that these situations were quickly rectified when pointed out to the Central. This must be taken as a lesson." (Reprinted in *And Mao Makes 5*, Banner Press, p. 385). The rightist Hua's exact role in the organizational suppression of rightists at that time is an interesting question. As the Four pointed out in an editorial the day after the incident, quoting Mao, "We must not be academic and oversimplify the complex class struggle."

As the trial of the Four approaches, the heat on the Hua camp is getting more intense. Hua must be pondering a possible job transfer from figurehead, transitional Chairman, to jail trustee. On November 7th, an article in the *Shanghai Liberation Daily* attacked the slogan, "Political work is the lifeline of economic work," which Hua had raised in a conference on political work in the army called in April of this year. Hua was by no means upholding revolutionary political work but really covering up for his revisionist politics by his talk of "political work as a lifeline." But for Deng this is still no good and open for interpretation. As the *Liberation Daily* article says, economic work must be guided by "economic laws" (that is, laws of capitalism like "make profit or die").

Linking Mao & The Four

Another reported recent quote by Chiang Ching that is having wide circulation is her use of the Chinese proverb, "If you are going to strike a dog, think first of its master." Chiang Ching, of course, is saying that everything she and the other three did was based on Mao's instructions and Mao's line. Although Deng himself stated a few months ago that this trial would not drag in Mao, the revisionists are allowing this quote to circulate because they want to unleash some forces who want to link Mao up directly with the Four and dump them all overboard right here and now. This, they figure, will serve to build up anti-Mao public opinion for the historical summation of Mao. This brings up an interesting point. Deng and the Four have one tiny point in common. Both want to bring out the link between Mao and the Four. Of course, the Four do this to point out that their actions were based on Mao's revolutionary line, and to uphold their line, while Deng is trying to make the link in order to attack Mao as being the real force behind the Four's "evil". At the same time, the revisionists are wary of letting the open outbreak against Mao get going too far. They are walking on thin ice, because they still do not want to drop all appearances of upholding Mao. The draft of the new party constitution, due to be passed in the near future at the next party congress, still includes a phrase that the Chinese party is "guided by Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought." Needless to say, the revisionists have twisted "Mao Tse-tung Thought" beyond recognition, claiming that it includes the thoughts of Mao's revisionist foes like Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and even Deng. As an indication of how sensitive the revisionists are on the Mao question, the draft of the historical summation of Mao has already gone through nine rewrites. It could go through a lot more, and two sessions of the central committee plenary will be held to finalize



Chiang Ching

and make it official.

The successful holding of the trial of the Four is a key element in the revisionists' grand plans for the next year. They must get the Four out of the way in order to prepare the groundwork for the unveiling of the historical summation of Mao. This in turn will be crucial in the sweeping changes, including the new party constitution to be made at the 12th party congress early next year. Beyond this, the revisionists are planning a three-year party rectification program to start next year to restructure the party from top to bottom. The rectification will especially target the over 50% of the membership recruited during the Cultural Revolution, among whom the Four still have some influence.

This revisionist "clean up" is picking up steam as pre-trial preparations proceed. The November issue of the pro-Deng Hong Kong magazine, *Chen Ming*, reports that Mao Yuanhsin, Mao's nephew who was once rumored to have committed "suicide" (that is, murdered by reactionaries) after the 1976 coup, is still alive and will face trial in Liaoning Province in Northeast China. Mao Yuanhsin managed Mao's daily affairs to the end, and was part of the Four's camp. His trial is part of a series of regional trials with which the revisionists are attempting to root out the Four's influence nationwide, in conjunction with the trial of the Four in Peking.

In an act related to the trial, and obviously timed to build for it, the revisionists announced on November 1st that Kang Sheng (former vice chairman of the Communist Party) and Hsieh Fuchi (former public security minister), two men who played positive roles in the Cultural Revolution, have been posthumously stripped of their party membership and the eulogies at their funerals have been retracted.

When the actual trial starts, it will mean that the ruling clique has come to some agreement over how to conduct the trial and what the verdict will be. The trial itself, which Hu Yaobang, party general secretary, says will last two months, will then be a mere formality—a true farce dressed up in the best Western bourgeois-democratic trap-

pings. (The revisionists even assigned the Four a "top criminal lawyer" for their defense, one Mao Rongjiao. The *New York Times* on Oct. 26 said, "Mr. Mao is known to have been interested in going to the United States for further study, and one friend said his role in the trial could have a critical effect on his career." Very fitting.) There still remains a shroud of ambiguity over the possibility of death sentences for the Four. This is partly due to the continuing disagreements among the revisionists over how best to deal with them, and is in part a conscious effort by them to highlight the seriousness of the Four's "crimes" and to serve as a warning to their followers. Last year, Hua Guofeng had ruled out the death penalty. But about a month ago, a government spokesman refuted Hua and said that the Four "would be tried according to law." Then on October 6th, an AP dispatch from Peking quotes a Chinese legal expert as saying that, "At least one of the accused will be sentenced to death. Later, there is a possibility that will be changed to long term imprisonment." In any case, Deng and others certainly don't lack any desire to take out revenge on the Four for the living hell of mass criticisms they went through during the Cultural Revolution. The decision on the sentencing will be determined by Deng and Company's assessment of how much resistance they will meet, both from those within the revisionists' ranks who have certain tactical disagreements with Deng, but more fundamentally from the revolutionary masses in China and worldwide.

The trial, while it will be used by the revisionists in an attempt to further consolidate their power, also has the potential of being used by revolutionaries to advance the influence of Mao's line and to turn up the heat under the revisionists' stew. There are already reports in the Western press of concern over the possible "instability" that this trial and its fallout may bring to revisionist China. It is one more testament to the power of Marxism-Leninism and Mao's revolutionary line that four years after their arrest, these revolutionaries are still creating such trouble for reactionaries worldwide. □

Overtake the Railroad of Bob Avakian

Continued from page 1

ing the decision itself (see RW No. 77) even getting the rehearing before the full Appeals Court will represent a significant retreat on the government's part. To accomplish this and overall help to defeat this railroad a major political battle must be waged.

The political offensive being launched by the Committee, together with the RCP, is aimed at dragging the very political activities of the court and the bigger forces behind it into the light of day, exposing them to millions. Recognizing that what goes on in a courtroom is a reflection of the relations between various class forces in society and that their key decisions are based on political considerations and not the force of legal arguments, this offensive must create a highly charged political atmosphere throughout society. It must turn the government's attack into a powerful weapon against them. As the Committee call states, the ruling class must be forced to choose, "Do they dare to allow millions to see clearly that all the rules are being thrown out to go after Bob Avakian, do they drop before millions what the RCP has termed 'their crumbling facade of democracy hiding their dictatorship,' and do it at a time when people are increasingly losing faith in the system anyway, while being asked to make increasing sacrifices? We must make these forces understand fully that they are going to be exposed in every move they make before, not just a few, but literally millions, and that in no way will they be allowed to carry out this railroad quietly behind closed doors."

One year ago the ruling class was forced, as we said at the time, to retreat and maneuver in their attack. They were forced into this position because of the political strength built against them throughout society, the broad public opinion created and the thousands who stepped forward who oppose this blatant railroad, and by the potential of these people reaching out even broader to many thousands more. Through letters and statements as well as various actions the Committee helped to create the politically charged atmosphere that was necessary to force the government into its temporary retreat. The work of the Committee, together with that of the Party itself, began to spread throughout society like a web—activating and mobilizing people from every section of society. Articles were written on the case in independent and alternative newspapers and journals and numerous progressive professional organizations were brought into motion around it, including the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the National Lawyers Guild. A national statement of support was widely circulated before the November dismissal and printed in the *Washington Post* on November 19, the day originally scheduled for hearing major trial motions. Hundreds of doctors, lawyers, professors and other "influentials" expressed support for the defendants. This was quite fine: here were important sections of the middle classes—people from the very strata that the rulers count on to go along with their program and influence others—in motion against them. Hand in hand with this, and in fact the fundamental basis for the strength of the campaign, was the tremendous support and activity around the case generated among the working class and oppressed, the basic masses of people. Through the work of the RCP itself—the constant exposures in the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker* and the call for 200 volunteers to "Turn D.C. Upside Down," to politically activate the masses of people in D.C., the center of the government's attack—many of those mobilized began to move beyond the immediate outrage of the railroad, began to understand the stakes in the battle, and to take up the question of revolution. Many began to understand, as Bob Avakian put it, "That what goes on between the ruling class and our Party is not some abstraction without any relation to the class struggle. Rather it is in fact not only a

part of, but in an important way a concentrated expression of what is going in society as a whole...when attack comes down on an organization like ours, that is precisely an attack on the working class and the masses of people that we represent."

As the nature of this attack became more exposed, and as people began to hear the line of the RCP, there were growing numbers who recognized that what was under attack was, in fact, the ability of the oppressed to make revolution, to seize on the historic moment that may well lie ahead in the storms of war and crisis this system is now breeding. Throughout history, and especially in turbulent and ripening times like these, the rising forces, the advanced representatives of the advanced class, have always been hounded and persecuted, but ultimately have prevailed.

Full of Possibilities

Today, the very conditions which have driven the ruling class to escalate this attack also provide excellent possibilities for mobilizing the struggle against it. The situation worldwide and here in the U.S. has grown far sharper in the year since last November: Iran, Afghanistan, Miami, Chattanooga... And the Party's influence, which they hoped to stop from spreading by retreating when they did has grown instead: May Day, The *Revolutionary Worker*, the UN 2, Bob Avakian and this case.... All this means that the situation is more urgent, and more full of potential than even a year ago. The

battle, a prelude to a greater conflict still, is shaping up.

Already today, support has begun to be mobilized against this escalated attack. Statements have begun to come in. But, in order to defeat it, more, much more must be done. The bourgeoisie is deadly serious and their attack demands a response of much greater intensity than ever. The Committee is being reactivated throughout the country as their offensive begins. Statements of outrage should immediately begin to flood the D.C. Court of Appeals (with a copy also sent to the Committee). In addition to political support, financial donations are also urgently needed. A major attack has been launched—a major political counter-attack must be waged!

STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN! FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS!

Rise to the challenge! Send letters and telegrams to:

**D.C. Court of Appeals
500 Indiana Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20001**

**Committee to Free the
Mao Tsetung Defendants
Box 6422 "T" Station
Washington, D.C. 20009**

"Throughout history, and especially in turbulent and ripening times like these, the rising forces, the advanced representatives of the advanced class, have always been hounded and persecuted, but ultimately have prevailed."



"Bob Avakian, Mao Tsetung and the New Pamphlet"

The following are excerpts from the new pamphlet.

The Bourgeoisie Miscalculated

... They calculated and miscalculated at the start of this battle, they thought that we would either be an isolated sect of maniacs and fanatics, or else that we would back away from our revolutionary stand and go the way that others have gone, the Communist Party before us, ultimately the leaders of the Black Panther Party and others who for a time were genuine revolutionaries in this country. They thought that we would go the way that they went, that we would water down our revolutionary politics, that we would talk less about the need to rise up and overthrow this system, and more about the need to defend our Party in a narrow and short-term sense. They thought that we would talk less and do less to expose the thoroughly rotten and reactionary nature of this system all the way through every level and every institution, from the courts to the cops, to the politicians, to the heads of the corporations and every other sphere of society.

They thought we would back away from talking about how this is a dictatorship of the capitalist class and its armed force and its apparatus of the

Continued on page 25



Revolutionary Worker

Avakian Speaks on the Mao Tsetung Defendants Railroad Historic Battles Ahead"

Booklet, Soon to be Available!

"Bob Avakian Speaks on the Mao Tsetung Defendants Railroad and the Historic Battles Ahead" is the text of a speech by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA delivered on November 18, 1979 in Washington D.C. at a rally of over 800 people at an important juncture in the battle to free Comrade Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants, arrested on charges totaling 241 years each. The government had been forced to retreat and maneuver, temporarily dropping all charges in the case in the face of broad and very active support for the defendants all across the country. Since that time the decision to drop the charges has been overturned in federal appeals court and the government's railroad is back on track.

Comrade Avakian's speech, sums up what the government was up to at that particular point in the case and goes deeply into why they are going after the RCP and why they came down so viciously on the January 29, 1979 demonstration against Teng Hsiao-ping's visit to Washington D.C., which the charges against the Mao Tsetung Defendants stem from. Even more significant is Comrade Avakian's profound and sweeping presentation on the objective situation today facing revolutionaries and the masses of people, the real necessity and possibility for making revolution in the period ahead and urgently preparing to do so today. Finally, he speaks powerfully for an uncompromisingly internationalist and revolutionary stand in support of the struggle of the people of Iran, who had just delivered a body blow to U.S. imperialism with the taking of the U.S. Embassy and hostages in Tehran.

Support Statements

New Zealand Red Flag Group

New Zealand Marxist-Leninists wish to voice their sense of outrage and disgust at the vicious and vindictive charges against Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants. We are aware that this attack is in the nature of political prosecution and against American revolutionaries and their organization in line with the frame-up trials of the McCarthy period. We fully support the demand for the complete withdrawal of all charges against the Defendants.

18 Students from Kent State University, including 2 Iranian Students

We, the undersigned students at Kent State University, condemn the actions of the Court of Appeals and the U.S. government to railroad Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Tsetung Defendants.

While we move into the '80s, and deeper crisis and world war draws near, the opportunities and our bright future in ridding the world of U.S. imperialism may very well also present themselves this decade. We NEED Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants on the streets! WE WILL NOT ALLOW OUR REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP TO BE TAKEN FROM US.

Ten years ago, as the U.S. imperialists were carrying out their butchering of Indochina, students at Kent State and nationwide stood up for and called for the victory of the Vietnamese people, the so-called "enemy." And for standing up to our imperialist rulers, four students were murdered and nine were wounded on our campus. We will never forgive or forget these crimes, not to mention all the other crimes of U.S. imperialism. We have one message for our rulers—KEEP YOUR BLOODY HANDS OFF OUR REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP—FREE BOB AVAKIAN AND THE 16 MAO DEFENDANTS.

23 People in attendance at a China program, Chicago

We the undersigned protest your recent ruling in favor of the government appeal which will lead to reinstituting the outrageous charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Your action will only serve to further expose the government's desperate need to silence all those who would fight for change and especially the revolutionary leadership that is developing in the midst of deepening crisis and escalation towards war. The thousands who came forward to oppose this political railroad will now be joined by yet thousands more who were repelled by the government's charges but still clung to some illusions of justice from the higher courts. We understand that it was only the multitude of voices raised in protest, the growing political awareness and the even greater potential for such support that caused the government to back down in the first place from their political attack. We speak now with the thousands who have and will come forward in demanding that this appeal be dropped once and for all!

Calvin Cox, Steve Taler, Robert Paul, Tony Cook, Kimberly Hill and Diane Kellen, Cincinnati

We condemn the reinstitution of 25 felonies against Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Defendants. We demand you drop all charges. We won't allow the revolutionary leadership of the working class to be destroyed.

David McReynolds

To the Court,

I have learned with great regret that you have, by two-to-one, reversed Judge Pratt's decision to dismiss charges against the 17 members and supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

Little is served by further prosecution in this case. The minds of the defendants will not be changed, and the issue is essentially a political question.

I would, as one who has just completed a political campaign in which I urged full defense of the Bill of Rights, make an appeal for an end of further actions in this case.

Gary Bock

If the D.C. Court of Appeals is going to put politics above the law, then put forward the correct political line and free the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

**Roger Dittmann, Professor of Physics,
California State University, Fullerton, CA**

I am distressed by the apparently vindictive attempt to reinstitute the prosecution of Avakian. High judicial standards above political vendetta are essential to prevent further erosion of the legitimacy of the government.

**Bruce Bentley, Staff Attorney,
Seattle Public Defender**

The reversal of the order dismissing the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants represents a serious escalation of the attack against the RCP and, more importantly, all people rising up against this imperialist system which is headed towards war. This blatant act of political repression must be opposed broadly through statements of support, organizing others and financial contributions.

**DROP ALL THE CHARGES!
FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS!**

**Three Staff Attorneys
for the Seattle Public Defender's Office**

Direct suppression of political activity by the government has re-emerged through the reversal by the District of Columbia Court of Appeals of the trial judge's order dismissing the indictment against the Mao Defendants. Although even the trial judge, who personally observed the prosecution, found as a fact that the government had acted with *actual vindictiveness* against the defendants, the appellate court ignored the trial judge, refused to follow prior law or the constitution, and now sanctions prosecutorial oppressing of revolutionary activists in the vain and futile hope that incarceration can stop an idea—which it never will.

The appellate ruling must be condemned and the vindictive prosecution of the Mao Tsetung Defendants dismissed in the name of justice.

Five revolutionary youth in Boston

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

The government's recent decision to overturn the dismissal of the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants only makes us more determined to spread and deepen the political line of Bob Avakian and the

Continued on page 17

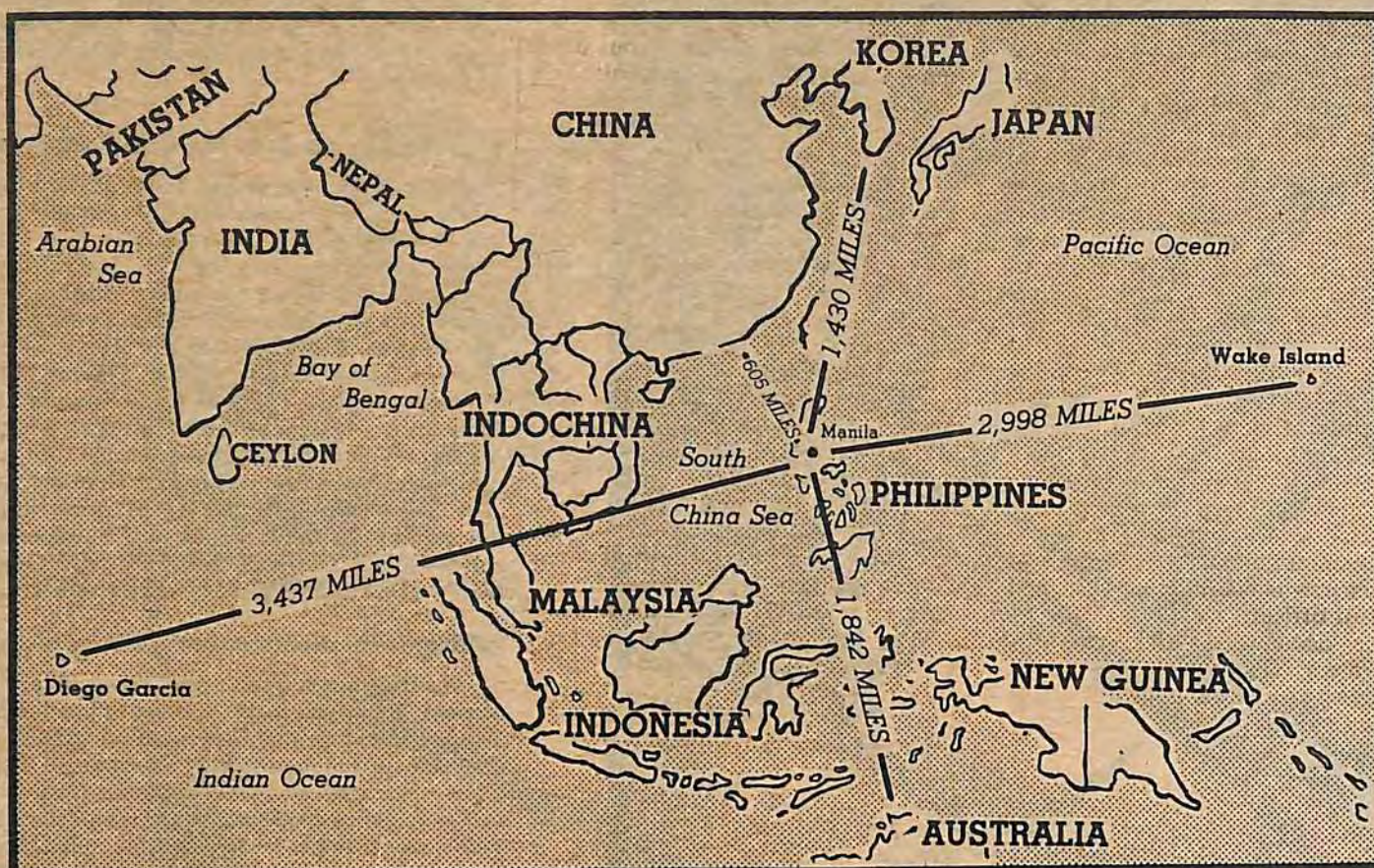
Aquino Tries to Ride Revolutionary Tide

Philippines Bombings Mark Bourgeois Challenge to Marcos

On October 19, the plush Philippine International Convention Center in Manila was gouged by a bomb blast that rocked the area and injured 20 people. Dictator Ferdinand Marcos had just sat down after addressing 3,500 members of the American Society of Travel Agents (ASTA), lauding the Philippines as a tourist haven. As if to prove to all there that the islands were both grateful and subservient to U. S. imperialism, a film depicting the 1898 battle of Manila Bay (when the U.S. replaced the Spanish as overseers of the island during the Spanish-American War) was being shown. Marcos, seated next to U.S. Ambassador Richard Murphy was not injured by the bomb. Immediately afterward, a group calling itself the "April 6 Liberation Movement" claimed responsibility, and Marcos issued arrest warrants for suspects both in the Philippines and in the U.S.

With the calendar pages peeling off to denote the beginning of the ninth year of Martial Rule in the Philippines, backed by the military and economic might of the U.S., the political climate on the islands is clearly intensifying. The bombings (nearly 30 in the last three months) attributed to the "April 6" group, are the work of none other than bourgeois opposition forces angling for a slice of power—or all of it, if they can swing it.

The reasoning of this opposition goes something like this; make it unstable enough in the Philippines to either force Marcos to share government power or force the U.S. to let the axe fall on the 15-year dictator in favor of the opposition. Led by a former Senator in the Philippines, Benigno Aquino, these forces are trying to cloak themselves in the popular demands for an end to the state of Martial Rule. The opposition has been unleashed precisely to derail the spread of revolutionary struggle amongst the Philippine peasants,



workers, students, intellectuals and among the country's national minorities. Aquino's stand is clear—choose us and prevent revolution.

On this count, there is certainly cause for concern in Washington, D.C. Since 1969, with the re-constitution of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), armed struggle in the countryside has resulted in tremendous gains for the revolutionary forces. According to reports from the Party's military arm, the New People's Army (NPA), has established 26 guerrilla fronts carry-

ing out operations in an area covering 10 million people. There are some 40,000 mass activists and some 800,000 active members of revolutionary mass organizations that work to unite and organize the people in the liberated zones.

The guerrilla fronts stretch from Luzon (the northernmost part of the Philippines where the capital city of Manila is located), to Mindanao at the southernmost reaches of the islands. In Mindanao, the Marcos regime has unleashed a vicious wave of repression aimed at the Moro minority nationality people. Air strikes, military attacks and napalm assaults are commonplace. U.S. military forces have been directly used in a number of counter-revolutionary actions in Mindanao and elsewhere.

But it is also in Mindanao where the Mindanao National Liberation Front (MNLF) has been formed to unite the members of the Moro national minority to fight against the U.S.-Marcos dictatorship. Their own Bangsa Moro Army (BMA) has carried out a number of joint actions with the NPA against the regime. There is also growing resistance to the repression among another na-

tional minority—the Igorot people of the mountainous regions of the Philippines.

And in Manila itself a growing protest movement, sparked by the students, has drawn in increasing numbers of workers and urban poor. Just this past July 4, the U.S. embassy was forced to close when demonstrators hit the streets of the capital.

In true form, Marcos responded by sending his Civil Disturbance Units (CDU's) on a club-swinging assault to bust up the demonstrations. The CDU's are infamously known for their brutality and their composition—pro-Marcos thugs recruited from the prisons. But it was the joining of the workers in Manila that really tensed Marcos. At an August 8 rally, celebrating the founding of the Philippine Constabulary, Marcos warned the workers; "If labor becomes a front for subversion and for terrorism, the president and the entire political hierarchy will not be able to avoid the use of powers of emergency in order to neutralize such elements."

Marcos also went on, in that same speech, to denounce the students: "The most decent thing anyone can do if they

Continued on page 20

Detachment of the New Peoples Army in the Philippines.



Early '70s COINTELPRO Target

The FBI Frameup of Dhoruba Moore

Free Dhoruba Moore! This demand is being raised up by an increasing number of political activists, revolutionary and progressive forces. Dhoruba Moore, a former Black Panther Party leader in New York and fighter in the Black Liberation movement, has been held in prison for almost 10 years, a target of the government's COINTELPRO operation. Dhoruba was framed on charges of attempted murder of 2 New York City cops in 1971. He was convicted in 1973 after two trials. In 1975 he filed suit against the city, state and federal governments to help force the release of documents which provide vital information in exposing this frameup. Only in recent months has the government begun to release any pertinent FBI intelligence documents in the form of teletype and airtel communications to and from FBI headquarters in Washington, D.C. and other FBI offices.

These documents, while carefully sanitized and only the tip of the iceberg in the government's attempts to smash the Black Liberation movement by destroying such organizations as the Black Panther Party, reveal the desperate antics of the government to frame Dhoruba and lock him up for the rest of his life.

Dhoruba was a leading figure in the Black Panther Party in New York City. He was one of the Panther 21, a group of Panthers arrested and brought to trial on trumped-up conspiracy to commit murder and arson charges. These arrests and the subsequent trial took place at a time when the bourgeoisie had unleashed a whole wave of repression, including the killing of Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, and murderous police raids on Panther headquarters throughout the country.

The Panther 21 were held on \$100,000 bail each, an astronomical sum of money. Their arrests sparked widespread outcry, and the courthouse was the scene of large demonstrations. Once bailed out of jail, Dhoruba travelled extensively on the East Coast exposing what the government was up to as well as writing for the Panthers' newspaper. His political work saw him placed on the FBI's "Agitator's Index."

All the government's efforts to smash the Black Liberation movement as well as the anti-Vietnam war movement and the general political upheaval which took place in the late '60s and early '70s were not however confined to outright police attacks and murder. The bourgeoisie also put into motion agents who were trained in sowing distrust and confusion in the ranks of the Black Panther Party, exploiting political differences which existed in the organization. What government agents did, was to spread rumors, distortions, and alleged threats on the lives of Panther members by other Panther members around the country. In a document dated May 14, 1970, the following teletype was sent: "To create friction between Black Panther Party (BPP) leader Eldridge Cleaver in Algiers and BPP Headquarters, a spurious letter concerning an internal dispute was sent to Cleaver, who accepted it as genuine. As a result, the international staff of the BPP was neutralized when Cleaver fired most of its members. Bureau personnel received incentive awards from the director for this operation. . . . Action: In view of the tangible results evidenced by this program. . . it is recommended that the counter intelligence program (COINTELPRO—RW) be continued."

Whenever political differences existed among the Panthers, agents within their ranks would pass back to other factions falsified threats on individuals' lives or would try other ways to create dissension in the ranks of the Panthers. Another released document stated: "NHO (New Haven Office) suggests the following letter to BPP, New Haven, regarding the internal struggle involving X, XX and Dhoruba (Richard

Moore, of the Panther 21).

"The letter follows:

'Panther Pad, Conn. You hafta know I saw A around the courthouse Tuesday. Man he don't like bein' down south. He says he thinks B is playin' ball with the pigs—also he says Dhoruba don't want any part of B. If B is getting piggy we have a big problem. Power to the people.' . . . The Bureau has been apprised of the simmering rift between B and Dhoruba."

In this atmosphere of fostered confusion, death threats, etc., Dhoruba dropped out of sight. And the newspapers quickly announced he was probably dead, an obvious okay to go ahead and kill him. In May of 1971 the Panther 21 were all acquitted, including Dhoruba. J. Edgar Hoover immediately dispatched the following message to New York: "... Intensify investigation of these subjects (Panther 21). Target sources at determining their Black extremist activities. Develop additional sources and information close to these individuals in order that the Bureau can be advised on a timely basis as to their day-to-day activities and associates of a Black extremist nature. . . ."

On May 19, 1971 two cops were shot at in New York City and the city, state and federal government did exactly what Hoover had advised. An intensive search and interrogation of people began. On May 21st another shooting took place where two cops were killed in a Harlem housing project. Orders to solve these shootings came from the top levels of the government as indicated in one of the recently released memorandums, "On May 25th the President (Nixon) requested the FBI enter the investigation of these slayings in order to solve the case." In another, dated 11-15-71, to "Honorable John B. Ehrlichman" at the White House, which enclosed a detailed memorandum of this same date, Mr. Ehrlichman was advised that "we had reached a successful solution in this case by identifying five black terrorists who participated in the planning and assassination of these two officers." Five suspected members of the Black Liberation Army were arrested and charged with these murders. The operation for carrying out the FBI's investigation was dubbed NEW KILL. And it was this same operation which led to the indictments against Dhoruba Moore.

In June, 1971 the police busted several people—Dhoruba Moore, Eddie Joseph, Irving Mason and Augustus Qualls—at an after hours social club in New York, a hangout for drug dealers. Several weapons were also seized. The police had no idea that one of the people arrested was Dhoruba. It was later learned this his presence at the social club was part of the Black Panther Party's struggle to rid the Black community of drug dealers. But once the authorities found out who he was, through the work of a former undercover agent, an elaborate scheme was cooked up to pin the May 19th shooting of the two cops on him.

The "evidence" against Dhoruba for the May 19th shooting amounted to the testimony of three individuals who never saw the shooting but concocted a web of lies so as to link Dhoruba to the gun which was suspected of being used. This presented more than a few problems for the prosecutor since the gun was seized during the bust at the after hours club and its ownership never confirmed. Then, two ballistics tests for this type of weapon were never able to prove that this was in fact the weapon used in the May 19th shooting.

One of the cops who was shot at had also stated that he would never forget the face of the man who attacked him, yet he did not pick out Dhoruba from a police lineup. The prosecutor's star witness was Pauline Joseph, a woman who is described by those taking up Dhoruba's defense as being emotionally unsound. Her motive in getting involved in the case was to keep Eddie Joseph

from going to jail. Pauline placed an anonymous phone call to the police saying that the men being held for the May 19th shooting were innocent. But by the time the police got to her they worked on her desire to free Eddie to the point where she would implicate Dhoruba. Her cooperation with the authorities also included letting them into her two apartments where the FBI continued to gather information.

Six years after Dhoruba's conviction, defense lawyers have now verified via these released documents that Pauline's testimony was full of lies. In court she stated that Dhoruba and another man had left her apartment together on the night of the 19th, while Eddie Joseph stayed home. In her original statement to the authorities she said all three men, including Joseph, had left the apartment. In her original statement she also made no mention of any weapons, but by the time she took the stand, suddenly Dhoruba had a machine gun in his hand and was never without one.

The only way the prosecutor could link Dhoruba to the shooting was to concoct some story linking him to a machine gun used by police as evidence. Another witness was Augustus Qualls who was also charged with the shooting and who claimed to have ridden in a car with Dhoruba, who he said kept the gun under his foot. In return for his testimony Qualls was not indicted for the May 19th shooting.

The only other "evidence" the prosecutor could produce was a package supposedly delivered to a New York radio station containing the license plates of the car which was involved in the shooting and a note claiming responsibility by the BLA (Black Liberation Army). Dhoruba's fingerprints were supposedly found, along with those of many others, on a piece of newspaper used to wrap up the license plates. This was not evidence that he had anything to do with the shooting.

The first time Dhoruba was tried, it resulted in a hung jury with most jurors voting for acquittal, this during a big hysteria campaign whipped up by the media calling Dhoruba a "preacher of violence." The New York City Police Department had also hired a public relations man and former journalist, Robert Daley, to sell the police depart-

ment as good guys once more to the people. Daley had written a book, *Target Blue*, which clearly implicated Dhoruba in the shooting. This book was serialized in *New York* magazine during the trial. When defense attorneys demanded to know the sources of Daley's information, the court refused the motion on the grounds that Daley was a "journalist." During the second trial of the case, one of the jurors was later found to have possessed a copy of *Target Blue*, but the court rejected the defense's appeal request. Dhoruba was convicted and sentenced to 25 years to life. His conviction was gleefully announced by the New York City Police Department over patrol car radios throughout Manhattan. It should also be noted that Robert Daley went on to write a TV movie based on the May 19th shooting called, "To Kill A Cop" and now enjoys a lucrative position producing Clint Eastwood films.

The documents recently released by the government concerning this case also highlight the extent to which the bourgeoisie wanted to destroy the tremendous support the Black Panthers and other revolutionary and progressive forces held among broad sections of the American people. The document dated May of 1970 states under "Operations Being Submitted":

"On 2-27-70 correspondence was directed to individuals known to have attended a BPP fund raising function at the home of well-known musician Leonard Bernstein. This correspondence outlined the BPP's anti-semitic posture and pro-Arab position." Bernstein recently commented that he and his wife were barraged with "correspondence" of hate mail as well as being harassed.

This document further states that on 3-6-70 "Information was furnished to an established newspaper contact concerning the source of monies used to raise bail for one of the Panther 21. . . ."

An index to FBI documents prepared by the defense attorneys for Dhoruba Moore exposed the following: 1) The Detroit field office of the FBI proposed that it send anonymous letters to Black businesses in Detroit demanding financial support for the BPP and indicating

Continued on page 20

Support Statements

Continued from page 15

Revolutionary Communist Party among the masses of people, especially through expanding distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker*. Get your bloody hands off our revolutionary leadership!

20 customers at Revolution Books (Boston) and 6 Students at Northeastern University

To the Washington, D.C. Court of Appeals:

Your recent decision to overturn the dismissal of the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, an escalation of the attacks that have continued over the past year since the dismissal last November, shows that in fact the government takes the explosive potential of the situation very seriously indeed and is reckoning with the real possibility of a revolutionary situation developing and the need on that basis to go after revolutionary leadership.

Just as you were forced to back down once before as thousands of people from all over the world joined the battle to derail this railroad, influencing millions, so again your actions will backfire, as many more come forward to stand against these attacks. **DEFEAT THE APPEAL!**
DROP THE CHARGES ONCE AND FOR ALL!
KEEP BOB AVAKIAN AND THE MAO DEFENDANTS FREE!

Legal Secretary, Oakland, California

To the Committee:

Count me as a new, but enthusiastic, supporter. Thank you for the work you are doing. I am contacting the Berkeley supporters but you may send me anything you feel is appropriate.

20 Workers and students in Boston

To the Court of Appeals, Washington, D.C.

While you parade another set of saviors before us in your election con game, your hatchetmen in black robes prepare to legally lynch Chairman Avakian, and rob us of our revolutionary leadership. Your capitalist dictatorship is showing in this political railroad. **GET YOUR BLOODY HANDS OFF BOB AVAKIAN!**

Auto Import Ruling

Continued from page 3

necessarily giving up its own, and this essential hypocrisy has always been an element of U.S. advocacy of free trade.) Further, the sheer size of the U.S. economy in comparison to other members of its bloc has meant that it is able to absorb a far greater quantity of imports relatively "painlessly," in comparison to its junior partners.

For all these reasons the U.S. championed free trade (as it still does in official pronouncements). And well it might. Throughout the 1950s and '60s, it remained the world's largest exporter, accounting for an average of about 15% of the world's exports and consistently showing a favorable balance of trade (that is, exporting a greater value of commodities than it imported). But in the 1970s all this began to fall apart. In 1971 the U.S. ran a trade deficit—its first, in fact, in the 20th century, but by no means the last. This happened together with a crisis in the whole international financial superstructure which the U.S. had erected in the wake of World War 2. The balance of trade saw-sawed between surplus and deficit for several years before taking a decisive turn downward in 1977, after which, for the last three years, the U.S. has run an annual trade deficit averaging about \$30 billion.

Decline

At the same time, the U.S. position as an exporter had been deteriorating relative to those of its bloc partners. This had already begun during the decade of the 1960s, as a U.S. government report lamented in 1971: "During this period, U.S. exports of manufactured goods increased by 110%, but those of West Germany doubled and Japanese exports rose by 400%. Of the other major industrialized countries of the world, only the exports of the United Kingdom (Britain) showed less growth than we did." As a proportion of the world total, U.S. exports declined from about 17% in 1955 to 11% in 1978; during the same period, Japan increased its share from 2% to 7.5%, and West Germany from 7% to 11%.

At the same time, U.S. exports, as well as the total volume of world trade in general, increased considerably after 1975, and in fact this was one of the prominent factors involved in the recovery from the 1974-75 recession. What was involved, however, was not only a U.S. trade deficit, but a *world* deficit (with a greater value being imported than exported) which ballooned to \$42.5 billion in 1978. This is connected with the fact that the weak and fragmentary recovery from the downturn was brought about by highly inflationary means (which increase the instability of the whole economic structure); as one commentator put it, "the western economy sailed to prosperity on a sea of debt" (but a very thin and shaky "prosperity"). However, this was also uneven. Concentrating still on the realm of trade, it should be noted that Germany did not have a trade deficit at any time throughout the 1970s, and that Japan had deficits only in 1975 and 1979. But the Japanese 1979 deficit is significant, and the German economy is beginning to falter (although this may not lead to a trade deficit).

On the one hand, then, there is uneven development within the bloc: the rates of growth of Japan and Germany, in several different areas, have been outstripping that of the U.S. On the other hand, the bloc as a whole, including Germany and Japan, is experiencing, economically, both instability and slow-down. In the decade 1963-1973, world output rose an average of 6% a year, and trade rose 8.5% per year. In the five years 1973-78, on the other hand, output grew an average of 3.5%, and trade 4%, a year. At the same time, as is usual in periods of downturn or stagnation in the capitalist world economy, a wave of protectionism grew during the late 1970s. A laborious round of trade and tariff negotiations in the U.S. bloc, launched in 1973 and finally completed in 1979, achieved only limited reduc-

tions in trade barriers, and has been followed by another round of protective measures.

U.S. and Japan

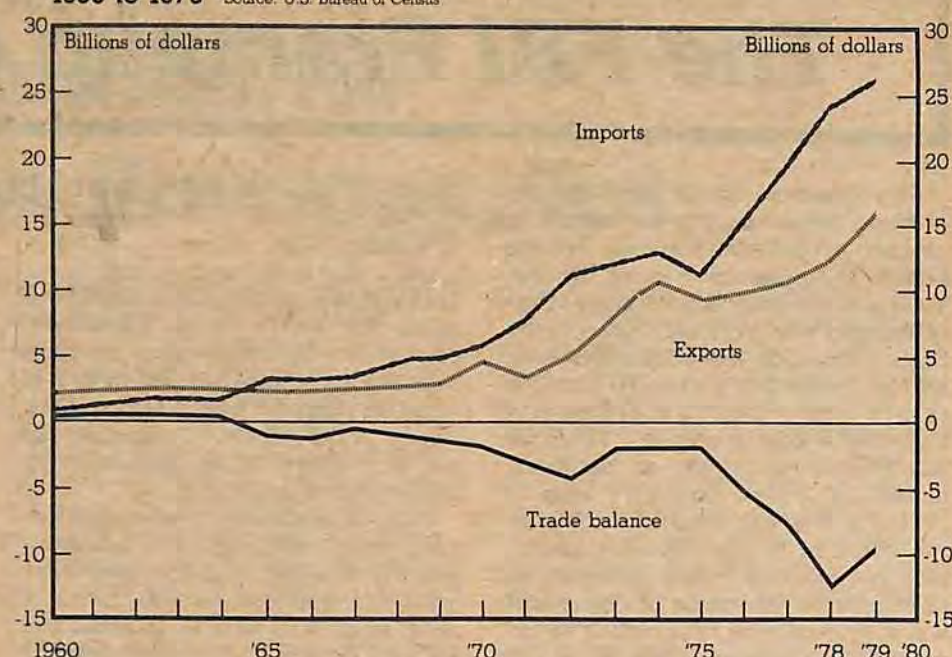
Within the context of these trade and economic developments, the relationship of the U.S. and Japan is worth a brief focus. They are of particular importance to each other as trading partners (unlike Germany, say, which chiefly trades in Europe). The U.S. is Japan's most important trading partner: it is far and away the biggest market for Japanese exports, as well as the biggest single source of Japanese imports. For the U.S., Japan is both its second biggest single source of imports and export market (after Canada in both cases). The accompanying chart shows the increasing volume and importance of the trade between the two countries. Also apparent is the growing U.S. trade deficit with Japan, showing a slight decrease to \$8.7 billion in 1979 and continuing at about that rate during the first quarter of 1980. But the trend has been for U.S. imports to be less important to Japan—falling from 29.4% of the total in 1970 to 18.6% in 1978. The same is true, to a lesser degree, with regard to Japanese exports to the U.S.—these fell from 30.7% of Japan's total exports in 1970 to 25.5% in 1978. (The percentage of U.S. imports from and exports to Japan during this period has remained roughly the same.) But it still remains true that the U.S. could not make major changes in its trade relations with Japan (such as major cut-backs in auto imports) without devastating consequences for the Japanese economy. Right now the U.S. has to concentrate on *not* disturbing the very precarious economic balance of the bloc, while moving to the imperialists' only "solution"—war.

Japanese auto exports form a big part of this trade structure. U.S. automotive exports to Japan are not nearly as great, either as a proportion of total U.S. exports to Japan or as a percent of total U.S. auto exports. But this doesn't mean that the U.S. auto companies are "stay at homes." In fact, a good question is the following: When you're talking about the U.S. auto industry, what sense does it make to confine the discussion to cars actually made in the U.S.?

"American" Cars

The answer is: Not much. "Buy American," the slogan is pushed. But this whole jingoistic campaign is a scam and a fraud. Sure, go buy a nice little *American* car, like Ford's Fiesta—designed in Europe, assembled in one of three countries, its engine built in either England or Spain, its wheels from Belgium, its distributor made in Northern Ireland, its fuel tank from West Germany, transmission from France—and, oh yes, it does have an all-American windshield from Oklahoma. Or there's the Escort, with a similar panoply of parts from around the world. (See illustration.) GM's Chevette is produced in Brazil and in five other nations as well. What if one that wasn't produced in the U.S. sneaks into a dealer's showroom? (And even the U.S.-built Chevette has its automatic transmission from France and door hinges from West Germany.) Then there are American auto-parts makers like Borg-Warner, which produces clutch assemblies in Brazil for export to Ford and GM in the U.S., as well as to Chrysler's plant in Argentina, and which manufactures parts in Japan which are delivered to Japanese auto manufacturers, whose cars are then primarily exported. Not only is the American car not necessarily U.S.-built, the Japanese car is not necessarily Japanese-built. On the other hand the VW Rabbit is actually assembled in the good ole USA. And Toyota is negotiating with Ford on the possibility of starting a factory in the U.S. to turn out 600,000 cars a year to be shared between Ford and Toyota dealers. Therefore...? Then there's the fact that some of those Japanese auto companies are partly owned by American capital. Thus Ford owns 25% of Toyo Kogyo, fourth largest Japanese auto company and maker of the Mazda; Chrysler owns 15% of Mitsubishi Motor Co. and gets

U.S. Merchandise Trade with Japan
1960 to 1979 Source: U.S. Bureau of Census



The U.S. balance of trade with Japan has gone more and more out of whack since the mid-sixties, with Japanese imports increasingly exceeding what the U.S. can sell there, especially since the 1974-75 downturn. This negative balance is a sign of several things—the uneven development of the two imperialist powers, Japan showing a dynamism the U.S. lacks, and at the same time the junior status of Japan, which must continuously accept U.S. IOUs. But the fact that the U.S. continues to be relatively open to Japanese imports reflects U.S. necessities to give-and-take to consolidate its bloc in preparation for war.

engines from this company for the Dodge Aries and Plymouth Reliant; GM owns 34% of Isuzu Motor Co., etc., etc. In addition, there's the sticky fact that some *American* companies are partly owned by a bunch of *furriners*—like the French company Renault which has a 46% holding in *American* Motors! It's so confusing! What's a patriot to do?

This doesn't mean that capital has lost its national character. It definitely belongs to the U.S. imperialists, or the Japanese, French or whatever. It's just that these imperialists don't just export goods; they export capital as well. The incessant chase of capital after the highest rate of profit, wherever it may be found, is part and parcel of capitalism, and with imperialism—monopoly capitalism—the *international* flow of capital assumes exceptional importance.

In this context it is clear why U.S. imperialists would push the "Buy American" campaign, even though they are not interested in having people do this in a literal sense. It is not just that they are saying "increase our profits," but rather that they are waging an ideological and political campaign, a campaign that is linked to their need to redivide the world. On the one hand, it is a campaign to build chauvinism, an attitude of "America über alles," to push the view that the "poor old USA" is getting pushed around in the world, and isn't it time we stood up and made clear "we aren't going to take it any more." The opposition between this campaign and the Trade Commission ruling is part of a larger unity, a unity which predominates over the contradiction. The imperialists are up to their old game, playing both sides of the street—a one-way street that leads to war. While subordinating contradictions within their bloc to the contradiction with the Soviet Union is an essential part of their war preparations, it is no less essential to try to rally the working class and masses of people behind them through chauvinistic campaigns like "Buy America."

This is billed and pushed as something that is in the interests of the people of the U.S., but it is nothing more than another version of the reactionary longing to go back to the heyday of U.S. imperialism.

It is true, of course, that if Japanese autos could be kept off the market, and if imperialists could be kept from exporting their capital, then some jobs in the U.S. could be saved, at least for the moment. But this kind of scheme, which is pushed by the UAW and the AFL-CIO, is actually both impossible and reactionary. In the first place, it would not even save "American jobs" in any real sense. Can capitalism be saved from its crisis by "bringing home" some jobs or by not letting capital roam the world in

search of profits? Absolutely not. This would in fact only accelerate a crisis and bring on a crash. Imperialism operates out of necessity, desperately scrambling to stay a step ahead of its increasing contradictions, forced by its inner laws into crisis and war. And in the face of this the working class is supposed to beg imperialism not to be imperialism! The U.S. could cut off auto imports—but only at the cost of tremendous ramifications in the structure of international trade (a structure which overall benefits U.S. imperialism) and the high risk of bringing the whole precarious bloc financial and economic system tumbling down. And as for not exporting capital—that's just not a possibility for imperialism.

In fact the very crisis situation now facing the U.S. was itself a result of its being the top-dog power of the world in the past period. Now it is challenged by the Soviet superpower and neither can go back in time to better days, a reality that the rulers of both countries are acutely aware of. There is only one way to "make America great again" as President-elect Reagan puts it and that is winning a world war which would not only be at the cost of untold millions of lives of the masses of people in this country but the world over and even if successful would only result in hell again, including a new crisis and a world war 4.

Is this the goal of the working class, to uselessly and pitifully beg to keep their jobs, docilely following the political leadership of the imperialists in exchange for the chance to maybe slave away in their factories? Is this the stance of the proletariat, to set up the *American* worker against other workers around the world? The workers of the world constitute an international class, and this is a real material fact, not a fantasy. The workers of the USA cannot gain a thing in any real lasting sense by pitting themselves against the workers of the world—all this will gain them is more enslavement even if the chains may remain slightly polished. Chauvinist appeals to U.S. workers are appeals to fight for a few crumbs from the slave-master's table, which is built on a foundation of oppression, exploitation and degradation of the people of the world. But these are desperate appeals, made by imperialists who are in big trouble, at a time when the possibility may well be arising of smashing their whole slimy structure, and the international working class faces the prospect of truly a world to win. The call of the class-conscious proletariat is:

DON'T BUY AMERICA, OVER-THROW AMERICA!

"Proud Spirit '80"—All Out for World War 3**Imperialists Test Mobilization Preparations**

In the months to come, a vast multitude of newsreaders and commentators will undoubtedly and repeatedly harp on the general theme that each increase in military spending, every new act of U.S. aggression and belligerency, is the result of the "landslide election of Ronald Reagan" and the "new mood of conservatism among the American electorate," etc., etc. A few weeks before the election, Jimmy Carter himself declared that "the outcome of this election" would decide "whether we have peace or war."

By now, any class-conscious worker would be compelled to heap ridicule on this convoluted logic. The moves of the U.S. rulers toward war with their imperialist counterparts in the Soviet Union are indeed rooted in the workings of the imperialist system and have little to do with which particular marionette dances in the Oval Office. It is therefore revealing to note that on November 6, two days after the presidential election, the U.S. began one of the most ambitious and wide-ranging military exercises in history, an exercise directly aimed at testing U.S. ability to fight and win World War 3. No doubt the President-Elect will be briefed on the conclusions in the coming weeks of "transition"....

Proud Spirit 80—along with its civilian counterpart called Rex Bravo 80—is

the ultimate in war games. It is a full-scale test of U.S. war mobilization plans, and comes just two years after the first full-scale mobilization exercise held since World War 2. In fact, Proud Spirit 80 represents an intense two-year effort by the U.S. government to gear up both civilian and military agencies for world war. Organized by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Proud Spirit began on November 6 and will last until November 26. It involves every major unit of the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps, as well as officials of the State Department, Department of Transportation, Department of Commerce, Federal Emergency Management Agency, and other federal agencies. This "game" will have 1000 players, including some of the highest-ranking officials in the civilian government and the military. This is a "command post exercise" where, instead of the actual

movements of military units, the operations are simulated on paper and by computer.

Little has been said about Proud Spirit 80. Only a few short articles have appeared in the press and only the most limited information is being released by the government agencies involved. One of the few things the Pentagon will say is that Proud Spirit 80 will be "similar in size and scope" to an earlier war game called Nifty Nugget.

Nifty Nugget, held in October and November of 1978, was the first time the U.S. staged an all-out simulation of its plans to mobilize for war with the USSR. The scenario for Nifty Nugget assumed that nuclear weapons would not be used in the opening stages of the war. "A wartime mobilization is the most complicated political act you could think of," said one Pentagon planner who helped design the Nifty

Nugget scenario. Complicated in more than one way. First, the amount of people and supplies to be transported in a matter of a few days would be greater than any air or sea lift in history. Second, the war being fought would be more destructive than any war in history. The Nifty Nugget scenario produced 130,000 casualties in the first 10 days of war among U.S. troops alone. Third, in order to carry out this effort, society would have to be completely militarized, with every facet of industry, communication, transport and government totally subordinated to the war effort.

Nifty Nugget began on October 10, 1978. Three days later, a state of national emergency was declared. Ten days after the beginning of the exercise, full-scale war between NATO and the Warsaw Pact began. The exercise ended on October 30, except for the Army, which continued playing until November 8. A report issued by the office of the Secretary of Defense about Nifty Nugget says, "The exercises were comprehensive—probably the most ambitious such tests ever undertaken in peacetime." In the course of exercises, a series of weaknesses in the war machine were emphasized. The Pentagon found itself unable to manage the massive fleets of the military sealift command and military airlift command.

Continued on page 27

New York Nuke**Radioactive "Plumbing Problem" at Indian Point**

On November 5, several hundred people, including residents from Buchanan, New York, workers, anti-nuke activists and scientists packed a meeting to raise hell with officials from Consolidated Edison (Con Ed) and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC). A storm of controversy has erupted over Con Ed's Indian Point nuclear power plant located 35 miles north of New York City. Within the past few weeks a series of floods have occurred inside the reactor's vessel, with the lethal dangers posed by these floods only recently coming to light.

On October 17, over 100,000 gallons of corrosive salt water from the Hudson River flooded Indian Point's Reactor No. 2. The cool river water, encasing the 700-degree reactor, posed a grave

and serious threat of cracking the reactor's vessel. Whether or not the vessel is cracked has still not been determined. Con Edison started up the reactor without ever checking for signs of such cracks. If it is cracked, the vessel could very well break, making it basically impossible to cool the reactor's core. In other words: meltdown.

In addition to the effects of the cool water on the reactor's vessel, there is the question of the longer-term results of the salt water on the steel pipes in the reactor's cooling system.

The "plumbing problem," as Con Ed refers to it, was not even made public until four days after Con Ed discovered the leaks. When it was, officials were instantly hard-pressed to answer the wave of outrage it fueled,

with people demanding to know why the flooding occurred and why it was kept secret, especially during the most dangerous period.

Con Ed and the NRC have rushed to cover their badly exposed posteriors, attempting to diminish the dangers which existed. They have typically cried "human error"—that "somebody just made a mistake." But while there has been no attempt to minimize the bureaucratic doubletalk, there have been giant strides to minimize financial loss. The reactor was restarted after repeated flooding and a rate hike was suggested to cover any repairs.

As far back as October 3, a technician discovered that while there was no spillage in the containment room area, several feet of water had accumulated in one of the vessel's pumps. It was believed at that time that the pump was functional—not surprising, since there isn't any way to check the functioning of these pumps. As it later turned out, none of the three pumps in the area were operational.

At the same time a warning light in the power plant's control room was flickering, indicating that non-contaminated water had spilled onto the reactor's floor. This warning light remained on for two weeks with Con Ed never ordering it to be checked out.

On October 17, due only to a malfunction in one of four instruments recording the rate of production of neutrons in the reactor, workmen were sent into the containment area to in-

vestigate. They found themselves in the midst of a flood of water.

The reactor was then shut down, and later restarted. Within two days, another flood occurred. On October 24, after the water had been pumped out, the reactor was again restarted, but the reactor's vessel was never checked for cracks—it was simply turned back on. On October 30, while checking a fire-fighting system, another 8,000 gallons of flooded water was discovered before the No. 2 Reactor was shut down. It remains this way now pending clean-up. Con Ed is offering workers up to \$1,000 a week to clean the radioactive area.

The Indian Point plant has been a target of the anti-nuke movement since it was built. Con Ed constructed the Indian Point plant among the Ramapo Fault—a seismic formation passing within 3,000 yards of the reactor. A catastrophe could easily be triggered by a minor earthquake.

The *Village Voice*, in its November 5, edition, notes that, "Theoretically, this phenomenon can never happen to a reactor vessel. No one has ever imagined the effect of a thermal shock to the outside of the reactor vessel. It's not one of the 'occurrences' analyzed in the NRC's plethora of 'safety analysis reports.' There is no data on thermal shock, no diagnosis, no tests to check for weakening or brittleness in the reactor vessel."

Yet with smug indignation, Con Ed has insisted all along that no danger has ever existed at Indian Point—only a "plumbing problem." □

1000 Hold Off Philly Police

The press called it "carnival-like" in reporting that nearly 1,000 people gathered around Philadelphia police in an incident on November 9. The cops, armed with shotguns, clubs and firehoses and ultimately numbering over 100, were attempting to "subdue" James Willis. Willis, a Black man, had just stabbed a construction worker to death in a shopping center in a predominantly Black area of Philly. Willis held the police at bay with a knife, but it was the angry crowd of Black people that prevented—for a time—Willis from being beaten to death at the hands of the Philly police.

To the crowd that day, James Willis was just another Black who was about to follow in the footsteps of countless others—and the police knew it. This was the same area that had gone up in open rebellion last August when a Philly cop murdered William "Wee" Green, the cop's gun "accidentally discharging" while he was pistol-whipping the 17-year-old youth. The Philly police certainly recalled events that followed this murder: the local police station was surrounded by hundreds of people who busted every window as the cops cowered inside.

Soon after people gathered, over 100 police moved in to try to keep the crowd back. Fire hoses were brought to the

scene—not for one lone assailant—but just in case this crowd exploded in rage against these gunslingers. As they aimed the hoses towards Willis, two men cut one of the hoses to protect him. They were set upon and arrested. Again the phalanx of cops had to push the crowd back. With the reinforcements in place and the fire hoses ready, they turned upon James Willis. In a blast of water Willis was spun around and thrown to the ground. Instantly the pigs surrounded him and began clubbing him viciously, over and over again, until he was dead. This act was aimed as a message to the crowd. The vivid scenes flashed across the nation's nightly news shows.

James Willis was a sick man—with a history of being tossed in and out of mental institutions. And in a society that produces insanity like it produces products off an assembly line, his is not an uncommon story. Nor is the tragedy and the suffering that he inflicted on those around him.

But what the police found "uncommon" on the streets of Philadelphia that day was their inability to "subdue" a Black man with the more traditional methods as those they used on "Wee" Green. And they can expect an encore in the "carnival" they experienced as they beat James Willis to death. □

Ireland

Continued from page 2

refusal by prisoners to wear the standard issue denim prison clothes. So now, 24 hours a day, these men wear nothing but the blankets that are provided by the authorities. Thus the references, especially in the Irish nationalist newspapers, to "four years on the blanket," etc.—meaning that for the past four years nothing but a blanket has been worn, in protest.

At the same time as the struggle to "Smash the H-Block" at Long Kesh intensifies, demands for the freedom of the political prisoners at the Armagh women's prison escalate as well. Conditions at both these prisons are outrageous. Searches and beatings are com-

monplace—with male warders (jailers—RW) joining in the abuse of women prisoners at Armagh. Fire hoses are frequently used to soak prisoners—especially on cold nights. After visits, prisoners are forced to stand over a mirror on the floor and submit to the degrading anal probes during strip searches. The fouling of food goes on in an effort to break the protestors. Medical care is offered in exchange for a pledge to get off "the blanket" and stop the protests. And recently, the British authorities offered a "new" uniform to the political prisoners in an effort to stave off the growing outrage over what's going on behind the walls of Long Kesh and Armagh prisons. The offer was flatly rejected. The "blanket men" of Long Kesh and the Armagh women continue their resistance to British imperialism. □

Iranian Rulers

Continued from page 5

got them on the hooks of the U.S. imperialists, who are beginning to reel them in towards their nets, though not without a certain amount of thrashing and flopping around.

More Capitulationist Moves in Iran

In Iran today, even the most determined capitulationist forces are hesitant to come out and publicly advocate such closer ties with the U.S. However, in paving the way for this to develop in the near future, former Prime Minister Ghotzbadah has played the role of point-man. Appearing last week in rapid succession on ABC's "Issues and Answers" and then on the second channel of Iranian TV that is controlled by forces allied with President Bani-Sadr, Ghotzbadah called for the immediate release of the U.S. hostages. (Three of the 52 are being held in his offices in the Foreign Ministry, including Bruce Laingen, the ranking U.S. diplomat in Tehran, and to give an idea of how tight Ghotzbadah must have become with his "captives," Laingen was able to give a phone interview last week to a reporter from Seattle in which he said that it is now "a time for cool resolve and a time for confidence that it will soon be over.")

While on Iranian TV, Ghotzbadah also apparently launched an attack on his rivals in the Islamic Republic Party, accusing them of trying to monopolize the press and spreading lies through the media. This prompted the Supreme Defense Council to censure Ghotzbadah, and last Thursday he was arrested by revolutionary guards and spent three days in prison while his political allies rallied support for his release. While the events surrounding his arrest and imprisonment are still somewhat murky, it is clear that even though various bourgeois forces in the government continue to fight like crabs in a net over how fast and far to go in agreeing to new ties with the U.S., their basic points of unity continue to far outweigh their differences.

Last week, after being silent for quite some time on the hostage issue, President Bani-Sadr (also the armed forces'

commander-in-chief) held a press conference in Dezful where he expressed the "hope that a quick solution could be worked out so that Iran could obtain much needed military supplies," also mentioning Iran's frozen assets in the U.S. Obviously concerned about the prospect of a protracted war that could lead to increased mobilization and arming of the Iranian masses increasingly independent of the government's control and under the influence of the Left, Bani-Sadr stated that "time is a decisive element"—in coming to terms with the U.S.

Bani-Sadr's fiercest rival in the IRP, Ayatollah Beheshti, is also coming out into the open on the hostage issue, and openly joining the ranks of the capitulationists. According to the *New York Times*, at a press conference on Thursday, Beheshti called the U.S. reply "a good start toward solving the hostage crisis" and said it would be up to the Parliament to determine whether in fact "one or two of the conditions are legally impossible" for the U.S. to meet.

At the same time as these maneuvers are taking place, the government has finally—after a delay of more than 16 months—started up the trial of a well-known leader of the Mojahadeen, Mohammed Reza Saadati, in Tehran. In April of 1979 he was arrested by a komiteh based at the American embassy (!) for the "counter-revolutionary" act of gathering information about the CIA's continuing operations in Iran, including their agents and contacts within the Iranian government. (It also appears that Saadati received some information on this subject from the Soviet embassy.) It is clear, though, that the convening of this trial at this time is a significant move on the part of the government to beat down and intimidate the anti-imperialist and Marxist-Leninist forces and the millions of revolutionary-minded Iranians who have repeatedly risen up to expose and oppose their capitulationist plans, and whose actions could set the hot seat they're presently sitting on afire. Above all, this is the "hitch" that both the U.S. imperialists and Iran's bourgeois rulers are most worried about as they attempt to consummate their reactionary deals. □

Prison Strike

Continued from page 7

prison construction, etc., some of whom make only \$5.00 per month.

"Instead of trying to resolve this strike peacefully and attempting to negotiate our grievances, this warden has begun to retaliate with punitive and vindictive conduct which is beginning to create a very explosive situation," Peltier says. "The entire population is being punished into going back to work. It's not working... To date, we have been denied exercise and recreation, no religious services, no commissary, one hot meal a day and two bag lunches, no access to the law library. Generally everyone is pissed and the feeling is to stay on strike as long as it takes...."

Since this letter was written, the prisoners' unrelenting stand has now forced the administration to lighten up a little by allowing the prisoners two hot meals a day and some recreation in the halls outside their cells. At the same time they have aggressively singled out some as "leaders" for punishment. A couple of weeks after the strike started 20 men were placed in segregation (separate from the Control Unit), including Peltier. He, along with ten others, was finally released. Last week, the authorities once again singled Peltier out for punishment, sentencing him to 30 days in segregation on the bogus charge of "inciting a riot."

This is an extremely serious attack; widely exposed have been government plots to murder Peltier since at least 1978, as part of the brutal efforts to crush the struggle of the Native American people. In 1975, when over twenty government agents opened fire on an Indian encampment on the Pine Ridge Reservation, Peltier was one of the staunch defenders of the camp. One Indian and two FBI agents were killed in the shootout. Peltier was railroaded

for the agents' deaths and was sentenced to two consecutive life terms. From his cell he continued to speak out. In 1978 he issued a call to all Indians, "As warriors of our nation we must show our people the spirit of Crazy Horse so they may rise off their knees... Rise up with me and resist the terrorist attacks and genocide against our nation." In September, 1979, the government's intent to kill Peltier was exposed when Standing Deer, a Native American prisoner whom the authorities had tried to coerce into acting as a co-conspirator in the murder, revealed the entire foul plot in a sworn affidavit in court. He revealed that Peltier had been purposely transferred to a minimum security prison in Lompoc, California where he would be set up for an escape attempt in which he would be killed. Peltier and two other men did bust out of Lompoc, one was murdered, one captured immediately and Peltier was captured a few days later.

After being convicted for escape and possession of a weapon, Peltier was transferred back to Marion early this year. The government planned to send him to the sensory deprivation program in the Control Unit to try to complete what they failed to do earlier—crush his resistance, or murder him. They were not able to carry through with these plans. Because of the massive outcry from around the country protesting Peltier's sentence to the Control Unit, the authorities were forced to back down on this. This "inciting to riot" charge is another step toward getting Peltier where they want him. But the Marion prisoners, who have shown the strong solidarity of different nationalities in this strike, and those outside the walls who have demonstrated support, will continue to present a solid obstacle to the authorities' attempts to carry out their despicable plans. □

The FBI Frameup of Dhoruba Moore

Continued from page 17

that if the business refused there would be "an accident on the premises"; 2) A 4-15-69 New York memorandum to Hoover captioned "Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalists—Hate Groups, Racial Intelligence." Less than two weeks after the arrest of the Panther 21, the New York office states that interviews of over 500 BPP members and sympathizers were attempted along with arrests by Bureau agents and the NYPD.; 3) 9-5-69, in its summary of its counterintelligence activities against the BPP, the New York office states that as a result of the discreet interview with a person from the All Saints Roman Catholic Church in New York City, the BPP Breakfast Program there was discontinued; 4) 11-28-69, New York COINTELPRO summary. The New York office reported to Hoover that it had received information that the BPP had requested the use of St. Anthony's Padua Roman Catholic Church for its Breakfast Program. Upon being notified, the Bureau immediately contacted a priest at the church and "discussed with him the ideals and the background of the BPP." The program was not instituted at this church; 5) 10-17-69, New

York informs Hoover that the office will remain "constantly alert for any favorable publicity given in a local news media to the activities of the BPP" in order that this might be counteracted by COINTELPRO operations; 6) 4-17-70, Assistant District Attorney Joseph Phillips informs the FBI of the identities of those persons who furnished bail money for Dhoruba Moore and the Panther 21 case.

These documents, cleaned up as they are, certainly reveal a part of the definitely much bigger picture of FBI COINTELPRO operations against the Panthers and Dhoruba Moore. It is also clear that sordid activities against revolutionaries such as those brought out in this case were never stopped and similar COINTELPRO-style programs are clearly being used today by the government. At this point Dhoruba is trying to secure more documents from all levels of the government to be used in arguing for the reopening of his case in the courts. And more importantly, efforts are underway to rally mass support for his immediate freedom from the clutches of the bourgeoisie, whose agents have so blatantly framed him up. □

Philippines

Continued from page 16

disagree is to get out of those universities." The arrest of four student leaders that afternoon put Marcos' words into perspective—as those that disagreed "left the university."

It is against this backdrop that the Aquino-led opposition is playing its role. The nature of this opposition is illustrated by events involving Aquino himself. Aquino used to be Marcos' "prisoner." In a statement made before the Philippine Supreme Court, Jose Maria Sison (who the authorities claim is Amado Guerrero, Chairman of the Central Committee of the CPP), citing publicly known facts, contrasts his treatment in prison with that of Aquino. Sison was beaten, handcuffed for months to his cot, and tortured by having water run down inside his nostrils while his mouth was held shut bringing on near strangulation. Aquino on the other hand, this so-called bomb-throwing opposition leader, was treated like royalty. He was allowed to conduct press interviews with local as well as foreign journalists, Tony Clifton of *Newsweek* being one among many. He was able to issue press statements anytime he wanted. He was able to participate in elections and to write a book. Aquino had his own cottage, refrigerator, TV, radio, air conditioning and cooking facilities. He had overnight conjugal visits and a steady stream of visitors. And now, under the auspices of medical treatment for an ailing heart, Aquino has been released from prison and let go to the U.S. It is from here that Aquino not only blusters about "buildings will be blown up, and corrupt presidential cronies and cabinet members assassinated along with military officers who have tortured political prisoners," but jet-sets around the world seeking to suck other forces of the Philippine resistance into his fold.

Right now, even under a Marcos arrest warrant, Aquino sits up in Harvard University as a fellow at Harvard's Center of International Affairs—no doubt being scrubbed and groomed as a possible successor to Marcos. There has

already been an editorial in the *Washington Post* calling on Marcos to give the Filipino people back their "civil rights"—i.e. to let Aquino "share power" as he himself describes his demand.

Clearly the U.S. imperialists are struggling precisely over the question of how to maintain control over the vitally strategic Philippine Islands. A recent *Chicago Tribune* editorial sharply posed some of the options they are considering. Their basic starting point was that firm determination must mark whatever policy the U.S. chooses. If they back Marcos, they must do it to the hilt, with "no thoughts about habeas corpus." If they back the bourgeois opposition they must dump Marcos "with no regrets" and not wait until the revolutionary forces are kicking in the palace doors.

It is obvious that the imperialists are paying a certain political price with the international exposure of the Marcos dictatorship. But at the same time, given the strategic interests that the U.S. has wrapped up in the Philippines, they are not about to hastily turn over such an important area to untested forces.

Right now, in the Philippines, there are over 20 U.S. military bases (the most famous being the Subic Bay Naval Base and Clark Air Force Base). Clark is the largest Air Force base outside the U.S. itself, while Subic Bay is the headquarters for the 7th Fleet. There are over 16,000 U.S. troops stationed there—not including various stripes of CIA, Pentagon Intelligence, etc. The islands themselves are described by U.S. military sources as the linchpin of U.S. defenses in the area and an easy flight to such places as the U.S. bases on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, Japan, China, Korea, the Persian Gulf, etc.

What will become of Aquino remains to be seen; certainly the contradiction posed to the U.S. in his bid for power is the subject of much discussion behind closed doors in the State Department and elsewhere. But, as will also become increasingly apparent, this is not where the future of the Philippines will ultimately be decided. □



LETTERS ON THE DRAFT PROGRAMME & 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 Tsetung 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.

Role of GIs

I would like to make a number of comments on the letter, "The Role of GIs in the Preparation for War and the Armed Seizure of Power," which appeared as criticism of the draft Programme in the October 31st *Revolutionary Worker*.

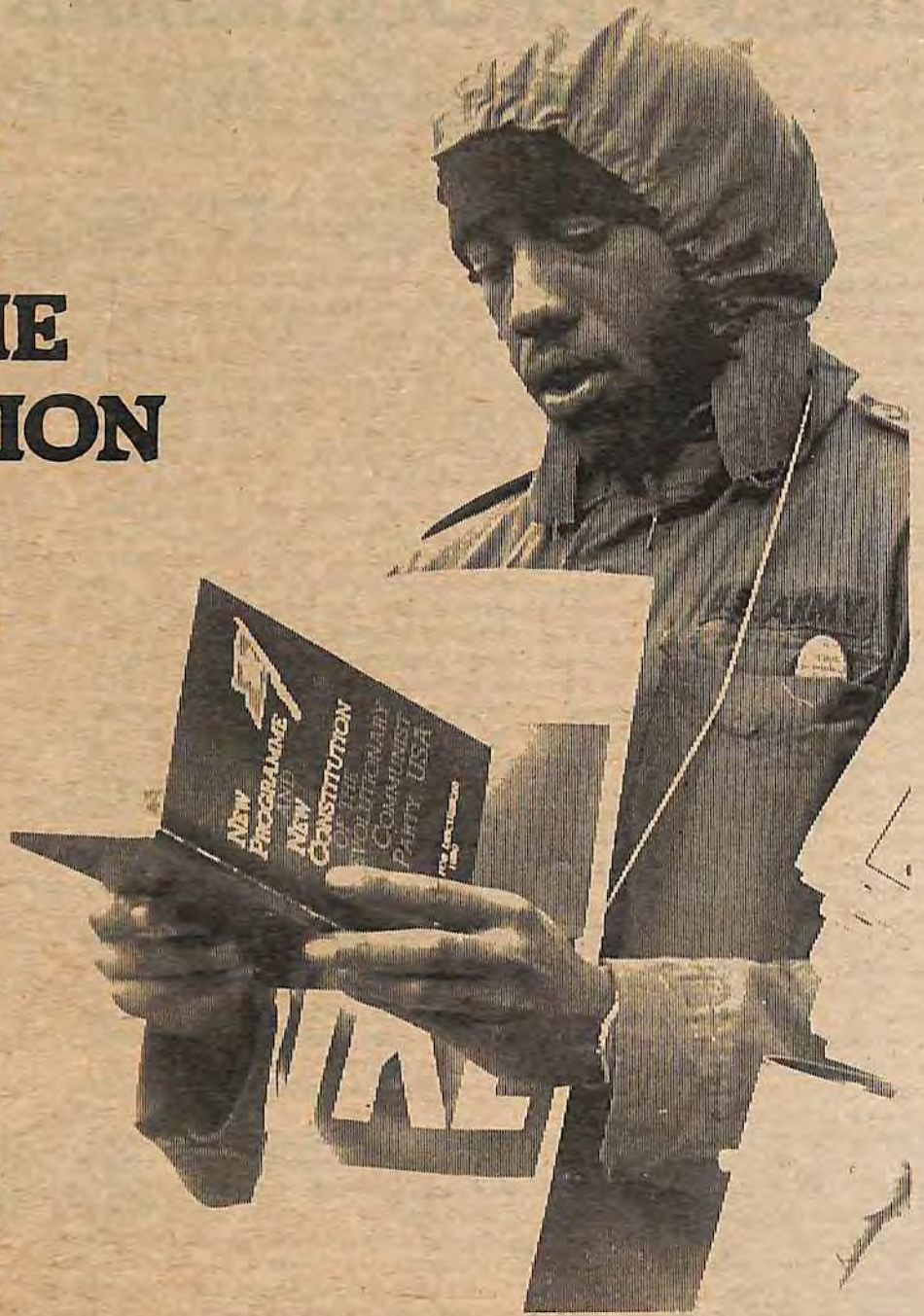
The line of this letter, fairly nakedly expressed, is that the proletariat and the masses, led by its Party, will be utterly helpless and incapable of mastering military forms of struggle, of carrying out the task formulated in the draft Programme, to "defeat the armed forces of the bourgeoisie... shatter and disintegrate the enemy's military organization." Essentially, the letter denies that the revolutionary army will develop, fundamentally, from the revolutionary organizations of the broad masses in struggle, led by the proletariat and its Party; and insists that, since in the view of this comrade it would be suicidal folly for "poorly trained, inexperienced" revolutionary forces to attempt to take on the bourgeois armed forces, in a revolutionary situation the masses should not dare to commence the armed uprising unless we are guaranteed in advance that large sections of the bourgeois military will already be committed to the revolutionary camp. Connected with this is an extremely idealist conception of the whole process of uprising and civil war as a simple affair that will be "decisively" determined in one stroke—rather than as the bitter, complex, uneven and protracted struggle that it inevitably must be.

The comrade's conception of the armed struggle, in fact, appears to be one of almost a bloodless victory—a situation in which huge chunks of the bourgeois military will fall intact into the hands of the proletariat, thus providing us with an instant army without us having to trouble our heads too much with organizing and training our own revolutionary armed forces, led by the Party and with the class-conscious proletariat as its core. Everything must be won and "decided" in "a matter of hours"—and the key thing that will decide the issue is a wholesale and automatic turning the guns around of a section of the military large enough, at least, to "take care" of the remainder.

"...The reason for this is that in a highly industrialized and urban country like the U.S., where an armed insurrection followed by a period of civil war is the correct process for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie, we will have the necessity to pass, at the commencement of open armed hostilities, almost immediately (perhaps within a matter of hours) from a military situation of overall strategic defensive to the strategic offensive, placing the initiative firmly and decisively in the proletarian camp. To do this requires not only a massive uprising of the masses generally, especially the proletariat, but also requires a rapid disintegration of large parts of the bourgeois military as well as the outright allegiance of sections of it (entire units as well as individuals) to the proletarian cause."

The comrade's attitude towards the independent revolutionary armed forces of the proletariat appears to be that they will amount to little more than an irrelevant joke. "If we wait until the armed forces of the proletariat are actually in battle against the bourgeois military to start winning over broad masses of its soldiers (as it seems to me is implied in the second full paragraph on page 41) I think it will be too late..." And then, further down, the comrade holds that the process of disintegrating the bourgeois military "won't depend solely on the thrashing provided by revolutionary forces, and if we wait for that, the thrashing will probably come from the opposite direction." And one of the reasons advanced for downplaying the significance of the military organizations growing directly out of the revolutionary organizations of the masses is that "in this age of complicated technological weaponry the time it takes to train inexperienced revolutionary forces will be longer and will be a factor, although not the decisive factor."

Essentially, then, the revolutionary masses must remain passive and helpless



New Programme
and New Constitution
of the
Revolutionary Communist Party, USA
(Drafts for Discussion)

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or at bookstores in your area.

until a large section of the bourgeois military comes over and fights the revolution for us—of course, obligingly placing themselves firmly under the "political leadership of the working class," which makes everything all right. In order to bolster this thesis, the comrade points to the "instrumental" role of the troops in the October Revolution in Russia and quotes Lenin: "Lenin often stressed the role of soldiers and the sailors pointing out that in war time they play 'an exceptionally big role in all state affairs.'" (Vol. 26, p. 79)

Of course, Lenin recognized the obvious fact that the military plays an "exceptionally big role" in war time. And Lenin was fully aware of this strategic and tactical importance of conducting revolutionary agitation and propaganda among the troops, and of the necessity to both paralyze sections of the military and win over—win over politically, on the one hand, and then win over physically—sections of the armed forces to the proletarian cause. And yet Lenin in numerous writings fiercely polemicized against the view which sneered at the military organizations of the proletariat during revolutionary upheavals as "Blanquism," and which passively consigned the proletariat to "waiting for the troops to come over." In a resolution Lenin drafted for the Bolshevik Unity Congress in 1906, after pointing out that the experience of the Moscow uprising "... gave rise to new barricade tactics, and proved generally that the open armed struggle of the people is possible even against modern troops," and after urging that "still greater efforts must be made to form more fighting squads, improve their organization, and supply them with weapons of every type; and, as experience suggests, it is necessary to form not only Party fighting squads, but also squads associated with the Party, and entirely non party squads"—then Lenin pointed out that "there should be increased work among the armed forces, bearing in mind that discontent alone in the forces is not enough to achieve success for the movement..."

Lenin quite clearly branded the passive view that "nothing can be done," that all talk of an uprising must be postponed until the bourgeois army joined the people en masse, as Menshevism. This point is addressed in Lenin's "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising," which summed up that climactic struggle of the 1905 Revolution, in opposition to Plekhanov's conclusion that, in view of the failure of the uprising, "they should not have taken to arms":

"...Nothing could be more shortsighted than Plekhanov's view, seized upon by all the opportunists, that the strike was untimely and should not have been started, and that 'they should not have taken to arms.' On the contrary, we should have taken to arms more resolutely, energetically and aggressively, we should have explained to the masses that it was impossible to confine things to a peaceful strike and that a fearless and relentless armed fight was necessary..."

"Such is the first lesson of the December events. Another lesson concerns the character of the uprising, the methods by which it is conducted, and the conditions which lead to the troops coming over to the side of the people. An extremely biased view on this latter point prevails in the right wing of our party. It is alleged that there is no possibility of fighting modern troops; the troops must become revolutionary. Of course, unless the revolution assumes a mass character and affects the troops, there can be no question of serious struggle. That we must work among the troops goes without saying, but we must not imagine that they will come over to our side at one stroke, as a result of persuasion or of their own convictions. The Moscow uprising clearly demonstrated how stereotyped and lifeless this view is. As a matter of fact, the wavering of the troops, which is inevitable in every truly popular movement, leads to a real fight for the troops whenever the revolutionary struggle becomes acute. The Moscow uprising was precisely the example of the desperate, frantic struggle for the troops that takes place between the reaction and the revolution.... We have car-

Continued on page 22

DRAFT PROGRAMME

Continued from page 21

ried on work in the army and we will redouble our efforts in the future ideologically to 'win over' the troops. But we shall prove to be miserable pedants if we forget that at the time of the uprising there must also be a physical struggle for the troops." (Vol. 11, p. 174)

The vital distinction which Lenin draws—between the ongoing political and ideological work to "win over the troops" in terms of their hearts, their basic sympathies—and the actual physical struggle to cause sections of the military to desert the enemy and join the proletarian army—appears to be utterly lost on our comrade, who complains that the draft *Programme* advocates "waiting until the armed forces are actually in battle against the bourgeois military" to start winning over the rank and file. If the comrade means that it is wrong to wait until then to begin political work among the troops, he is "demolishing" non-existent fallacies. But what the comrade, in his letter, is really asking for is that the military battle be won before it has begun, and that without "assurances" of "whole units" pledged in advance to support the uprising, he would agree with Plekhanov that "they should not have taken to arms."

This desire for a bloodless victory—which is an empty wish, and simply amounts to a rejection of the feasibility of the armed struggle for power—surfaces again when the comrade charges that the draft *Programme* is actually confusing the military strategy for proletarian revolution in the U.S. with the strategy followed in China during the revolutionary civil war "where they won over the enemy military forces mostly in the process of beating the hell out of them. A lot of those battles in China happened during the phase of the overall strategic defensive (which hopefully we won't see in its full form in the U.S.) and more importantly their revolution involved armed struggle through its entire process up to the complete seizure of power. Again, in this country we must immediately seize the initiative with a decisive insurrection, which to be successful must involve elements of the bourgeois military actively among the revolutionary armed forces (as well as at least neutralizing many others)." This theme of immediately seizing the initiative with a "decisive insurrection" clearly implies that victory can be won "in a flash" in a relatively painless *fait accompli*; and the magic key to this is the sections of the bourgeois military which we have won over to our camp in advance. The comrade appears to envision an evenly developed and simultaneously victorious nationwide insurrection, followed by a "mopping up" operation. "Hopefully," we won't see a protracted civil war, in which the proletarian army, after perhaps having seized several major cities, will indeed quite possibly find itself on the strategic defensive. This is not the place to discuss or speculate on the possible form the civil war may take, except to observe that it will likely be characterized by tremendous unevenness, dress rehearsals, etc., and that it is highly unlikely that the issue will be "decisively" determined in a "matter of hours."

Furthermore, the comrade's formulation of "elements of the bourgeois military" fighting "actively among the revolutionary armed forces" is incorrect. Missing from his analysis is the understanding, dwelled on at length by Lenin and clearly laid out in the draft *Programme*, that the bourgeois military machine, along with the state apparatus as a whole, must be smashed by violent force. As the draft *Programme* states, "... as the revolutionary armed forces carry out the armed struggle and defeat the armed forces of the bourgeoisie, they will not only shatter and disintegrate the enemy's military organization but will win over broad ranks of its soldiers, reeducate them and integrate them into the armed forces of the proletarian revolution in accordance with its basic principles." (DP, page 41)

This point is important because the orientation of the comrade's letter basically is this: that only a bourgeois army can defeat a bourgeois army; that our task is to split off one section of it to wage war against another section, to change nothing but the flag it is fighting under. Though the comrade doesn't say so, his worry about the difficulty of "training inexperienced revolutionary forces" in this age of "complicated technological weaponry" objectively leads clearly in this direction—including even advocating the retention of the bourgeois officer corps to train and lead the troops. (Lenin points out, in fact, that this was indeed the line of the Mensheviks during the 1905 Revolution—they passed a resolution stating that "revolutionary propaganda among officers is an important task... because at the time of an armed uprising revolutionary officers can serve as the technical leaders of the insurrection.") The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, while not denying the potential useful role of individual sympathetic officers, emphasized that this must be clearly subordinated to the development of "independent social democratic organization" and the development of "Bolshevik combat groups.")

Perhaps what is most sorely missing from the comrade's analysis is any grasp of the insurrection, the armed uprising, as a fundamentally political act, dialectically and inextricably connected with the revolutionary offensive of the broad masses. This is why the comrade is incapable of conceiving of genuine military organization developing under the leadership of the Party from the masses' revolutionary organizations and struggle. The following sketch by Lenin of the development of the 1905 Revolution traces dramatically the various steps in the development of that struggle—and illustrates how the growth of mutiny and the desertion of the armed forces came as a result of and not as a precondition to the political strikes and armed uprising of the masses as a whole:

"The armed uprising of the people is maturing and is organizing itself before our very eyes under the impact of the spontaneous course of events. It was not so very long ago that the only manifestation of the people's struggle against the autocracy was revolts—unconscious, unorganized, spontaneous, sometimes wild outbreaks. But the labor movement, as the movement of the most advanced class, the proletariat, rapidly outgrew this initial stage. The conscious propaganda and agitation carried on by the Social-Democrats (communists—RW) had their effect. Disturbances gave way to organized strike struggles and political demonstrations against the autocracy. The brutal military reprisals of the past few years have educated the proletariat and the common people of the towns, and have prepared them for higher forms of revolutionary struggle. The criminal and ignominious war in which the autocracy has plunged the people filled the cup of their endurance to overflowing. The crowds began to offer armed resistance to the tsarist troops. Real *street fighting*, barricade battles, started between the people and the troops. ... The struggle grew into an insurrection. Even the tsarist troops gradually began to see that they were being made to play the shameful role of executioners of freedom, of hangmen of the police. And the army began to waver. At first isolated cases of insubordination, outbreaks among reservists, protests from officers, propaganda among the soldiers, refusal of some companies and regiments to shoot at their own brothers, the workers. Then—the *siding of part of the army with the uprising*." (Vol. 8, page 560)

The comrade's speculations on whether GIs should be included—or "half" included—in the United Front Section of the *Programme* as potential allies of the proletariat also betrays the same line that the proletariat is incapable of developing its own military organization—thus leading to the wishful desire to twist logic to the point where GIs are classed as "allies" of the revolution. Well, not quite. "Now I know it wouldn't be correct to say that GIs as a group are part of the United Front against the bourgeoisie, but it's also not true that as a group they will be against us. I think that a dialectical analysis showing the significant aspects of potential development of this major social force, and also analyzing the crucial role they must and will play in the armed seizure of power, should be a part of this section."

Is it true that GIs "as a group"—i.e., as a bourgeois army under the leadership of the ruling class—"won't be against us"? No, this is not true. As components of the bourgeois army, they will, "as a group," be very much against

us—they'll be shooting at us, at least, and that's "against" as far as the masses being shot at will be concerned. The fact that their social role "as a group," that of an organized armed force of the state, is in very sharp contradiction to their class origins and their objective interests as proletarians does not change this; what it reveals is the potential for them to rebel, to repudiate their role as hired killers for the enemy and desert to the proletarian army. The working class, the oppressed national minorities who fill the military, all these classes and strata are, of course, amply spoken to in the draft *Programme* in terms of their strategic position in the United Front. But the comrade's desire to promote the illusion that GIs as GIs "won't be against us" not only flies in the face of the obvious, but in practice would lead to dangerous paralysis.

The question of winning over rank and file troops to the proletarian cause—winning them over politically, and, in the armed contest for power, winning over substantial numbers to fight for the revolutionary cause—is clearly an important question; as the draft *Programme* points out, the imperialist military's faced with an "Achilles Heel," as it is forced to fill its ranks with "youth of the proletariat and the oppressed masses generally." The DP points out clearly that "... As the old authority begins to be seriously challenged and to break down, many will come over to join the revolutionary struggle led by the class-conscious proletariat, especially if there is—as there will be—the firm leadership of the Party, armed itself, and arming the masses with the correct line, strategy and policies, with a clear sense of the revolutionary way forward." I think that this sentence—and especially the "especially if..." is important to ponder. Regardless of the extent of disintegration and demoralization within the military, disaffected soldiers will not spontaneously flock to the revolutionary banner unless the Party and the class-conscious workers under its leadership are really in firm command, are really organizing and implementing a correct line in every field—and that includes the field of revolutionary warfare. There is a dialectical relationship between the political and military struggle and organization of the masses—the second develops out of the first—and if we can master the science of political struggle we can certainly do it for military struggle as well.

A final note in response to the comrade's concern about "inexperienced revolutionary forces" quailing in stupefied awe at the "complicated technological weaponry" of the modern age. Attention must be paid to mastering technique, of course; we have to take a serious attitude towards learning and mastering every aspect of the military science and strategy, as well as every other field. But does the comrade really believe that it is more difficult in this "modern age" to find square roots because "advanced technology" has produced pocket calculators? There is a contradiction between the comrade's vision of tens of millions of wage slaves being pressed into uniform on the one hand, and his pessimism that the broad masses can't handle complicated technological weaponry on the other. The point is not that we won't have much to learn; the point is that the basis for the comrade's pessimism is not fundamentally a *technical* problem but a failure to understand thoroughly that revolution, including its military phase, is a great political act by the oppressed masses in their broad millions led by the proletariat and its Party. Insurrection and armed uprisings are dramatic illustrations of this. The "purely military viewpoint," which is really nothing but a bourgeois military viewpoint, will not only lead to defeat in the "armed contest for power," but will undoubtedly lead in practice to a denial of the possibility of even commencing it.

E.R.

Nukes: "Decommission," Dismantle and Dispose

RW:

This letter is in opposition to the views expressed in the Oct. 10 letter on nuclear weapons and to the line on them in the Draft Programme (p. 56-57). That letter rebutted the criticism of the Programme that appeared in the June 13 RW; there have been other such rebuttals in the paper but I will focus on the Oct. 10 letter. But first my line on the nukes question.

I feel that the proletariat of a superpower, upon coming to power, must renounce all use of nuclear weapons and seek disarmament at once. In the struggle for power it must seize the bourgeoisie's world-spanning arsenal of strategic and tactical nuclear weapons, "decommission" them and plan for their safe dismantling and disposal. This is the internationalist duty of the proletariat in a superpower and it is linked with the Marxist analysis of imperialist war and the question of revolutionary defeatism. Imperialism has produced highly developed warning, guidance and delivery systems for modern warfare and these profoundly link the destinies of nations, intensifying the class contradiction and blurring national distinctions world-wide, creating tremendous opportunities for proletarian internationalism as a material force in opposition to imperialism.

The question of developing powerful armed forces under socialism is a class question which I feel the Programme should answer. (The letter in the Oct. 24 RW on international relations correctly criticizes the tendencies toward "classless" foreign policy in the Draft Programme.) In a socialist country surrounded by hostile imperialist powers a contradiction exists between non-productive military expenditure, i.e., for advanced weapons, on the one hand, and all-round development of the economy and foreign economic aid, on the other. Self-seeking revisionist leading cadres in the armed forces may seek expansion of military-related production without regard to the interests of maintaining a balanced economy. These people do this on account of their high social positions isolated from the people, because they regard personnel and equipment under their supervision as capital, or whatever. But when push comes to shove these revisionists will act in tandem with the rest of the bourgeoisie. The working class has lost power in both the Soviet Union and China in part because of blackmail by such forces in control of the military.

On the basis of these arguments I feel the Oct. 10 letter confounds the national question in this period, making no distinction in the character of revolution in imperialist superpowers, junior partner states and oppressed nations. It would certainly be correct for the victorious proletariat in an oppressed country like India, to have nuclear weapons and modernize its armed forces. Likewise for a proletariat victorious in Poland or Turkey, strategically important states in the current spiral that's leading to world war. But for a former superpower, even in the throes of civil war, I must agree with the writer of June 13 when he/she says: "The use of nuclear weapons or even the implied threat to use them, would be great power chauvinism on our part, because our use of nukes would make uninhabitable great stretches of land of other nations, in the name of preserving socialism in this country." I feel the Oct. 10 letter is very wrong to ignore the question of great power chauvinism raised here because ignoring that leads to upholding nuclear deployment and to maintaining the imperialist hypocrisy of being for disarmament. No amount of propaganda about socialist defense can get rid of that stigma, nor can it get rid of cynicism among the masses expressed as: "Nukes in imperialist war, nukes in class war—so what's the difference?"

I would like the writer of this letter and those who hold that position to put the shoe on the other foot over this question of revolutionary defeatism in the warring imperialist country: What if the working class made revolution in the other superpower, the Soviet Union this time around, and pulled out of World War 3, etc., like in the Programme? And then U.S. imperialism, leading its bloc, was intervening militarily and politically in eastern Europe and the border republics in preparation for a decisive onslaught? Wouldn't the use or even the implied threat to respond with nuclear weapons have the effect of replacing revolutionary defeatism among the masses in the warring imperialist countries, or at least make it more difficult to propagate as the main weapon against intervention? On the other hand, wouldn't the consistent stand of internationalism, refusing to deploy mass terror, lend the proletariat's struggle tremendous prestige and isolate imperialism to the max?

Continued on page 23

DRAFT PROGRAMME

Continued from page 22

During world war and as the spirals of imperialism resolve into revolutions in both oppressed nations and belligerent states, proletarian internationalism stands in stark contrast to imperialism in decline. What does one have during such periods but proletarian revolution on the offensive and imperialism being transformed from world-wide predator into a wounded rat, the quarry of the world's people.

Clearly, the proletariat must now expose the bourgeoisie for its mass terror such as in WW 2 in the Dresden and Tokyo firebombings, and atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, as well as the slow death by starvation in the Sahel of Africa today, and I certainly agree with all the letters on the Draft Programme, that revolution in any of the belligerent states, including this one, will be a call to other proletarians to hasten their own revolutions. The cause of revolutionary defeatism and proletarian internationalism will be hindered and can not advance in my opinion however, faced with pre-emptive nuclear strikes, retaliatory strikes, or implied threats to do so by a victorious proletariat of a former superpower. This proletariat therefore has the particular responsibility to renounce the use of nuclear weapons for real, in order that proletarian internationalism can be strengthened and make real gains on imperialism world-wide. That is not possible when "anything goes."

L.A.

Draft Programme Discussion on Technicians

Employing Technicians and Supervisory Personnel Trained in the Old Society. Referring to the last paragraph on page 46 under the section "The Economy," I believe it is not entirely correct, is partially confusing and can use improvement. It says the proletariat will be faced with "the necessity to employ, even in state-owned enterprises, fairly large numbers of technicians and even some supervisory and management personnel who were trained in the old society and served the capitalist owners in the past." The phrase "served the capitalist owners in the past" can have one of two meanings. Either it refers to those who are politically loyal to capitalism, the die-hard patriots who think "what's good for the company is good for the country"; or it refers to those whose work enriches the capitalists, which takes in just about everyone. Since the Programme refers to employing "fairly large numbers," I assume it is *not* talking about the first—the die-hards. As far as being "trained in the old society," who *won't* have been trained in the old society? These two phrases about "training" and "serving" are vague and don't crystallize what the problem is.

Secondly, it says there will be a *necessity* to employ these technicians and supervisors trained in the old society *because it will take the workers time to master these skills*. By referring to this as a necessity it comes close to viewing this strata as enemies, that we would just as soon give them all brooms and tell them to go sweep off the Interstate Highway System. In the first place, this would be a completely irrational use of skills. And beside that, don't we see the possibility of raising their political consciousness? I think it is also wrong to pose the problem as one of simply replacing these people with workers. That does not answer the question of "what is more important: Red or expert?" and it runs contrary to the way the relationship is correctly stated later in that paragraph, which is that the *workers* supervise the *technicians* and that both begin to transform their roles.

On that basis, I'm submitting the following re-write of that paragraph:
"One problem facing the proletariat in seizing and consolidating its state power and achieving state ownership of the major industrial means of production is that many important functions such as engineering, finance and computer technology, as well as the organizing of certain phases of production, will be carried out by individuals whose outlook suffers from the old bourgeois, capitalist training which put production first and divided them off and set them above the workers. The proletariat will have to take into account that in the old society they generally received rather large salaries, and in order to get them to work for the proletariat and socialist construction and minimize sabotage on their part, it will be necessary to continue to pay them quite a bit more than the production workers. On the other hand, the proletariat cannot allow them to use their temporary monopoly of certain important knowledge and skills as capital in the literal sense—they cannot be allowed to command production and the production workers. On the contrary, they must accept the supervision of the masses of workers. Consistent and urgent efforts will immediately begin and struggle be carried out to educate, train and involve workers in these skilled, intellectual capacities and to involve the technical, managerial and similar personnel in productive labor together with the masses of workers, while placing the highest priority on maintaining and raising revolutionary class consciousness. In fact, once the workers become the masters of production and production is carried out for the welfare of the masses, the whole concept of work as profit-oriented, oppressive drudgery will change, and many whose job in an office is an escape rather than a fulfillment will seek out jobs involving productive labor. This, then, is an important way in which the proletariat will step by step eliminate the differences between intellectual, technical work and manual, productive labor while keeping its ship on the road to communism."

Signed,
R.B.

FREE THE GANG OF FOUR!

On Women

In the spirit of hammering the New Draft Programme into the most powerful weapon possible, here are some comments and criticisms relative to the Woman Question.

The party's line around this question is reflected strongly in the women's pamphlet "Break the Chains! Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution," a righteous women's slogan, in the struggle for the observance of International Women's Day during the May Day campaign and, most recently, the *Revolutionary Worker* front page abortion article. We feel, however, that the Draft Programme does not deepen this line, and is, in fact, very weak. The line that women's oppression is unimportant, doesn't have to be addressed now and that socialism will automatically take care of it is held by many supporters of the party. In this area, many comrades struggled that IWD should not be observed this year because of May Day preparations (as though they were separate issues). And one erroneous formulation of the party's line on both the national question and women's oppression is that the solid core of the united front is with the struggles of the oppressed peoples because their oppression is greater—if women's oppression was so bad the solid core would include them too. Bob Avakian, in the women's pamphlet, calls women's oppression "one of the most important cornerstones of the foundation of capitalism" and says there will be no advance to a socialist revolution and to communism without "the most determined struggle against the capitalist system and its oppression of the people on every front, and a most important front within that is the oppression of women." We feel that women's oppression and male supremacy are the most commonly held, most commonly practiced, and most commonly accepted form of elitism. The Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Party must sharply attack and point the way forward around these questions. After studying the Draft carefully we feel that there are three areas in which it falls short. It does not adequately

reflect the conditions that women face under Capitalism economically, in the superstructure, or in the family. It does not sharply attack male supremacy. Nor does it delve deeply enough into the immediate steps that must be taken after seizure of power to liberate women, or how critical the battle against male supremacy is in the superstructure—the realm of Ideology—after revolution.

Oppression of Women

To get into the oppression of women it is helpful first to look at it in relation to the national question and how it is addressed in the draft. The heading "Uprooting National Oppression" reflects a correct outlook on the question as, in fact, a struggle to dig out an ideology and practice that is deep and needs to be uprooted. Where is class struggle reflected in the heading "Women"? The oppression of women and male supremacy are a deep sore of class society that can only be eliminated through sharp struggle. National Oppression is correctly and ruthlessly identified as "savage oppression" and is described as mutilation of culture, exploitation and oppression, and violent police repression. Nowhere is women's oppression so addressed. Instead the section sounds very educational, nice, and says men "often play the role of the bourgeoisie inside his own home." The day-to-day humiliation, degradation and oppression for women under capitalism are not slashed to the heart with a sharp knife: not the economic situation, the daily abuses of the superstructure, rape, or oppression in the home. This section will attempt to address this oppression sharply.

1. Economism

With the rise of capitalism, the peasantry was forced off the land, and the feudal family broken up as a productive unit. Men were paid starvation wages that forced them to abandon their families. Women and children literally starved to death. Even after women entered the labor force, their wages often couldn't feed them and were forced to rely on men as the breadwinner. Even today where there is no male provider, women starve or are forced to that degrading self-perpetuating institution of welfare, or leave their children to the streets to take a full-time job that won't even upgrade their position economically or socially.

Women have always been relegated to the most back-breaking, stressful, hazardous industries like field labor, garment factories, and the new electronics industry in Silicon Valley. A chart quickly illustrates what this means in dollars and cents.

I. Median Wage or Salary Income of Full-time, Year Around Workers. 1974

Group	Wage	Wages as % of White male's wage
White men	\$12,343	100%
Black men	9,082	74%
White women	7,025	57%
Black women	6,611	54%

(Source: U.S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau
The earnings gap bet. women and men
(1976, p. 12)

II. Median income by sex and education, 1974
(full-time, year-round workers; 25 yrs. and over)

Education	Women's median wage	Men's median wage	Difference
Less than 8 yrs. elem.	\$ 5,022	\$ 7,912	\$ 2,890
8 years elementary	5,606	9,891	4,285
1-3 years high school	5,919	11,225	5,306
4 years high school	7,150	12,642	5,492
1-3 years college	8,072	13,718	5,646
4 or more yrs. college	10,357	17,188	6,831

(Source: U.S. Dept. of Commerce; A statistical portrait of women in the U.S.
(April, 1976), p. 48.)

Compare white women workers to black men workers and women of all races with a college degree with all men with no high school diploma to get the most interesting divisions. Also note that this does not take into account the underemployed. Only a little over 40% of working women were employed full-time during the entire year (Deckard, *Women's Movement*, p. 105). A Bureau of Labor Statistics study found that in each of 8 occupations studied for men and women in the same jobs, men *always* were paid more than women. Somewhere around 12% of all households are headed by women.

2. Superstructure

Come on, women, choose your role model. If you're sexy you can belong to Charlie and be an Angel—But if you're not, there's always Archie Bunker's bat-tleaxe.

You don't want to be barefoot, poor, and pregnant, at home raising cannonfodder? Well, join the army since you won't find a job anyway.

You don't want to spend your life figuring out how to stretch the budget with the help of *Women's Day*? Well, you can always find out what he *really* wants by reading *Cosmopolitan*.

You don't like these choices? Try thinking for yourself—if you can take being called a "ball-buster", or told "a nice lady like you should be home with your kids!" Or when you get raped or your husband beats you up, just remember: "you asked for it. You should have stayed in your proper place."

If you're sick of what the bourgeois media has to offer, try religion. Listen as the fundamentalist preacher tells you that "woman was created from the side of man—not the head because she shouldn't think, and not the feet because she shouldn't be walked on, but from the side because that's where she belongs—under a man's arm." Well, plenty of women are sick of smelling armpits!

Under capitalism women are kept in their places through the brain wash—not by the systematic terror minorities face in the ghettos and barrios. Minority women, of course, face both sexist and racist propaganda and terrorism. And millions of women do, in fact, face brutality in the home. The RCP has repeatedly addressed the tenacity of ideology:

"the communist revolution must be the most radical rupture not only with all traditional property relations, but with all traditional ideas as well." (Bob Avakian, *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions*)

What could be more traditional than "men do and women serve"? Unless this traditional ideology is ruthlessly exposed and violently uprooted starting right now and continuing through the socialist revolution, moving on to communism will be impossible, and probably we will not be able to seize power when the time is ripe.

We feel the draft does not address strongly enough the reality and pervasiveness of women's oppression through the superstructure. For example, in the Education section, "Johnny's" reading is addressed. What about Janey? True, the bourgeoisie is only interested in letting a few "Johnnies" read, and, in fact, neither Johnny or Janey are supposed to think. But specific steps are taken to ensure that girls, in particular, don't. When addressing the tracking system the draft correctly says the tracking system shunts national minorities into a lifetime of drudgery and agony; it doesn't mention that this happens to girls from the time of their birth—from doll babies and patent leather shoes to books depicting Janey as the scatterbrained helpless little girl whom Johnny has to rescue. The schools enforce the ideas that girls are submissive playthings, preparing them for years of drudgery, sexual abuse,

Continued on page 24

DRAFT PROGRAMME

Continued from page 23
and second class citizenry.

In the section on culture the draft says that "the idea of male supremacy" is promoted by bourgeois culture, but does not ruthlessly expose the belching out of degrading sexist attacks every second on TV, radio, movies, songs, plays, concerts and even sports. This shit is so pervasive in popular culture there's no end of examples we could give from car ads to punk rock. The words of a popular rock song, "inside you and inside your mind" graphically describe the control and subjugation young women are fed constantly to prepare their minds and bodies for servitude.

In the section on religion the role of religion relative to women's oppression isn't mentioned. Yet all religious teachings preach the submissive role of women, tying them to home and child-bearing.

When talking about exposing and uprooting an ideological poison that oppresses half the people in this country, it is not enough to say "this question will be raised and will be the source of ongoing struggle in order to ensure the full participation of women..." Right now, women's consciousness must be raised about these attacks and this insidious poison taken on in order to unleash that fury as a mighty force for revolution. This is the groundwork for the kind of uprooting of the superstructure which can only be done after revolution.

3. The family and sex

Lenin said that "the chief thing is to get women to take part in socially productive labour, to liberate them from 'domestic slavery', to free them from the stupefying and humiliating subjugation to the eternal drudgery of the kitchen and the nursery". Sure, that was true 50 years ago, but if you believe the "myth of the modern housewife", she lives in idle luxury thanks to modern household gadgetry, happily watching daytime tv, and satisfied with her privileged position.

The draft addresses the family in a couple places:

... But there will be a protracted process of struggle and persuasion of men and women alike about the need for women to play a full role in all aspects of society. Many women, influenced by the force of traditional ideas and the weight of their oppression will not agree about taking this kind of role in the workforce and in society generally, and the proletarian state cannot just force them to do this, but must lead in a protracted process of persuasion of these women, while at the same time struggling with the greater obstacle—the supremacist notions of men. (p. 59)

and:

... (the family's) influence in promoting conservatism among its members, especially the women and children, will be actively combatted. Their attention and energy will be focused on the broader questions and movements in society. (p. 69—emphasis ours)

How do these 2 quotes compare with Lenin's statement or the party's slogan, "Break the Chains! Unleash the fury of women as a mighty force for revolution"? This force is a tornado, ready to rip. Instead of concentrating so much on those who won't be willing to break out—and we think they are relatively few—the Programme must more sharply reflect the enormous potential among women for revolutionary action and enthusiastically address the way women will come into their own after the revolution.

It is certainly true that the role of the family, and women as the center of it, is a conservative drag. Besides the labor around the house, keeping everything running smoothly, making sure there is as little conflict and disruption as possible, and generally keeping the peace is her responsibility. The family's whole survival and place in society hinges on the man's job; everything sinks or swims dependent on whether he goes to work every day, kisses ass to go up the ladder and doesn't buck the system. She and the children naturally play a conservative role. But what is the dialectic here?

The woman who "doesn't work", who earns no wages, and who provides a service that is only noticed when it isn't done, puts in an 80 hour week and is on duty 24-hours/day. She is economically totally dependent on the marriage. The kind of work she does is described in industry as the most fatiguing—it only partially occupies the worker's attention, but at the same time prevents him from concentrating on anything else. Housework is shit work, boring, repetitive and never ending—not just monotonous, but futile, often compared to a mouse on a treadmill who can't escape. This is coupled with the real isolation from the outside world, where the husband, tv and grocery store are the only link. The valueless labor and conditions of work take their toll. Housewives, compared to women both single and married who work, statistically show much greater mental health problems, including fainting, headaches, dizziness, and alcoholism. Sheila Rowbotham describes it thus:

Crisis and turmoil mean that the woman has to drop everything and put Humpty together again. Friends phone, children run home screaming, the husband glowers behind the paper, the woman retreats behind a barrier of elaborate calm. Brought up to feel she must keep things going, patch and cover up, settle everyone down, she absorbs the tension magically within herself until it is no longer evident... the violence she has contained ravages her. She begins to feel completely hollow. (*Women's Consciousness, Man's World*, p. 73)

What about the others that are either forced to work to "supplement the family income" or are lucky enough to get out of the house. In addition to their paid work week, they put in 50 hours/week in the home. In many cases the husband and/or children will help, but that definitely is "helping her" not seeing it as a shared responsibility that all participate in equally. Statistics show that the majority of women prefer to work in spite of this, because then, at least, they feel they have some value.

Then what about sex? Sex and rape are not mentioned in the draft. Why? Breaking through the biological limitations of pregnancy and lactation is certainly heading in the right direction in overcoming biological differences, but that still leaves the sexual oppression of women by men unaddressed. Sure this is private, but if it isn't addressed, and struggled against collectively in the same spirit of comradeship as other questions of oppression, it cannot be resolved but to the woman's disadvantage, because it remains the lone female struggling against her male potential oppressor. We should be clear that both rape and passive acquiescence are symptoms of the oppressive sex roles set out by capitalism. There is a definite biological difference there in that men cannot be raped by women, but even sex can be understood and transformed. It's only through consciousness that society will eliminate sexual oppression. And without principled struggle this consciousness cannot be gained.

How Socialism is the Road to Woman's Liberation

After describing social relations between men and women, the draft states: "The proletarian revolution will change all that, through a prolonged process of struggle involving both men and women and including children." (p. 68) It also states that "there will be an immediate ban on discrimination of any kind, including against women in work, and pay as well as every other sphere in society" (p. 68). Although both these statements are correct, neither reflects the seriousness of the struggle against the superstructure after revolution. To radical feminists the revolution in the sphere of ideology is principal over class, and socialist feminists consider both realms of equal importance. Their criticism of "socialists" is that they say a class revolution will automatically free women (of course this is not the RCP line, but it is their perception of all socialists and communists). They know what a powerful force ideology plays and fear that they will be used to make the political and economic revolution which will pass some laws afterwards, but that they will find themselves still oppressed and be up

against a stronger, male dominated system. Again a comparison with "Uprooting National Oppression" is helpful. "All of this, of course, cannot be done in a minute. But much of it can and will be." The section then goes on to address each of the major contradictions facing national minorities and how they will be dealt with. In the "Women" section only women's biological differences and the family are addressed—and then insufficiently. Everything else is lumped under "as well as every other sphere in society."

Mao and Lenin both fought for the line that women can only be free when they take part in production and political activity in socialist society. Gaining economic independence is the crucial first step that must be addressed immediately after seizure of power. Women's status automatically changes when they become a productive part of society. They are no longer a parasite but a worker—that is the material basis for their equality. And although many women do work, they do not have economic independence, and that is critical. Today economic chains tie women to the outlook that her principal task is to "keep her man happy"—so he will continue to support her. Here we will suggest a first step in this process. Women can move into many of the key jobs both in the proletariat and professions immediately after revolution. However, there has to be a priority on training women as well as transforming them to be able to take up many of the productive, socialized jobs that will put women at the center of the productive forces. In the Universities and professions, there are already many trained women who have been kept down by the paternalistic system and can immediately take up these professions that they now cannot get employment in. This is not to uphold privilege and upward mobility as the women's rights movement seeks to do under capitalism, but to begin to wipe out privilege based on "this is a man's job, therefore, it is of higher status and pay and men do it." It isn't enough to say there will be a ban on discrimination in work and pay; that's like equal pay for equal work. Women do not have jobs equal to men's. Banning discrimination, although a start, has to be coupled with concrete measures to implement policies so that women and men will be working side by side as comrades as soon as possible. This includes bringing men into predominantly women's fields, especially child care.

As for political activity, women are now involved as actively as men in the revolutionary movement. American women are not limited by the fetters of ignorance and physical restraints of feudal China. There is all the basis for women now, as well as under socialism, to share equally in political activity. Line, not sex, is decisive. If there is now or under socialism, an imbalance in political leadership by women, we have to thoroughly scrutinize this and struggle out what lines are preventing women from playing a full role. Marx said, "The struggle to bring the future into being creates a little bit of the future right now." (RW 7-18-80 p. 20)

Nothing less than an all out campaign in education and culture must be launched. Banning sexual degradation and exploitation is certainly not sufficient. Male supremacy ideology must be attacked. We do not agree with calling male supremacy a "notion." This gives credence to the line that it is not all that serious. The Programme must take on male supremacy as a deep-rooted bourgeois ideology that prevails after socialism. As stated in the opening, it is the most commonly held, most commonly practiced, and most accepted form of elitism. Criticism must be launched over key bourgeois textbooks, movies, songs, etc. and new models put forward. Some of this can and should be started now by criticism of popular culture in the RW and by studying and popularizing children's books, operas, and art produced during and after the Cultural Revolution in China (if there are any now available) to make all of us conscious of it so we can break out struggle around it now.

Male supremacy is reflected in social relations throughout society and even in the working class. Sexist mouthing about "beavers" and "pieces of ass" are universal and is not just talk. As Bob Avakian puts it:

We've got to just get rid of, put aside and put down, all those old bullshit ideas about what it is that makes a person have some pride, in particular what it is that makes a man be a man—and how he's not really supposed to be a man unless he's getting over on some lady (p. 14 BtC)

The way the draft addresses handling this kind of outlook around racism is excellent... "If, for example, somebody in a factory jumps up and starts some racist mouthing off... the masses of workers will be mobilized right then and there to wage a sharp struggle against all this and isolate and defeat this reactionary poison." (p. 50)

This spills over into the family, where male supremacy is certainly the rule if not universal. Many household chores can immediately be socialized like childcare, laundry and kitchens, and can help as the draft states, but it is more than just a question of struggling for the men to share the burden, it is a whole outlook that has to be transformed. In the family male privilege is a natural outgrowth of women's economic dependence. Even after the old economic foundation for marriage and the family has been destroyed many of the old ideas and habits left over from bourgeois society will have to be taken on. Men have to be struggled with to understand that by upholding their privileges and male supremacy in the home they will be sealing their own doom. In the same way that white workers have to spit on the petty privileges over black workers, so have men got to expose their privileges as so many more chains around their own necks.

There has to be ideological struggle. How can we go out and educate the masses of people to the historic mission of their class, the proletariat, how can we talk about abolishing all exploitation, all oppression of the masses of people; how can we talk about sweeping away every remnant in which one section of society rides upon and lives parasitically off another; how can we talk about sweeping into the garbage bin all of the inequalities left over from capitalism—except one? How can we talk about doing all that and yet at the same time leave intact or take a liberal attitude toward one of the most important cornerstones of the foundation of capitalism—the oppression of women and the whole ideology of male superiority and the degradation of women that goes hand-in-hand with it and must go hand-in-hand with it? There is no way we can do this. (Bob Avakian, *Break the Chains*, p. 25)

Signed
2 Women

Contribute to the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund

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

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

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

Historic Battles

Continued from page 14

state over the working class and the masses of people, and we'd water down our message and just talk more and more about the Constitution and our so-called democratic rights—covering up the fact that the very Constitution itself is nothing but a document of slavery to enshrine and codify the exploitation and oppression of the great majority of people in this society, and our so-called democratic rights exist only so long as we don't use them in any way to seriously question or threaten this system, and that democracy in this society is only democracy for a tiny upper crust of capitalist exploiters while for the great majority of the working class and the oppressed people it's outright and brutal dictatorship over them. They thought we would back up off of this. Or they thought if we didn't that no one would listen. They thought if we stuck to our revolutionary stand, if we didn't back down and compromise on our basic principles, that people out here, especially among those they've ground down and degraded the most—among the working class and the oppressed minorities and other sections of the people, would be too ground down, too ignorant, too selfish, too unconcerned to rally to the defense of our Party and take up this battle. And they have been proved wrong. They've been proved wrong by the tremendous surge forward of people in the thousands who came to the speaking tour all around the country, the volunteers who came here nearly 200 strong in response to the Party and made tremendous sacrifices, and by the people who came despite the way they try to manipulate people's thinking through the media...

Can We Rise Above the Muck?

What went on in this battle that we've been waging now for almost a year, what was concentrated in this battle, what came down between the two opposing sides in this battle, was a very important question which has been spoken to before and which I've just been speaking to. And that's the question of who, in fact, has the real power to take hold of and reshape society, and *can* the masses of people consciously grasp and on that basis fight for their own real interests? *Can* they unite in their higher interests? *Can* they rise above the muck and the filth and the mire? *Can* they see beyond the petty divisions, the crumbs and concessions they throw out, now to one group and now to another, the ways in which they divide and conquer and rule over us, the obstacles they place in our way, the way in which they send their agents out into our ranks to constantly detour us from the forward path? *Can* they in fact advance through all the twists and turns, even the setbacks and reversals, not just here but internationally? *Can* they rise above all that, unite in their higher interests, and move forward to change the whole world? And as I've said, the ruling class has a very clear answer on this. It actually believes it. They actually see the world in this upside down way and they are determined that the masses of people will be indoctrinated with and will go along with this very idea. And it stems from the nature of their society, how it is divided into classes and how a handful under their system does monopolize and does use for its own private interests, for its own private gains, and its own private capital, the various spheres of knowledge. The masses of people are shut out from and sheltered away from being able to grasp and struggle over the road forward in all these various spheres of society and are told that they're only good to be work-horses, to be animals used up, to be a piece of machinery until it's too old and thrown on the scrap heap or sent off to war when the inevitable workings of this system plunge it into crisis and the rulers have to mobilize the people to go out and fight and die to preserve this system and breathe a few last dying gasps into its rotting corpse.

That's the answer of the bourgeoisie: that the masses of people are incapable of grasping these things. And that's

what they acted upon. Because I think we have to sum up the course of this Mao Tsetung Defendants battle so far and what were the lessons of this battle that we've been waging—of the victory we won and of the fight that lies ahead, not only around this particular battle but in a much more important sense and a broader way, the overall struggles that build toward revolution in this country.

The Mao Defendants Battle

You see, when we had this demonstration on January 29th, 1979, the ruling class of this country thought when they came down and attacked that demonstration, when they brutalized us, maced us, beat us again in the jail, then started upping the charges and escalating them from a misdemeanor to a felony to 12, 15 and then 25 felony counts—they thought they were going to have a cheap and easy victory. They thought they were going to be able to wipe out, or to shatter and cripple, the Revolutionary Communist Party, the leadership of the revolutionary movement in this country, the vanguard of the working class and the masses of people in this country. They thought they were going to be able to do that, in a quick and easy way, in isolation, in the darkness, the way thieves like them always like to operate. They thought they could quickly grease up this legal railroad and run it through before anybody ever noticed. And what were they counting on? What in fact were they basing these calculations on? Precisely and fundamentally, their understanding, their upside down, twisted, inside-out, perverted belief that the masses of people in this country—that the people in D.C. and the people in the factories, the people in the mills, the people in the shipyards, the people in the housing projects, the people in the ghettos, the slums and the barrios of this country could *never be concerned* about the questions that were being raised in that demonstration that night of January 29th when we went up in the face of this reactionary dog and boot-licking traitor Teng Hsiao-ping, who came here to set the world's record for belly-crawling on his knees before the ruling class of this country.

They were convinced that what they had not only on their hands but in their hands was simply and only a handful of fanatics, an isolated sect of maniacs and terrorists—people who didn't even know how to talk to the masses of people, people who had already written off the masses of people, who had adopted the very ideology that the ruling class based itself on and promoted, inculcated and indoctrinated into the masses of people. They thought that we were going to follow their very ideology. They thought that we were going to agree with them. That the masses of people were too stupid to care about, too selfish to be concerned about, and totally incapable of grasping the issues that were represented and concentrated in that revolutionary stand of that demonstration on January 29th, 1979, and the whole overall revolutionary stand and work of our Party. They thought we were going to fight them with their very ideology. They thought that we were going to be convinced or that we were already convinced that we were badder motherfuckers than Superman. They thought that we were convinced that we could go up in their face all by ourselves, not concerned about, not going out and not standing on the strength of the conscious action and struggle of the masses of people. They thought we would attempt to go straight up against them in a wild, maniacal, fanatical and isolated way, that we would try to deal with them all by ourselves.

They thought that they would rip off a hunk of the RCP—looking to the future, looking to what they have in store, the misery and oppression that they're going to bring down even more on the masses of people in this country and what they are going to unleash throughout the whole world. They thought that they were going to sit down in preparation for that, in preparation for devouring the masses of people in this country and around the world like a piece of meat. They thought that they were going to sit down and have themselves a nice appetizer before the main course. They thought that they'd bite off a little

piece of the Revolutionary Communist Party, they would chew it up finely and with nice etiquette and manners, through their nice legal system they would chew it up, swallow it down and devour it, and that would be that. But what did they find out? The more they chewed, the more they gagged and right now they had to throw it back up! Because they couldn't deal with our Party that way. And the reason that they couldn't deal with our Party that way, is because we weren't what they thought we were. We weren't a handful of fanatics, an isolated sect of maniacs or terrorists who didn't give a damn about, who didn't stand with, who didn't go out to and rely on and mobilize the masses of people. We were just the opposite.

Yeah, they thought that they were going to sit down and chew up the RCP and swallow it down, and then proceed to devour the masses of people like a piece of meat and chew them to bits in the next period ahead. They know very heavy things are on the horizon. They know it, as much as they try to lie about it. At the same time they have to let some of it out in order to try to whip up a social base of support for them. Even while they're preparing financially, even while they're preparing militarily, they have to try to whip up and prepare the people and public opinion. They have to prepare people's thinking and regiment people for the very things they have in store, *not only* bringing the ax down across the people's necks even more viciously—*not only* bringing the whip across the people's backs even more desperately—but in order to try to save themselves and come out on top once again and reorganize as much of the world as they could under their control in order to once more prolong their dog-eat-dog and their deathbound system.

They thought and they know. They *thought* they could devour the RCP, but they *know* they have to chew up the masses of people in the period ahead. And what they put us through—what they put the masses of people through in this country, living in this hell-hole day in and day out, is nothing compared to what they in fact do have in store for us and for people all throughout the world in the next period ahead. In this past period they have been able, for a time, owing to their position coming out of World War 2, to stride across large parts of the world under their domination, unchallenged and unrivaled among their fellow imperialist gangsters, able to beat down the struggle of the people even though they were battered by struggle inside and outside, able to hold it back and hold it off. They were even able to engineer coups in various countries to disrupt revolutionary movements, to induce revolutionary leaders to give up the revolutionary cause here and even in other parts of the world. They work hand in hand with and give their backing to reactionaries even in the face of tremendous storms of revolutionary uprising in various parts of the world and, especially in the 1960s, right in this country.

But this isn't their position any longer and they know it very well. You see, when they're talking to themselves and when they're talking to those people they think are safe, they let a lot of the *real* deal, a lot of the *real* shit they got in mind and that they're cooking up come out. If you read their newspapers and their magazines like the *Wall Street Journal* and *Fortune* magazine and the rest of it where they talk among themselves, they let a lot of the *real* truth come out. That's where they talk about the facts—that they know there's deep crisis on the horizon and they got no solution to it other than to go to war. And the key thing even in their economic policies is to manipulate and to maneuver and to tighten up their bloc in preparation for World War 3. Among themselves and among their allies in Europe, Japan and other parts of the world—that's where they talk about the fact that even in *this* country, *not only* in other parts of the world, they are more and more worried about the fact that there may be revolutionary struggle in the decade ahead...

Our Party's Call

They know what they're preparing

the masses of people for. They know that the economic crisis is going to get deeper and people are going to suffer more. Their attacks on people are going to intensify. They're going to stick their knives in people and rip out even more flesh. It's the only way they have, even in the short run, for the next period, to try to find a way out of this that preserves their top-dog position. They are preparing to unleash world war in their rivalry and their competition with their equally imperialist, equally reactionary rivals in the Soviet Union. This is what they have in store. This is what their system is going to be bringing down on the backs of the masses of people in the years ahead, in the decade ahead.

And in this situation, do you think they can tolerate, do you think they can allow, do you think they can refrain in any way to use every means they have to attack a revolutionary party that is uncompromising, that calls things out for what they are, and more than that calls on the masses of people to step forward, grasp their real interests, and consciously fight to rise up and overthrow all this? Do you think that they can allow this when they're preparing people to go off to war, to fight and die to preserve this system with them on top, when they have to put the people through that kind of hell? Do you think they can allow a revolutionary party which says it straight up, while the bourgeoisie is whining and moaning and calling out to the American people and saying, "We're getting weaker, we're in decline, we're in danger of no longer being Number 1, we're being challenged and threatened all around the world by our Soviet rivals and by the obstreperous people all over the world—by these slaves who don't know their place from Iran to Nicaragua to Africa to Asia and every other part of the world." Do you think that they won't do everything that they can come up with to try to crush our Party that says straight up: "Yeah, you're getting weaker. Yeah, your system is decayed. Yeah, you're in decline. Yeah, you're having difficulty maintaining your Number 1 position. Yeah, you're going to have to go off and fight a world war if you can do it before we overthrow you. Yes indeed, you are in deeper crisis, you're in decline and decay, you are getting more and more desperate. Yes, all that is true. But what we're going to do, and what we're going to call on and lead the masses of people to do, is join with people all over the world to help you get even weaker. And more than that, when you get weak enough, and when we get strong enough, when you're in a deep enough crisis, and when we're educated, and united, and prepared, and organized enough, that's when we're going to come at you and do away with you once and for all!"

CHILE

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Continued from page 6

Today, we have a Party, but there are similar features in the tasks we face and the line questions that are being battled out to gain clarity and advance. In our conditions, open opposition to the need to raise consciousness of the masses to prepare to seize power, open promotion of tailing the spontaneous struggle of the masses is not easy to get over with. But the remaining influence of economism often reveals itself in the line on how to raise consciousness, how to bring forward the advanced and train them as class conscious revolutionaries. In other words how, as Lenin said, do we "keep the consciousness of the proletariat tense and train its best elements". It is here that the comrade's line is in complete opposition to the Party's correct line.

Chairman Avakian wrote in *Crucial Questions in Coming From Behind*: "Lenin drove home over and over again the fundamental point that the workers cannot fully develop their political consciousness and political struggle against the system unless and until the communists carry out consistently Marxist propaganda and agitation, and in particular penetrating exposure of all manifestations of tyranny and oppression perpetrated by the ruling class, and all aspects of the life, the interests and outlook of the various classes and strata of society. Exactly because the workers, even the advanced workers, were still mainly waging economic struggle, Lenin insisted all the more that 'the masses will never learn to conduct the political struggle until we help to train leaders for this struggle, both from among the enlightened workers and from among the intellectuals; and such leaders can acquire training solely by systematically appraising all the everyday aspects of our political life, of all attempts at protest and struggle on the part of various classes and on various grounds.' It is in this light that Lenin insisted on the decisive role of the communist newspaper as educator of the masses and as a collective organizer of the party itself and the revolutionary forces generally."

"Do not these basic principles stressed by Lenin have broad application in all countries at all times, and more specifically does not his emphasis on Marxist agitation and propaganda, especially scientific, living exposure, and on the central role of the communist newspaper, have great relevance and importance for the present situation and its future prospects in the U.S.? Who will deny it?" (*Crucial Questions*...)

The comrade's line in this letter denies it. Despite an eclectic attempt to say that the *RW* is important too, etc., etc. a careful reading of this letter reveals the real line: that the advanced cannot be brought forward to take up the *RW* and become co-conspirators except (perhaps!) in the wake of something more concrete, in this case, political actions by the advanced. The comrade also implies that the Party's work is just literary.

This is not a new line and I urge comrades to study or re-study *WITBD*, chapter V, part B where Lenin takes on exactly this line. One quote: "There is a Russian proverb which says: 'Don't spit into a well, you may want to drink out of it.' But there are people who do not object to drinking from a well which has been spat into. What despicable things our magnificent, legal 'critics of Marxism' and illegal admirers of the *Rabochaya Mysl* have said in the name of this something more concrete! How restricted our movement is by our own narrowness, lack of initiative and hesitation, which is justified by the traditional argument about finding it 'far easier to gather around work that is more concrete!'" (*WITBD*, p. 203)

Our present day comrade despite intentions to not be economist, is drinking from a well that by now has been vomited in. Not only is the correct relation reversed between the advanced being trained in class consciousness and, on that basis, coming forward to spread the influence of the Party by further distributing the *RW* and building networks as well as taking political action, mounting the political stage. But directly related to this, the comrade has a wrong line on political action by the advanced (in particular May Day) and a wrong line on the advanced period. (More on this later.)

Why is revolutionary agitation and propaganda and particularly exposure of all aspects of the political life of all classes and all aspects of the system the sole way to raise consciousness? This is based on correctly grasping the contradictoriness of the consciousness of the masses, how their thinking arises from and reflects actual material class contradictions in capitalist society. Reflects but not (on the whole) correctly.

The Party by correctly summing up and using the rich wealth of material which this decaying system provides us to expose it with, creates powerful external conditions for the consciousness of the masses to make a leap, from scattered to more systematic, from perceptual to rational knowledge of the essence of this system. And this includes not only how vile it is, how as Lenin says even the most backward

worker will begin to see that it is the same dark forces oppressing him as others in society but also what is exposed and raised to a rational level is the fact that this is a system that is rotten ripe for revolution, that has and is increasingly creating its own gravediggers here and around the world. And also the objective interests of different classes and strata toward the crucial question—the armed seizure of power led by the proletariat and its Party.

This of course is not a smooth straight line process but is a battle—a battle for public opinion between the class conscious proletariat and the bourgeoisie and also zig zag because of the contradiction between particular and general knowledge. Mao Tsetung sums this point up in *On Contradiction*: "As regards the sequence in the movement of man's knowledge, there is always a gradual growth from the knowledge of individual and particular things to the knowledge of things in general. Only after man knows the particular essence of many different things can he proceed to generalization and know the common essence of things. When man attains the knowledge of this common essence, he uses it as a guide and proceeds to study various concrete things which have not yet been studied, or studied thoroughly, and to discover the particular essence of each; only thus is he able to supplement, enrich and develop his knowledge of their common essence and prevent such knowledge from withering or petrifying." (Vol. 1, p. 320) All this is why there must be repeated and deepening all-round exposure.

While this is a battle to arm the masses with class consciousness, it is a battle which the proletariat will inevitably win, provided its advanced forces and Party does not bow to spontaneity and economism. Lenin expresses this powerfully in a footnote in *WITBD*: "It is often said: the working class spontaneously gravitates towards Socialism. This is perfectly true in the sense that socialist theory defines the causes of the misery of the working class more profoundly and more correctly than any other theory, and for that reason the workers are able to assimilate it so easily, provided, however, that this theory does not itself yield to spontaneity, provided it subordinates spontaneity to itself. Usually this is taken for granted but it is precisely this which the *Rabocheye Dyelo* forgets or distorts. The working class spontaneously gravitates towards Socialism, but the more widespread (and continuously revived in the most diverse forms) bourgeois ideology nevertheless spontaneously imposes itself upon the working class still more." (p. 51) With things going up for grabs in this decade, this all the more points out how important Create Public Opinion... Seize Power is and how important that we deeply and thoroughly criticize economist lines that urge us to be "more concrete."

What is posed against these general principles that the Party's central task is based on is what the author calls "the working class actually putting its stamp on events of the day," but which really means the allure and reassurance of being imbedded in a big mass movement. The comrade tries to say that this is what May Day was about and what Chairman Avakian was talking about concerning political action by the advanced in *Crucial Questions in Coming From Behind*. This is a hoax that must be exposed.

Our comrade's line is that these more concrete actions by the advanced are key for gathering and organizing (and raising the consciousness) of the advanced. This is backwards. Listen to what Lenin said to Nadezhdin who put forward a similar line: "Furthermore, 'preparations for demonstrations' cannot be opposed to the *Iskra*'s plan for the very reason that this plan includes the organization of the widest possible demonstrations as one of its aims; the point under discussion is the choice of the practical means. On this point also Nadezhdin is confused for he has lost sight of the fact that only already 'gathered and organized' forces can 'prepare for' demonstrations..." (*WITBD*, p. 205) This is precisely the error the comrade makes about May Day, in the process degrading the advanced to the level of intermediate or backward.

Our comrade's line is that May Day was a day when the tiny forces of advanced got their hopes plucked up by seeing their "concrete" numerical strength—"visible force"—in the streets. And further that this in turn is what is really decisive in raising the consciousness of the advanced.

For May Day, the Party set a quantitative goal of 10,000 people nationwide marching and openly stated that this was important for May Day to have the necessary impact. Still, the significance of May Day 1980 did not lie in the quantitative numbers in the streets. The Party's line was always that May Day would be an action of a minority—even a tiny minority. And quantitatively, May Day 1980 did not fully meet its goals, yet we still sum it up as a great victory and leap forward. Something completely new and necessary came into being May 1st that couldn't have happened any other way. What was crucial, what represented a qualitative leap was the welding of a class conscious section of the proletariat mounting

the political stage and raising the red flag of internationalism and preparation for revolution in the U.S. in this decade. And whether or not this material force is "visible" marching in the streets every day, it is there nonetheless, despite what our comrade fears. And it is this advance that creates new necessity and opportunity for us to advance in our preparation for revolution with the *RW* and the *Draft Programme* central in this period.

Beyond this, what was the basis for the advanced to come forward and build for and participate in this historic action? For the comrade, as mentioned, key was the advanced seeing their numbers in the streets.

Compare this to what the article summing up May Day in *Revolution* sums up: "This (the battle plan for May Day) was a plan to open the eyes of millions to the possibility of revolution and mobilize thousands to act on this understanding and prepare today to realize this goal in the future," and "Their understanding of what they were doing and of its importance unleashed the initiative and heroism of the masses. This is what enabled the May Day demonstrations to be carried out at all." This is not to deny of course that the independent historical action of the advanced does not have an effect on the consciousness of the broader masses. In fact in a still non-revolutionary situation, the political actions of the advanced act mainly as "manifestos", as Marx said, as a form of agitation. And the advanced are further strengthened as they see the impact of their actions on others. (Note: while we are focusing here on an incorrect line on the advanced taking political action, Chairman Avakian makes clear that overall it is revolutionary agitation and propaganda—and not actions by the advanced—that are most important in influencing the broader ranks of the working class.)

The point again which the comrade's letter opposes is that the basis for the advanced to take this kind of action, to really put the stamp of the revolutionary proletariat on events, is their understanding, their consciousness of what difference their action will make, with use of the *RW* crucial to that. As Chairman Avakian put it (referring to May Day): "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 come out themselves, but to build for it. 'Cause why should they act? Why will they themselves be brought forward to act? Simply because they've always hated this system and would love to see it wiped away? No, by and large they are not yet acting politically, even spontaneously; although some are here and there, in general they are not yet acting politically—not only not in a politically conscious way, which of course they can't do without revolutionary leadership anyway, but not even by and large (and certainly not on a large scale and intensely yet), they are not doing so spontaneously. Many people, especially among the more advanced, have been through a lot of struggle, and they have a lot of deep questions. They are not just 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." (*Coming from Behind*) And the same *Revolution* May Day article continues: "This, in fact, proved to be the decisive question in the overall success, as well as the shortcomings, of May Day, and underlined the key role of the Party's agitation and propaganda, particularly its newspaper."

The comrade's letter is opposed to this. Viewing things at best through the eyes of an intermediate worker, this comrade tails miserably saying in essence, call me when everyone else is ready, otherwise the risks are too great. How the comrade thinks this will pass as Chairman Avakian's line is beyond me. But this letter, intentions aside, is striking proof that an economist line that doesn't even recognize let alone work to give class conscious expression to the needs and requirements of the advanced, will inevitably end up in capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

It is also important to point out how the comrade's economist line manifests itself in attacks on the Party's advances in breaking with amateurish organization and methods of work. Most sharply this comes out when the letter links its "problem" of a lack of a visible force with the Party's line on division of labor. The implied amateurish appeal "everyone out in the streets to be a more visible force" would not only re-enforce the economist political tendencies we are trying to defeat and advance off of, but would subject the revolutionary forces to needless losses now and would put the advanced forces and their Party in no position to carry out a revolutionary line when things go fully up for grabs without taking unnecessary losses (and possible total decimation) at the hands of the class enemy. And this would in turn certainly strengthen tendencies toward capitulation in the revolutionary ranks. This line cannot be allowed to win out.

But what about the needs of the advanced. We have seen that for the comrade, the need of those he

Continued on page 27

100 FLOWERS

Continued from page 26

calls advanced is to see they are not alone (to provide them with concrete crowds to join). The Party's line is expressed sharply by Chairman Avakian in *Crucial Questions in Coming from Behind*: "...are there not advanced, revolutionary-minded workers who desire not only to know more about these and all other major political questions and events but to act in a revolutionary way in relation to them? It is true, again, that such strivings on the part of advanced workers also tend spontaneously to be suffocated by the still backward atmosphere that generally prevails among the working class as a whole—and it is a further truth that communists can, if they wish, contribute to this by tailing behind the backward workers and attempting, at most, to degrade the level of proletarian politics to the 'lowest common denominator' acceptable to the more backward workers (and ultimately to the bourgeoisie). But it is a far more profound and important truth that by fulfilling their duties as 'tribunes of the people', by conducting communist work, especially communist agitation and propaganda, communists can give much fuller and more systematic expression to the deeply felt desires of the advanced workers to enter into and influence these struggles in a revolutionary way and undertake

the task of raising the level of the mass of workers toward the class conscious position."

The Party's line, learning from Lenin, is that while spontaneously advanced workers tend to get suffocated, that this is not the key contradiction—this is not what is new and arising. Rather more to the point is what Lenin said (before the revolutionary paper *Iskra* came out): "We must not be discouraged by the fact that the voice of political exposure is today so feeble, timid, and infrequent. This is not because of a wholesale submission to police despotism, but because those who are able and ready to make exposures have no tribune from which to speak, no eager and encouraging audience, they do not see anywhere among the people that force to which it would be worth while directing their complaint against the 'omnipotent' Russian Government. But today all this is rapidly changing." (*Where to Begin*, Vol. 5, p. 22). We today have such a tribune but our work still continues to lag behind the interests and requirements of the advanced workers. The key qualities of the advanced are their desire to enter and influence revolutionary struggle and their desire to raise the level of consciousness of the broader masses. This is what communists must pay attention to and help give class conscious expression to. Our comrade is clearly worried that the

advanced will feel isolated and get demoralized (not think it's all "worth the risk") if they do not see the "visible force." Listen again to Lenin: "Nadezhdin is confused because he imagines that troops, which are being systematically organized, are engaged in something that isolates them from the crowd, when as a matter of fact they are engaged exclusively in all-sided and all-embracing political agitation, i.e., precisely in work that *brings closer and merges* into a single whole the elemental destructive forces of the crowd and the conscious destructive force of the organization of revolutionaries." (*WITBD*, p. 214)

In this country, we not only have a Party with a correct line and a powerful weapon in the *Revolutionary Worker*, but since May Day 1980 a welded-together class conscious section of the proletariat—Lenin's words could apply to today's situation: "There is (now) such a force—it is the revolutionary proletariat, which has demonstrated its readiness, not only to listen to and support the summons to political struggle, but boldly to engage in battle." (Vol. 5, p. 22) This is all quite concrete and marks a new and higher stage in the development of the objective situation as well as the subjective forces in preparation for revolution. But it is worth emphasizing again, that this progress came through carrying out the Party's central task and not through any deviation to look for something more concrete. And more, we will continue to make progress including further necessary leaps in our preparation only by continuing to carry out this line and by exposing, isolating and defeating this suffocating economist line.

W.G.

Test

Continued from page 19

plus the civilian ships and commercial jet transports that were commandeered as soon as the national emergency was declared. Likewise, shortages of military doctors and facilities to treat the unprecedented number of casualties turned up, and plans to use the U.S. government's civilian bureaucracy to help manage the war effort were ineffective. The government's ability to lay its hands on the hundreds of thousands of soldiers it urgently needed to man the front lines was also found to be deficient. Finally, the Pentagon brass and civilian officials found themselves unable to shift U.S. industrial production to a war footing rapidly enough to provide the huge amounts of ammunition, tanks, planes and other equipment that would be needed in the opening stages of war.

In many of these areas, moves were already being made to gear the U.S. up for war, but the Nifty Nugget exercise served to emphasize the urgency of these war preparations. Of course, problems are also being faced by the Soviets, and each superpower is moving rapidly to overcome the obstacles in the path of its drive towards war. Since the Nifty Nugget exercise, the U.S. has attempted to correct the deficiencies revealed; the results will be measured by Proud Spirit. This is the point emphasized in the Defense Department report on Nifty Nugget: "Historically, the American public and the Congress have not fully appreciated the implications of mobilization.... The Department of Defense and the civilian agencies, as a result of the lessons of Nifty Nugget/Rex-78, now recognize the necessity for more frequent evaluations of national mobilization preparedness. To that end, among other evaluation measures, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, in conjunction with the Federal Emergency Management Agency, will periodically sponsor additional large-scale exercises like Nifty Nugget. One such exercise is scheduled for late 1980." The same idea was expressed by General Walter Kerwin, who oversaw Nifty Nugget. He commented that Nifty Nugget was "the most satisfying thing I've been in in 39 years of military service. At last we've done something that's going to get results." And since then, the U.S. has been concentrating on just that.

This year's Autumn Forge maneuvers were the first operational test of the Defense Department's new joint deployment agency. U.S. participation in Autumn Forge this year was specially designed to test U.S. ability to handle the massive amounts of troops and

equipment that would be sealifted and airlifted to Europe in the opening days of war. The Joint Deployment Agency, headquartered at MacDill Air Force Base in Florida (which also serves as the headquarters of the Rapid Deployment Force), was formed to provide the central management of this unprecedented air and sealift and allow the kind of flexibility that Nifty Nugget showed was not possible under the Pentagon's previous set-up.

Arrangements are now being made with civilian hospitals in Seattle, St. Louis and Norfolk to handle the huge amounts of casualties airlifted out of Europe. This plan, known as the Civilian-Military Contingency Hospital System, has already been discussed in meetings with medical associations' and hospitals' representatives, and would provide the back-up for the military's own medical services. Still, the estimated 30,000 to 50,000 hospital beds these arrangements would provide may still prove to be inadequate, especially in the case of a nuclear war. The Department of Defense and the Selective Service have also drafted legislation to allow the early drafting of doctors and other medical workers.

Also, since Nifty Nugget, 19- and 20-year-olds have been registered for the draft and the Selective Service bureaucracy has been dramatically expanded to give it the personnel to conscript the hundreds of thousands that will be needed by U.S. imperialism to wage the next war. At the same time, plans to draft combat-experienced Vietnam veterans are also being considered by the Pentagon. Also, a new computerized system has been set up to call up veterans. The fact is that many who think that they are through with the military once and for all are still subject to being recalled into the military even before a national emergency is declared. Some of these people have already been mailed orders telling them where to report if a recall of retired military personnel is announced. All of these steps are clearly only the first of efforts aimed at bringing hundreds of thousands of people into the military in a matter of weeks. Other steps, most importantly the resumption of the draft itself, will surely be adopted in the near future.

A classified report sent to the Senate Armed Services on Nifty Nugget commented on the need for mobilizing industry for war, saying, "Warfighting may arguably be the province of the military. Resource mobilization planning may be dominated by civilians. Mobilization activities come right at the seam. This points to the need for deep and probably unprecedented military-civilian cooperation." In other words, U.S. imperialism has a pressing need to put industry, as well as other aspects of

society, on a war footing. The public report on Nifty Nugget from the Office of the Secretary of Defense reports, "In May, 1979, the President directed a review of mobilization planning and formed an interagency group, under the National Security Council, that comprises the necessary Federal departments and agencies. This is the first such undertaking in more than 30 years.... all agencies are developing and proposing new Federal mobilization plans. These plans will be incorporated into a Federal Master Mobilization Plan being developed by FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Agency)."

Of particular concern to the imperialist military planners is what they call "surge capability," the ability to rapidly expand war production. A special committee to plan ways of expanding U.S. capability to quickly shift industry to war production has been set up. Among ideas under consideration is arranging to have private corporations build new plants that could rapidly be diverted to military production, planning for large-scale expansion of military production well before the order to mobilize fully, stockpiling particular items that take a long time to produce such as certain electronic systems for war planes. Another key plan is to increase the profit margins for military contracts, thus encouraging more investment in war industries. But much of the machinery to militarize industry is already in place. The Defense Department by law has priority in having its orders filled and this authority was recently used by the Air Force to get engines for the F-15 fighter planes on schedule when a strike caused a bottleneck in jet engine production. At the same time the current U.S. arms buildup is causing an expansion of U.S. war industry. Alcoa Aluminum, two titanium producers and an electronics company all announced expansion of industrial facilities devoted to war production. The process of militarizing U.S. industry will not end here. Clearly one area where more steps will be taken is in tightening control of the labor force. Plans in Nifty Nugget call for ordering workers with skills needed in armaments industries to report to work at specific jobs, and lists of needed skills are being drawn up by the government for use in wartime mobilization.

Proud Spirit 80, as mentioned earlier, will be the first full-scale test of these war moves, but it also contains one major change from the earlier Nifty Nugget scenario. Nifty Nugget, at least according to the information that has been made public so far, concerned only conventional war with the Soviet Union. Proud Spirit, on the other hand, definitely includes preparing to wage nuclear war with the USSR.

Since the Nifty Nugget exercise the

"emergency preparedness" apparatus of the federal government has undergone a drastic reorganization, and one key agency—the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA)—has been given the main role in preparing, coordinating and implementing plans for wartime mobilization of civilian resources. FEMA was formed by the merger of the Defense Civil Preparedness Agency, the Federal Preparedness Agency, the Federal Disaster Assistance Administration and other government agencies into a single independent agency charged with all civilian disaster and emergency planning and management of the federal government.

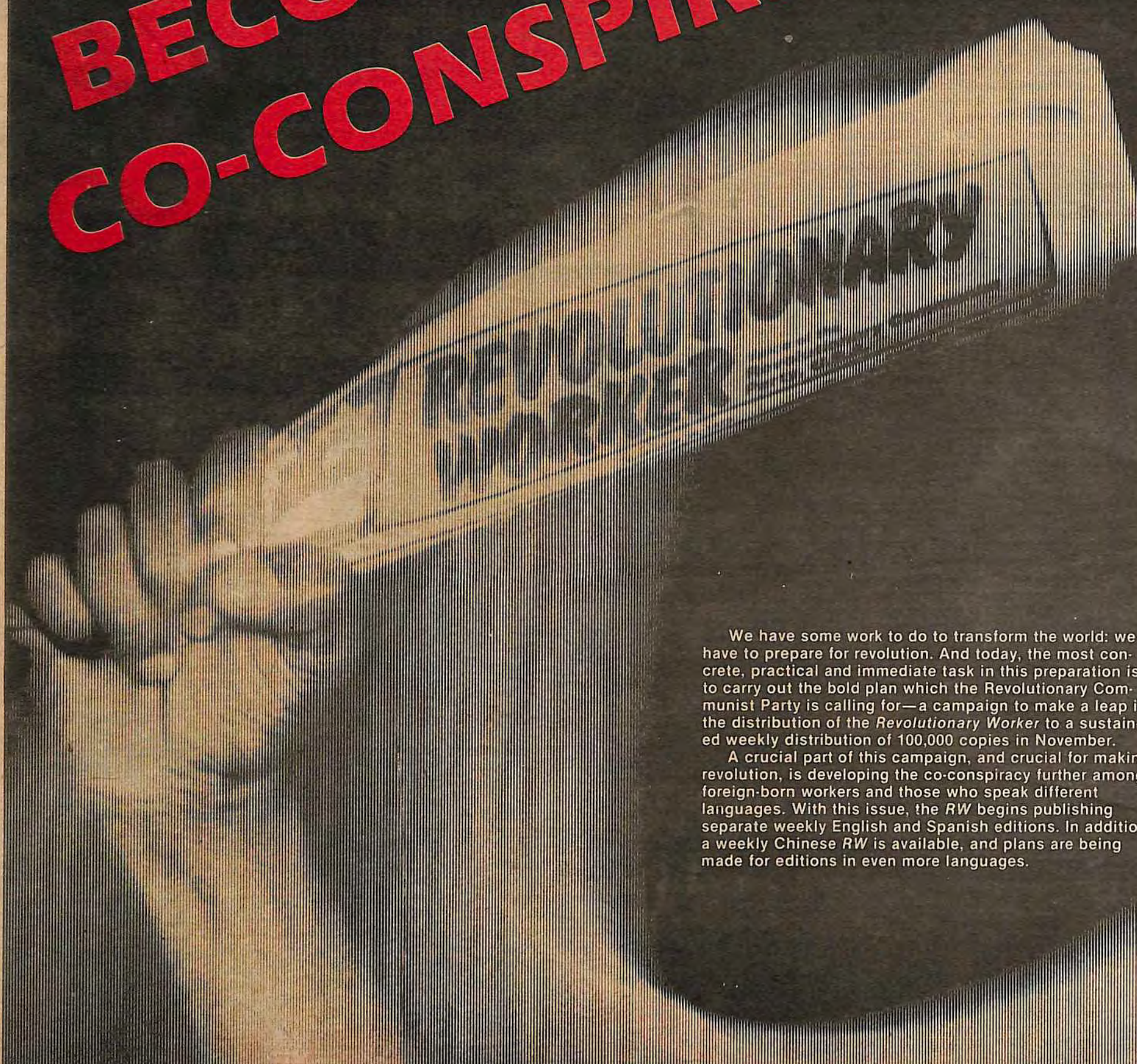
It is in this area that only a slight glimpse of a sharp contradiction posed to our rulers by mobilization for war can be seen. While Nifty Nugget assumed there would be some small-scale individual resistance, those who participated in the game could not help but wonder what massive upheaval a full-scale mobilization might trigger. In an article in the *Washington Star* last year, the following was written about one Nifty Nugget participant:

"For example, Bardyl Tirrana, then director of the Defense Civil Preparedness Agency, went through the motions of the game but wondered how a population that included millions who had never been told anything about mobilization would react in a sudden military crisis with a nuclear power like the Soviet Union. It would not, Tirrana believed, be at all like gearing up for World War 2.

"How would workers needed for key industries react to mobilization orders, Tirrana wondered, knowing that they and their families were in cities targeted for nuclear destruction? 'It's just very hard to talk about mobilizing for a context of the ever-present bomb,' Tirrana said to a reporter."

Of course, most of the evidence of discussion of this particular problem is locked away in government files beyond public view. But the authorities are certainly aware of the portent of social upheaval presented by such drastic changes. And so, while at this very minute the airwaves are filled with the encoded orders emanating from the National Military Command Center deep in the bowels of the Pentagon, the keys of the teletypes of the flag ships of the Pacific Fleet and in the headquarters of the U.S. European Command are sending responses, and the screens of computer consoles flash the numbers of dead and wounded. Mr. Tirrana's fundamental concern is unquestionably foremost in the minds of the Pentagon planners. And the possible outcome of the explosive reaction of the masses of people to imperialist war—or the preparations for it—is something that our rulers hesitate to calculate. □

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