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"Who's on Trial in History's Court?"

Revolutionaries Turn Tables
on Chinese Revisionists' Court



Chiang Ching

The courtroom in the "Gang of 4" trial in Peking became a battlefield on December 12 as the revolutionary fury of Chiang Ching (Jiang Qing) turned the trial upside down.

It began as an ordinary enough day in this farcical trial. Testifying was one Liao Mosha, another in the parade of whimpering, pathetic witnesses—most of them overlords who had been torn down from their big-Party-tyrant posts by the Cultural Revolution and were now being restored. While the press (the *Washington Post*, for example) described this witness, Liao, as a "writer persecuted during the Cultural Revolution", in fact he was a member of the "Three Family Village"—all high officials in the Peking Municipal Committee before the Cultural Revolution who wrote columns using thinly disguised innuendo and veiled literary allusions to attack Mao as "having amnesia," being a "raving lunatic" full of "empty talk," etc. Liao Mosha and the others were close associates of Peng Chen, former Peking mayor, a key member of the revisionist headquarters headed by Liu Shaoqi that was working to isolate Mao and carry out a rightist takeover. Poor little "persecuted" writer!

Like most of the other witnesses, Liao had broken down crying and trembling. (And also like the others, this performance was read from a prepared text or coached from a teleprompter.) There was the usual appropriate eye-wiping, sobbing accompaniment from the select audience.

Suddenly it all was shattered.

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Imperialist War Bloc Tightening: East & West

Soviets Poised On Poland's Border— U.S. Rallies Junior Partners With War Cries

As events in Poland continue to sharpen and the nightly news churns reel after reel of analysis and speculation, the big question on everyone's mind is—Will the Soviets intervene or not? There is certainly no question that in the past two weeks the Soviets and their Warsaw Pact allies have completed military preparations for the option of an all-out invasion of Poland. As the U.S. press has loudly advertised,

Soviet divisions in western Russia have been brought up to full strength and put on a war footing with reservists being summoned for six weeks service rather than the three weeks customary for routine maneuvers. Soviet medical teams have reportedly arrived to join these units and Russian road survey teams have allegedly been spotted along the Soviet-Polish border. The Soviets have announced that they may be mov-

ing 80,000 troops through Poland from Czechoslovakia to East Germany—a maneuver that would triple the number of Soviet forces already stationed in Poland, and which could provide a formidable initial occupation force, or at least an intimidating show of military might while the Polish government unleashes its own crackdown on the masses. All in all, with dozens of Soviet divisions geared up on its western

borders along with four Soviet divisions stationed in Hungary, five in Czechoslovakia and nineteen more in East Germany, Poland is surrounded with roughly half a million Soviet social imperialist troops.

At the same time, the U.S. imperialists have been doing a considerable amount of sabre-rattling themselves in the past week. Four U.S. Airborne warning and

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100,000 Co-Conspirators NOW!— P.3

11 FALN Suspects Indicted

Puerto Rican Liberation? "Seditious Conspiracy" Says U.S.

18 USCS § 2384. Seditious conspiracy

If two or more persons in any State or Territory, or in any place subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, conspire to overthrow, put down, or to destroy by force the Government of the United States, or to levy war against them, or to oppose by force the authority thereof, or by force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States, or by force to seize, take, or possess any property of the United States contrary to the authority thereof, they shall each be fined not more than \$20,000 or imprisoned not more than twenty years, or both.

A federal grand jury in Chicago indicted eleven suspected members of the FALN (Fuerzas Armadas de Liberación Nacional) on this openly political charge and 12 other counts (including armed robbery, possession of weapons, and interstate transportation of a stolen vehicle) on December 10. The levelling of this charge represents a major escalation in the government's attack on the Puerto Rican independence movement and the revolutionary movement in this country generally. Ten of these independence fighters (Elizam Escobar, Ricardo Dick Jimenez, Luis Rosa, Carlos Torres, Alfredo Mendez, Adolfo Matos, Carmen Valentin, Ida Luz Rodriguez, Dylcia Pagan, Lucy Rodriguez) have already been convicted in a total kangaroo court of a variety of weapons and other charges stemming from an arrest in Evanston, Illinois earlier this year. Two were sentenced to an outrageous maximum of 30 years while the others received maximum sentences of 8 years. Shortly before this railroad, Haydee Beltran Torres was sentenced to life imprisonment in New York for supposedly being responsible for the 1977 bombing of the Mobil Oil office in New York, in which one person died. Haydee Beltran and the other defendants in these U.S. imperialist trials, steadfastly refused to cooperate with the courts and denounced the proceedings and U.S. imperialism's domination of their country from the courtroom floor. In response to this, all were removed from the courtrooms and

tried in absentia.

But these despicable and clearly political hanging trials and jailings were obviously not enough for the bourgeoisie, driven by fear and desperation to attempt to stamp out what they never will be able to—the struggle against their empire. Much more is necessary as they lash out in a frenzy not simply at these fighters and their steadfast exposure of the U.S. theft and occupation of Puerto Rico, and not simply at the Puerto Rican independence movement generally, but at revolutionary opposition to their rule as a whole as they face a future where the challenges to their continued existence are bound to increase dramatically.

These "seditious conspiracy" charges are meant as a straight up political message, "You our Puerto Rican subjects must not dare to challenge the authority of the United States Government to rule your country. This is sedition. As our law states, we will not allow you to conspire to possess any property of the United States" (which obviously includes the territory of Puerto Rico). They have come out and put it all blatantly out in the open. For all their slanders that those they have tried are "armed robbers" and "violent criminals" bent on wanton destruction (charges which appropriately apply to the imperialists themselves and on a grand scale), the real crime involved here has come out. In fact, the crime is "conspiracy" to take back an entire country that was stolen from its people, robbed and plundered for decades, and is still occupied by the U.S., as it squeezes every drop of sweat and blood it can from the Puerto Rican people.

The entire economy of the island of Puerto Rico has been twisted and distorted to meet the needs of the U.S. Agriculture is in ruins, forcing Puerto Rico to import almost all its food from the U.S. at high prices. Meanwhile, 13% of the arable land is occupied by eleven U.S. military bases; 80% of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques has been expropriated by the U.S. Navy as a training and bombing range, part of the Roosevelt Roads naval complex, largest U.S. naval base in the world. U.S. monopoly capital in Puerto Rico, controlling 80% of manufacturing, 60% of banking, and 90% of industrial

exports, reaps tremendous profits while the unemployment rate remains over 40%. Puerto Rican culture is attacked and degraded. Racist garbage against Puerto Ricans thrives. Repression, jailings, even murder are government policy. And, of course, all this rabid exploitation and oppression of the Puerto Rican people by the U.S. imperialists is perfectly legal.

Sedition Law's History

The use of this "seditious conspiracy" law has a very interesting and very revealing history and is very closely tied to suppression of the Puerto Rican independence movement, along with other revolutionary struggles.

The law was utilized in 1936 to jail almost the entire leadership of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, which was leading the struggle for independence at that time. Puerto Rico was seized by the U.S. in the Spanish-American War. The economy of the island had already been wrecked by the 1930s. The peasants and farmers had been driven off their land and into the cities by the four large corporations that ran the sugar plantations and established a virtually one-crop economy on the island. As the influence of the Nationalist Par-

ty grew, the U.S. directed the colonial government to step up its repression. In 1935, the colonial police gunned down four Nationalist Party activists at a rally in Rio Piedras. In retaliation, the U.S. Police Chief on the island, Francis Riggs, was assassinated by two nationalists. They became martyrs, murdered in the police station after their arrest. At this point the U.S. government stepped in with widespread indictments against Pedro Albizu Campos and the other leaders of the party.

By 1950 the independence movement reached a new peak when the Nationalist Party launched coordinated, armed attacks in ten cities. They seized control of the police headquarters in Jayuya and proclaimed the first free territory of the Republic of Puerto Rico. The U.S. government responded ruthlessly to the uprising by heavily strafing and bombing the people of Jayuya and Utado. Hundreds were killed in these attacks and by the American tanks that patrolled the streets of Ponce and Mayaguez and by the U.S.-trained and equipped National Guardsmen who attacked the towns and villages. The Nationalists, poorly equipped and outnumbered, were defeated. Several years later, in 1954, the four Puerto Rican

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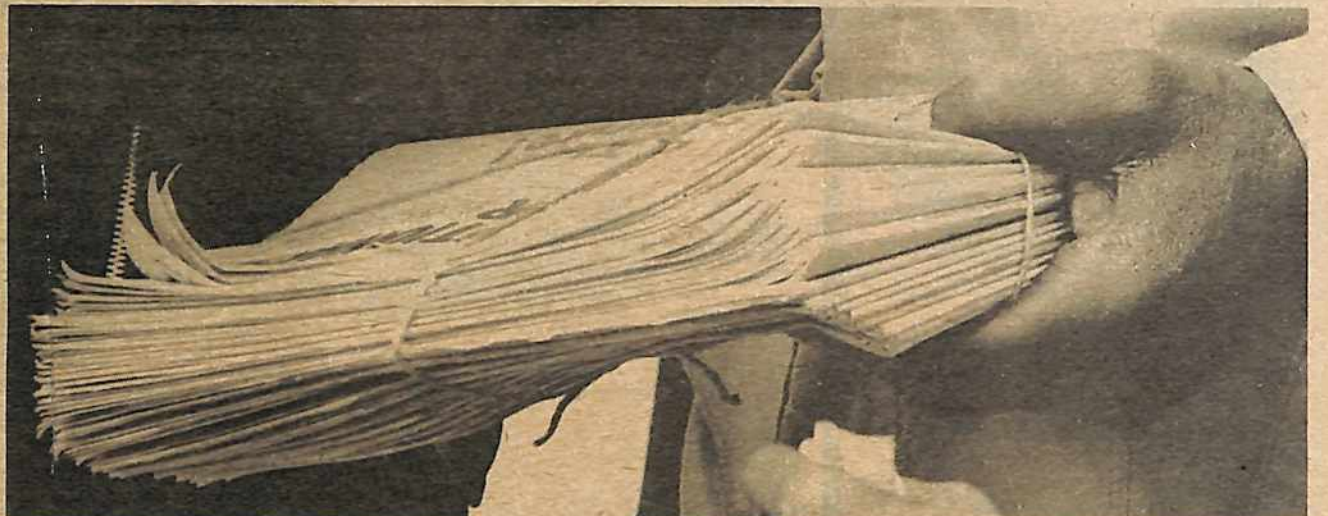
100,000 Co-Conspirators NOW

—It's In Your Hands

For the second week in a row 100,000 copies of the *Revolutionary Worker* are now off the presses. The final, decisive battle of a major campaign—"Wanted 100,000 Co-Conspirators"—is here. Over the next couple of weeks, the task we aim to accomplish is to build off the advances already made and make a culminating, sharp leap in sales to the 100,000 level. Once accomplished, this leap will be nothing less than a major step in preparation for proletarian revolution.

The groundwork for this leap has been laid. Most important has been the "100 Flowers" debate in the pages of this paper, political struggle among revolutionaries, over our Party's central task and our battle plan for revolution. And based on this important initial practice, advances have been made in broadening and deepening the influence of the paper and in revolutionizing and professionalizing its methods of distribution. Now, however, the final leap has to be made and so a leap is required in taking this task of distributing 100,000 *RW*'s to the masses. It is, literally, in your hands. Since the beginning of this campaign we have stressed that its success depends entirely on the conscious activism of the masses, taking up this battle as their own and waging it with a sense of urgency. Now we believe these conditions are ripe for taking it over the top.

In "mini-rallies" at factory gates, in neighborhoods of the oppressed and exploited, and other potential key political "base areas" for revolution, agitators will be appearing calling on people to step forward and begin selling this paper now as the key weapon today in preparing for revolution. Organizers will be following up to firm up the networks, the basic revolutionary organization that develops around the paper. We call on people to step into every aspect of this work, to contribute in their own ways to spreading and deepening the roots of this conspiracy. And not only must the existing English, Spanish, and Chinese language editions of the *RW* be expanded in their distribution and correspondence, but new efforts must be made to get out the *Revolutionary Worker* in other languages as well, so as to reach and mobilize still more immigrant workers whose experience with "all sides" of this imperialist system is a great potential source of strength for the proletarian revolution. This, too, requires people to step forward now. For all who really wish to fight, who wish to get on with the business of doing away with this world-oppressive system, the challenge is here: take up the task of wielding our main weapon now—contribute to distributing 100,000 *Revolutionary Workers*.



Revolutionary Worker

Create Public Opinion... Seize Power

"Create Public Opinion... Seize Power," the central task of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is no literary task. Bob Avakian, the Chairman of our Party's Central Committee recently pointed out:

“To underscore the significance of this advance in our understanding of central task—and of the newspaper as our main weapon, in its various aspects—it can be truly said that it is only with these advances that we have really arrived at and begun to develop an actual plan for how to make revolution, for how to make all our work concretely build toward the goal of an eventual armed uprising and civil war. This is not to say that previously we did not carry out revolutionary work (with whatever weaknesses and errors there may have been in our line and actions), nor that we did not have a basic strategy—the united front—for revolution (for the necessary approach to the question of the alignment of class forces). But it is to say that it is only with the forging of the line on central task, as represented by 'create public opinion... seize power,' and the wielding of the newspaper as the main weapon, that we could

really begin to forge the links between our work in this period and the actual mass armed struggle for power in the future...

...Not only does the objective situation and its developments hold greatly heightened possibilities, and not only have we made real leaps in our analysis of this, but with the forging of our central task and the central role of the newspaper we have actually laid the foundation for concretely building for the revolutionary prospects ahead, for actually being able to seize upon and direct toward the revolutionary aim the many diverse strands or streams in which the class struggle breaks out—the many different ways that 'communism springs from every pore' of society—and it is up to us to strain to make further leaps to carry this forward and finally carry it through...”

Statements Demand:

Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants

On Thursday, December 4, attorneys for Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and the Mao Tsetung Defendants presented a petition to the District of Columbia Court of Appeals. A three-judge panel of the nine-judge appellate court handed down a decision on October 21 which reinstated the 25 felony count indictment against the defendants dismissed last year in a lower court. The December 4 petition demanded that the entire court hear the case. No decision has yet been made by the court.

The Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants issued a call for a swift and decisive response to the October 21 decision, and the Revolutionary Communist Party has broadly taken out the struggle, mainly through the Revolutionary Worker. By December 4, a literal tidal wave of telegrams had engulfed the court. Thousands of people had signed hundreds of statements condemning the railroad. This was a clear expression of militancy and anger in the face of the latest government plotting. A sampling of these statements was printed in last week's issue of the RW.

In the past week statements have continued to pour in from around the country. A small number of these appear below. In another development in the Mao Defendants' case, the American Civil Liberties Union has filed an amicus (friend of the court) brief with the appeals court in support of the defendants.

The thousands of people who have directly joined the battle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants have made a powerful statement to the ruling class over the past few weeks and this support continues to grow. This can be seen by the statements below. But the struggle is by no means over. Messages of support should continue to pour in—the battle to overturn this railroad must spread and intensify.

Send statements to:
D.C. Court of Appeals
500 Indiana Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20001

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

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

We, the members of the Orange County Central Committee of the Peace and Freedom Party and friends are appalled at the reversal of the appeals against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

The enlisting of China into the U.S. war bloc, the trial of the Gang of Four, along with the reversals are seen as a furthering of the war moves that have been so prevalent through-out the world.

As freedom and peace loving peoples, we see the reversals as blatant attacks against all peoples working toward change in this Country and we will not tolerate the infringement of anyone's rights.

Free Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants!!!

Orange County Central Committee of the Peace and Freedom Party and friends.

In the interests of maintaining the civil liberties of political demonstrators, I ask that you drop the charges against Bob Avakian and his fellow defendants.

Howard Zinn
Political Activist and Professor at Boston University

To the District of Columbia Court of Appeals:

Dear Justices:

I am writing on behalf of the Buffalo Chapter of the National Lawyers Guild

We artists
see...upsurge...rising
up...up against the wall...up
to us...UP TO US...and so we say
down with your half-million dollar Miro
sculpture, down with your doodah coporate
art hype, down with your stinking system that
only allows us to live as artists if we conspire
to ignore your persecution and oppression of what's
new and rising in the world, if we conspire to blot
out of our art the rising struggles of the people, and
if we finally conspire to call all this "artistic free-
dom."

WE DO NOT - CANNOT - WILL NOT IGNORE
YOUR RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN!

WE ARE OUTRAGED AT YOUR ATTEMPT TO
SNUFF THIS FLAME, TO DAMP THIS SPARK OF
CONSCIOUSNESS + ISOLATE IT FROM THE MASSES
OF PEOPLE WHO ARE STRUGGLING NOW + WILL
STRUGGLE MORE UNTIL YOUR DOOM.

WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE DAY WHEN
WE CAN REMOVE YOUR PORTRAITS FROM
THE WALL + PUT BOB AVAKIAN'S UP.

Signed

A GROUP OF
6 ARTISTS

TEACHERS
+
STUDENTS

FROM
THE
CHICAGO
SCHOOL OF
THE ART
INSTITUTE
(HA)

+
COLUMBIA
COLLEGE

STOP
THE
RAILROAD
OF
BOB AVAKIAN!

FREE
THE
MAO TSETUNG
DEFENDANTS!

in regard to the Government's case against Bob Avakian and the sixteen other defendants. We believe that it is clear that the defendants are victims of vindictiveness on the part of the Government to such a degree as to warrant comment from all who are concerned with the preservation of our fundamental Constitutional guarantees.

It seems apparent that these people have been and are being persecuted in the manner in which they are solely because of their political beliefs. It is of paramount importance that the Courts, above all, protect the rights of our citizens, particularly as we enter what may well be one of the pivotal and more tumultuous decades of this century. We urge you to overturn the decision and reasoning of the lower Court and allow the dismissal of the indictments to stand.

Yours truly,
National Lawyers Guild, Buffalo Chapter
By: Robert Godlove

Telegraphed to the Court of Appeals Thurs. nite Dec. 4:

We view with outrage and contempt the reinstitution of the charges that would put Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Tsetung Defendants in jail for 241 years. Here, in Chicago, we remember with deep anger the vicious murder of Fred Hampton 11 years ago today. We know how you operate, and why you would strip us of our revolutionary leaders. We will not allow you to take Bob Avakian. Today, in China, your class is trying to put proletarian revolution on

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SUPPORT EVERY OUTBREAK OF PROTEST + REBELLION

It is crucial for all those who desire revolution but who do not see how to work for it today, or do not fully grasp (or agree) why the newspaper is now our main weapon, to see that far from being "paperwork" or aimless educational activity, the wielding of the paper as our main weapon now, and the current campaign for 100,000 sustained readers as the immediate battle in that, is the concrete and practical plan for actually building the bridge to the future. What we are doing today—principally creating broad revolutionary public opinion around major questions of the day and further building and strengthening revolutionary organization in the wake of the newspaper—is accumulating revolutionary strength. What is required today is, as Lenin put it in *Where to Begin*, to "lay siege to the enemy fortress," in order to prepare to launch an assault at a later date, in tempo with the development of the objective situation. Without this preparation, it will not be possible to determine when the time is ripe nor to accumulate the forces required to carry out and lead such an uprising—which as Lenin pointed out will require 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."

The siege has begun! But these links to the future must be developed and strengthened, through all the twists and turns of the class struggle, and utilizing all its diverse currents and tributaries for a single revolutionary purpose. The revolution will not, as we have said before, be a straight line affair—nor is it today. Through wielding the newspaper as the main weapon today we must gather the forces, train the troops, by raising the consciousness of the broad masses of workers and other strata; and from all the diverse and varied manifestations of protest and struggle among the broad masses—the broad social movements of today—direct the anger and discontent of the struggling masses toward the source of misery—the capitalist system—and the solution—its revolutionary overthrow—and bring forward and train leaders from among the workers and other oppressed and struggling people, leaders for the inevitable assault.

What does it mean to "support every protest and every outbreak"? The masses awakening to political life see a contradictory situation—the heightening contradictions in the world and the fact that the class-conscious revolutionaries are relatively small in number and want to know how are we actually going to be able to be in a position to launch a successful seizure of power when the situation ripens, how can we do what has to be done today to carry this out. And not only is it a matter of grasping the urgency of the situation, the heightening of contradictions, but the possibilities, the tremendous opportunities in today's situation for gathering revolutionary strength. While the question of supporting the outbreaks of protest and rebellion among the masses does not exhaust our central

task—"create public opinion...seize power"—it is an extremely important part of building the bridge to the future. The present period is not one where millions and millions in this country are aroused, in action against the system, or even one where people in really vast numbers are politically thrashing things out on the same level as happens on the brink of a revolutionary situation, but there is certainly "thrashing" going on and there have been some very significant developments in the recent period. Outbreaks of protest and rebellion among the masses have increased; the rebellions against national oppression in Miami, Chattanooga, Wrightsville, and most recently street fighting at New York's Sydenham Hospital in Harlem, mass outrage in Atlanta, Buffalo, and elsewhere over the murders of Black people, outrage and action against the Greensboro verdict on the Klan; the struggle of the Native Americans against government land seizures; the anti-draft and anti-nuclear movements among the youth and sections of the petty-bourgeoisie, the outpouring of protest among women against oppression and degradation, significant developments among artists and musicians, and other signs of protest from various quarters.

The revolution in Iran and the revolutionary struggle of the people in other countries in the recent period have placed both tremendous opportunities and increased demands on the revolutionary forces in this country as a detachment of the international proletariat. And we have seen the impact of the Iranian revolution, the revolutionary struggles in Central America and other parts of the world, as well as events such as the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, where millions of people are suddenly engaged in active debate on world affairs and seeking answers to fundamental questions.

Clearly the question of how to "support every outbreak of protest and rebellion" and "how to utilize these for the purpose of increasing and strengthening the military forces required for decisive battle" is before the class-conscious forces and will increasingly be a pressing and urgent matter; and this is true on a world scale, not only in relation to the struggle of the masses in this country but internationally. And contrary to the economist view which worships at the tail of the mass movement and "regards it as something that *relieves* us of the necessity of conducting revolutionary agitation," the spontaneous struggles of the masses are "something that should encourage us and stimulate our revolutionary activity."

Last week, in the *Revolutionary Worker* article, "100,000 Co-Conspirators Now—It's in Your Hands," we pointed out that the two Economist views on the central task expressed in the 100 flowers campaign—"patient education" and "we need something more concrete—a visible force" to inspire the masses—"both proceed from an entirely wrong idea of 'what is the problem?'. The problem revolutionaries have to address is not that the masses are not active enough and we have to concoct some activity for ourselves to substitute for them. The problem is, in fact that

we are lagging behind the opportunities in today's situation. Once again we see how economism is precisely an 'incomprehension, even defense of lagging.' It is our activity, specifically activity of exposure centered around the newspaper, that must be raised. Although it is not now a period characterized by major upsurges of struggle, these are growing in intensity. And when they do occur, as around Miami or Iran for example, inevitably the revolutionary forces lag behind."

Of course to be able to "seize upon and direct toward the revolutionary aim, the many diverse strands and streams in which the class struggle breaks out—the many different ways that 'communism springs from every pore' of society" and to grasp how the central task and the central role of the newspaper is key to doing this, one must understand that these diverse ways that the class struggle breaks out are *favorable* soil for the Party and the class-conscious proletariat and other revolutionary-minded people and in what way. One form that the defense of lagging has taken, has been to simply not even include these outbreaks and protests or the mood of the masses in analysing the present situation. Related to this blind pessimism, which sees no opportunities in today's situation, is the equally pessimistic view which looks at the contradictory aspects of today's situation, specifically the minor crises, in a very one-sided and metaphysical way and "sees" only "difficulties." Such a view which makes the absurd claim of a "realistic" appraisal of the situation, is quick to point out only the strength of the imperialists, only the "average," or more to the point the *backward*, among the masses, the fact that the social movements of today are in large part among non-proletarian strata, that they are led by various opportunists, reformists and outright agents of the bourgeoisie, etc., etc., etc. Similarly while people influenced by this view may be somewhat encouraged at an outbreak such as the Miami rebellion, they are just as suddenly demoralized when it does not turn into the "revolution" itself and therefore come to the conclusion that not much can be done or carry on like a "voice in the wilderness" or a hero looking for some place to display his prowess.

But we must be clear that this one-sided blindness and its cousin, absolute silence on the minor crises in today's situation, are nothing but a justification for lagging behind these developments. They underestimate the developments in the objective situation, including the spontaneous struggles of the masses, precisely because they *underestimate* the role of the class-conscious element—the Party and the class-conscious workers and revolutionary minded people, armed with a revolutionary line and a powerful weapon—the *Revolutionary Worker*. In a bizarre way, this pessimistic view can't see the opportunities because it expects too much of spontaneity—it expects the spontaneous movement to relieve the conscious forces of the task of *leading*, to *spontaneously* act in a thoroughly revolutionary way or *spontaneously* analyze itself from a revolutionary standpoint, to somehow assume the responsibility of the vanguard;

therefore, this view is incapable of analysing and grasping the significance of developments in the mood and activity of the masses. Lenin's answer in *What Is To Be Done?* to the Economists of his day who accused him of "belittling the spontaneous element," is both revealing and relevant on this point. He said: "We would ask our philosophers how may a deviser of subjective plans 'belittle' objective development? Obviously, by losing sight of the fact that this objective development creates or strengthens, destroys or weakens certain classes, strata, groups, certain nations, groups of nations, etc., and in this way serves as a premise for a definite international political alignment of forces, for determining the position of revolutionary parties etc. If the deviser of plans did that, his guilt would not be that he belittles the spontaneous element, but on the contrary, that he belittled the *conscious* element, for he would then show that he lacked the 'consciousness' properly to understand objective development... If certain 'spontaneous elements of development' can be grasped at all by human understanding, then an incorrect estimation of them will be tantamount to 'belittling the conscious element.' But if they cannot be grasped, then we cannot know them, and therefore cannot speak of them." (*What Is To Be Done?*)

It is no wonder that the agnostics cry out, "Is it possible?!"—because they don't "see anything out there." They act like Sisyphus, condemned by the gods to roll a huge rock up a hill forever (inevitably the rock rolled back down the hill), but what they really don't see is that it is their own defense of lagging behind the developing objective situation, the advanced workers and the outbreaks and protests of the masses—that is the *rock* they are rolling.

Minor Crises—Revolutionary Crisis in Embryo

It is the contradictions of the imperialist system worldwide that come to the fore, causing "disruptions" of the "normal routine," breaking the surface calm, causing the "minor crises," which provide fertile ground for revolutionary work. As Lenin pointed out in "Lecture on the 1905 Revolution," "Every 'minor' crisis...discloses to us in miniature the elements, the rudiments, of the battles that will inevitably take place on a large scale during a big crisis." What is revealed in these "minor crises"? The different class forces, not only in their ideology but in practice; the nature of the state—the bourgeois dictatorship, the fundamental weaknesses of the imperialist system; all of this provides fine opportunities for the revolutionary forces.

In the minor crisis which erupted, for example, when the Iranian masses seized the U.S. embassy, and millions, including the backward, were drawn into political life in the U.S., when the ruling class in an attempt to whip up national chauvinism, "let the genie out of the bottle" by drawing the masses into political life, we saw how in all the turmoil there was favorable ground for revolutionary agitation, for concretely training the masses in proletarian internationalism, for the revolutionary line

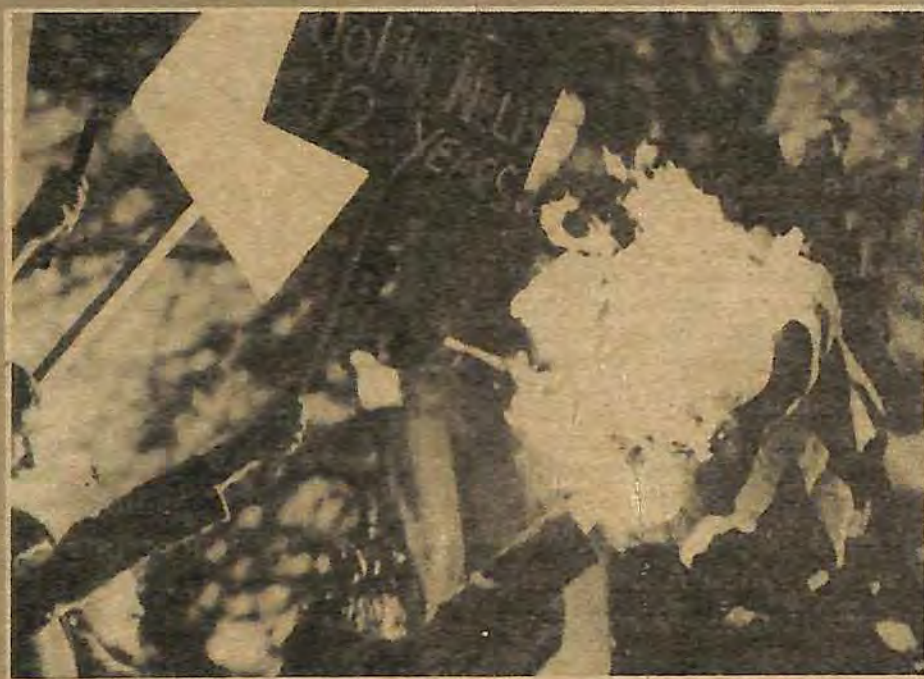
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Ireland Widespread Protests Over Political Prisoners

British Prime Minister Thatcher's hasty trip to Dublin, to confer with Irish Prime Minister Charles Haughey, clearly underscored the intensifying political situation in Northern Ireland. Once again the eyes of the world have turned toward British imperialism's military occupation of the north—a virtual colony, suppressed by the armed presence of British army thugs in league with para-military Unionist forces loyal to the empire. Seven weeks ago, seven political prisoners entered into a "hunger strike until death" at the infamous Long Kesh prison outside the city of Belfast. On December 1, three women held at the Armagh prison also joined in the hunger strike. Their basic demand is for the reinstitution of "political prisoner" status—which the British rescinded in 1976, in order to conceal their brutal crimes in the north and bury the political nature of the struggle there under the cry of "terrorism," hidden behind the label "common criminals." (In RW issue No. 82, Nov. 28, p. 7, we ran a letter smuggled out from the "Cages" at Long Kesh which describes in detail the prison conditions and treatment of the "blanket men" and the Armagh women). One of the most significant de-

velopments has been the amount of support that has erupted throughout the Republic of Ireland—unlike the occupied north, ostensibly independent, and where the British and their allies in the Irish ruling class thought they had a pacified people; firmly under the thumb of the British, German and U.S. imperialism. In a powerful demonstration (right), nearly 20,000 people on November 22, brought the capital city of Dublin to a standstill—taking a full 90 minutes for the marchers, in rows of 7-across, to pass over the O'Connell Bridge. Also significant, and also pictured below is a demonstration of over 2,000 people that took place right in London on December 7, right in the heart of the imperial beast. Reports have also come in of support marches and picket lines in front of British embassies in Copenhagen, Amsterdam, Germany, Paris, and in the U.S.

As we go to press, the entire British government, its servants in Ireland, and the rulers of the U.S., are bracing for the possible repercussions if one of the hunger strikers dies. As many of the speakers at the London demonstration vowed—"We'll be taking to the barricades if one of them should die."



Above:
British flag set on fire on top of the gates of Leinster House (seat of the government of the Republic of Ireland).



OUTBREAK

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to have a tremendous impact in that situation, and for the actual accumulation of revolutionary strength. As Bob Avakian pointed out in "Coming from Behind to Make Revolution," "True this is on a certain level, within a certain limitation, but even with that some people make a leap to becoming revolutionaries by going through the whole experience of a crisis like that around Iran and seeing in a very concentrated way what the class interests are—a concentrated expression of them, as they are arrayed against each other in this battle. And if you grasp those things, you can recognize the potential that we have emphasized (Lenin is the one that we really learned this from and he stressed it very emphatically—that you can see people doing this, this kind of phenomena going on, in a miniature way in such minor crises); and if you apply the scientific method, you can certainly grasp the possibility for it on a massive scale when there is a full

development of a revolutionary situation."

The minor crises are both a training ground in preparation for the revolutionary crisis of the future and actually afford great possibilities for "preparing minds and organizing forces" for revolution right now. These minor crises present in *embryo* what the revolutionary situation of tomorrow will be, and one very important point to grasp about the nature of such crises, in opposition to the view of the Economists, is that neither the period leading up to the development of a revolutionary crisis, nor the revolution itself will be a textbook affair, or as Lenin sarcastically put it:

"So one army lines up in one place and says, 'We are for socialism,' and another one somewhere else and says, 'We are for imperialism,' and that will be a social revolution!"

"Whoever expects a 'pure' social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is." (*The Discussion of Self Determination Summed Up*)

To bemoan the fact that the social movements of today are not 'pure' and are led by sundry political reformers

and opportunists or to become fascinated with the tactical struggle against the opportunist leaders in an attempt to wrest control of the movement from them in one fell swoop, or to wail at the array of class forces in the field, is both silly and wrong. Even in a revolutionary situation Lenin makes the point that the masses are drawn into political life by the "upper classes" themselves. Aren't the advanced, revolutionary minded today looking for answers to some fundamental questions, aren't they "on their own" attempting to combat the bourgeois leadership, picking up one philosophy or another, that is, what is at hand, in order to do this? How this 'pure' revolution point of view expects to lead in a revolutionary situation—when millions and millions are suddenly confronted with very pressing problems, including the very real possibility of actually overthrowing the old regime, when in fact there will be not only different forces but actually different armies in the field—really does boggle the mind. Which is of course really the point, because the Economists really don't expect to lead—not lead a revolution that is. The reason for the close link between Economism and this

'pure' revolution point of view is 1) the fascination of the Economists with leading a big mass movement *right now* no matter what the political basis of that leadership and 2) their annoyance at the disruptive influence of other class forces and (heaven forbid) politics and their insistence that the workers' attention should be directed to their own posteriors and not toward such matters as the whole world, imperialism or (heaven forbid, again) state power.

Not only is the revolution not 'pure' in the sense that there are different class forces in the field and diverse manifestations of protest and outbreak, but neither does it develop in a straight line in the sense that there is simply a quantitative buildup of outbreak after outbreak. As Lenin pointed out, the revolution cannot be regarded as a single act, but "as a series of more or less powerful outbreaks rapidly alternating with periods of more or less intense calm." The ability of the class-conscious vanguard to be able to remain firm in principle and flexible—to be ready for everything, is of crucial importance. This is because it is almost impossible to foresee when periods of outbreak will give way to periods of

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Brezhnev's India Jaunt

Hugging Indira, Squeezing the U.S.

The visit of Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev to India on December 8-11 took place in an atmosphere of intensifying confrontation worldwide between the two main imperialist blocs and their supporters. In Europe the threats of Soviet and Warsaw Pact forces to move into Poland led to a flurry of NATO consultations and U.S. warnings of "grave consequences and retaliation." And in the face of an all-out U.S. drive to fortify and expand its position in the Persian Gulf (spearheaded by the U.S.-backed Iraqi invasion of Iran), the Soviets recently hit back by signing a 20-year military pact with Syria. The fact that Brezhnev picked this time to "visit" India points not only to the strategic importance of India to the U.S. and Soviets' rival imperialist blocs, but to the stepped up tempo of the superpowers' contention and war preparations.

Brezhnev swept into India's capital of New Delhi accompanied by a horde of "advisers" and functionaries, for three days of talks aimed at more firmly solidifying the reactionary regime of Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi into the Soviet camp. His visit, which was dominated by discussion of the international situation and which featured a major address to the Indian Parliament focusing on the Persian Gulf, was in fact a component part of the Soviet effort to mount a counteroffensive to meet the U.S.'s rapid build-up in the region.

With its population of over 600 million and its large military, India is a major Asian power that is the object of a sharpening struggle for influence between the U.S. imperialists and their rivals in the USSR, who overall have the upper hand in the country. India shares strategic borders with China and with Pakistan. The latter, while it has been touted as the "front line" pro-U.S. state in the developing conflict with the Soviets in Southwest Asia, is clearly no match for India's armed forces. If India's rulers were to take a major leap into either the Soviet or U.S. war camp, this would have a powerful impact through Southwest Asia and the Gulf to the west, and in China and Southeast Asia to the east—where the various reactionary ruling classes are caught up in a swirl of imperialist conflict and are nervously gauging the "balance of forces" shaping up in the approaching world war.

The Soviets have relied heavily on India for political support, including the Gandhi regime's willingness to make only token criticism of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and its recent recognition of the pro-Soviet regime in Cambodia installed by the Vietnamese revisionists. Over the past 20 years, the Soviets have built up a large base of support in the Indian ruling class, especially concentrated in the government and the "public sector" of the economy. To take one example of how deep the tentacles of Soviet imperialism have penetrated into the Indian economy, from 1975 to 1979, India paid Soviet-bloc countries \$313 million more in debt payments than it received in the form of "aid"!

But while India is clearly heavily mortgaged to the Soviets, the U.S. and British imperialists still have significant influence in the Indian ruling class and are able to exert considerable military and economic clout. For example, loans to India by the U.S.-run World Bank reached an all-time high during 1979-80. Over the past few years, India has made some moves to diversify its arms supply, which until recently came almost entirely from the Soviet Union. India has purchased Jaguar fighters from Britain, submarines from West Germany, military helicopters from France, and missiles from the U.S. There have even been some recent signs that the Chinese revisionists, in alliance with the U.S. im-



Moribund capitalism (Soviet style) sends its chief representative to India.

perialists, are making overtures to improve relations with India.

But while the two superpowers and their Indian allies are locked in a sharp battle for influence, they are both heartily applauding the Gandhi government's vicious attempts to suppress the growing mass unrest and revolutionary agitation throughout the country, which has reached massive proportions in some areas, such as the northeastern state of Assam. The new "national security ordinance," which gives the government the right to arrest and jail suspected revolutionaries and progressives for up to 12 months without trial, has received favorable comment in both the Soviet Union and the West; they are both petrified of the developing revolutionary struggle of the Indian masses, a struggle that not only threatens the billions of rubles and dollars they have sunk into India, but could upset their whole military bloc-building efforts in this area of the world.

At the time of the invasion of Afghanistan, Indira Gandhi, who has long maintained very close ties to the Soviets and has been supported by them, had just regained power from the Janata Party, which is much more heavily connected to the West. Gandhi initially offered nearly a full endorsement of the invasion of Afghanistan—but since then, she has pulled back somewhat, abstaining in the UN on resolutions condemning the invasion and issuing statements "deploring" it while also mumbling that it might be "understandable."

The limited success Brezhnev had in seeking firmer Indian support reflects the continued attempts by the Gandhi regime to keep some lines with the West open—especially due to the strength of the pro-U.S. sections of the ruling class—within a general policy of leaning toward the Soviets. In talks with Brezhnev, Gandhi continued to say that she "cannot condone" the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, and this was widely publicized by the Indian press. But in the joint communique issued at the end of the visit, there is no mention of Afghanistan, only a pious statement that, with regard to Southwest Asia, both "India and the Soviet Union reiterate their opposition to all forms of outside interference in the internal affairs of countries of the region."

In economic terms, Brezhnev and Gandhi signed a number of agreements on trade and joint industrial projects that will place India in hock even further to the Soviet capitalists. Brezhnev also reportedly offered India increased supplies of oil in order to wean it away from the U.S.-dominated OPEC states on which India has been largely dependent for its energy supplies.

Brezhnev made no effort to conceal the direct relationship between his New Delhi trip and the intense superpower contention raging in the Persian Gulf region. His speech to the Indian Parliament attacked the "NATO military bloc" build-up in the Gulf, while proclaiming that "opponents of normalizing the international climate...refer now, in justification of their activities, to the situation in Afghanistan. They are making a noise for all the world to hear about a 'Soviet threat' either to Pakistan or to the countries of the Persian Gulf, or god knows to whomever else. They know very well that there is not a trace of such a threat." Brezhnev then threw out an "offer" to the "United States, to other Western powers, to China, and Japan..." for a mutual agreement "not to use or threaten to use force against the countries of the Persian Gulf area and not to interfere in their internal affairs." Brezhnev also proposed an agreement "not to set up foreign military bases in the Persian Gulf area and on the adjacent islands."

These are extremely bold statements coming from the mouth of a social-imperialist ("socialist" in words, imperialist in deeds) butcher who has dispatched nearly 100,000 troops across the border into Afghanistan to conduct "search and destroy" operations against an array of guerrilla forces. And while the Soviet fleet in the Indian Ocean does not match the 60-ship Western armada stationed there, the Soviets are attempting to match the U.S.'s acquisition of naval and supply bases in Oman, Kenya, Somalia and the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia with their own military bases in South Yemen and Ethiopia.

Brezhnev's ploy here continues the familiar pattern adopted by both imperialist blocs, claiming that their "own" military build-up is simply a "defensive measure" brought about by the aggressive designs of the opposi-

tion. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan was obviously a strategic move by the Soviets in preparation for war. As for the U.S. bloc, while seizing on the Soviet move into Afghanistan as an excuse to intensify—and to mask the nature of—its own preparations, it is equally able to invent "excuses"—such as instigating Iraq to attack Iran and use the "threat posed by Iran" as a cover for its own massive military build-up in the Middle East of the past several months.

Meanwhile, the Soviets claim that they would love to withdraw from Afghanistan but are unable to "as long as the aggressive and subversive designs of imperialism still pose a threat to the Afghan people." Brezhnev's "suggestion" that "both sides" renounce intervention in the Gulf is aimed at creating opinion against the U.S., which at present largely dominates the region and is on the offensive there. The U.S. imperialists know how to play this game, too—like their proposals to "neutralize" Afghanistan, since it is presently under the Soviets' boot.

In the event, the hypocritical Soviet proposal was immediately rejected (with equal hypocrisy) by the U.S. State Department spokesman Jack Cannon, continuing the fingerpointing game, and saying, "It is ironic, to say the least, that Brezhnev should make such a security proposal when the continuing Soviet invasion of Afghanistan is obviously the chief threat to the security of the region." Of course, Mr. Cannon believes that the two U.S. nuclear aircraft carriers stationed in the Indian Ocean, the AWACS planes and 300 military advisers in Saudi Arabia, etc., etc. are there to "protect" the "security of the region."

The Brezhnev visit to India, precisely because it was inextricably—and openly—linked to the situation in the Gulf and to the unfolding crisis over Poland, dramatically illustrates the worldwide scope of the inter-imperialist conflict—which is even more marked in the present situation than in the two previous world wars. The preparations for World War 3 are being conducted—under their deadly charade of "preserving peace and security"—by the U.S. and Soviet imperialist blocs on a world scale.

U.N. 2 APPEAL DENIED

On December 9, the U.S. Court of Appeals rendered a decision upholding the conviction of Steve Yip and Glenn Gan—the UN 2. This is an outrageous decision and stepped-up attack. Millions drew inspiration from the UN 2's historic act which unfolded so dramatically at the United Nations on the eve of May Day this year. Bright red paint was splashed on the faces of the U.S. and Soviet representatives. The war moves of both of these competing imperialist powers were exposed before the world, and a path of revolutionary opposition to World War 3 shined as the red flag of revolution was raised in their midst. The decision to uphold the conviction—occurring at a time when developments toward war are increasingly obvious—is intended to crush the inspiration provided by the UN 2, and is especially directed at the more politically advanced section of the people. People in their thousands have stepped into the heat of the battle to free the UN 2, protesting the government's repression and supporting the

political stand of the UN action itself.

The Appeals Court stated that "...the intentionally violent striking of a protected official...is proscribed by the statute." But anyone who knows anything knows that the UN 2 action was *not* "intentionally violent." The point was not to physically impart injury, and this all came out in the trial. In fact, that no injury occurred was *admitted* by the U.S. representative to the UN in court. The point of the UN 2 action was to make a political statement. Government attorneys went even beyond this point to state that "the intentionally violent striking...is what concededly occurred..." In other words, the government is saying that the UN 2 had admitted that the action amounted to the "intentionally violent striking" of the U.S. and Soviet war representatives. But this is outright fabrication and a complete and utter lie. What the UN 2 *did* admit was that the intent was to expose the U.S. and USSR around these imperialists' moves toward World War 3. And in fact, all the efforts on

the part of the authorities to obscure the political exposure represented in the UN 2 action—to essentially brand it as a "terrorist act"—is even more proof that the UN 2 (and the subsequent support they aroused) were hitting too close to home.

The affirming of the conviction is a sign of the times and an indication of how high the stakes are—for the ruling class and for the masses of people. The UN 2 action had an electrifying effect, giving expression to and tapping the sentiments of millions. The battle up to this point has rallied many to oppose U.S. imperialism in World War 3. It has also further exposed the nature of the Soviet Union as an imperialist power.

If this exposure of imperialism had had no impact, if the U.S. government were so assured of the allegiance of the people to line up behind them in war, then the authorities would not have the same urgent necessity to go after the UN 2 in order to set an example for others. It is precisely because they are

vulnerable that they have had to retaliate, burying even their own facade of democracy to do so.

The Court of Appeals decision also included a one-liner which stated, "We find no merit in the claim that Judge Ward was biased or unfair." For those who may not recall, Judge Ward conducted an openly political railroad, practically pronouncing the UN 2 guilty before a trial was ever under way. At one point, he refused to allow bail for the UN 2 until the slogan, "Free the UN 2!" was washed off the courthouse.

With the Appeals Court decision, the sentence of one year and one day (and five years probation) stands. This, too, will be appealed. But with the upholding of the convictions, the government may feel that the issue is at least settled for them. It is not. They have thrown down the gauntlet once again, and this attack will not go unchallenged. [1]

Dutch Revolutionaries Write

"The Struggle of The People is Going Upwards"

Dear U.S. comrades,

I'm a Dutch revolutionary and I'm a regular *RW* reader. I'd like to report some things that are happening right now in the Netherlands. On Oct. 20 there was the biggest anti-nuclear power demonstration of all times. From the start, there was a harsh disagreement (that would later evolve into a massive battle) between revolutionaries (anarchists, autonomes and Marxists) on the one side and revisionists (social-democrats, "socialist pacifists", "radicals" and the revisionist communists) on the other side.

The demonstration leaders (social-democrats) didn't want a blockade of Dodewaard (that's where the demonstration was and also the nuclear power plant) at all. Right from the start they tried to break up the demonstration. Time after time they organized meetings to get a majority in order to call off the demonstration. Even before the demonstration started they bullhorned to the gathering massive crowd things like "come on guys, why don't we call this off." But this didn't work at all. The vast majority wanted action.

But the leaders had all the means of power in their hands. The government gave them an "illegal" FM radio sta-

tion and C.B.'s, walkie talkies, etc....

It is a "custom" in the Netherlands that fighting squads (teams) of the revisionist communists (CPN) regulate ("keep the peace") or control a demonstration. Especially nuclear power demonstrations. They walk around like officials and give commands to the crowd. They do take over the place of the police and the national guards. They only show up when the CPN can't control the situation anymore.

The highlight of the demonstration was two o'clock in the afternoon. A group of revolutionaries tried to *occupy* the nuclear power plant. A massive fight occurred because the revisionists tried to stop them. To a lot of people, the demarcation line between left and Right became more clear. The massive fighting between left and Right went on for a while. Right came more and more in trouble because the public started getting on the side of the revolutionaries. But then it started to rain incredibly hard, so hard that it cooled off things. The sudden extreme rain was a big help to the Right. Because it kept the more "neutral" demonstrators

from involving in the battle. That changed the course of the battle and the revolutionaries were defeated. Totally beaten up. More badly than the national guards ever did.

But like Mao said "the future remains bright". It is a fact that the revisionists are slowly losing their grip on the crowd. The squatter battles in Amsterdam and the battle in Dodewaard proves this.

The social-democrats lost the ability to control the people's fight in the mid-sixties. Then the CPN took over their job. Right now the CPN is losing their control over the crowd. The upper-class has to think of something new. This all is clearly indicating that the struggle of the people is going upwards. Last week it took over 1500 riot-equipped cops to battle revolutionary squatters in Amsterdam. Last year it took the CPN four weeks to break a dock strike in Rotterdam. The unions didn't support the strikers. But revolutionaries all over the country collected money for them in street collections, despite the fact that all the media was unanimous against the strike. The results of the street collections were fantastic.

It's getting harder and harder for the upper-class and their lackeys.

Last week the government cut the already low youth wages (below 21 years of age) in *half*!! They can be sure that we will and shall respond. The working class struggle in the Netherlands and the whole world is going upwards. And nobody is gonna stop that. Yes indeed, the future remains bright.

A lot of Dutch revolutionaries know about the RCP and the railroad of brother Avakian. We surely support our U.S. revolutionary brothers and we also take a stand against the railroad of Bob Avakian.

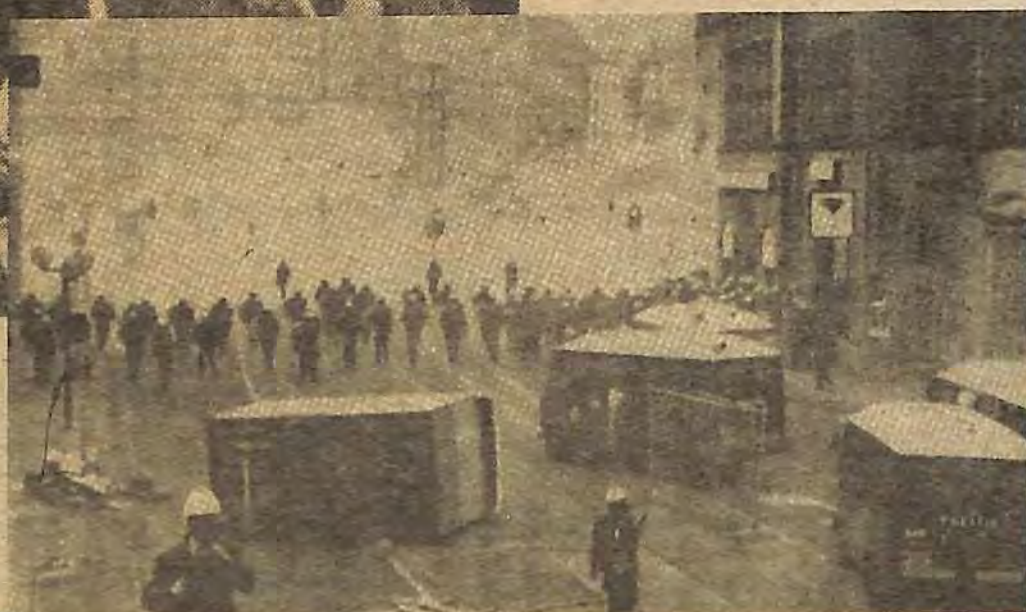
Free Bob Avakian, long live the R.C.P.

Long live the world revolution.

Three Dutch revolutionaries



Over the past year, the Netherlands has seen a sharp upsurge of struggle. From the demonstrations that disrupted the monarch's coronation rituals last spring, to a growing anti-nuke movement and recent street battles over the eviction of squatters (pictured here), the militancy of the Dutch masses—especially the youth—has been causing much trouble for the bourgeoisie of this NATO country.



What They're Trying To Bury

With John Lennon

There is most definitely much that can be written about John Lennon, the Beatles, and their relation to the period of political upheaval of the 1960s. And there is certainly much that can be written to expose the virtual mountain of lies and hypocrisy that has been cranked out by the computerized pens of the rulers of this country upon his death. But at this point, we will confine ourselves to a few brief remarks. First, a word to the bourgeoisie—put your silk handkerchiefs back in your pockets, wring out the phony tears, and give up on trying to make John Lennon “the fallen hero of the 1960s” which are now “forever dead.” It will not work. And by the way, your massive public wake and funeral really isn't all that convincing. Your political motives are far too obvious and your methods are unconvincing (by the way, you did try to run John Lennon out of the country a few years back, didn't you?).

Truly, the pervasive and quite systematic propaganda barrage of the past week is almost staggering and the repetition of the same basic message in a zillion different ways virtually endless. The basic riff that we are to swallow goes something like this: John Lennon along with Kennedy, Martin Luther King and the like represented the 1960s. They represented hope and idealism about the future. And this idealism and hope were what everybody was into except those bad violent elements, those radicals and troublemakers who helped ruin everything by not “giving peace a chance” etc. But this era is now officially shot dead as was John Lennon. The message to the millions, especially white middle-class youth of that period, who were part of and affected by this period of intense political upheaval is simple: It's all over. And you better watch out now because this is going to be a violent era. All you can do is try to protect yourself and your family like John Lennon centered his life around for the past five years. And if that's not enough you can get active in gun control or join the fight for capital punishment and law and order to deal

with those violent types like the nut who shot John.

If anyone doubts that this is, precisely, their political message, they should pick up their newspaper or turn on their TV to hear it. We reprint a typical example below from the *Chicago Sun-Times*:

“The Beatles are a metaphor for the youth generation of the 1960s. To borrow an image from *Sun-Times* cultural observer Abe Peck, they threw the coming-out party for that generation—on Feb. 8, 1964, when the Beatles made their first American appearance on the Ed Sullivan television show....

“Postwar affluence had provided those kids with leisure time to engage in social protest—and to explore alternative lifestyles as a form of protest. Kennedy's optimistic New Frontier rhetoric had fueled youthful idealism and hopes that society could indeed be transformed by this new generation to whom Kennedy said the torch had been passed. Who had been told by Kennedy they were somebody special.

“Then Kennedy was ripped from the scene, in 1963.... And the Beatles arrived in New York....

“They gave the youth culture a rallying point,” said Peck. “They helped mold a sense of generation, a sense of youth as a group.... And the Beatles became their touchstone. They offered the vision of an alternative feeling—the feeling that people could change the world.”

“THAT FEELING persisted through the Free Speech Movement at Berkeley in the fall of 1964 and the emergence of the Haight-Ashbury flower children in 1967. After 1965 it merged with the anti-war movement and the more political activism that erupted with the student takeover at Columbia University in the spring of 1968 (the beginning of ‘campus unrest’) and the brief coming together of the counterculturists and political radicals at the Democratic National Convention later that year in Chicago.

“It culminated in the Woodstock festival in August of 1969. Then it

started to come apart with the Weatherman “Days of Rage” in Chicago in October of that year, with the radicals and counterculturists going their separate ways. And the next year it came completely apart after the last-gasp campus demonstrations protesting Kent State and the Cambodian incursion, in the spring of 1970.

“Something else happened in that cruel spring. The Beatles officially broke up—and went their separate ways. Except for the good music, it was all over.

“BUT MARCUS” (a rock columnist—*RW*) vision turned dark, even as he spoke. *Because Lennon didn't just die. He was put to death, as Kennedy was put to death, reminding us all of our own mortality.* (our emphasis—*RW*). And something surely was taken away on that street in New York, as Camelot was taken away on a street in Dallas. Said Marcus:

“‘Somebody decided, I'm going to kill John Lennon.’ It wasn't a mugging. He was killed because of who he was. And that's absolutely terrifying to me. *He was shot because he promised a certain kind of hope to people—and quite inevitably was not able to deliver.* No one can. The Beatles were Utopia. And that Utopia didn't work, any more than Camelot worked. People felt betrayed.

“‘My fantasy is perhaps darker than that,’ said Geoffrey Stokes, author of *The Beatles... my fantasy is not that these killings happen because hope is promised and not delivered—but because hope is promised.*” (Our emphasis—*RW*)

What is the aim of this unadulterated bull but to help in politically neutralizing if not winning over to their side a sizeable section of people in this country and other countries who have constituted an important part of the opposition to their rule? One more point, however; the very lengths to which they are going in this case reveal not simply their desperation to accomplish this task in preparation for the period of upheaval ahead but that they have a long way to go to pull this off.

And what of John Lennon? What was his actual role in the past period? While it was contradictory and he did do some progressive things especially in the early years of the Beatles, overall he and the group as a whole played a backward role. The early irreverence, the mocking of authority and wearing long hair all had a positive effect, and were in fact a reflection of much more basic and profound things that were going on in society generally at the time. And there were a few anti-Vietnam war statements like the original album cover to *Yesterday and Today* which featured a picture of the Fab Four with butcher knives cutting up dolls.

But as the revolutionary movement developed more and more and challenged the bourgeoisie the Beatles sank to an outright reactionary role with the song, “Revolution” that appeared in 1968, shortly after the upsurge that rocked France in May 1968. A more appropriate title for this piece of garbage would be “Counter-Revolution” and it was written explicitly for this purpose with lyrics like: “If you go carrying pictures of Chairman Mao YOU ain't going to make it with anyone anyhow,” etc. And then came John and Yoko's “Give Peace a Chance” which became the mainstream anthem for a whole trend that was consciously aimed at pouring cold water on all the revolutionary militancy that was bursting forth. Since the early '70s John Lennon drifted from fantasy to fantasy winding up keeping house for five years before coming out with his latest “Double Fantasy” album which extols the glories of such lofty pursuits as being exclusively devoted to your wife and family and to hell with anything else.

It is more than a little ironic that while John Lennon made a principle out of the narrow confines of house and family in his later years, his death became such an international political event involving both imperialist superpowers. Both the U.S. and Soviet radio mouthpieces devoted an entire day's programming to his and the Beatles' music the day after he was killed. The Voice of America played his songs to the world in 17 languages. Radio Moscow played them too. And each used these songs to make their hypocritical calls of “give peace a chance” while they feverishly prepare for world war. □

OUTBREAK

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calm, and also because things turn out differently in some important respects than the revolutionaries anticipate. It is only the constant revolutionary work carried out around a political newspaper which affords such flexibility. As Lenin put it, “it is ridiculous to plead different circumstances and a change of periods: the building of a fighting organization and the conduct of political agitation are essential under any ‘drab, peaceful’ circumstances, in any period, no matter how marked by a ‘declining revolutionary spirit’; moreover it is precisely in such periods and under such circumstances that work of this kind is particularly necessary, since it is too late to form the organization in times of explosion and outburst; the party must be in a state of readiness to launch activity at a moment's notice.”

The point here about the need for flexibility and to be ready for everything is not just so the revolutionary forces can be ready for the next minor crisis, unless one wants to try and adapt Lenin to the left-economist line which sees no further than next week (but a word of warning on this score, many have tried and failed). The point is to prepare in an all-around way for further ahead, for revolution, utilizing every minor crisis, every outbreak for gathering strength for the decisive assault, while constantly preparing the masses and carrying on revolutionary work in any period. Speaking about the developments of the objective situation on a world scale, Marx wrote to Engels, “...in developments of such magni-

tude twenty years are no more than a day, though later on there may come days in which twenty years are embodied.” Lenin, referring to this point, wrote, “At each stage of development, at each moment, proletarian tactics must take account of this objectively inevitable dialectics of human history, on the one hand, utilizing the periods of political stagnation or of sluggish, so-called ‘peaceful’ development in order to develop the class-consciousness, strength and militancy of the advanced class, and, on the other hand, directing all the work of this utilization towards the ‘ultimate aim’ of that class's advance, towards creating in it the ability to find practical solutions for great tasks in the great days, in which ‘twenty years are embodied’” (Lenin, *CW*, Vol. 21, “Karl Marx”) (Italics ours)

On a world scale, one could hardly call the present period “sluggish,” and while there are no guarantees that a revolutionary situation will develop in this country, or that if one does a successful seizure of power is a sure thing, still, the imperialist crisis and the accelerating moves toward war heighten both the possibilities and the urgency of preparing for such historic moments when the possibility of a revolutionary seizure of power in one or a number of countries will present itself to the international proletariat. Utilizing every minor crisis, every outbreak of protest and rebellion towards the revolutionary goal and as Lenin put it towards creating the ability in the proletariat “to find practical solutions for great tasks in the great days in which twenty years are embodied,” is a very important part of this preparation.

Economism and the “Class Point of View”

Many of the outbreaks and protests among the masses in this country

develop among the non-proletarian strata or at least do not take the form of movements of the working class, although there are often numbers of workers involved in these outbreaks. But even where the workers are not involved from the start, these movements, protests and rebellions exert influence on the workers themselves. It is also the case that “spontaneously” advanced, revolutionary-minded workers are attempting “on their own” to support such outbreaks and to influence the broader masses of workers. But the Economist line often balks at supporting such outbreaks of protest and rebellion, saying that such support for the protests among the non-proletarian strata departs from the “class point of view.” (It might briefly be noted here that this same Economist line which hurls accusations of departing from the “class point of view” one day is quite capable of tailing the politics and ideology of these non-proletarian strata the next, but more on that later.)

Lenin posed the importance of supporting every outbreak of protest and rebellion from the standpoint that the immediate task in Russia was the overthrow of the autocracy. He argued that although the revolution in Russia was a two stage revolution, that the proletariat should lead the bourgeois revolution against the tsar, quite a revolutionary idea at the time, and one that was bitterly opposed. While the revolution in this country is a single stage proletarian revolution, our strategy for revolution is the united front, led by the class-conscious proletariat. While we cannot in the scope of this article go into the alignment of forces in this united front, we would refer the reader to our *Draft Programme and Draft Constitution*. Any serious consideration of actually carry-

ing out this united front strategy, will appreciate Lenin's answer to the Economists of his day who complained, using the all too familiar excuse that the communists did not have time or the forces required to “go in all directions,” that is among all classes and strata of the people, “We Social Democrats cannot simultaneously guide the activities of various opposition strata, we cannot dictate to them a positive program of action, we cannot point out to them in what manner they should fight for their daily interests....” And Lenin retorted, “It goes without saying that we cannot guide the struggle of the students, liberals, etc., for their ‘immediate interests,’ but this was not the point at issue, most worthy Economist! The point we were discussing was the possible and necessary participation of various social strata in the overthrow of the autocracy; and not only are we able but it is our bounden duty, to guide these ‘activities of the various opposition strata’ if we desire to be the ‘vanguard.’ Not only will our students and liberals, etc., themselves take care of ‘the struggle that will bring them face to face with our political regime’; the police and the officials of the autocratic government will see to this more than anyone else. But if ‘we’ desire to be advanced democrats, we must make it our business to stimulate in the minds of those who are dissatisfied with university, or only with Zemstvo (rural council—*RW*), etc. conditions the idea that the whole political system is worthless. We must take upon ourselves the task of organizing an all-round political struggle under the leadership of our Party in such a manner as to obtain all the support possible of all opposition strata for the struggle and for our Party. We must train our Social-Democratic (communist—*RW*) practical

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Puerto Rican Liberation? "Seditious Conspiracy" Says U.S.

Continued from page 2

Nationalists (Lolita Lebron, Irvin Flores, Rafael Cancel Miranda and Andres Figueroa Cordero) brought the colonial case of Puerto Rico before the world again when they took pistols into the U.S. House of Representatives to dramatize the U.S. colonial domination of their country, wounding several Congressmen. Seditious conspiracy was dredged up once again, not only to prosecute the four but to cast the net over 13 other Nationalist Party members. The Supreme Court held that all 17 defendants had participated in a single, continuous conspiracy from the Jayuya uprising in 1950 to May, 1954 when the attack on Congress took place. The only evidence presented against the 13 additional defendants was that they were members of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party which advocated independence by violent revolution. This was proof enough to convict 12 defendants (and four pleaded guilty).

The importance of this kind of broadly worded and catchall "seditious conspiracy" law to the bourgeoisie is obvious. It can be used against virtually any act of political opposition to the bourgeoisie. To take one example, this same law was invoked during World War I to bring indictments against the draft resisters movement that built significant opposition to the U.S. entry into the war broadly among the masses of people. And a Georgia state version of its companion "advocating the overthrow of the government" has recently been dredged up and, with the help of the FBI, used against two revolutionaries in Atlanta for putting up a RW "Create Public Opinion...Seize Power!" poster (see RW No. 71) in an important case with broad ramifications.

There are already strong indications that the case against the eleven suspected FALN members may be used to snare even more pro-independence Puerto Ricans in the web provided by the "seditious conspiracy" charge. The indictment alleges that between 1975 and 1979 there was a conspiracy to plant bombs in or near 28 buildings in the Chicago area, and to take over the Carter-Mondale headquarters last March 15. The FALN claimed responsibility for this action and for most of the bombings listed in the indictment. The indictment also names two men who are still at large: Oscar Lopez is charged for all offenses and William Morales, who made a daring escape from the clutches of the New York authorities last year, is named as an undicted co-conspirator. For reasons unknown to her supporters, Haydee Beltran is also named as an undicted co-conspirator. It would be very easy for the government to charge even more people under the wide umbrella of "conspiracy." All the elements are now in place to activate such a strategy.

Grand Jury

Assistant U.S. Attorney Jeremy Margolis prosecuting the eleven has stated that the federal grand jury in Chicago is continuing its efforts to bring further charges. Grand juries against suspected FALN members have also been convened in New York, Denver and Milwaukee. Between 1975 and 1977 federal grand juries, with their wide subpoena powers, were used to heavily harass, attack and jail supporters of independence for Puerto Rico. Refusal to testify and give information before the grand jury is grounds for immediate jail sentence for the duration of the jury which may last up to 18 months. A tactic widely used by the government is to hint they have evidence to indict an individual, and then turn around and promise immunity from prosecution if only that person will spill the beans. Margolis admits to having considered offering immunity to one or more of the FALN suspects, but abandoned it because their "zealousness" (determination to free Puerto

Rico) "made it unlikely that such testimony could be obtained." Soon after the capture of the eleven, the prosecution bluntly stated what their game plan is. "Such a grand jury," they said, "could use the threat of jailing for contempt of court or the promise of immunity from prosecution to persuade the jailed FALN members or their acquaintances to talk."

The day after the indictments against the eleven were handed down, two such "acquaintances" were busted on charges of supposedly robbing a van. And the prosecution has definitely been applying its own brand of "persuasion" against these brothers in the outrageous form of holding them in-

communicado and without bond. Such a procedure is unheard of in an armed robbery charge. But then the appearance of U.S. Attorney Margolis at the bond reduction hearing made it clear that holding these men had nothing to do with armed robbery and everything to do with their political ties. Felix Rosa is the brother of captured FALN suspect Luis Rosa, and Margolis told the news media that Luis Rosado was identified in the police department's FALN photo file. What the news media failed to report is that Luis Rosado helped to organize the National Committee Against Grand Jury Repression in New York and was jailed in 1977 when he refused to testify in front of the grand jury. He appeared on television with his head bandaged indicating that he had been badly beaten.

All of these tactics and more were used from 1975-77 during the grand jury hearings. Many besides Rosado were jailed in New York for refusing to bow down before the imperialist courts. In Chicago five people were jailed for up to 18 months including two Chicano ac-

tivists, Pedro Archuleta from New Mexico and Ricardo Romero from Colorado. All this repression only served to strengthen the solidarity of the Puerto Rican community which had to stand up to a virtual invasion of FBI agents who in some cases served grand jury subpoenas at gunpoint.

The bringing of these federal sedition charges by the government at this time represents a very concerted political effort on their part to raise the stakes in their attempts to hold back the struggle to free Puerto Rico and the struggle of the masses of people generally. Both the seriousness and broad ramifications of this desperate and blatant move as well as what it reveals about the real nature of the rulers of this country and what they so profoundly fear must be taken out and exposed broadly. The imperialists are forced to bare their fangs to deal with their enemies. In doing so they expose more of their reactionary nature—and their fearful weakness—and will bring still more people forward to oppose them with revolutionary struggle. □

"I trust that this pamphlet will help the reader to understand the fundamental economic question, viz., the question of the economic essence of imperialism, for unless this is studied, it will be impossible to understand and appraise modern war and modern politics."

V.I. Lenin



V. I. LENIN
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BATTLE OVER REVOLUTION BOOKS

Within the short space of five days, two Revolution Books bookstores have been evicted! Last week the *RW* reported on the eviction of the Berkeley, Ca. store and the battle that is raging around it. Then, on Tuesday morning, December 9, the staff of the New York Revolution Books arrived to find that the city marshalls had padlocked the doors shut.

The New York eviction follows 7 months of going "round and round" with the landlord, in and out of court, negotiating over compensation for fire damage done to the building because of wiring defects, back rent, and two previous eviction moves. It is crystal clear that the landlord's determination to kick out the store is motivated by something more than the timeliness of rent payments, since he returned certified checks for both September and October rent. Just what that motivation might be is not hard to understand in the light of the statement by the landlord of the Berkeley store: "I don't want your bookstore here. I don't like your politics." And the battles against eviction being waged by the stores in Seattle and Boston further clarify the question, since in neither of these stores

is there any pretense of late rent payments.

It is not much of a leap to come to the conclusion that these owners may well be receiving some "encouragement" nationally from the ruling class through their various agents of reaction. Particularly when the efforts to shut these stores down through eviction are linked to the smashing of windows in five of the stores, gunfire aimed at Revolution Books in Honolulu, and a midnight blaze that hit the Los Angeles store—all within the last year.

While the exact circumstances in each city vary, all of these stepped up attacks are a direct result of the threat these stores pose to the bourgeoisie as growing centers of revolutionary propaganda, debate and activity. As leaflets about the eviction in Berkeley declared, "They want to see revolution banned in Berkeley." In particular, the powers that be would like to ban the revolutionary theory so necessary to a revolutionary movement—through harassment, reactionary night attacks and the machinations of their legal apparatus, they are attempting to suppress the people's ability to get their hands on literature that exposes the bankruptcy

and thoroughly reactionary nature of their imperialist system, and more than that, points to the revolutionary way forward. All ten stores (including Everybody's Bookstore in San Francisco) are associated with the political line of the RCP and are therefore a concentrated source for finding works of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the literature of the Party, and for discussing and struggling over the Party's line. Recently, efforts have been intensifying to expand the work and influence of the stores, with much struggle going on to unite more people in taking up this work. Regular and even some "occasional" customers of the stores in many cities have stepped forward to help with various plans. For example, the search is on in all the stores for hundreds, even thousands, of new titles to carry—books and periodicals from around the world, history, exposure and analysis of every aspect of imperialism, summations of revolutionary struggle historically and today, as well as for progressive novels, plays, records and posters. Sustainers, donations, and loans are being sought to enable the stores financially to carry an increased selection and to pay for

publicizing the stores in newspapers, on campuses and in communities. Booktables are being taken to street fairs, commercial book exhibits, academic and political conventions, neighborhoods and campuses to take revolutionary literature out to the masses of people. Professors, librarians, and journalists are being approached about ordering, recommending and publicizing Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary books. (One professor in Detroit who helped to get a classroom on campus for a forum on Iran later asked the bookstore staff to lead a class on Marxism at his school.) Plans are being laid to increase the wholesaling of books to other commercial, political and campus bookstores. And several of the stores—Los Angeles, Detroit and Chicago—have recently moved to new locations that better enable them to reach out to a broad audience, with 300 people attending the opening of the new Revolution Books in L.A. last month. What is becoming increasingly clear in the struggle to build these stores is the tremendous necessity and potential for revolutionary books—and the bookstores themselves—to become an important force for creating broad public opinion for revolution.

Growing numbers of people—workers, professionals, students and oppressed people generally from this country and from many other parts of the world—are being drawn into the stores, seeking to deepen their understanding of imperialism, war and revolution. And many progressive forces from among the "opinion makers"—teachers, librarians, booksellers, journalists, etc. on whom the ruling class relies to "educate" the population as loyal servants and defenders of capitalism—are being struggled with and en-

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Computer Revolution

A computer that reads books out loud? How about a computer reading a copy of *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions*, by Bob Avakian, to 2,000 librarians? You got it.

Staff members of Revolution Books from L.A. and S.F. exhibited books for Liberation Distributors last weekend at the Pasadena convention of the California Librarian's Association. On the whole they got a tremendous response from hundreds of librarians, many of whom had heard of their books and came looking for their revolutionary display. But at one point, four business reps from other exhibits came up to the display to challenge and disrupt things, angered at the thought that anyone would be allowed to sell books about revolution in the good old U.S.A.

The argument that ensued attracted a woman from a company that was selling computers, including one on display that reads books out loud in a synthesized voice. Hot on the heels of these patriots' defense of this "the greatest country in the world," this woman came up to say that she and many of her friends were interested in revolutionary books—in fact she'd been wondering what these books would sound like on her machine. "This one looks good," she said, picking up a copy of *Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions*. And for the rest of the afternoon, to the shock and dismay of our four patriots, the computer was reading a revolutionary summation and analysis of Mao Tsetung Thought to all who passed by, and with excellent diction! □

Health Professional Writes on "Cancer Syndrome"

November 18, 1980

Dear Comrades,

A comrade told me that you were interested in any materials that I might have regarding cancer, health and the politics of health. This area happens to be of great interest to me and I currently am professionally involved in these areas. (It's great to actually get paid to investigate the role of agri-business on our health and degenerative diseases, etc.!) I work in a project where we teach "preventive" health and nutrition to children and their parents. Of course, this reformist endeavor can never be truly effective under capitalism, but the seeds of socialism are springing up even under this dying system. I also teach a course on nutrition, health and psychology where I address the socio-political context in which medicine and

health exist in this system. After reading the article on cancer in the recent *RW*, I am considering using Moss' book, the *Cancer Syndrome*, in future classes. I have had lively discussions with co-workers about the *RW* article and we will be writing a critique of it very shortly. Overall, I thought it was a very sharp article. Its importance can't be underestimated as one of the first articles on health to appear in the paper, exposing this system as a major cause of degenerative diseases in the U.S.

I am writing a paper where I expose the role of government and industry in wrecking our agricultural system, monopolizing every aspect of food production, and making all decisions on food and drug safety based on the profit motive. I now have a rough draft, and I will send a copy very soon when completed.

Enclosed are some articles, charts, brochures, and references which may be helpful, related to cancer, degenerative diseases, and health under capitalism. These references are suggestions for the bookstore, since I understand that efforts are being made to broaden publications and to have a section on health, an exciting leap for Revolution Books!

Please let me know how I can help with health-related issues in the future. Several of us in this city are health professionals and would be very interested in seeing additional articles in the *RW* on this subject (perhaps we will write some ourselves!). Clearly, this is an area which can't wait until after the revolution to be analysed and struggled over.

In struggle,
A reader

L.A. Trial

Judge Rules Plots vs. May Day— “Privileged” Information

At a recent preliminary hearing on the charges against 6 revolutionaries stemming from this year's May Day march in L.A., the judge let slip a rather telling remark. The defense had just learned that the LAPD distorted material evidence—tapes of police radio transmissions related to some of the charges—after they had been ordered to turn over such evidence to the defense. Citing the fact that this was more evidence of the months' long plotting involving LAPD and others against May Day that led to the police attack on the march itself, the defense made a motion for dismissal. The motion was denied, then defense attorneys moved to have the judge order the LAPD to stop destroying evidence. Denying this also, the judge pointed out, “the possibilities of conspiracy are endless.” How true.

Leading up to May 1st, the LAPD made no less than 106 arrests of people building for the demonstration, there were beatings and threats, all culminating in the police-agent murder of Damian Garcia. They then set about to attack the demonstration itself—even announcing “informally” to the press ahead of time that the demonstration would be stopped before getting downtown. In three separate assaults on the demonstration, the LAPD made 28 arrests, openly beating many, but still failed to stop the march itself.

People throughout the city were outraged by this and, in an attempt to take some of that heat off and tighten up their case, the prosecution lopped off some of the most blatant charges, especially “failure to disperse.” (After many witnesses and news reporters said that there had been no dispersal order,

the police admitted it.) Most of the charges against the 6 remaining defendants are for misdemeanor battery on an officer.

The judge, the district attorney and city attorney, as well as the city attorney for the Public Disorders Intelligence Division (PDID) of the LAPD all attended every hearing in the case. They have worked together to keep all evidence out of the hands of the defense. And further, they are attempting to establish in court, LAPD's “right” to carry out “covert action” against the RCP and its supporters. The prosecution and PDID attorneys repeatedly tell the judge they are unwilling to turn over evidence that would disrupt their “covert operations” and expose informants, and the judge always agrees with them.

On more than 50 requests for information and evidence and the defense Discovery Motion, PDID has claimed “privilege” on all of it. (This means that the PDID has the “right” to keep all this secret.) The judge already ruled that only evidence directly related to the “confrontation,” must be turned over. Even he has stumbled over some of PDID's outrageous claims of “privilege.” But that all gets straightened out in behind closed door hearings he has with PDID and LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy Section. After such a two hour hearing one day, the judge announced his complete agreement with the LAPD on their claims of “privilege.” After all, as he said in one of his rulings, “We know we're not dealing with the PTA here.”

When the LAPD turned over several pages of a document called “Planning and Operations for May Day” they forgot to remove the original page

numbers. This showed that pages one through 5, 10 and 11, and possibly more, were missing. When confronted with this the judge, taking his cue from the LAPD, simply ruled that the missing pages were “not relevant and/or privileged.”

Of course, the judges that have been involved in the case often show some initiative of their own. When the original felony charges were dropped to misdemeanors the judge attempted to disrupt the defense team by replacing a court appointed attorney working on the case. It later turned out that this was the result of a meeting of several judges that morning where the change was initiated. Of course, this particular judge

was no doubt rather upset herself by the fact that in the previous hearing she had to stare into a huge poster of Damian Garcia put up against the back wall of the courtroom which was packed with May Day supporters. (In another case related to the RCP but not directly to May Day, the judge set certain terms for any possible plea bargaining—one of which was that any probation would have to be long enough to include May 1, 1981.) That the plan to stop May Day at all costs was a highly co-ordinated effort by the authorities is obvious. No doubt more will come to light on Dec. 22, when the LAPD presents its whitewash of the many charges of police beatings.

Richmond, California

Natural Allies in Racist Attacks

On Monday morning, December 8, the letters “KKK” were scrawled on the home of a Black woman in San Pablo, California, while she was at work. The house was then set on fire and was nearly destroyed. This was the latest in a series of attacks on Black people in the cities and suburbs surrounding Richmond, California (across the bay from San Francisco). In Pinole, a mainly white area which has been the scene of many of these attacks, one Black family had a cross burned in their backyard with chemicals. Another Black family in the area had a car driven into the side of their house. One family's front door was shattered by a shotgun blast, and several hundred have received written death threats.

The cops claim to be totally baffled by all this, which is not too surprising since the link between pigs in blue and pigs in white is a widely known fact. The only person arrested to date has been a Black youth—for fighting with a white youth. The cops claim this incident contributed to the Klan attacks!

These attacks in the area have rolled into high gear since the November 17 verdict in Greensboro which placed the official stamp of approval on Klan murder and violence. Events in Richmond illustrate what kind of social base is being unleashed by the bourgeoisie (that is, beyond the cops themselves). One of the kingpins of the local Klan is Johnny Beezle, “the weasel.” He has been long known around Richmond as a speed freak and dope dealer. Beezle moved into a house near Richmond High School a few months ago to facilitate his operations. The Kluckers he has around him are all major figures in the local dope trade.

On the day of the Greensboro verdict, the local Kluckers shot at and hit the car of a young Black man near Richmond High School. The effect of the shooting was to enrage many youth at this school. So the local authorities stepped in to make the Klan's message even clearer. First on the day of the shooting the administration locked the students inside school grounds during lunch “because the students were stealing too much from the local stores.” Then, for several days after the shooting, the area swarmed with cops. The aim of all this was an attempt to in-

timidate the youth. The cops blocked attempts by the youth to gather and talk. They broke up a crowd of youth on one corner, then allowed the Klan to gather in the same place.

In Pinole, many have stepped forward to stand against the Klan attacks. White neighbors of Black families are keeping watch on the houses the Klan is after. Meanwhile, the cops “can't find” a clue. A man who twice in one night ran supporters of the Black families off the road was picked up by the cops. But of course he was released after explaining that he was just having “driving trouble.”

Cops and dope dealers—natural allies in general. And now, when it comes to carrying out the behests of our rulers in stepping up their attacks on Black people, the alliance has obviously grown even firmer.

New Pamphlet, Soon to be Available!

“Bob Avakian Speaks on the Mao Tsetung Defendants Railroad and the Historic Battles Ahead”

“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.

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Preface to Marx's Letter to Kugelmann

They Dared to Storm Heaven

It was February 1905—in the midst of the general period of upsurge of the 1905 revolution in Russia. Lenin, the great leader of the Russian Revolution, took time aside in those turbulent days to write an introduction to a Russian translation of some letters written by Marx some 40 years earlier. The combination of Marx's revolutionary theory and his revolutionary policy toward what he termed the "historical initiative" of the masses—in particular their "attempts to storm heaven"—were a great inspiration to Lenin. They were also a great teacher to him and to the class-conscious proletariat of Russia at that time, just as they should be to every class-conscious proletarian today, perched as we are in the opening scenes of an intensely tumultuous period of world history—as crisis, war and revolutionary upsurges push to the fore on a world scale.

In Russia, at that time, the 1905 revolution was still underway. (This was a revolution still in its first, bourgeois-democratic, stage of overthrowing the Tsar (king)—not yet at its socialist stage.) Although what could later be summed up as its peak—the December 1905 uprising in Moscow—had been defeated, the revolution was not yet

crushed. For example, nearly a million workers struck during each of the next two years, the peasant movement was still raging and unrest continued in the army and navy. It would not be until later in 1907 that the Tsar (king) would decisively succeed in putting the revolution down—temporarily. Already there were renegades within the revolutionary ranks who were turning against the revolution, preaching defeatism and reformism. A famous Russian "Marxist" by the name of Plekhanov was pioneering in this treachery with his summation of the Moscow uprising: "They should not have taken to arms." Lenin threw Marx back into these "Marxist's" faces. These essays by Marx, as Lenin points out, are full of the revolutionary passion for the masses' actions which is characteristic of all great—and far-seeing—revolutionary leaders. These lessons were well learned by the Bolsheviks and the class-conscious proletariat in Russia. The 1905 attempt, though defeated, was a tempering and educating experience for the revolutionaries. Later they were to refer to it as their "dress rehearsal" for their successful attempt twelve years later.

Preface to the Russian Translation
of the Letters of Karl Marx
to Dr. Kugelmann

Our aim in issuing as a separate pamphlet the full collection of Marx's letters to Kugelmann published in the German Social-Democratic weekly, *Neue Zeit*, is to acquaint the Russian public more closely with Marx and Marxism. As was to be expected, a good deal of space in Marx's correspondence is devoted to personal matters. For the biographer, this is exceedingly valuable material. But for the broad public in general and for the Russian working class in particular, those passages in the letters which contain theoretical and political material are infinitely more important. For us, in the revolutionary period we are passing through, it is especially instructive to study in depth the material which reveals Marx as a man who directly responded to all questions of the working-class movement and world politics. The editors of the *Neue Zeit* are quite right when they remark that "we are elevated by an acquaintance with the personality of men whose thoughts and wills took shape in times of great upheavals." Such an acquaintance is doubly necessary to the Russian socialist in 1907, for it provides a wealth of most valuable indications concerning the direct tasks confronting the socialists in every revolution passed through by his country. Russia is passing through a "great upheaval" at this very moment. Marx's policy in the comparatively stormy 1860s should serve very often as a direct model for the policy of the Social-Democrat (Communist—RW) in the present Russian revolution.

We shall therefore only very briefly note the passages in Marx's correspondence which are of particular importance from the theoretical standpoint, and shall deal in greater detail with his revolutionary policy as a representative of the proletariat.

Of outstanding interest for a fuller and deeper understanding of Marxism is the letter of July 11, 1868. In the form of polemical remarks against the vulgar economists, Marx in this letter expounds with extreme clarity his conception of what is called the "labour"

theory of value. Those very objections to Marx's theory of value which naturally arise in the minds of the least-trained readers of *Capital*, and which for this reason are most eagerly seized upon by the common or garden representatives of "professorial" bourgeois "science," are here analyzed by Marx briefly, simply and with remarkable lucidity. Marx here shows the road he took and the road that should be taken to elucidate the law of value. He teaches us his *method*, using the most common objections as illustrations. He makes clear the connection between such a purely (it would seem) theoretical and abstract question as the theory of value and "the interests of the ruling classes," which demand "the perpetuation of confusion." It is only to be hoped that everyone who begins to study Marx and read *Capital* will read and re-read this letter when studying the first and most difficult chapters of *Capital*.

Other passages very interesting from the theoretical standpoint are those in which Marx passes judgment on various writers. When you read these opinions of Marx—vividly written, full of passion and revealing a profound interest in all the great ideological trends and their analysis—you feel that you are listening to the words of a great thinker. Apart from the remarks on Dietzgen made in passing, the comments on the Proudhonists deserve the particular attention of the reader. The "brilliant" young bourgeois intellectuals who throw themselves "among the proletariat" at times of social upsurge and who are incapable of acquiring the standpoint of the working class or of carrying on persistent and serious work among the "rank and file" of the proletarian organizations, are depicted with remarkable vividness in a few strokes of the pen.²

Take the comment on Dühring,¹ which, as it were, anticipates the contents of the famous *Anti-Dühring* written by Engels (in conjunction with Marx) nine years later. There is a Russian translation of this book by Zeder-



This pencil and crayon drawing of Lenin was done by a prisoner in the Atlanta jail who was inspired by a photo in the RW. He presented it to one of the revolutionaries who was held there on charges of "advocating the overthrow" of the government for putting up Revolutionary Worker posters.

baum which, unfortunately, is guilty not only of omissions but of mistakes and is simply a bad translation. Here, too, we have the comment on Thünen, which likewise touches on Ricardo's theory of rent. Already then, in 1868, Marx emphatically rejected "Ricardo's mistakes," which he finally refuted in Volume III of *Capital*, published in 1894, but which to this very day are repeated by the revisionists—from our ultra-bourgeois and even "Black Hundred" Mr. Bulgakov to the "near-orthodox" Maslov.

Interesting also is the comment on Büchner, with the judgment on vulgar materialism and the "superficial chatter" copied from Lange (the usual source of "professorial" bourgeois philosophy!).⁴

Let us pass to Marx's revolutionary policy. Surprisingly current among Social-Democrats in Russia is a certain petty-bourgeois conception of Marxism, according to which a revolutionary period, with its specific forms of struggle and its special proletarian tasks, is almost an anomaly, while a "constitution" and an "extreme opposition" are the rule. In no other country in the world at this moment is there such a profound revolutionary crisis as in Russia—and in no other country are there "Marxists" (belittling and vulgarizing Marxism) who take up such a skeptical and philistine attitude towards the revolution. From the fact that the content of the revolution is bourgeois the shallow conclusion is drawn in our country that the bourgeoisie is the *driving force* of the revolution, that the tasks of the proletariat in this revolution are of an auxiliary and not independent character and that proletarian leadership in the revolution is impossible!

How Marx, in his letters to Kugelmann, exposes this shallow interpretation of Marxism! Here is a letter dated April 6, 1866. At that time Marx had finished his major work. He had already given his final judgment on the German Revolution of 1848 fourteen years before this letter was written.⁵ He had himself, in 1850, renounced his

socialistic illusions that a socialist revolution was impending in 1848.⁶ And in 1866, when only just beginning to observe the brewing of new political crises he wrote:

"Will our philistines [he is referring to the German bourgeois liberals] at last realize that without a revolution which removes the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns... things must finally lead to another Thirty Years' War...!"

Not a shadow of illusion here that the impending revolution (it took place from above, and not from below as Marx had expected) would remove the bourgeoisie and capitalism, but a most clear and precise statement that it would remove only the Prussian and Austrian monarchies. And what faith in this bourgeois revolution! What revolutionary passion of a proletarian fighter who realizes the vast significance of a bourgeois revolution for the advance of the socialist movement!

Drawing attention to "a very interesting" social movement three years later, on the eve of the downfall of the Napoleonic Empire in France, Marx says with positive rapture: "The Parisians are making a regular study of their recent revolutionary past, in order to prepare themselves for the business of the impending new revolution." And describing the struggle of classes revealed in this study of the past, Marx concludes: "And so the whole historical witches' cauldron is bubbling. When will our country [Germany] be so far!"

Such is the lesson that should be learned from Marx by the Russian intellectual Marxists who are debilitated by scepticism, dulled by pedantry, have a penchant for penitent speeches, rapidly tire of revolution, and who yearn, as for a holiday, for the funeral of the revolution and its replacement by constitutional prose. From the theoretician and leader of the proletarians they should learn faith in the revolution, the ability to call on the working class to uphold its immediate revolutionary aims to the last, and the firmness of spirit which admits of no faint-hearted

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"Who's on Trial in History's Court?"

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Piecing the story together from the various accounts in the press and the TV scenes, it seems this is what happened:

"You don't need to go on saying that. Weren't you a member of 'Three Family Village'?", Chiang Ching turned to the witness and shouted.

Stunned, he yelled back, "You are not allowed to speak." Judges pounded buzzers and bells to bring Chiang Ching back to order.

"Why not?", she replied.

"Damn you," shouted the witness, banging the witness stand with his hand. More buzzers and bells.

"You don't have to say any more," Chiang Ching yelled, ignoring the judges.

"You are not allowed to speak," Liao repeated, frantically.

"I have the right to defend myself and expose you," Chiang Ching replied coolly.

Now the whole courtroom was in an uproar. Judges shuffled papers and looked shocked and taken aback. A judge warned her to be silent—"You are not allowed to speak any more."

"I have already spoken. What are you going to do about it?", Chiang Ching shot back, leaning back in her chair.

"You continue to commit crimes," was all the judge could say.

Chiang Ching, chuckling and sneering at the judges, said, "So you oppose me. It's ridiculous. For investigating my problems you ask these traitors and bad eggs to come to testify. It reminds me of something funny."

Another judge shouted at Chiang Ching, "You're continuing to make false accusations against people and committing crimes."

"What is the crime?" Chiang Ching snapped back.

"You must be obedient," interrupted another judge, shouting to be heard over the bells and pandemonium.

"Take her away!"

Chiang Ching was dragged out of court by two armed bailiffs. The courtroom spectators, with stunned looks on their faces, clapped like robots as she was led out.

Historic Stand

The revisionists' courtroom farce stood exposed. All the glories of capitalist justice are being restored in China. First we get the copied claptrap of "legal procedures" and the rest of that rot. And, of course, along with it, in the finest capitalist tradition of Judge Julius Hoffman's "chained and gagged" justice against Bobby Seale, we get the fist of capitalist dictatorship. Get too effective in exposing their sick game, and off comes the tinsel.

In the face of all this, Chiang Ching's heroic stand shined through—it practically beamed from her image on the TV screen as the story went out across the world. Her comrade Chang Chun-chiao (Zhang Chunquiao) continued to defy the revisionists, too, by refusing to say a single word. These revolutionaries are doing far more than exposing the ridiculous mummified judges of the court system. They are making an historic stand. They are providing us with an inspiring and living example of what it means for communists to firmly keep the interests of the whole world proletarian revolution in mind, never wavering. Their stand could not come at a more important moment—upholding Mao Tsetung's revolutionary line under attack as the international proletariat heads into a time of great danger and of great opportunity for advance.

Out of Control

While the revisionists still work toward their goal of burying the Cultural Revolution through this trial, the whole thing has gotten out of hand at times for them. As Chiang Ching reportedly said in a statement before the trial began, "You have power now so you can easily accuse people of crimes and fabricate false evidence to support your targets. But if you think you can

fool the people of China and worldwide, you are completely mistaken. It is not I but your small gang who is on trial in the court of history."

The actions of Mao's comrades have kept bringing this out and have kept the pot boiling. More news of this keeps leaking out. It is now reported that right from November 10, when the revisionists first presented the indictments, they had trouble. As we reported before, Chang Chun-chiao refused to accept the indictment at all. And now it is reported that Chiang Ching kept denouncing her accusers as revisionists who are betraying Mao's line. The session had to be filmed three times before the revisionists felt they had a "take" suitable for viewing. While Chang Chun-chiao has remained fiercely silent, Chiang Ching has kept up her denunciations of the revisionists. In one session when she started to accuse the authorities of using her to attack Mao, the sound system in the courtroom "mysteriously" went silent, so that even only a few of the more than 800 hand-picked spectators in the courtroom could hear her remarks.

Chiang Ching has also continuously exposed how the real issue is not "legality," but political power for one class or another. To do this, she has even delved into their legal contradictions to make the point clear. In a recent session, in answer to charges that Red Guards had "illegally" raided Liu Shaoqi's house, it is reported that she said:

"It is a departure from the historical background of the time to say that it was illegal for the Red Guards to destroy the four olds and search Liu's home." (The "four olds" from China's feudal and oppressive past were old ideas, old culture, old manners and old customs.) "At that time there was a Central Committee document which acknowledged the right of the Red Guards to destroy the four olds, and that naturally led to the searching of Liu's home." Then, she argued sarcastically, "It was a revolutionary act at that time."

As China, the revisionists and the class-conscious proletariat internationally all know, it was, is and will always be upheld to be a revolutionary act—which is exactly why the revisionist rulers hate it, and why all revolutionaries will hold it high.

One Hong Kong newspaper close to the revisionists reported that Chiang Ching said earlier in the week in court that for her revolutionary ideals, she is not afraid of being "beheaded," and that the Cultural Revolution "was one class overthrowing another, and violence was to be expected." She is also reported to have said that to be a revolutionary, you must not fear beheading, divorce, or being driven out of the Party, and that "I have only one neck." The press reported similar statements made by Chang Chun-chiao in the years just before the coup in 1976. While this is being leaked out by the revisionists to prepare for a possible death sentence for Mao's comrades, it only shows their revolutionary resolve and their clear-cut stand in bringing out the class interests involved here.

Chiang Ching has been bringing out very clearly that she and the others are being accused simply of carrying out Mao's line. Before the trial, she reportedly quoted an old Chinese proverb, "If you are going to strike a dog, think first of its master." And recently she told the court, "I was Chairman Mao's dog. Whomever he told me to bite, I bit."

The revolutionaries have every interest in making it clear that Mao's line is under attack—in the face of the cowardly and hypocritical attempts of the revisionists to say they are upholding Mao. Chiang Ching's statements in the court have helped bring this out.

While the revisionists are on the hot seat because of all this, they are also maneuvering to try to use the trial for their own aims. By releasing some of Chiang Ching's statements—particularly those linking the "Gang of 4" with

Mao, the revisionists are stepping up their assault on Mao. And in addition, their in-fighting is being driven to a new level. Recent reports from Peking indicate that Party Chairman Hua Guofeng is in big trouble, with Deng Xiaoping opening up a new round of attacks on him. In a sort of "trial offshoot," Hua is being accused of persecuting people associated with Liu and Deng immediately after the 1976 coup, and before Deng was officially restored. Deng recently told Spanish and Rumanian revisionist party delegations that his man Hy Yaobang is up for a "big promotion" at the upcoming Party Congress. Since Hu already holds the very high post of party general-secretary, Hua's top post of party chairman looks none too secure. It was even rumored in the *New York Times* that Hua's movements "have apparently been restricted to prevent him from trying to gather support."

This week in particular, Mao's comrades have turned the trials around and put the revisionists on the dock. The parade of sniveling worms that they have put on the witness stand appears ridiculous compared to the inspiring stand of Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. Wang Hung-wen continues to cooperate with the revisionists, and Yao Wen-yuan appears to still be making excuses for his past revolutionary actions. But they, too, only serve to highlight the historic actions taken by Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao. These two communists, with their firm stand of basing themselves on Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and defending the Cultural Revolution, are certainly basing themselves on the long-term interests of the international proletariat and are helping to create conditions where the temporary setback in China will be turned into its opposite by the advance of the world revolution.

On

In the period before the Cultural Revolution in China, revisionists had usurped leadership in literary and art circles. The Peking Opera, a traditional form which combines singing, dancing and acrobatics, was one of their bastions, where, as the revolutionaries put it, "emperors, kings, generals, ministers, scholars, and ladies of the past" dominated the stage. By the early 1960s the revisionists were using their influence in these circles to launch ever more vicious attacks on Mao, the Communist Party, and socialism.

Toward the end of 1963 Mao pointed out: "The social and economic base has changed, but the arts as part of the superstructure which serve this base, still remain a serious problem. Hence we should proceed with investigation and study and attend to this matter in earnest." In response to this call, revolutionary artists following Mao's line and under the direct leadership of Chiang Ching undertook to revolutionize the Peking Opera, the first big battle of the Cultural Revolution, and its first big victory. The Cultural Revolution involved more than culture. Preventing state power from falling into revisionist, capitalist hands and moving further on the road to classless society, communism was its ultimate aim. But the superstructure generally—which includes not only politics, but culture, ideology, etc.—was its decisive battleground. If the working class does not struggle to transform every sphere of the superstructure, it will remain a base area for capitalist restoration.

The following speech, "On the Revolution of the Peking Opera," was given by Chiang Ching in July 1964 at a forum of theatrical workers participat-

A scene from Act I of the "Red modern Peking Opera produced hua glares at the tyrannical land"



the Revolution of Peking Opera



ing in a festival of Peking Opera on contemporary themes. Even though two pathbreaking operas developed under her guidance were performed at the festival, and even though the whole idea of even having contemporary themes for Peking Opera was a revolutionary new idea fought for by Chiang Ching, still, opposition was very strong. The workers were mocked and suppressed by the revisionists. This speech at the festival was not mentioned in the official accounts of the event at that time, and in fact was not even published until three years later when the mass upsurge of the Cultural Revolution had swept much of the revisionist opposition out of office.

Chiang Ching 1964 Speech

I offer you my congratulations on the festival, for which you have worked so hard. This is the first campaign in the revolution of Peking opera. It has achieved promising results and will have relatively far-reaching influence.

Peking opera on revolutionary contemporary themes has now been staged. But do we all look at it in the same way? I don't think we can say so just yet.

We must have unshakable confidence in the staging of Peking opera on revolutionary contemporary themes. It is inconceivable that, in our socialist country led by the Communist Party, the dominant position on the stage is not oc-

cupied by the workers, peasants and soldiers, who are the real creators of history and the true masters of our country. We should create literature and art which protect our socialist economic base. When we are not clear about our orientation, we should try our best to become so. Here I would like to give two groups of figures for your reference. These figures strike me as shocking.

Here is the first group: according to a rough estimate, there are 3,000 theatrical companies in the country (not including amateur troupes and unlicensed companies). Of these, around 90 are professional modern drama companies, 80 odd are cultural troupes, and the rest, over 2,800, are companies staging various kinds of operas and balladry. Our operatic stage is occupied by emperors, princes, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties, and, on top of these, ghosts and monsters. As for those 90 modern drama companies, they don't necessarily all depict the workers, peasants and soldiers either. They, too, lay stress on staging full-length plays, foreign plays and plays on ancient themes. So we can say that the modern drama stage is also occupied by ancient Chinese and foreign figures. Theatres are places in which to educate the people, but at present the stage is dominated by emperors, princes, generals, ministers, scholars and beauties—by feudal and bourgeois stuff. This state of affairs cannot serve to protect but will undermine our economic base.

And here is the second group of figures: there are well over 600 million workers, peasants and soldiers in our

country, whereas there is only a handful of landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements, Rightists and bourgeois elements. Shall we serve this handful, or the 600 million? This question calls for consideration not only by Communists but also by all those literary and art workers who love their country. The grain we eat is grown by the peasants, the clothes we wear and the houses we live in are all made by the workers, and the People's Liberation Army stands guard at the fronts of national defence for us and yet we do not portray them on the stage. May I ask which class stand you artists do take? And where is the artists' "conscience" you always talk about?

For Peking opera to present revolutionary contemporary themes will not be all plain sailing. There will be reverses, but if you consider carefully the two groups of figures I have mentioned above, there may be no reverses, or at least fewer of them. Even if there are reverses, it won't matter. History always goes forward on a zigzag course but its wheels can never be turned backwards. We stress operas on revolutionary contemporary themes which reflect real life in the fifteen years since the founding of the Chinese People's Republic and which create images of contemporary revolutionary heroes on our operatic stage. This is our foremost task. Not that we don't want historical operas. Revolutionary historical operas have formed no small proportion of the programme of the present festival. Historical operas portraying the life and struggles of the people before our Party came into being are also needed. Moreover, we need to foster some pacesetters, to produce some historical operas which are really written from the standpoint of historical materialism and which can make the past serve the present. Of course, we should take up historical operas only on the condition that the carrying out of the main task (that of portraying contemporary life and creating images of workers, peasants and soldiers) is not impeded. Not that we don't want any traditional operas either. Except for those about ghosts and those extolling capitulation and betrayal, all good traditional operas can be staged. But these traditional operas will have no audience worth mentioning unless they are carefully re-edited and revised. I have made systematic visits to theatres for more than two years and my observation of both actors and audiences led me to this con-

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ed Detachment of Women." Revolutionary
ed in 1964. "Erect with fists upraised, Ching-
ndlord without flinching."



Meetings This Week to Uphold Mao's Revolutionary Comrades

In a number of cities across the country, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is joining with others to sponsor meetings to uphold the revolutionary stand being taken by Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao, to go deeply into Mao's revolutionary line and the significance of events in China to the world proletarian revolution.

Many of these meetings will be held this weekend (Dec. 19-21):

New York—Sat., Dec. 20, 7 p.m., P.S.41 (11th St. and 6th Ave.), Manhattan.

Cincinnati—Sat., Dec. 20, 7:30 p.m., University of Cincinnati, McMicken Hall, Rm. 127

San Francisco Bay Area—Sun., Dec. 21. Time & place to be announced.

For information about the meeting nearest you, contact the Revolutionary Worker (see address box on page 2).

Peking Opera

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clusion. In future, the re-editing and revising of traditional operas is necessary, but this work must not replace our foremost task.

I will next discuss the question of where to make a start.

I think the key question is that you must have the plays. If you have only directors and actors and no plays there is nothing to be directed or acted. People say that plays form the basis of theatrical productions. I think that is quite true. Therefore attention must be devoted to creative writing.

In the last few years the writing of new plays has lagged far behind real life. This is even more true in the case of Peking opera. Playwrights are few and they lack experience of life. So it is only natural that no good plays are being created. The key to tackling the problem of creative writing is the formation of a three-way combination of the leadership, the playwrights and the masses. Recently, I studied the way in which the play *Great Wall Along the Southern Sea* was created and I found that they did it exactly like this. First the leadership set the theme. Then the playwrights went three times to acquire experience of life, even taking part in a military operation to round up enemy spies. When the play was written, many leading members of the Kwangchow military command took part in discussions on it, and after it had been rehearsed, opinions were widely canvassed and revisions made. In this way, as a result of constantly asking for opinions and constantly making revisions they succeeded in turning out in a fairly short time a good topical play reflecting a real life struggle.

In the case of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee it was Comrade Ko Ching-shih himself who came to grips with the problem of creative writing. All localities must appoint competent cadres to handle this problem.

It will be difficult for some time yet to write plays specially for Peking opera. Nevertheless, people have to be appointed right now to do the job. They must first be given some special training and then go out to attain experience of life. They can begin by writing short plays and gradually work out full-length operas. It is also good to have short works, if well written.

In creative writing, new forces must be cultivated. Send them to work at the grass roots level and in three to five years they will blossom and bear fruit.

Another good way to get plays is by

adaptation.

Theatrical items for adaptation must be carefully chosen. First, we must see whether or not they are good politically and secondly, whether or not they suit the conditions of the company concerned. Serious analysis of the original must be made when adapting it, its good points must be affirmed and kept intact, while its weak points must be remedied. In adapting for Peking opera attention must be paid to two aspects: on the one hand, the adaptations must be in keeping with the characteristics of Peking opera, having singing and acrobatics, and words must fit the melodies in Peking opera singing. The language used must be that of Peking opera. Otherwise the performers will not be able to sing. On the other hand, excessive compromises should not be made with the performers. An opera must have a clear-cut theme with a tightly knit structure and striking characters. In no case should the whole opera be allowed to become diffuse and flat in order to provide a few principal performers with star parts.

adaptation.

Peking opera uses artistic exaggeration. At the same time, it has always depicted ancient times and people belonging to those times. Therefore, it is comparatively easy for Peking opera to portray negative characters and this is what some people like about it so much. On the other hand, it is very difficult to create positive characters, and yet we must build up characters of advanced revolutionary heroes. In the original version of the opera *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* produced by Shanghai the negative characters appeared to be overpowering, while the positive characters looked quite wizened. Since the leadership gave direct guidance, this opera has been positively improved. Now, the scene about the Taoist Ting Ho has been cut, whereas the part of Eagle—nickname of the bandit leader—has been only slightly altered (the actor who plays the part acts very well). But since the roles of the People's Liberation Army men Yang Tzu-jung and Shao Chien-po have been

made more prominent, the images of those negative characters have paled by comparison. It has been said that there are different views on this opera. Debates can be held on this subject. You must consider which side you stand on. Should you stand on the side of the positive characters or on the side of the negative characters? It has been said that there are still people who oppose writing about positive characters. This is wrong. Good people are always the great majority. This is true not only in our socialist countries, but even in imperialist countries, where the overwhelming majority are labouring people. In revisionist countries, the revisionists are only a minority. We should place the emphasis on creating artistic images of advanced revolutionaries so as to educate and inspire the people and lead them forward. Our purpose in producing operas on revolutionary contemporary themes is mainly to exalt the positive characters. The opera *Little Heroic Sisters on the Grassland* performed by the Peking Opera Troupe of the Inner Mongolian Art Theatre is very good. The playwrights wrote the script for this opera with their revolutionary feeling, inspired by the outstanding deeds of the two little heroines. The middle section of the opera is very moving. It was only because the playwrights still lacked experience of real life, worked in haste and had no time for careful polishing that the beginning and the end of the opera are not so good. As it is now, it looks like a fine painting placed in a crude old frame. In this opera there is one more point worth noticing: it is a Peking opera composed for our children. In short, this opera has a firm foundation and is good. I hope that the playwrights will go back to experience the life of the people more deeply and do their best to perfect their script. In my opinion, we should treasure the fruits of our labour, and should not scrap them lightly. Some comrades are unwilling to revise works they have done, but this prevents them from making bigger achievements. In this respect, Shanghai has set us a good example. Because the Shanghai artists have been willing to polish their scripts over and over again, they have succeeded in improving *Taking the Bandits' Stronghold* to what it is today. All the items in the repertory of the present festival should be given further polishing when you return home. The items which have already been set on their feet should not be let fall lightly.

Finally, I hope that you will spend some energy on learning from one another's presentations so that audiences throughout the country will be able to see this festival's achievements.



Mao Tsetung meeting performers after seeing the revolutionary modern Peking Opera "Taking Tiger Mountain by Strategy" in 1967.



Chiang Ching with literary and art workers from the People's Liberation Army in 1967.

Deng's 1966 Self-Criticism:

'I Have Not Raised High the Banner of Mao Tsetung Thought I Have Not Even Raised This Banner Up'

Today in China, Mao's comrades—Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao in particular—are setting an inspiring example for the international proletariat in coolly defying the revisionists' attempts to break them. How well did these same revisionists, now on top, do under similar circumstances? Not too well. Deng Xiao-ping, the top dog among them, seems to consider himself a "tough cookie"—someone who has been toppled from power and then come back. But, when Deng was under fire from the revolutionaries and the masses in China during the Cultural Revolution, Deng gave the following self-criticism to a work meeting of the Central Committee in October 1966. While Deng threw in a few double-edged remarks directed against the revolutionaries led by Mao, it is quite clear that this "tough cookie" crumbled. Quite a contrast to the proletarian revolutionaries in China today. In the early '70s, when he was being rehabilitated, he promised to "never reverse the verdict" on the Cultural Revolution. Deng's sniveling behavior is quite appropriate for the doomed class he represents—the bourgeoisie—while the courage of the revolutionaries stems from their confidence in the future and the class that represents it—the international proletariat.

Deng Xiaoping's Self-Criticism

I am completely in favour of the directives that both Chairman Mao and comrade Lin Biao have made at this meeting and I fully approve of the speech that comrade Chen Boda made on October 16.*

* Lin Biao and Chen Boda, later exposed as renegades and revisionists, were still in 1966 considered part of Mao's revolutionary camp.

The present meeting has made a thorough review of the Party's general and specific policies for the Cultural Revolution with the aim of elimination of the influence of the bourgeois political line represented by comrade Liu Shaoqi and myself. This meeting has also facilitated the effective implementation of *The Decision on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution* made by the Eleventh Plenum of the Eighth Party Congress; this is of the utmost importance.

Like all revolutionary movements before it, the course of the Cultural Revolution has been marked by a fierce class struggle, that is the struggle between the proletarian line represented by Chairman Mao and the reactionary line representative of the bourgeoisie. In this present movement of the Cultural Revolution, comrade Shaoqi and myself are the people in the Party and the Central Committee who represent this bourgeois line. In order to carry out Chairman Mao's line and the decisions of the Eleventh Plenum, to carry the Cultural Revolution through to the end, there must be a thorough criticism of our mistakes and the elimination of the influence of the incorrect line which we represent. For not only are we solely responsible for the period prior to the Eleventh Plenum, but we are also directly responsible for the various mistakes made in certain departments and areas after the Plenum.

The big-character poster that Chairman Mao put up at the Eleventh Plenum bombarded the headquarters of comrade Shaoqi and myself. In his poster Chairman Mao incisively

pointed out the nature of our mistakes. He declared, "By adopting the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie, carrying out a bourgeois dictatorship, they (meaning Liu and Deng) have repressed the surging tide of the Cultural Revolution. They have manipulated the facts, belied right and wrong, encircled and suppressed revolutionaries, stifled opinions differing from their own by imposing a white terror, and generally revelling in their power, what they have

done is to increase the arrogance of the bourgeoisie and deflate the morale of the proletariat. Is this not indeed foul!" This criticism of the Chairman's is absolutely correct and has struck on the very heart of the matter. During the fifty-day period beginning with the sending out of the work teams, what we in fact did was repress and attack the leftists, silence differing opinions and squash the newly risen, surging mass movement of the Cultural Revolution.

This caused the movement to lose all its spontaneity, and worse, it caused the outbreak of widespread violence which diverted the whole movement onto the wrong path. Actually, the divisions that developed between different groups was the direct result of our having sent the work teams. Although the teams were later recalled, the conflicts created by their presence are not so easy to resolve. The errors we made after the Eleventh

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This is a cartoon-poster which appeared in the streets of Peking in 1967, entitled "The Parade of Vagabonds" or "The Counterrevolutionary Cavalcade." The 38 people pictured here were all high-ranking party officials—and part of "those in power taking the capitalist road"—before they were driven from office during the mass upsurge of the Cultural Revolution. Some of the key figures among them (numbered above) were:

(1) Lu Ting-yi, CCP Director of Propaganda and Minister of Culture. In his right hand Lu holds a gong with the inscription 'Palace of the King of the Dead' (this refers to Mao's famous admonition to the Ministry of Culture that "if it refuses to change, it should be renamed the Ministry of Emperors, Kings, Generals and Monsters, the Ministry of Talents and Beauties or the Ministry of Foreign Mummies"). The road sign on which an inauspicious black crow is perched points toward capitalism and leads over a precipice.

(2) Liao Mosha, head of the United Front Department of Peking City. Liao holds a sign reading 'It's No Danger to Have Ghosts'. (This is the revisionist mummy who Chiang Ching faced off against in court last week—see front page article.)

(3) Chou Yang, Deputy Minister of Propaganda, a key capitalist roader in cultural circles.

(4) Peng Chen, then Mayor of Peking. He carries a scroll with the inscription 'February Outline', a reference to the report drawn up at his direction and criticized by the May 16th Circular (a circular released by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 1966—an opening blow of the Cultural Revolution).

(5) Lo Jui-ching, then Chief-of-Staff of the PLA

(6) Wang Kuang-mei, wife of Liu Shaoqi. She carries a banner reading 'Liu'. On the back of her bike are hats with various designations—'counter-revolutionary', 'royalist', 'anti-Party element', etc.

(7) Liu Shaoqi, then State Chairman. Liu holds a number of official signs with the name 'Liu' on them. The side of his sedan chair is emblazoned with the word 'Cultivation' and surrounded with the word 'I'. From the canopy of the sedan

hangs the sign 'the three freedoms and the one guarantee'.

(8) Ho Lung, then Vice-Premier of the State Council and Vice-Chairman of the Party Central Military Commission. The flags behind Ho read 'I am an old hero.'

(9) Deng Xiao-ping, then General-Secretary of the CCP Central Committee. Deng holds a 'king' card in his right hand and a number of cards with the words 'work team' on them in the other. ("work teams" that were sent out by Deng and Liu Shaoqi to stir up confusion, suppress the revolutionary struggle of the masses and undermine the Cultural Revolution—see Deng's "self-criticism").

(10) Tao Chu, then Vice-Premier, Secretary of the Party Central Committee and Minister of Propaganda. Tao holds a board with the word 'protect' on it.

Statements Demand:

Continued from page 4

trial for the people of the world. And now, you again go after Bob Avakian. But this, and even your Greensboro's only expose to more people, the rot of your system and why it must be overthrown. **KEEP YOUR BLOODY HANDS OFF BOB AVAKIAN. FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS. DROP THE CHARGES NOW!**

**380 people in Chicago
including Fred Hampton's brother, Bill Hampton**

Re: U.S. vs. Schiller, et. al. (the "Mao Tsetung Defendants")

We have examined the court's decision of October 21, 1980 in the above entitled matter and find that we agree with Judge Mack's dissent. Because of our concern that this ruling may have a deleterious effect on the right of all citizens freely to express their opinions, regardless of how unorthodox those opinions may be deemed, we feel this case merits review and urge you to reconsider it.

**Executive Committee
California Attorneys for Criminal Justice**

We the undersigned Anthropologists see the U.S. government's charges against Mao Tsetung Defendants as clearly vindictive and repressive and we demand that they be dropped. Historically, the U.S. government has gone after revolutionary leaders like Bob Avakian and revolutionaries like the 16 other Mao Defendants as an attack on the people's ability to develop political consciousness and resistance to oppression. In the 80s this attack on Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants is part of a warning for people not to resist. We will not stand by silently and allow this message to be delivered.

**Over 70 Anthropologists from all over the country
Anthropological Convention in Washington D.C.**

D.C. Court of Appeals

To Whom it may concern:

Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants must be released now! As a student here in the United States, I am quite aware of the effects that U.S. imperialism has on my native Jamaica and other "Third World Countries." However I was not, until recently, aware of the strains it placed on the democratic processes of a country as large as the United States. I came here to study on the premise that the U.S. stood firm on principles such as freedom of speech, press, etc. But during the past few years and especially in recent months, I cease not to be amazed and appalled and shocked and even horrified at the blatant miscarriages of justice here in the boundaries of the U.S. I have been outraged at the release of 5 murderers in Greensboro, and the recent attempts to prosecute Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants, such acts are typical of Dictatorships and other Authoritarianistic types of governments, and are not "supposedly" to be a part of democratic systems of government such as the U.S. However, be that as it may, some of these acts have already been committed and have painted an indelible picture in my mind, as well as the minds of millions of people across the U.S. and the world, of the destructive nature of the machinery of imperialism. It gets rid of anything in its way; the Jamaican people have become increasingly aware of this and so have the Grenadians and numerous other third world countries, and they are prepared, to fight until they are free.

**Ra-jah
A concerned Jamaican student
studying here in the U.S.**

Three Revolutionary Muslim Brothers win a 10-year labor suit against General Motors in U.S. District Court Eastern Division and protest the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants whose case is before the Court of Appeals.

**Positively and successfully,
Nathaniel Mosley
St. Louis**

The St. Louis Coalition Against the Draft is well aware of efforts to intimidate and crush revolutionary and progressive forces, as those who call the shots in the U.S. try to prepare the rest of us for war.

This is evident from the recent Nazi Klan acquittal in Greensboro, to the deportation hearings on activist-coal miner Marion Buston, to the murder of Black revolutionary activist Yulanda Ward.

The reinstitution of the charges against Bob Avakian and the 16 "Mao Tsetung Defendants" is clearly part of this effort. Though we don't necessarily agree with the politics of the RCP or RCYB, we see that an attack on one is an attack on all. We oppose the revival of this motion to prosecute Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants.

The Coalition demands drop the charges on Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants!

St. Louis Coalition Against the Draft

D.C. Court of Appeals:

On October 21, the D.C. Court of Appeals, in a 2-1 decision, overturned the ruling of Judge Carlisle Pratt in the case of the seventeen defendants accused of twenty five felonies during a January 1979 demonstration in Washington.

As in past Washington demonstrations, the U.S. Government met the January 1979 demonstration with illegitimate force and arrests. And as in past efforts to deter those wishing to protest government policies at the seat of the government, they heaped charges on those arrested. This time they went even further than in past efforts, adding charge upon charge in an outrageous attempt to harass the defendants and their organization, to destroy the Revolutionary Communist Party, and to intimidate future demonstrators.

As Judge Mack indicated in her dissent from the majority opinion of the Appeals Court, "I do not see how on this record an Appellate Court can conclude that there is no realistic likelihood of vindictiveness. If the rule against prosecutorial vindictiveness is to mean anything in this jurisdiction, it must be applied here." Any action other than a reversal of the decision of the two Appeal Court justices can only endanger the Constitutional Rights of free speech and free assembly and could force rational people to vent their grievances and seek change in less peaceful ways.

**Harlon Joye
Disc Jockey
WRFG Radio Atlanta**

D.C. Court of Appeals:

From our vantage point, Judge Pratt's dismissal of charges against Bob Avakian and sixteen other Defendants brought to a swift and appropriate halt a politically motivated prosecution. We agree with the dissenting judge that "(i)f the rule against prosecutorial vindictiveness is to mean anything... it must be applied here."

From arrests initially upon misdemeanor riot charges, each of the Defendants ultimately was indicted upon twenty-five felony counts. Several were not named as principals in the commission of any offenses, including Bob Avakian, but all were swept up through dragnet arrests and charged upon a theory that would make every demonstrator liable for the acts of everyone with or against whom he or she demonstrates.

By reinstituting this indictment, your Court will be approving and encouraging political prosecutions. We urge you to grant the Defendants' motion for rehearing and to thereupon end this attack upon the chairman and sixteen supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party.

**Durell Douthitt
Joseph S.Y. Hu
Eric A. Seitz
William C. Darrah
Charles W. Crumpton
Mitchell Imanaka
Norman K.K. Lau
Richard K. Perkins
Boyce R. Brown, Jr.
David Bettencourt
and 11 other members of the Hawaii Bar**

We are outraged by the U.S. government's most recent attack on the RCP's Chairman Bob Avakian and the other 16 Mao Tsetung Defendants. The decade of the '80s lies ahead, in which revolutionary leadership will come under increasing attack by those who are determined to maintain their rule by any means necessary. We are determined to stand against these attacks, and to defeat them.

The most recent attack, in which the D.C. appellate court reinstated charges which were dismissed by a lower court on the grounds of "prosecutorial vindictiveness," demonstrates even more clearly the political nature of this case and the determination with which the government is going after it. While the charges themselves were trumped up and outrageous enough—25 felony counts and one misdemeanor for each defendant (totalling a possible 241 years for each defendant) stemming from a demonstration against Teng Hsiao-ping which was attacked by the cops!—the prosecution's conduct of the case was so blatantly vindictive that even the dissenting opinion by Judge Mack said: "I do not see how on this record an Appellate Court can conclude that there is no realistic likelihood of vindictiveness. If the rule against prosecutorial vindictiveness is to mean anything in this jurisdiction, it must be applied here."

Here in Greensboro, N.C., another important piece of this attack is being developed. The Bob Avakian defendants, so named because they were arrested while building for Bob Avakian's speech in Greensboro last year, will be going on trial soon. Despite the fact that the weeks-long trial on trumped-up charges of misdemeanor inciting to riot, sound ordinance violations, etc. ended in a hung jury last February, the prosecution has made clear its intent to retry this case.

This political railroad has been stopped at previous junctures when thousands came forward to oppose it, showing that the government would pay a very high price in public exposure for pushing it through. This latest attack must and will be defeated too! Now is the time to step forward in even greater numbers!

**Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian! Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!
Free the Bob Avakian Defendants!**

**Signed by 22 residents of Morningside Homes
(site of the Greensboro massacre) as well as
65 other Greensboro residents**

(The following three statements were translated from Spanish by the RW)

We farmworkers and workers in this country give notice that we lend our complete support by giving our signatures. Our objective is to get the charges dropped and to free our Chairman, Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung defendants.

28 farmworkers and workers from Salinas, Calif.

We demand that the charges be dropped against this revolutionary. We want the charges dropped and are ready to give our all, because we know that the bourgeoisie is trying to put on the pressure, but they are wrong. The charges that they are imposing on Bob Avakian come from weakness and together with their bloody maneuvers toward world war three, show their true nature. All this cannot stop revolution nor the aspirations of the masses, which Bob Avakian represents. The outrage and determination of the people will rise as more and more discover their true nature.

Free Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

**Written and signed by 6 Mexican workers at a discussion on
the Mao Defendants
San Francisco**

For more or less a year I have known the *Revolutionary Worker* and reading some editions has proved to me that the U.S., despite it being an international superpower also has a great deal of poverty among its working people promoted by the filthy politics of the American government and this fact through the years has become conscious to the Americans who originate here.

Today I am aware how the U.S. regimes weaken with each period for the government of the U.S.—and more so as Latinos become more numerous—like myself, a Salvadoran who is quite conscious of the suffering of my people.

A big group of my compatriots, like me, we protest also the persecution and false accusations against a compañero in the struggle, Bob Avakian. Each time more people are rallying to unite around this cause.

**Fraternally,
A conscious revolutionary**

D.C. Court of Appeals:

December 1, 1980

We the undersigned patients and staff of Chicago's Cook County Hospital are outraged at the decision to reinstate the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, that would attempt to jail them for 241 years.

To many, not just here, but across the country, Cook County Hospital has been seen as a concentration of the decay of this system, which in its crisis,

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Statements Demand:

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would take away from the poor, even the barest necessities. But we have been a symbol in another way too, as this hospital has come to be seen as a bastion of the slaves fighting back against the oppressor. Many have come to learn, through our struggles here, much about the nature and weakness of this system. And we have also learned that in its attempt to crush the ability of the people to fight against the system, the rulers must necessarily go after our leaders. Many here joined thousands more, last year, in beating back the attack on Bob Avakian and the 16 Mao Tsetung Defendants, seeing the need for conscious revolutionary leadership. Together we proved you rulers had too much at stake. This time, the stakes are even higher.

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

Signed,

**Dr. Roger Benson
Dr. Phyllis Gerber**

Dr. Carl Turner

Dr. Gabriel Szekely

and 58 other patients and staff of Cook County Hospital

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

I am outraged by the recent court decision concerning Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party. I work at the General Motors plant in Fremont, California. My fellow workers and I see through your hypocritical justice system, where the real criminals like Richard Nixon go free and the leaders of the working class like Bob Avakian face again and again attacks by the government. We workers at GM demand that the government drop all charges immediately and call on our fellow workers across the country to join with us in this fight.

**A worker from GM, Fremont, California
with a lot of friends**

To the D.C. Court of Appeals:

We know that you and the others that are holding your leash are preparing for war; we know that you want us to give our lives to defend your system of exploitation and oppression, and we know you are trying to smash any attempt to expose, oppose or stop these plans. We are not going to fight your wars, we're not going to defend your system, and we're not going to let you take away the revolutionary leadership that shows the way out of this shit. **HANDS OFF BOB AVAKIAN! FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS!**

8 Active Duty GI's in Hawaii

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, as well as the escalation of 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!!!!**

**Attorney James Parker
Konstantine Bazakas, Poet, Harvard '49
Mary Bergman**

and 6 other participants at a Mobilization for Survival lecture on draft resistance

D.C. Court of Appeals:

Honorable Justices:

The reversal of the dismissal of charges against Bob Avakian and 16 others is the kind of vindictiveness by the judiciary that will eventually radicalize large middle class segments of our country. We became aware of it in the 60's and will not tolerate it in the 80's.

Without justice there is no freedom, and if the enemies of justice are within, then it is there we must fight, to preserve our freedom. Prosecutorial vindictiveness in this case has radicalized me and many others. **RECONSIDER.**

John H. Norris, USN, Ret.

To the Court of Appeals:

The charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants show that the American system of justice is no better than the Shah's. We should bring some judges to judge the judges in this case—that would be the Shah, Hitler, Franco and others of your kind!

We demand freedom for Bob Avakian, the representative and leader of the working class people. You think you can judge Bob Avakian for trying to lead the people to make revolution. But it won't be long before the people judge you.

You remember that day when the Shah met his fate at the hands of the Iranian people. By continuing to commit such crimes as the attempt to railroad Bob Avakian, each day will be harder for you than the day before, and you will never escape your fate.

10 Iranian cab drivers in Chicago

I would like to add my name to those who have protested the federal government's action in appealing the dismissal of the case brought against the "Mao Tsetung Defendants." In reversing the finding of the original court the judges of your court have condoned a government repression of free speech. Even though I do not support the platform of the (Revolutionary Communist Party—Ed.), I do support their right to express their beliefs in organized demonstrations. The original trial judge found that the prosecution was vindictive in its pursuit of this case, an almost unheard of finding for a court. It was a finding that certainly requires your closest scrutiny.

**Yours,
Dr. David Sammons
Unitarian Church of Evanston**

To the Court of Appeals:

We demand that you drop the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. More and more people can see—and you can, too—that revolution is not far off in this country, with your crisis and moves towards war. That's why the government has to try to suppress the revolutionaries who are trying to wake people up. Because if everybody would wake up and face reality, there would be a revolution tomorrow.

We see the connection between the trial of Bob Avakian and the trial of the Four, revolutionaries in China, who fought with Mao Tsetung to uphold working class rule, and this cowardly railroad will meet the same response from the people. All reactionaries are the same—if you don't hit them, they won't fall!

The railroad of Bob Avakian is an attack on all the people. We know you won't stop here. Throughout the world this imperialist system has suppressed and murdered thousands to maintain your criminal rule. But all this has only exposed your nature to millions and cannot stem the tide of revolution.

Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian!

Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants—NOW!

8 vendors at Maxwell Street, Chicago

To the Court:

I was appalled to learn today of the reversal of the verdict to free the Mao Tsetung Defendants. I feel strongly that the District of Columbia Court of Appeals has made a dangerous attack on civil liberties and against the people of the United States. And this is being done at the same time that we are being asked to unite against the Soviet Union. Your action against people who demonstrated peaceably in January of 1979 is like the brutality of the Soviet state.

These defendants against Teng Hsiao-ping were defending the people of China and our own liberties at home. As a result they were maced, beaten and jailed by Washington D.C. police. Many American people know the truth about China and you should be aware of this.

Until 1976 China was an independent country, building a system serving the people. All that had been built by the people was brutally attacked by Teng Hsiao-ping and his forces—forces which had been plotting against the interests of the great majority of Chinese people for years. It was a vicious political take-over.

You should be told that a great number of American people look to the Mao Tsetung Defendants as serious, thoughtful people who search out the truth and speak it.

It is clear to many that this reversal of the order to dismiss the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants is a political move against the people of the U.S.A.

It reveals a clear, political intent.

Sincerely,

A wife and mother

A retired Social Worker

A member of the American Association of Social Workers

A respected member of my neighborhood and community.

D.C. Court of Appeals:

We want to protest and express our dismay at the recent ruling of the D.C. Court of Appeals in the Mao Tsetung Defendants case. By reversing the finding of the District Court, this new decision effectively condones the government's attempt to repress political expression and dissent. We are opposed to what can only be interpreted as the repressive use of the legal system in political trials and therefore urge the Court of Appeals to reconsider this dangerous ruling and allow the court's dismissal to stand.

Jesse Green, professor, Chicago State Univ.

Nancy Green, professor, Univ. Northeastern Illinois

**Robin Tucker, teacher, Evanston Township High School
& the following professors, Northwestern Univ., Evanston, IL.**

Bernard Beck

Valerie Bunce

Ronald Herring

Michael Marcus

Bruce S. Moon

Frank R. Safford

Philip G. Schrodt

To the Court of Appeals:

The phony charges against American progressive and revolutionary elements will not stop the struggle of the U.S. working class, but will expose the nature of the present system. We completely back Bob Avakian's struggle for political freedom.

121 Iranian Students in the State of Oklahoma

To the Court of Appeals:

We demand freedom of Bob Avakian and other freedom defenders. Any move against Bob will expose the nature of U.S. imperialism.

35 American, Arab and Iranians of Oklahoma Univ.

We've watched your cops and servants carry out your murder and oppression in the streets and courts of your nation for 200 years. But we've also seen an increasing number of people take to the streets in rebellion against you. We've listened to your lies about your gallant efforts to spread freedom around the world for just as long. But we also saw the Iranian people shove that freedom up your ass. We witnessed your recent action in Greensboro, and we see through every inch of your bullshit. And now, as you prepare to send us off to kill each other in the name of america, we watch as you set up the political railroad of Bob Avakian. We watch as you try to destroy the leadership of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the only organization in common with the masses of people in this country of yours. And we say to you now: from the streets of Greensboro to the so-called halls of justice in Washington D.C., we will not be intimidated by the blatant executions of your will, and we will not be fooled by the masquerades you call trials.

Your time is coming.

2 Class-conscious in Greensboro

Dear Members of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants:

We, the undersigned, deplore the continued attempt of the United States Government to prosecute Bob Avakian and others who participated in the demonstrations that took place in Washington, D.C. on January 29, 1979. The government's attempt to turn participation in a demonstration into a multiple felony indictment demonstrates that these prosecutions are based upon disapproval of the defendants' political views. Moreover, the government's in-

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Statements Demand:

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sistence in pursuing the cases demonstrates that it is willing to use the criminal justice system to harass, inhibit and restrain political dissent. We oppose these prosecutions and urge that all charges be dismissed at once.

Trudy Herod, Executive Director of West Virginia Civil Liberties Union*
6 other lawyers
3 students at West Virginia Univ. Law School
1 paralegal worker

*(For I.D. purposes only)

To the Court of Appeals:

How can you call yourselves men of justice? We need men like Bob Avakian, and around the world, people like him will lead us to real justice. Lay off him now!

2 Chicano activists from San Jose, CA

To D.C. Court of Appeals:

The poets of the political scene are the members and supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A. They dramatize reality so that we'll survive. They pull down the red, white, and blue, and hoist the red flag of international brotherhood. They won't wait for nuclear holocaust or World War III to overtake us. They say, "Take action to save the human race! Get ready to turn the guns around when war comes! Don't take orders to slaughter, and then drop to your knees in the breadlines of a war-torn world. But take history into your own hands! And relieve the exploiting imperialist capitalists of their war mongering and power over us and all the world!" **FREE BOB AVAKIAN AND THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS!**

Clare Grossman
Honolulu, Hawaii

D.C. Court of Appeals:

We urge a full court rehearing of the appeal by the "Mao Tsetung Defendants". We believe the issues of prosecutorial vindictiveness, equitable application of the law, and political freedom itself must be reviewed. While not in total agreement with the Revolutionary Communist Party, its methods, or ideology, we are concerned about an open and fair judicial system.

Your positive response is crucial to the insurance of such a system.

Sincerely,
Carol Larson
Lay Associate Pastor
Gregory Dell
Clergy Appointed Pastor
Wheaton United Methodist Church
Evanston, Illinois

Dear Justices:

We understand the desperation that the imperialistic system is dominated by. It is a natural and a mathematical result which is still in progress. Nobody ever saves himself from drowning by holding up his own hair. It is only a momentary and desperate action.

So take off the so-called democratic mask and expose the bloody teeth before the revolutionary wind has blown this mask off, and the consequences will be unlimited. Drop the charges in this railroad of Bob Avakian—by all means.

A Greek restaurant owner in Chicago

To the Washington D.C. Court of Appeals:

Stop the political attacks on Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Free all political prisoners. Smash the KKK and Nazis and U.S. imperialism.

A San Francisco Martial Artist

I am a 30 year old Black man who joined with the Revolutionary Communist Party, U.S.A. on May 1, 1980.

I know there's going to be a revolution in this country and all over the world. I'm not going to fight a rich man's war. When the time is right the working class people are going to stand up in a revolutionary way to overthrow the government and as a matter of fact, overthrow this system.

Because it's no damn good. And as a matter of fact my flag is red, not red, white, and blue. I'm still going to keep on waving my red flags of the working class people. And I'm going to raise red flags in front of the masses of people. Stop the railroad of Bob Avakian and keep your bloody hands off Bob Avakian. Free the 16 Mao Tsetung Defendants! If you don't we're going to see what we can do about it.

A revolutionary brother from Cleveland, Ohio

To the Court of Appeals:

I hereby denounce the attacks upon the Mao Tsetung Defendants. I find it a pure vindictive attack on the democratic rights of all people who struggle in the forefront for the hardstricken multitude of mankind. I believe, and I quote Malcolm X, "If there is nothing wrong with the political and economic system as it stands, then there is nothing to fear of people who say (and I think rightly so) that there is." I am well aware that what we are witnessing in the case of the Mao Tsetung Defendants is a stepped up process to deny not only the democratic rights but to deny a child bread. I say that because that is what they are asking for. They are asking that the world be fed. Only then in the transformation of all wickedness will man cease to be a beast. So that the whole world may sleep in peace.

It is in humbleness
 that I give you this truth.

From St. Louis,
I am a poet

Court of Appeals Judges:

I protest the outrageous ruling against Bob Avakian and the so called "Mao Tsetung Defendants" which your court handed down. The reversal of Judge Pratt's ruling is a slap in the face for basic civil liberties. That police and federal prosecutors would engage in the usurpation of civil liberties which has characterized this case is, although lamentable, understandable. That the Court of Appeals, so closely tied to the protections of democracy and civil liberties, would also engage in such repressive and undemocratic and unconstitutional practices, is reprehensible.

Your precedent, effected before the presence of Reagan in Washington, should make us all fear our basic civil liberties are about to be trodden upon by the fascist rightwing of this country.

In protest,
Michael Winkelman
School of Social Sciences
University of California
Irvine, CA

To the Court of Appeals:

All charges against Bob Avakian and the 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants must be dropped.

This attempt to separate the revolutionary leadership from the American people is doomed to failure.

As a teacher in the Los Angeles School District, I have taught hundreds of children in elementary schools. Teachers in Los Angeles will use this example of the Court of Appeals' ruling to show how the court system suppresses progressive ideas and working class leaders.

Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian!
Drop the Charges!
Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants!

David Meyerhof

The trial of the so called Gang of Four which opened in Peking was supposed to neatly begin to drive the final nails into Mao's coffin. At the same time in the U.S. the government is attacking the revolutionary leadership of Bob Avakian.

But every attempt to bury Mao's revolutionary line only draws thousands more into political life. Out on the streets in this country are many who spit on

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Major Events in the Mao Tsetung Defendants Case

In October, the District of Columbia Court of Appeals reversed a lower court ruling and reinstated a 25 felony count indictment against Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. This latest move is a serious escalation in the government's attempt to cripple the RCP. From its beginning, the case has represented a sharp political attack:

- * The charges stem from a police assault on a January 1979 demonstration protesting the U.S. visit of Chinese revisionist leader, Deng Xiaoping. Initiated by the RCP, the demonstration upheld the revolutionary banner of Mao Tsetung, denounced the revisionist coup d'etat which had taken place after Mao's death, and protested the enlistment of China into the U.S. war bloc.

- * Originally, 78 people were arrested. Six months later, 17 were indicted, then shortly after, reindicted, the charges mushrooming to 25 felonies and possible jail time of 241

years. The government tried to hide the political nature of its attack behind blatantly fabricated criminal charges.

- * On November 14, 1979, the charges were dropped before the case had gone to trial. "Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian—Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants" had become a battle cry in the months prior. The political support of thousands and thousands of people had been mobilized, and in the face of this, the bourgeoisie was forced to temporarily retreat. But events that followed showed that the enemy was also maneuvering.

- * Immediately following the dismissal, government prosecutors filed an appeal. This appeal was actually an escalation of the political attack. It admitted what they had been denying all along, that they were prosecuting the case on the basis of political conspiracy.

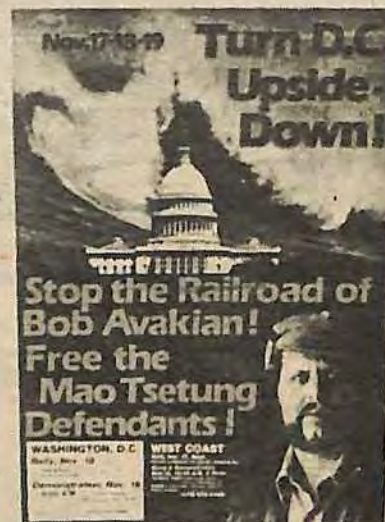
- * Throughout the year that the case hung in the appeals court, the bourgeoisie stepped up attacks on the

RCP on other fronts. The Secret Service was unleashed on Bob Avakian, over 800 RCP members and supporters were arrested, especially in connection with Revolutionary May Day, 1980, and RCP member Damian Garcia was murdered by police agents.

- * On October 21, 1980, the charges were reinstated.

With the reinstatement of the charges against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, the stakes have again been raised. A major counter-offensive is called for, and ever broader forces must be mobilized in the battle. Join the struggle to Stop the Railroad of Bob Avakian and Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants! Contact the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants or the RCP in your area.

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



Washington, D.C., November 1979.

Statements Demand:

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your con games, who treasure Chairman Mao and his comrades; whose understanding is increasing every day that we are part of the oppressed masses of the world who are rising in revolutionary struggle against imperialism, that the battle to defend Mao's line and Bob Avakian is an international struggle to strengthen our capacity to make revolution.

14 co-conspirators, Chicago

Court of Appeals:

Grey men with your self-assumed power, know not what forces you unleash with your law of oppression. It is by your own actions that you expose your real face and become their focus.

We know who you are.

Dana Harden

Hawaii Committee to Support the Iranian People

TO THE D.C. COURT OF APPEALS AND THE SYSTEM IT REPRESENTS:

Your system is in decay, and we are *not* going down with it. We live in this madness every day—with the mad dog pigs in the streets murdering us, the crosses being burned in our yards, the jails filled with Black brothers and sisters and other minorities, and also white brothers and sisters. We understand it's out of your weakness that this is coming down even more. And out of this weakness you are going after Bob Avakian like wounded animals, because he represents the future of real freedom of all mankind. Bob Avakian is a great revolutionary leader, and we stand 100% with the RCP under his leadership.

STOP THE RAILROAD OF BOB AVAKIAN!

FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS!

From a mother of five in Seattle, Washington

(The following is a summary of a statement in Polish)

"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."

The increasing turmoil in the world, from Iran and Afghanistan to Miami and Chattanooga, has increased the desperation of the bourgeoisie and its need to attack Bob Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party. Defending Bob Avakian is crucial in our having the ability to defeat the bourgeoisie of both superpowers as this turmoil increases in the 1980s.

3 Polish women, Chicago

Court of Appeals:

We repudiate the Court's attempt to frame Bob Avakian and the Mao defendants, and to attack the revolutionary movement of the international working class.

An obvious legal charade, this trial exposes the true nature of bourgeois "democracy"—that "freedom of speech" exists only for those who support the material and ideological dictatorship of the ruling class; that "due process" results in the legitimization of racists and murderers, such as the Ku Klux Klan; that basic decisions about which class interests will prevail are made neither by elections nor courts, but in the corporate board rooms of your masters, the capitalist class.

Most importantly, however, this vicious trial exposes the fear and weakness of the ruling class when confronted by the conscious activism of the masses. Through the attack on Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, the bourgeoisie is attempting to crush this activism—and with it, the possibility of proletarian revolution. Avakian's leadership—his success in training and building a class-conscious, internationalist, revolutionary movement—poses a serious threat to the increasingly desperate attempts of the ruling class to whip up patriotism, national chauvinism, and support among the masses for imperialist world war: this is the underlying political motive for the "legal" attack upon Bob Avakian and the Mao defendants.

We will continue to expose the true nature of your "legal" system broadly among the masses, taking advantage of the opportunity you've offered us to deepen and broaden the revolutionary mass movement.

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

A revolutionary network

D.C. Court of Appeals:

I support Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. Their rights are being blatantly violated while KKK murderers go free in Greensboro. That's justice under this system.

Charlie Burge
Truck Driver
Cincinnati, Ohio

D.C. Court of Appeals:

We protest indictments of Avakian and Mao Defendants—the charges are unfounded. Evidence suggests that they are being singled out because of their political persuasions and charges fabricated to incarcinate them because they represent a threat to the "American economic system."

Douglas K. Logan, M.D.
Jennifer Thie, M.D.
Cincinnati, Ohio

Committee to Free Mao Tsetung Defendants:

Your imperialist system is in a lot of trouble. Your whole system is shaky. The revolution in Iran, Nicaragua, and the revolutionary struggle of oppressed masses in the whole world has led you to attack the revolutionary struggle in the United States, as well as outside. But you will never succeed. Even after your imperialist system has tried to kill the revolution around the world and trampled on the banner of Mao Tsetung, there is a growing international revolutionary movement and Bob Avakian as the Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA is a symbol of this movement. The revolutionary struggle in the United States is part of the same fight against imperialism being waged by the Iranian people and we Iranians as part of this international struggle condemn the conspiracy against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants.

33 Iranian students in Detroit, MI

We, as foreign students in the U.S., have experienced first hand the effects of U.S. imperialism and its attempts to destroy revolutionary leadership in our countries. We strongly denounce the efforts of the U.S. ruling class to jail Bob Avakian.

To you, U.S. ruling class, Bob Avakian and the kind of leadership he represents are very dangerous. At a time when U.S. imperialism is being weakened by peoples' struggle all over the world, and as the U.S. and Soviet imperialists prepare to unleash World War III, Bob Avakian is leading the RCP and class conscious sections of people in the U.S. in internationalism—

—declaring that, "Iran, It's not our Embassy!"

—upholding Mao Tsetung and the Cultural Revolution.

—raising the slogan, "Our flag is red, not red, white and blue!" on May Day, 1980.

Bob Avakian and the RCP spearhead preparations for revolution in the U.S. by raising the consciousness of the people, and are a crucial ingredient for revolution in this number one imperialist power.

The farcical claim of "justice" U.S. style has been exposed from Chile to Iran to El Salvador and has been met with fierce resistance. This political railroad will bring forward the same response. We understand that your efforts to jail Bob Avakian are nothing more than the desperate flailings of a dying beast and we will take advantage of your weakness to further the struggle for revolution worldwide.

DROP ALL CHARGES ON BOB AVAKIAN!

FREE THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS!

From Berkeley—

2 Iranian students

an Irish student

a Nicaraguan student

a German student

an Arab student



TO THE D.C. COURT OF APPEALS—

YOUR EAGLES GETTING BALDER AS YOU TRY TO RALLY US TO DEFEND YOUR STINKING NEST YOUR INCREASED NECESSITY TO PREY ON REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP WILL ONLY SERVE TO PUSH YOU CLOSER TO EXTINCTION THE CLASS CONSCIOUS IN THIS COUNTRY & AROUND THE WORLD WILL STEP UP ITS EFFORTS TO UNITE OTHERS TO DEFEND BOB AVAKIAN & THE MAO TSETUNG DEFENDANTS... AND DRIVE THE STAKE OF REVOLUTION UP YOUR GULLET!

21 workers, students, housewives from KPT housing and 6 professional musicians in Hawaii.

signed by: 21 workers, students, housewives from KPT housing and 6 professional musicians in Hawaii.

Create Public Opinion ... Seize Power

This pamphlet was published on the occasion of the appearance of the first issue of the Revolutionary Worker. It contains two articles which originally appeared in Revolution magazine, organ of the Central Committee of the RCP, titled "On the Role of Agitation and Propaganda" and "Create Public Opinion... Seize Power."

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(see page 9)

Preface to Marx's Letter to Kugelmann

Continued from page 13

whimpering after temporary setbacks of the revolution.

The pedants of Marxism think that this is all ethical twaddle, romanticism and lack of realism! No, gentlemen, this is the combination of revolutionary theory and revolutionary policy, without which Marxism becomes Brentanoism,⁶ Struveism¹⁰ and Sombartism.¹¹ The Marxist doctrine has bound the theory and practice of the class struggle into one inseparable whole. And he is no Marxist who distorts a theory which soberly presents the objective situation into a justification of the existing order and even tries to adapt himself as quickly as possible to every temporary decline in the revolution, to discard "revolutionary illusions" as quickly as possible and to turn to "realistic" tinkering.

In times that were most peaceful, seemingly "idyllic," as Marx expressed it, and "wretchedly stagnant" (as the editors of the *Neue Zeit* put it), Marx was able to sense the approach of revolution and to rouse the proletariat to the consciousness of its advanced revolutionary tasks. Our Russian intellectuals, who vulgarize Marx in a philistine way, teach the proletariat in most revolutionary times a policy of passivity, of submissively "drifting with the stream," of timidly supporting the most instable elements of the fashionable liberal party!

Marx's evaluation of the Commune crowns the letters to Kugelmann. And this evaluation is particularly valuable when compared with the methods of Russian Social-Democrats of the Right wing. Plekhanov, who after December 1905 faint-heartedly exclaimed: "They should not have taken up arms," had the modesty to compare himself to Marx. Marx, says he, also put the brakes on the revolution in 1870.

Yes, Marx also put the brakes on the revolution. But see what a gulf yawns between Plekhanov and Marx in this comparison made by Plekhanov himself!

In November 1905, a month before the first revolutionary wave had reached its apex, Plekhanov, not only failed to emphatically warn the proletariat, but on the contrary said straight out that it was essential to learn to use arms and to arm. Yet, when the struggle flared up a month later, Plekhanov, without even the shadow of an attempt to analyse its significance, its role in the general course of events and its connection with previous forms of struggle, hastened to play the penitent intellectual and exclaimed: "They should not have taken up arms."

In September 1870, six months before the Commune, Marx directly warned the French workers. Insurrection would be a desperate folly, he said in the well-known Address of the International.¹² He uncovered in advance the nationalist illusions concerning the possibility of a movement in the spirit of 1792. He was able to say, not after the event, but many months before: "Don't take up arms."

And how did he behave when this hopeless cause, as he himself had declared it to be in September, began to take practical shape in March 1871? Did he use it (as Plekhanov did the December events) only to "take a dig" at his adversaries, the Proudhonists and Blanquists who led the Commune? Did he begin to scold like a schoolmistress, and say: "I told you so, I warned you; this is what comes of your romanticism, your revolutionary ravings"? Did he preach to the Communards, as Plekhanov did to the December fighters, the sermon of the smug philistine: "You should not have taken up arms"?

No. On April 12, 1871, Marx wrote a rapturous letter to Kugelmann—a letter which we would like to see hung in the home of every Russian Social-Democrat and of every literate Russian worker.

In September 1870 Marx called the insurrection a desperate folly; but in April 1871, when he saw the mass movement of the people, he observed it with the keen attention of a participant

in great events that mark a step forward in the world-historic revolutionary movement.

This is an attempt, he says, to smash the bureaucratic-military machine and not simply to transfer it from one hand to another. And he sings a veritable hosanna to the "heroic" Paris workers led by the Proudhonists and Blanquists. "What elasticity," he writes, "what a historical initiative, what a capacity for sacrifice in these Parisians!... History has no like example of a like greatness."

The historical initiative of the masses was what Marx prized above everything else. Oh, if only our Russian Social-Democrats would learn from Marx how to appreciate historical initiative of the Russian workers and peasants in October and December 1905.

The homage paid to the historical initiative of the masses by a most profound thinker, who foresaw failure six months before—and the lifeless, soulless, pedantic: "They should not have taken up arms"! Are these not as far apart as heaven and earth?

And as a participant in the mass struggle, to which he reacted with all his characteristic ardour and passion, Marx, living in exile in London, set to work to criticize the immediate steps of the "recklessly brave" Parisians who were "storming heaven."

Oh, how our present "realist" wise-aces among the Marxists who are deriding revolutionary romanticism in Russia in 1906-07 would have sneered at Marx at the time! How people would have scoffed at a materialist, an economist, an enemy of utopias, who pays homage to an "attempt" to storm heaven! What tears, condescending smiles or commiseration these "men in mufflers"¹⁴ would have bestowed upon him for his rebel tendencies, utopianism, etc., etc., and for his appreciation of a heaven-storming movement!

But Marx was not inspired with the wisdom of gudgeons¹⁴ who are afraid to discuss the technique of the higher forms of revolutionary struggle. He discussed precisely the technical problems of the insurrection. Defence or attack?—he asked, as if the military operations were taking place just outside London. And he decided that it must certainly be attack: "They should have marched at once on Versailles..."

This was written in April 1871, a few weeks before the great and bloody May...

"They should have marched at once on Versailles"—the insurgents who had begun the "desperate folly" (September 1870) of storming heaven.

"They should not have taken up arms" in December 1905 in order to oppose by force the first attempts to take away the liberties that had been won...

Yes, Plekhanov had good reason to compare himself to Marx!

"Second mistake," Marx said, continuing his technical criticism: "The Central Committee [the military command]—note this—the reference is to the Central Committee of the National Guard] surrendered its power too soon..."

Marx knew how to warn the leaders against a premature rising. But his attitude towards the proletariat which was storming heaven was that of a practical adviser, of a participant in the struggle of the masses, who were raising the whole movement to a higher level in spite of the false theories and mistakes of Blanqui and Proudhon.

"However that may be," he wrote, "the present rising in Paris—even if it be crushed by the wolves, swine and vile curs of the old society—is the most glorious deed of our Party since the June insurrection..."¹⁵

And Marx, without concealing from the proletariat a single mistake of the Commune, dedicated to this feat a work¹⁶ which to this very day serves as the best guide in the fight for "heaven" and as a frightful bugbear to the liberal and radical "swine."

Plekhanov dedicated to the December events a "work" which has become almost the bible of the Cadets.¹⁷

Yes, Plekhanov had good reason to compare himself to Marx.

Kugelmann apparently replied to Marx expressing certain doubts, referring to the hopelessness of the matter and to realism as opposed to romanti-

cism—at any rate, he compared the Commune, an insurrection, to the peaceful demonstration in Paris on June 13, 1849.¹⁸

Marx immediately (April 17, 1871) read Kugelmann a severe lecture.

"World history," he wrote, "would indeed be very easy to make, if the struggle were taken up only on condition of infallibly favourable chances."

In September 1870 Marx called the insurrection a desperate folly. But when the masses rose Marx wanted to march with them, to learn together with them in the process of the struggle, and not to read them bureaucratic admonitions. He realized that to attempt in advance to calculate the chances with complete accuracy would be quackery or hopeless pedantry. What he valued above everything else was that the working class heroically and self-sacrificingly took the initiative in making world history. Marx regarded world history from the standpoint of those who make it without being in a position to calculate the chances infallibly beforehand, and not from the standpoint of an intellectual philistine who moralizes: "It was easy to foresee... they should not have taken up..."

Marx was also able to appreciate that there are moments in history when a desperate struggle of the masses even in a hopeless cause is essential for the further schooling of these masses and their training for the next struggle.

To our present-day quasi-Marxists, who love to take the name of Marx in vain, to borrow only his estimate of the past, and not his ability to make the future, this way of putting the question is quite incomprehensible and even alien in principle. Plekhanov did not even think of it when he set out after December 1905 "to put the brakes on."

But it is precisely this question that Marx put, without in the least forgetting that he himself in September 1870 regarded the insurrection as a desperate folly.

"...The bourgeois *canaille* of Versailles," he wrote, "...presented the Parisians with the alternative of either taking up the fight or succumbing without a struggle. The demoralization of the working class in the latter case would have been a far greater misfortune than the destruction of any number of leaders..."¹⁹

And with this we shall conclude our brief review of the lessons in policy worthy of the proletariat which Marx teaches in his letters to Kugelmann.

The working class of Russia has already proved once and will prove again more than once that it is capable of "storming heaven."

February 5, 1907

Footnotes to Preface to Marx's Letters to Kugelmann

1. *Neue Zeit* (New Times)—A theoretical journal of the German Social-Democratic Party published in Stuttgart from 1883 to the autumn of 1923. Between 1885 and 1894 the journal published many of Engels' works. Engels advised the editors in their work, often criticising them for deviations from Marxism. During the First World War, the *Neue Zeit* held a Centrist position, which supported social-chauvinists. Until 1917 it was edited by Karl Kautsky and afterwards by Heinrich Cunow.
2. Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann, October 9, 1866.
3. Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann, March 6, 1868.
4. Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann, December 5, 1868.
5. Engels, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Germany*, written in 1851-52.

6. Marx and Engels, "Review, May to October 1850," and Marx, "The Class Struggle in France, 1848 to 1850."
7. Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann, April 6, 1866.
8. Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann, March 3, 1869.
9. Brentanoism—In *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, Lenin called Brentanoism "a liberal-bourgeois doctrine, which recognizes a non-revolutionary 'class struggle' of the proletariat." It took its name from Lujo Brentano, a German bourgeois economist and advocate of the so-called "state socialism," who preached the possibility of social equality within the framework of capitalism by reforms and conciliating the interests of the capitalists and the workers. Using Marxist phraseology as a cover, Brentano and his followers tried to subordinate the proletariat to the interests of the bourgeoisie.
10. Struveism—a bourgeois-reformist distortion of Marxism. P.B. Struve and other "Legal Marxists" tried to make use of the banner of Marxism in the interests of the bourgeoisie. During the First World War, Struve became one of the ideologists of Russian imperialism. Under the cover of Marxist phrases, he advocated social-chauvinism and tried to justify the imperialist war, annexation and national oppression on the pretext that "the development of capitalism in my country, and consequently the advent of socialism there will be speeded up by her victory." (Lenin, "The Collapse of the Second International").
11. Sombartism—a liberal bourgeois trend named after Werner Sombart, a vulgar bourgeois economist in Germany. Sombart, Lenin wrote, has "substituted Brentanoism for Marxism by employing Marxist terminology, by quoting some of Marx's statements and by assuming a Marxist disguise." ("The victory of the Cadets and the Tasks of the Workers' Party.")
12. This refers to the "Second Address of the General Council of the International Working Men's Association on the Franco-Prussian war," *The Civil War in France*, F.P.P., Peking, 1974.
13. *The man in the muffler*—main character in the story by Russian author, Chekhov, with the same title. This character typified the narrow-minded philistine who is afraid of all new things and initiative.
14. *The wisdom of gudgeons*—refers to the "wise gudgeon" in a satire by Russian author M.Y. Saltykov-Shchedrin, typifying the timid, over-cautious individual who vegetates rather than lives.
15. Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann, April 12, 1871.
16. Refers to Marx's *The Civil War in France*.
17. Cadets—members of the Constitutional-Democratic Party, which was the principal bourgeois party in Russia, the party of the liberal-monarchist bourgeoisie. They strove to preserve tsarism in the form of a constitutional monarchy. The Cadets became the party of the imperialist bourgeoisie; and after the victory of the October Revolution, the Cadets organized counter-revolutionary conspiracies and revolts against the Soviet Republic.
18. On June 13, 1849, the petty-bourgeois party of Montagnards organized a peaceful demonstration in Paris to protest against the dispatch of French troops to Italy to suppress the revolution in violation of the Constitution of the French Republic which prohibited the sending of French forces abroad to interfere with the freedom of foreign peoples. The demonstration was dispersed by troops. This further exposed the bourgeoisie and testified to the bankruptcy of French petty-bourgeois democracy.
19. Marx's letter to Ludwig Kugelmann, April 17, 1871.

**Wanted—100,000
Co-conspirators
Become a
Co-conspirator**

DENG

Continued from page 17

Plenum had many after-effects, the negative influence of which can still be seen. This is a clear indication that the mistakes we made were not simply errors due to miscalculation but were mistakes of political orientation and line.

It was when the students and teachers of Peking University and its adjoining high school began to take an active part in the movement, criticizing and overthrowing the original Party leaders and bourgeois elements in power who have tried to repress them, that we thought that only by using work teams could order be restored. Due to the inordinately large size of some of the teams, we managed to take over effectual Party and administrative power very quickly. Furthermore, the work-style of the teams was basically the same as that of the work teams in the Four Clean Movement. This style of work and this use of unsuitable methods in analysis and political work was criticized by the Chairman. What we ended up doing was making ourselves out to be saviours and the masses to be ignorant people incapable of taking part in serious political activity. What this in effect meant was that the work teams took over complete leadership of the movement. The suppression of mass criticisms which followed led to student unrest and mass in-fighting, which severely detracted from the principal aim of the Cultural Revolution in the schools—to carry out struggle, criticism and transformation. What was worse was that not only did we allow this adverse situation to develop, but even when it had become pressingly evident in mid-June, we made no attempts to check it. We stubbornly ignored the advice of Chen Boda and other comrades at a Central Committee Work Meeting and paid no heed to their repeated suggestions to disband the work teams. As a result we continued to hold back the movement and made errors of political line. The majority of cadres are good comrades and apart from a few individual cases, the mistakes made during this period should not be blamed on them, as comrade Shaoqi and myself should bear the responsibility. On top of this our mistaken policies had caused a number of comrades who had opposed us great strain and others who had willingly followed our line are now put under pressure. For their errors and the various errors of comrades in other departments and local areas, I feel deep remorse.

Another consequence of our sending out the work teams was that serious differences of opinion and attitude towards these work teams developed in the host schools. Many teachers and students supported the teams or critically supported the teams. Those excessively influenced by our mistaken thinking even went as far as to use the dangerous and deceptive slogan, "To oppose the work teams is to oppose the Central Committee and Chairman Mao." However, the majority of these teachers and students are revolutionary, they were enthusiastically supporting and taking part in the Cultural Revolution. These people should not be blamed for their actions, they shouldn't be branded as Royalists. The real Royalists are Liu Shaoqi and myself.

During the two months that Chairman Mao was absent from Peking, the leadership of the movement and the work of the Standing Committee of the Central Committee was in the hands of comrade Shaoqi and myself. Soon after we had sent out the work teams, incidents of repression of the leftists, mass in-fighting and mass opposition to the teams occurred. As I just mentioned, comrade Chen Boda represented other comrades in the Central Committee and suggested that the teams be disbanded. Not only did we reject this advice, we also only considered and supported those evaluations of the situation and those suggestions which coincided with our own preconceived and mistaken views. Comrade Chen Boda's suggestion completely accorded with Chairman Mao's mass line and was a true expression of the desires of the people as well as corresponding to the needs of the movement. However, com-

rade Liu Shaoqi and I were completely out of touch with the Chairman's view of the movement and had a dangerously distorted view of the movement as a whole.

Being subjective and bureaucratic, we repeatedly violated Chairman Mao's mass line. Worse yet, I failed to report to the Chairman on the developments of the movement as they occurred, nor did I inform him of the different views on how the movement should be conducted. By neglecting to ask the Chairman for help and allowing the situation to continue for over fifty days, I made an error of political line and at the same time, caused considerable damage to the movement itself. I can say with certainty that had I shown greater humility from the start, had I listened to other people's opinions and asked for the Chairman's advice, I would have been able to correct my mistakes in time; especially in view of the fact that the Chairman had originally opposed our sending out the work teams and thought that at most we should only send out a small number. Comrade Liu Shaoqi and myself did not understand the significance of this directive, and in fact, went against it, resulting in our errors and our present plight.

The mistakes of political line and orientation that we have made are not merely due to the manner in which we handled the work teams, but stem from our basically erroneous view of the Cultural Revolution itself. My real mistake is that I have not stood on the side of the masses and have opposed the mass movement. In terms of class struggle, I have not, during the Cultural Revolution, stood on the side of the revolutionary proletariat, and have pursued a line which is in absolute opposition to the policies of comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The Cultural Revolution was initiated by and is being personally led by Chairman Mao. As the *Decision* made at the Eleventh Plenum states: the Cultural Revolution is "a revolution that touches the very soul of the people; it is a new and deeper phase of the socialist revolution." The aim of the current movement is not limited to carrying out struggle, criticism and transformation in high schools and universities. Its more profound and far-reaching significance lies in the fact that it is "a declaration of war on all bourgeois ideology. It aims at transforming society with the new thinking, the new culture, habits and customs of the proletariat", "to criticize the ideology of the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes so as to reform education, the arts and all facets of the superstructure which do not correspond with the socialist economic base, so that the superstructure can better serve to strengthen and develop the socialist system."

The present revolutionary movement is aimed at preventing the restoration of capitalism and the emergence of revisionism in China; this is a proletarian initiative in the global revolutionary movement. To be successful, this movement must be carried out according to Chairman Mao's teachings; 'daring' must be the watch-word, not 'fear'. To be successful, complete confidence must be placed in the masses and all the people in China must be involved. We must encourage the revolutionary teachers, students, workers, peasants, soldiers and cadres to take an active part in the movement, educate themselves in its tempests and liberate their thinking in the process of the movement. Only by so doing can the Cultural Revolution be successful. It is only by relying on the revolutionary ardour and collective wisdom of the people that the strenuous task of destroying the Four Olds and establishing the Four News* can be achieved. Unlike us, the people are familiar with the complexities of the society and are capable of doing this work. The situation in Pei-ta and its adjoining high school was originally very good, the majority of people had become involved in the movement and had begun their attacks on bourgeois

* New thinking, culture, habits and customs of the socialist society and the proletariat as opposed to the old thinking, old culture, habits and customs of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old society.

elements within the Party. By writing one big-character poster, Nieh Yuan-tse and her schoolmates virtually called for the establishment of a Peking Paris Commune. Although there was some 'confusion' at the time, it was a positive and useful 'confusion' because it was 'confusion' in the ranks of the bourgeois elements. However, Liu Shaoqi and I saw the situation in a different light; we were apprehensive of this 'confusion' and sent work teams to restrain the movement. Though we used euphemisms to declare that we were "strengthening the leadership of the movement", it was in fact, an attempt to strangle the movement in its early stages. As a result of our actions, the movement was temporarily repressed, mass in-fighting occurred, the leftists were attacked, and the 'witches and goblins' were delighted. Chairman Mao was absolutely right when he said that this was the imposition of white terror and could only increase the arrogance of the bourgeoisie while dampening the morale of the proletariat. Now that the mistakes have been corrected by Chairman Mao and the Central Committee, a broad mass movement is unfolding. Recently, the Red Guards, which is a revolutionary body, has appeared and with the increased activity of teachers and students. The movement has spread from the schools to society and across the whole country. With immense energy these forces have carried out the destruction of the Four Olds and the establishment of the Four News. Tremendous results have been achieved and our young people have been given a rare chance to learn and test themselves in the struggle. The Chinese people are being revolutionized and the socialist future of the country is assured. This not only marks a new age for China but also marks a new age for the world. The trepidation evinced by the imperialists and revisionists towards the Cultural Revolution is ample proof that it is a good and absolutely correct movement. As for people like me in key leadership positions, it is obvious that we have fallen behind in our study of Chairman Mao's strategic thinking and his use of the mass line. In our work we have not been aware of the importance of this movement nor have we made any attempt to rely on the masses, and have even attempted to repress the masses and contain the Cultural Revolution. Not only have we not raised the banner of Mao Tse-tung Thought, we have purposely opposed both Chairman Mao's teachings and Mao Tse-tung Thought.

My recent errors are by no means accidental or disconnected; they have their origins in a certain way of thinking and a certain style of work which has developed over a considerable period of time. Ideologically, I must confess that not only have I not raised high the banner of Mao Tse-tung Thought, but that I have not even lifted this banner up. As my office is very close to the Chairman, theoretically I should have ample opportunity to receive personal direction and help from him. However, I have a very inadequate grasp of Mao Tse-tung Thought, do little to propagate it and am not practised at applying it in my work. Mao Tse-tung Thought is the soul of all of our work, and an aptitude in it or otherwise is the standard by which to judge the depth of a person's knowledge of Marxism-Leninism and the amount of a person's proletarian thinking. If one does not make progress, then one will regress. If one does not study Mao Tse-tung Thought, then it is inevitable that the non-proletarian things in one's thinking will increase. The result of this is that one will make mistakes, and if unchecked, one will commit errors of a right opportunist tendency. In retrospect, my last few years have been marked by a steady regression and due to my laxity in the study and use of Mao Tse-tung Thought, I have made a number of mistakes. As the person in charge of the Secretariat of the Central Committee I must admit that the work of this department has been very badly done and that the areas of greatest error and fault are those departments under the direct leadership of the Secretariat. In matters concerning class struggle and the struggle within the Party, I have consistently shown rightist tendencies. I am partly responsible for the rightist tendencies committed in 1962 which Chairman

Mao mentioned in his big-character poster. Similarly, I must take some responsibility for the seemingly leftist but in essence rightist excesses of 1964, for though I was not in full agreement at the time, my objections were still not in compliance with Mao Tse-tung Thought. I also want to take this opportunity to make a thorough criticism of the numerous errors I made prior to 1962. My distancing myself from the masses and lack of contact with reality is directly connected with my failure to follow Chairman Mao and my lack of proper study. As a result, I have become accustomed to lording it over others and acting like someone special, rarely going down among the people or even to make the effort to contact cadres and other leaders so as to understand their working situation and problems. I have not been exacting in the execution of my office, continually failing to mix with the people and carry out investigatory work. The manner in which I deal with everyday problems has been too simplistic and sometimes quite inflexible. It is due to the above attitude that I have imprisoned myself in a mesh of subjectivism and bureaucracy over the past years. As a corollary to this 'imprisonment' I have made ideological and administrative errors with greater frequency and of increased gravity. A prolonged neglect of Mao Tse-tung Thought in the past has now developed into a salient opposition to it. Till recently I have not been aware of my attitude and still felt myself superior and infallible. Affected by such a viewpoint, I naturally have not taken great care in doing my work. Rarely did I ask for help or advice from other comrades or the people. Worse yet still is that I have rarely reported to and asked advice from the Chairman. Not only is this one of the main reasons for my errors, but is also a serious breach of Party discipline. In late 1964, Chairman Mao criticized me for being a kingdom unto myself. At first, somewhat shaken by this, I, however, consoled myself with the thought that I was neither a greedy person nor a power seeker, therefore delved no further into the origins of my faults. Thus unchecked, it was inevitable that I would commit an error involving political line, now or in the future. In the final analysis, my way of thinking and style of work is completely incompatible with Mao Tse-tung Thought. I have not raised high the great banner of Mao Tse-tung Thought, nor have I followed Chairman Mao closely, therefore I cut myself off from the leadership; in addition, my contact with the masses is infrequent and I am isolated from reality. I have shown myself not to be a good student of Chairman Mao and am absolutely unsuited to my present position of responsibility. Recent events have revealed me as an unreformed petit-bourgeois intellectual who has failed to pass the tests posed by socialism. Seeing myself thus reflected in my actions I am overwhelmed. I feel it would be damaging to the Party and the people for a person with my ideological level and political understanding to continue in my present position. What I need to do is reflect on my past actions, I need to earnestly study Chairman Mao's works, reform myself and correct my mistakes. By so doing, I hope to be of some use to the Party and the people in the latter years of my life and make up, in some way, for my past misdeeds. I firmly believe that with the help of my comrades and with my own determination, I will be able to correct my mistakes. Though I have gone astray on the road of politics, with the radiance of Mao Tse-tung Thought lighting my forward path, I should have the fortitude to pick myself up and go on.

The above is a preliminary self-criticism. I hope all comrades present will give their criticisms and suggestions.

Long live the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!
Long live invincible Mao Tse-tung Thought!
Long live the great teacher, the great helmsman and the great leader Chairman Mao!

OUTBREAK

Continued from page 9

workers to become political leaders able to guide all the manifestations of this all-round struggle, able at the right time to 'dictate a positive program of action' for the restless students, the discontented Zemstvo councillor, the incensed religious sects, the offended elementary school teachers, etc., etc...." (*What Is To Be Done?*) Is there any doubt that what Lenin means by a 'positive program of action' at the right time is the overthrow of the Tsar? And is there any doubt that his argument is right to the point today?

In opposition to the Economist tendency to narrow the field of influence of the Party and "divert" the workers' attention to their own narrow interests, only Marxism can open up the widest perspectives, revealing the diverse ways that the class struggle breaks out, the different forces and their motion and direction, and the means by which the class-conscious forces can lead and unite all the streams of struggle into a raging torrent aimed squarely at the "omnipotent" state. Only Marxism can thoroughly reveal the revolutionary elements in today's non-revolutionary situation and particularly how they can be utilized to gain revolutionary strength for the decisive battle.

The masses must be won to see that it is not just national oppression, or police terror, or rape or nukes or the draft or even war, but that every outrage is a manifestation of the capitalist system and the rule of the capitalist class and there is only one solution to all of this—mass armed proletarian revolution; the Party must carry out this kind of all-around political work in these struggles and win the revolutionary-minded people from other strata from fighters for one to fighters for all. How, pray tell, we might ask the Economists, is such a united front to be forged unless the class-conscious forces not only support every outbreak, but work in this way to unite all the streams of class struggle into one raging torrent? And how, we might ask, is the proletariat to lead, how are advanced workers ever to raise their understanding act in a class-conscious manner, exerting influence on these movements and developing their ability to find practical solutions in those days ahead when leading the masses in armed insurrection is the order of the day, unless the communists "go in all directions," that is among the different classes and strata, spreading the lessons of the outbreaks of protest and rebellion, analyzing every event from the most revolutionary standpoint in the pages of the revolutionary newspaper?

In fact, this is precisely a "class point of view"—the interests and requirements of the class conscious proletariat.

This brings us to another aspect of Economism and its waving of the banner of a "class point of view." One of the features of Economism in our movement is its constant uttering of the phrase "working class" *ad nauseum* and its inclination to narrow the interests of the working class to "a Big Mac and fries to go." But the class conscious proletariat—those who have nothing to lose but their chains—want and need to know about all classes and strata and must be trained to respond to every outrage from a communist viewpoint and no other. "Those who concentrate the attention, observation and consciousness of the working class exclusively, or even mainly upon itself alone are not Social-Democrats (communists—RW); for its self-realization is indissolubly bound up not only with a fully clear theoretical—it would be even more true to say not so much with a theoretical, as with a practical understanding, of the relationships between all the various classes of modern society, acquired through the experience of political life." (*What Is To Be Done?*)

As we have pointed out, in last week's article and elsewhere, political exposures are a fundamental condition

for raising the revolutionary activity of the masses. Those who truly desire to raise the activity of the masses must, as Lenin put it, "increase their own activity," principally in political exposure. And while the tasks of the communists in the outbreaks of rebellion and protest among the masses do not exhaust the all-around exposure of the imperialist system, cardinal questions of "affairs of state," etc., the analysis of these outbreaks, the different class forces, their lessons and significance is an indispensable part of this all-around picture. To shrink from confronting the complexities of the various class forces and outlooks in the field, or to desire to somehow "insulate" the masses from such influences, or to treat the masses as though they were empty heads into which communists pour the truth—"spontaneously revolutionary, if only one could get it through their thick head"—is simply to abandon the masses to spontaneity. People will try out a lot of different ideas before they are convinced of the need to take up the science of proletarian revolution which offers not one iota of "painless progress" in the resolution of their problems, before they are convinced of the necessity and possibility for mass armed revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. As Lenin pointed out in *What Is To Be Done?*:

"In order to become a Social Democrat (communist—RW), the worker must have a clear picture of the economic nature and the social and political features of the landlord and the priest, the high state official and the peasant, the student and the tramp; he must know their strong and weak points; he must see the meaning of all the catchwords and sophisms by which each class and each stratum *camouflages* its selfish striving and its real 'inside workings': he must understand what interests certain institutions and certain laws reflect and how they reflect them. But this 'clear picture' cannot be obtained from books. It can be obtained only from living examples and from exposures, following hot upon the heels of what is going on around us at a given moment, of what is being discussed, in whispers perhaps, by each one in his own way, of the meaning of such and such events, of such and such statistics, of such and such court sentences, etc., etc., etc. These comprehensive political exposures are an essential and *fundamental* condition for training the masses in revolutionary activity."

The outbreaks and minor crises of today provide not only fertile ground for linking up with and raising the revolutionary sentiments of the masses to a class-conscious position, but also fertile ground for training the masses to be able to recognize different trends and political lines, to distinguish between demagoguery and a genuinely revolutionary line and program. This is essential to enable the class-conscious proletariat to lead the revolutionary movement, to respond to these outbreaks in a revolutionary manner, and to increasingly become a material force in society, demonstrating the ability to lead in the twists and turns of the class struggle. The proletariat must be trained to recognize, not only how it is the "same dark forces" oppressing different sections of the people and in what way, but also to grasp deeply that only through armed revolution can the evils of imperialism be swept away and to distinguish the communist viewpoint from every other.

Revolutionaries cannot be reared in a hothouse. As Lenin pointed out, "Working class consciousness cannot be genuinely political consciousness unless the workers are trained to respond to all cases, without exception, of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter *what* class is affected. Moreover, to respond from a Social-Democratic (communist—RW) and not from any other point of view. The consciousness of the masses of workers cannot be genuine class-consciousness, unless the workers learn to observe from concrete, and above all from topical manifestations of the intellectual, ethical and political life of these classes; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of all aspects of the life and activity of all classes, strata and

groups of the population."

Forces Required for Decisive Battle

It is a basic law of history that where there is oppression, there's resistance. The masses are going to rebel against their oppression, at different times and in various ways, different classes and strata, bringing with them all their prejudices and contradictory aspects, say 'to hell with this' and rise up, protesting their situation and seeking a way out. And the question for the class-conscious revolutionaries is, is this fine or is it terrible? Is this a good thing or a bad thing for the international proletariat, and what do you do? Do you stand at the side criticizing and gesticulating, do you tail after the masses, cheering them on militantly, or do you go into the midst of the struggle, in order to raise the consciousness of the masses, and to utilize these outbreaks for the purpose of, as Lenin put it, "increasing and strengthening the military forces required for decisive battle"?

The minor crises and outbreaks of today are fertile ground both for accumulating revolutionary strength and training for the future, as we have said, but the ability of the revolutionary forces to maximize the experience of these minor crises is directly related to how well we grasp the central task and the newspaper as the main weapon now. In arguing against the Economists of his time, Lenin put a great deal of emphasis on the question of supporting every outbreak of protest and rebellion among all classes and strata, based on and in relation to all-around political agitation. (He did not, nor do we, mean literally every outbreak. Lenin was no worshipper at the feet of "motion for its own sake"—of localism and spontaneity. He understood that *major* political events were far more important for training than minor ones, and that it would be particularly around these that the masses would be brought into significant political struggle. Lenin's point about "every" referred to all classes and strata, and was aimed especially at the Economists who wanted to restrict the scope of exposures from covering every sphere of society.) At the same time he stressed that the mass movement does not "determine" the tasks of the communists, certainly not in the Economist sense of "that struggle is desirable which is possible and the struggle which is possible is the one that is going on at the given moment." So why then did Lenin put such emphasis on these outbreaks? It was not, nor is it today, from the standpoint of tailing them. Lenin really didn't give a damn about leading a non-revolutionary mass movement and neither do we; he viewed everything from the standpoint of the revolutionary struggle for power. But Lenin pointed out that he is no communist who does not support every revolutionary movement and every protest against tyranny and he is no communist who is not *ahead* of everyone in advancing the most revolutionary appraisal of every given event and the most revolutionary solution. In confronting the question of what does it mean to support every outbreak of protest and rebellion, it is extremely important to grasp that the main task of the communists is to *divert* the spontaneous struggle of the masses, particularly the proletariat, to a revolutionary struggle. This means preparing the masses to go over from the spontaneous struggle they are waging to something different—an organized offensive to seize power from the capitalist class. The importance of diverting the spontaneous struggles cannot be underestimated, because in and of themselves these spontaneous struggles will never lead to a successful revolution even when a revolutionary situation develops and it is truly the case that millions and millions are aroused and in the streets.

While the task of diverting the movement cannot be carried out apart from the struggle of the masses, the spontaneous struggles themselves will not give rise to a revolutionary solution to the contradictions which give rise to these outbreaks in the first place. This understanding can only be "brought from without," by the most advanced elements representing the revolutionary class. And while the revolutionary

movement which will be required to carry the struggle through to the end can only be forged through the twists and turns of the class struggle raging throughout society, the whole task of diverting the movement is in fact a protracted process of struggle *against* spontaneity. Aah, there's the rub!

The spontaneous struggles of the masses are part of the objective situation for the class-conscious forces. The question is how to lead them. Fundamentally, leadership means political leadership, not the left-economist view of grabbing organizational leadership—"hire us, fire them," or concocting some "visible force"—a handful of heroes to march around inspiring the masses with their "take care of business" concreteness—or the straight up reformism of leading the fight for reformist demands in the "day to day struggle." Again, the central role of agitation and the newspaper as the main weapon is crucial. As the *Draft Programme* points out: "The Party's press, particularly its newspaper, while it must be wielded in itself as the main weapon in preparing for revolution, also serves as an overall guide for extensive spoken agitation and propaganda that must be carried out by Party members and supporters. Mainly through these same means, written and spoken, the Party and those under its leadership must support every major outbreak of protest and rebellion among the masses and assist the struggling masses to both unite more broadly and fight more powerfully and to more consciously aim their fire against the bourgeoisie and the imperialist system and link themselves with the class-conscious proletariat and its revolutionary aims."

This does not mean that the Party and those under its leadership may not provide tactical leadership in these outbreaks, but even the question of tactical leadership must be viewed from the standpoint of the revolutionary goal, as Stalin pointed out in *Foundations of Leninism*: "The point here is not that the vanguard should realize the impossibility of preserving the old regime and the inevitability of its overthrow. The point is that the masses, the millions should understand this only from their own experience. The task is to enable the vast masses to realize from their own experience the inevitability of the overthrow of the old regime, to promote such methods of struggle and forms of organization as will make it easier for the masses to realize from experience the correctness of the revolutionary slogans."

Even in the outbreaks of today, the question arises among the advanced of how to go over to a more consistent and thoroughgoing struggle. The masses themselves begin to run up against the limitations of the spontaneous struggle; they begin to see even in an embryonic way that something more is required. People's eyes open up in an even more pronounced way in the midst of these struggles, especially the independent, political and most of all revolutionary struggles of the masses. They start looking for answers about how are we going to once and for all get this system off our backs. This becomes especially sharp when the bourgeois state comes in and puts down these rebellions. The cry that went up in the Miami rebellion from revolutionary-minded people that, "We needed a revolutionary organ and a revolutionary organization" is an example of this. With this we heartily agree; in fact we have such an organization—the Revolutionary Communist Party—and such an organ—the *Revolutionary Worker*. But if this is taken to mean that the main way that such an organ and such a Party is to lead is by transforming the spontaneous struggles, as they are today with the present alignment of forces and under present conditions, in a straight line fashion into a revolutionary struggle, this is a mistaken idea of diverting. It will only lead to discouragement, and ultimately crash on the rocks of reformism. Diverting the spontaneous struggles cannot be taken to mean that the goal is to divert each spontaneous struggle in and of itself into a struggle for revolution. This would result in bouncing between sectarianism, reformism and would definitely go against materialism—a revolutionary situation

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Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions

by Bob Avakian

A summary of the essence of Mao's thought and teachings, which he developed through the twists and turns of over 50 years of revolutionary struggle.

This book delivers a powerful blow in defense of Mao's revolutionary line at a time when everything he fought for, everything that inspired millions about revolutionary China, is under fierce attack.

It blasts the slander that Mao was an idle dreamer trying to impose an impractical vision on the world. No one knew better than he that there was no straight line to liberation but that through continued struggle the world would be won and remade by the people. "The ceaseless emergence and resolution of contradictions as against all notions of absoluteness and stagnation... this Mao grasped as the driving force in the development of all things... and this understanding runs like a crimson path through Mao's writings and actions."

CHAPTERS ON:

- Revolution in Colonial Countries
- Revolutionary War and Military Line
- Political Economy, Economic Policy and Socialist Construction
- Philosophy
- Culture and the Superstructure
- Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat
- Conclusion: Mao Tsetung, The Greatest Revolutionary of Our Time



Mao Tsetung in Yenan, 1938...

...at Tien An Men, Peking, 1965



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POLAND

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control planes (AWACS) "requested" by NATO were rushed to Ramstein Air Force Base in West Germany where they will fly continuously along the German border to provide early detection of any Soviet moves. The Pentagon also announced that the six ship NATO Atlantic fleet would not put into port for the Christmas holidays. Secretary of State Muskie meanwhile flew to Brussels to attend a meeting of the NATO Council of Ministers where he told reporters: "Poland is 200 miles from NATO territory. NATO is created to defend the territory, and there is the possibility of the use of force. NATO cannot be insensitive to the use of military force. NATO cannot prudently ignore the use of force." Defense Secretary Brown also blustered that if Poland was invaded, "The seriousness of the consequences should be understood by the Soviets."

While all this was more than mere bluster on the part of the U.S. imperialists, it was mainly intended to indicate to the Soviets that while the U.S. rulers may not be able to stop a Soviet invasion now, they are not about to sit back passively while *their own* influence in Poland is challenged. While the U.S. has openly complained that there is little they can do militarily to counter such an invasion without provoking World War 3—something they are not quite ready for just yet—nevertheless, they are milking the "threat of Soviet aggression" for all it is worth. Last week the incoming Reagan administration announced it is studying the possibility of stationing a permanent U.S. military force in the Middle East to "guard against the Soviet threat." Along with this, the U.S. is using this occasion to pull their Western European allies more tightly into line, pointing out that Poland is a far sight closer to home than Afghanistan. "An invasion of Poland will either revitalize the West or demonstrate that Europe intends to be subordinate to the Soviets," barked one top Carter administration official.

In Brussels, Muskie claimed to have obtained general agreement from the bloc that a Soviet invasion would signify "the end of detente" as well as a promise that they would walk out of the current Madrid conference on East-West cooperation. Other sanctions reportedly discussed were a halt to Western and Japanese cooperation in capital investment projects in the Soviet Union (like the proposed natural gas pipeline from Siberia to Western Europe), denial of Western credits to finance Soviet purchases of Western technology, like oil-drilling equipment, and curtailment of diplomatic and political contacts between Western countries and the Soviets. And of course the U.S. is seizing the opportunity to call for beefed up military spending by NATO countries, whose defense budget increases to date haven't been up to U.S. liking. U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown said, "There's no doubt in my mind that the West would have to react by further building up its military capability." And Reagan spokesmen noted that any action by the Soviets "would call for a massive armaments build up, the likes of which have not been seen since the Second World War." Not surprisingly, there was little attention in the press called to the fact that the U.S. and company has for some time been engaged in such a build up. But it remains to be seen just how far the U.S.'s allies will actually go, especially in curtailing economic relations with the Soviets and the Eastern bloc even if the Soviets do invade. The NATO meeting was mostly notable for its show of *political* unity by America's imperialist allies around the fact that when push comes to shove, their basic interests obviously lie within the confines of the U.S. imperialist war bloc.

These moves took place in the wake of the Warsaw Pact meeting summoned two weeks ago by the Soviet rulers in Moscow, which ended with a declaration by this cabal of revisionists of confidence in their fellow revisionists who head the Polish Communist Party to

assure the development of the capitalist country "along the socialist path." This was widely hailed as an apparent "reprieve" for the government of Stanislaw Kania and along with the fact that Brezhnev took off on a state visit to India, fueled speculation that the Soviets were holding off on armed intervention in Poland—at least for now. But no sooner had the Warsaw Pact meeting ended than the official pronouncements from Moscow began to assume a more ominous tone. Three days later on Dec. 8, the Soviet press agency, TASS, issued its strongest and most sweeping condemnation of the independent trade unions in Poland to date, asserting that "counterrevolutionary groups, operating under the cover of branches of the 'Solidarity' union, have turned to open confrontation" with the Communist Party and the management of factories and institutions and that groups within Solidarity had ousted official trade union representatives and replaced them with "persons who openly adhere to anti-government positions."

These charges were simultaneously parroted in the East German and Czechoslovakian press along with allegations that at the Iskra works in the city of Kielce—a plant which manufactures electrical parts for cars and which has been a center of workers' opposition to the government—those opposed to the demands of the independent unions had "simply disappeared" by implication, kidnapped, and that workers had "arbitrarily removed the management of the plant and disarmed the worker's militia."

Though the Tass reports were mysteriously dropped from the Soviet press the following day, there was a striking resemblance to the language and allegations emanating from the Soviet rulers just prior to their invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968—something the U.S. rulers have been playing to the hilt to direct attention away from their own acts of criminal aggression and pointing to the "predictable nature" of the nasty Soviets. At that time, *Pravda* also cited the threat of "counterrevolutionary forces" and blasted a series of mass meetings by Czech workers held at the Auto-Praha plant to condemn a tiny group of loyal pro-Soviet workers who had circulated a petition demanding that Soviet troops come into Czechoslovakia. There were also similar cries that the "people's" militia was under attack by the "enemies of socialism" and that "subversive activities by anti-socialist forces" had gotten out of hand.

Indeed, there were anti-Soviet elements that had "gotten out of hand." In Czechoslovakia in 1968, forces within the Czech Communist Party (a revisionist party), led by First Party Secretary Alexander Dubcek, spearheaded a campaign for "liberalization" in the country. This, in fact, was a code word for an opening to the West: the terms of the struggle were essentially between rival revisionist factions. The Dubcek forces were pushing for opening the country to Western im-

perialist investment and the Soviets moved to prevent this.

In light of these events 12 years ago, the recent Warsaw Pact meeting could have well been little more than a planning session on the political and military strategy to be implemented by various Eastern bloc governments in dishing up the revisionists' brand of what was described as "the fraternal solidarity and support" for Poland. Such a Warsaw Pact confab was held right before the invasion of Czechoslovakia. Then, on August 3, 1968, Brezhnev and Dubcek met at Bratislava, where the leaders of the Eastern bloc countries amiably signed a mutual declaration of intent which allegedly gave the Czechoslovakian leaders a free hand to straighten out their internal situation. As they emerged from the talks, Brezhnev gave Dubcek a bearhug in a Soviet-style mafia embrace that turned out to be the kiss of death. Two and a half weeks later, Soviet commandos dressed as diplomats landed at Ruzny Airport in Prague, took over the air controllers' tower at gunpoint and directed in hundreds of Russian transport planes carrying troops and heavy equipment as Russian paratroopers were dropped into Prague suburbs and Russian tanks rolled into Czech cities in a remorselessly efficient and carefully planned invasion operation.

And even the Soviets have been using the 1968 analogy, although for their own purposes of course. In a warning to Poland, on Dec. 11, *Pravda* published a lengthy article on the 1968 crisis in Czechoslovakia entitled, "The Valuable Experience of History," ostensibly a review of a book about the invasion by a Czech Communist Party official published over a year ago. According to *Pravda*, the book points out that "an analysis of the Czech events in the 1968-69 crisis period and its lessons have lasting historical value for the world communist movement." It is transparently obvious just what "lessons" of Czechoslovakia the Soviets would have the Polish people sum up!

But what is far more significant than the similarities—and what both the U.S. and Soviet imperialists don't want to have examined too closely—are the differences between Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1980. In fact, events in Poland can only be evaluated from the perspective of today's explosive international situation in which world war between the U.S. imperialists and their Soviet rivals is looming on the not-too-distant horizon and in which both superpowers are being frantically driven to tighten up their respective war blocs, as well as to make inroads into each others', as they maneuver for decisive position in preparation for the final showdown. In this context, each of these imperialist giants is weighing their respective moves and counter-moves extremely carefully in order to come out of this situation with the greatest political and military gains and the least possible losses. In particular, the Soviet rulers are facing an extremely

severe crisis, the most serious threat to the unity of their war bloc in quite some time—and either way they move they are likely to suffer devastating consequences.

In Poland today, the Soviets are faced with both a powerful upsurge of the Polish masses and increasing attempts by the U.S. and its allies to deepen political influence. While the Polish party, the Catholic Church and the leaders of the independent trade unions have been calling for "sanity" and condemning "irresponsible strikes" in the face of the imminent threat of a Soviet invasion, and are vigorously denying the Tass allegations, it is certainly true as the Soviets cry that there is considerable "anti-socialist" (read: pro-U.S.) political activity by the leaders of Solidarity and the intellectual dissidents who are riding the continuing anti-Soviet political ferment among the masses. (Lech Walesa, the leader of Solidarity, makes few bones about being openly pro-U.S., recently heaping lavish praise on Ronald Reagan as a "strong leader" and declaring his election to be a good sign for the Polish people. Last week, Solidarity leaders denounced "continuing acts of repression" by Polish authorities and demanded the release of four pro-U.S. political dissidents still imprisoned, including Lesek Moczulski, a vociferous U.S.-inspired reactionary and leader of a right-wing group called the Confederation for an Independent Poland.)

Meanwhile, the struggle of the Polish workers has continued to draw into motion wideranging strata of Polish society, much to the increasing alarm of the Soviets. While the workers have been under intense pressure to cool out their political activity, on Dec. 10, leaders of a new movement which says it represents over 500,000 of Poland's 3.5 million private farmers, called for a national rally to plan some form of protest action to force the authorities to register the movement as an independent union, a response to the refusal of Agriculture Minister Leon Klonica's refusal to sign an agreement for legal status for a farmer's union that he had already initiated the week before. This development could fuel a Soviet decision to move militarily since widespread protests by small farmers could force the curtailment of food deliveries and severely aggravate the already serious economic crisis, throwing the country into even deeper political turmoil.

Clearly, the Soviets are facing a dilemma that they will not easily be able to solve—a situation in which their growing necessity to invade and crush the struggle of the Polish people must be carefully evaluated against powerful factors that could make such an invasion an unmitigated political disaster. If they don't invade, they are faced with a situation in Poland which is spinning more and more out of their control and which is bound to have far-reaching political repercussions among the masses of other Eastern European bloc countries. Already there are cracks appearing in the Soviet bloc over the issue

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listed in the effort to distribute revolutionary propaganda to capitalism's gravediggers—the working class and broad masses of people.

It is in this context, and as the bourgeoisie is stepping up attacks on any signs of resistance, including its escalating attacks on the RCP as a whole, that the evictions of the Berkeley and New York stores have taken place. And it is with this understanding that support is being built to turn back these two evictions and to keep the Boston and Seattle stores right where they are. In Berkeley, "Revolution Books" shelves have been set up in several other bookstores. More stores than ever are selling the literature of the RCP and the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, and a portable booktable is carrying books and news of the eviction battle all across town. Campaigns are under way in Berkeley and New York to deluge the landlords and city government with telephone calls of protest. A "festival" cosponsored and organized by 19 supporters of the Seattle store drew 100 people, including local artists and musicians—in fact, so much support has been mobilized in the Seattle area (including publicity generated in three local newspapers) that the landlord has initiated new lease negotiations with the store. And in Boston, where a statement of support is drawing signatures from, among others, many foreign students who frequent the store, an open house is being held to draw together forces to lay plans for building broad support.

Revolution Books is a crucial and precious resource in the battle to create public opinion—and seize power. As active distributors of revolutionary theory and propaganda, the stores are a resource that the bourgeoisie must and will try to put out of business. But the attacks that they have launched on the stores to date have not only sparked a determined counter-offensive to keep these stores open—at their PRESENT locations—but they have actually helped to publicize and popularize the stores, and to make clear to thousands how desperate the bourgeoisie is to prevent the masses from getting their hands on revolutionary theory. The staffs of these stores and the many people who are rallying around them have made clear their determination to turn these attacks around: to use them to expand their base of distribution to thousands more. □

OUTBREAK

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requires more than one struggle, no matter how "well led." The point is to carry out the task of diverting in a protracted way, in the course of ebbs and flows, concentrating especially on the *advanced* masses, so as to prepare for the time when the conditions are ripe for the diverse struggles to go over to a struggle for political power.

The minor crises and outbreaks like Miami are an embryo of the revolutionary crisis of the future, they are not the same thing. The revolution that we are preparing for is not the same as "two, three, many Miami's" to take only one example. As we pointed out in *RW* No. 83 last week, "revolutionary action, once undertaken, also plays the role in this period of creating public opinion for the seizure of power. In the wake of the Miami rebellion, for example, it is clear that its overall significance in this period was its awakening and stimulating effect on the consciousness of the proletariat and oppressed worldwide—a 'manifesto' written with fire and guns." But the idea that the role of the communists in supporting every outbreak is to clone the spontaneous uprisings of the masses is itself a form of tailing spontaneity, another form of searching for something more "concrete" than our central task, which is not separate from but comprehends revolutionary action. In a number of these recent outbreaks, the masses rose against their oppressors with revolutionary violence, even arms. What this indicates is that the masses have summed up some lessons from past experience, have deep and burning questions, and desire to *act*; this only further heightens the responsibility of the class-conscious proletariat not to act like cheerleaders but to meet the requirements of the advanced and raise their political consciousness as well as that of the broad masses, while learning from these outbreaks. The wrong notions of what it means to divert the struggle will ultimately leave the masses empty handed and disarmed. If work does not proceed from the standpoint of "preparing minds and organizing forces" and the central role of revolutionary agitation and the newspaper as the main weapon, when the struggle ebbs, what will be left? Fond memories of a battle well fought!?! The masses do not need such *memories*. What they require is revolution. They need themselves to be trained to utilize every outbreak of protest and rebellion for the accumulation of forces required for decisive battle, they need to be part of the grand conspiracy whose main weapon today is the revolutionary newspaper which raises their political consciousness, sustains them through all the twists and turns, the periods of

calm and outbreak, keeping their consciousness tense, and trains them to assess every event in society and throughout the world from a communist point of view and from the standpoint of how things stand *vis-à-vis* the revolutionary seizure of power.

While mainly the question of support of these outbreaks of protest and rebellion is through the newspaper and through agitation both written and spoken, on this basis it is crucial in relation to major outbreaks of struggle to mobilize other sections of the masses, especially the proletariat, to support these outbreaks by revolutionary action. Again the key link in this is in organizing wide striking political exposures. The remarks of the advanced worker which Lenin refers to in *What Is To Be Done?* are to the point: "...talk less about 'raising the activity of the masses of workers'! We are far more active than you think, and we are quite able to support, by open street fighting, demands that do not promise any 'palpable results' whatever! And it is not for you to 'raise' our activity, because activity is precisely the thing you yourselves lack! Bow less in worship to spontaneity, and think more about raising *your own* activity, gentlemen!"

While, as we have pointed out, the question of supporting every outbreak of protest and rebellion and of utilizing these for the accumulation of military forces required for decisive battle does not exhaust our central task, but rather is comprehended (included) in it, neither does this exhaust the task of all-around exposure in the newspaper, but it is an important part of the central task and an important part of the newspaper playing the role of artillery. In these outbreaks of protest and rebellion, the newspaper presents a broad, sweeping view to the masses. It arms them to see not only how the struggle they are waging is part of the overall revolutionary struggle, but with a living picture of the capitalist system and the understanding that there is only one solution—mass armed revolution under the leadership of the class-conscious proletariat and its Party.

In turn, reports and analysis of these outbreaks and broad social movements in the newspaper become part of this overall picture enabling the Party and the revolutionary masses to see the different class forces in the field, keep pulse on the development of the revolutionary movement and where things stand *vis-à-vis* the seizure of power. In particular, in relation to these broad social movements, which as we have pointed out are today often among non-proletarian strata, these exposures not only educate the broad masses, especially the proletariat, but arouse a section of them into action. Not only does this have a tremendous revolutionizing effect on these workers, but the impact of the class-conscious proletariat taking the political stage in sup-

port of these movements is extremely significant, exerting tremendous influence on the broader masses of workers and on other classes and strata broadly throughout society. This whole process is very important in actually forging the united front, and the leadership of the proletariat of this united front. And while this will certainly come out in a concentrated way as a revolutionary crisis develops and matures, it is both necessary and possible to carry out this kind of revolutionary work in relation to the outbreaks of protest and rebellion among the masses and the broad social movements of today. To imagine that all this can wait for some future date would be a grievous error.

It could mean missing the revolution, which, once again, will "require 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." The current campaign for 100,000 *RWs* offers great opportunities for advances on this front. For as Lenin also pointed out,

"Those who make nation-wide political agitation the cornerstone of their program, *their tactics and their organizational work* as the *Iskra* does, stand in least risk of missing the revolution. The people who were engaged over the whole of Russia in spinning the network of organizations linked up with an all-Russian newspaper not only did not miss the spring events, but, on the contrary, enabled us to foretell them. Nor did they miss the demonstrations that were described in the *Iskra*, Nos. 13 and 14; on the contrary, they took part in those demonstrations, clearly appreciating their duty of coming to the aid of the spontaneously rising crowd and, at the same time, through the medium of the newspaper, helping all the comrades in Russia to become more closely acquainted with the demonstrations and to utilize their experience. And if they live they will not miss the revolution which first and foremost will demand of us experience in agitation, ability to support (in a communist manner) every protest, ability to direct the spontaneous movement, while safeguarding it from the mistakes of friends and the traps of enemies." History tells the rest: those that lived and remained firm in principle did not miss the revolution but took part in one of those rare moments in history and witnessed the fruit of the all-around and all-embracing political agitation—that work, which as Lenin said, "brings closer and merges into a *single whole* the elemental destructive force of the crowd and the conscious destructive force of the organization of revolutionaries."

Poland

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of Poland as the Rumanian government was forced to announce that it was opposed to "outside intervention," reflecting the widespread anti-Soviet sentiment among the Rumanian people.

On the other hand, if the Soviets *do* invade they are well aware that they will not be able to suppress the Poles (as Western analysts have predicted) in "two or three" hours or even necessarily a matter of days as they did in Czechoslovakia, where the regular army did not resist and the populace heeded the Dubcek government's pleas to put up only passive resistance (although many youth fought back spontaneously with molotov cocktails and 70 people were killed and 100 wounded resisting the invasion). If the Russians march in, it is possible they would face resistance by sections of the masses and even the Polish army.

All this, of course, has not been lost for a moment on the U.S. imperialists, who are hastening to gain the maximum

advantage out of this vexing situation for their Soviet act-alike rivals and exact the highest possible political price if the Soviets do invade, while Carter laughingly claimed that, "The U.S. has no interest in exploiting in any fashion the Polish difficulties for its political ends." (!) The regularity with which the U.S. press has been churning out reports of the Soviets' military buildup and hyping the imminent threat of invasion is, interestingly enough, a bit different than the way they played it in 1968, even though the Johnson administration had reliable intelligence reports of large scale Soviet military activity along the Czech border. The U.S. imperialists were in less of a position then to whine about a *potential* invasion of another country by the Soviets, being tied down in their own years-long invasion and suppression of Vietnam. At that time, too, there was less necessity on the part of the U.S. rulers to expose the machinations of the Soviets since Soviet collusion rather than contention with U.S. imperialism was still more the order of the day. But now with the redivision of the entire world on the agenda, the U.S. imperialists are not about to let the Soviets off the hook in advance, as their fiercely escalating mutual contention is rapidly ap-

proaching the breaking point.

Clearly, the U.S. rulers would not like to see the Soviets invade, as this would result in the suppression of the very forces through which the U.S. hopes to make further inroads and threaten the substantial political and economic leverage they, along with Western allies like France, already have gained in Poland. But while attempting to impress their displeasure of such a move on the Soviets, at the same time, the U.S. rulers could live with a Soviet invasion of this country since it would put the Soviets in an extremely vulnerable political position. The U.S. stands to make a bale of political hay if the Soviets launch a bloody repression by pointing to the ruthless Soviet "aggressors," all the while, of course, portraying themselves as the blameless "upholders of world peace."

As both of the imperialist superpowers continue to scream "imperialist" at each other, it can be seen that the crisis in Poland is sharpening within an increasingly volatile world situation. In this context, the Soviets can ill afford to let Poland slip away. It is literally their "gateway to western Europe," and an important part of their Warsaw bloc. Though the Soviets would much prefer to delay an action

until the U.S. rulers become embroiled in a sticky situation where *they* are forced to deal with trouble in a country aligned with their own bloc (say, intervention in some form in El Salvador), they may decide that their need to deal directly with the rebellious Poles and put the stamp of "Soviet territory" firmly on the country, outweighs the political consequences of a messy invasion. As for the U.S., while there is little they can do to stop this militarily, obviously neither can they afford to take a passive stance toward such a development.

But as both the U.S. and Soviet imperialists rapaciously eye Poland, clawing at each other for position there, and in every corner of the globe in preparation for the all-out slugfest, there is one factor with the potential to throw a powerful hitch into their respective plans for world domination. And that is the contradiction between imperialism and the masses in these countries, which, along with all the other contradictions in the world, is being greatly intensified with the approach of World War 3. The powerful upsurge among the Polish people has proven that the imperialists are by no means the only actors upon the stage of world history.

In an exciting step, the *RW* has begun publishing separate English and Spanish editions. There is also a Chinese edition, and plans are underway for editions in several more languages to begin publication in the near future. We call on all co-conspirators to take up distribution of the *RW* in all the different languages as a crucial part of the campaign to make a leap in circulation of the *RW* to a sustained weekly distribution of 100,000. We must further develop the co-conspiracy among the foreign-born, especially workers, and those who speak other languages as an important part of our preparations for revolution.

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