



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

Voice of the  
Revolutionary Communist  
Party, U.S.A.

No. 135 (Vol. 3, No. 33) Published weekly

December 18, 1981

Editions in English, Spanish, Chinese and French ISSN 0193-3485 50¢

## Poland: **CLAMPDOWN** That May **BLOW UP**

At least seven are now known to be dead and hundreds injured as Poland approaches its second week of martial law imposed by the revisionist rulers with the glowing approval and backing of Soviet social-imperialism, and the entire Warsaw Pact military bloc. While the so-called Military Council of National Salvation, headed by General Jaruzelski, still swears that it intends to "preserve the basic features of socialist renewal," all the jails and prisons in Warsaw are reported to be completely filled, as thousands—workers, journalists, students and intellectuals—have been arrested and/or detained, including nearly all the national leaders and key sympathizers of the Solidarity union, snatched in the initial sweep by the government. Estimates of the number of arrested vary from 5 to 45,000, as roundups of Poles opposing the government onslaught continue.

The Polish rulers have shamelessly tried to present the iron-fisted imposition of the most draconian measures as a "dignified" attempt to lift Poland "out of the crisis, to save the country from collapsing"—then, honey accompanies the clampdown. Another honeycombed accessory was the arrest of 27 former "old guard" party leaders, including Edward Gierek, as "evidence" to buttress Jaruzelski's dubious assertion that "there is no turning back to the false methods and practices from

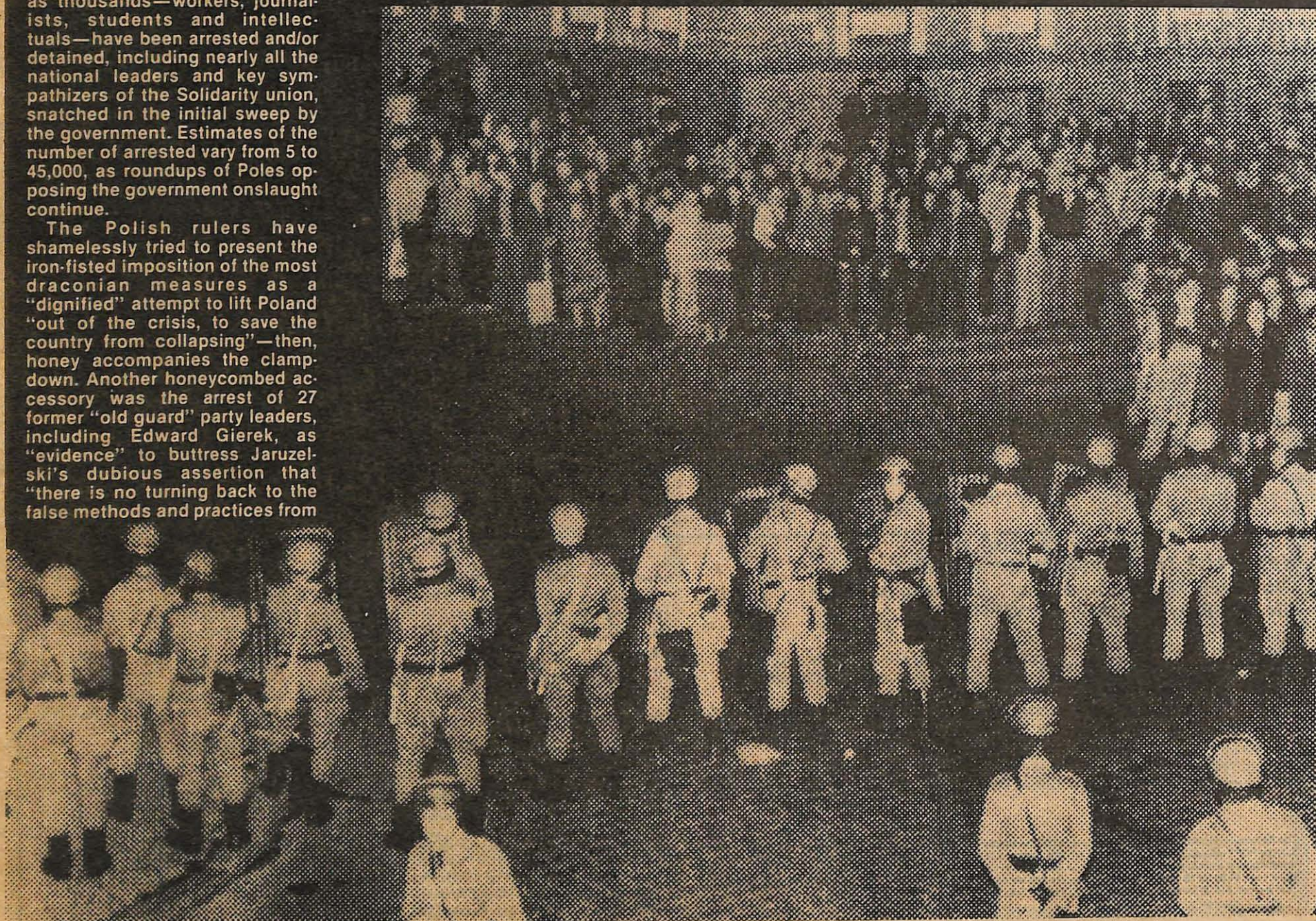
before August 1980". The bottom line, however, was that all gatherings, demonstrations and strikes are forbidden. Hundreds of factories have been placed under military rule, and the six-day work week has been declared restored. Refusal to work, and comply with many other measures, carries a penalty of death. As troops with fixed bayonets patrol the streets, the list of martial law decrees grows, as new ones are added each day. (See the list on page 11)

Lech Walesa, who is under arrest and being held somewhere just outside Warsaw, has yet to be heard from.

Flying in the face of this vicious repression, the righteous resistance of the Polish masses has erupted as workers and students have rebelled. Reports indicate that many workers regrouped, set up clandestine strike committees, elected new leaders to replace those interned, and issued calls for a general

strike. Thousands occupied factories. From the coal mines of Silesia to the steel mills of Warsaw and Katowice to the Lenin shipyards in Gdansk, workers barricaded their workplaces, welding the gates shut and, in many cases, arming themselves with tools and steel rods. A bulletin issued from the giant Huta steelworks in Krakow defiantly proclaimed "We are workers, not Slaves!"

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Saturday night, December 12, crowds gathered in front of Solidarity headquarters as police tried to keep them away.



## Ziad Abu-Ein Extradited U.S. Kidnaps for Israel

On December 12, Ziad Abu-Ein, the young Palestinian freedom fighter who had been held in a Chicago jail for nearly 2-1/2 years, was removed from his cell without warning and extradited to Israel. Neither his family living in Chicago nor his lawyers were notified of this action. A press release from the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee described Ziad's extradition:

"At about 4:00 p.m. Saturday, December 12, without warning, federal marshalls secretly took Ziad Abu-Ein from his cell. Forced to leave behind all of his belongings, Ziad was taken dressed only in his prison jumpsuit and sneakers. In New York, Ziad was handed over to Israeli authorities and flown to Israel. When Ziad arrived in Israel at 12 noon Sunday, December 13, Israeli state television referred to his extradition as 'a gift from the United States Secretary of State Alexander Haig.' On Monday, December 14 we learned that an attorney was allowed to meet with Ziad. She told us that Ziad had been brutally treated during his first day of captivity in Israel. He was slapped and hit. His hair was pulled. He was forced to stand for prolonged periods. He was verbally abused — taunted and insulted. His handcuffs (a new plastic type 'made in USA') have cut sores into his wrists. But his spirit and will are our story."

This kidnapping was a deliberate attempt to prevent the Ziad Abu-Ein Defense Committee and others from mounting further efforts to stop the extradition. Supporters had also been thrown off guard by the State Department's lie that no decision would be made in Ziad's case until December 17. The official bulletin from the State Department was not released until six hours after Ziad's removal, by which time he was en route to Israel. All this underhanded maneuvering to sneak Ziad out of the country shows just how much exposure U.S. imperialism has already suffered around this case for its continued backing of Israel and its ruthless suppression of the Palestinian people, and how much it fears even more such exposure.

Since the Israeli government demanded Ziad's extradition more than two years ago a legal and political battle has been waged by diverse forms to keep him out of the clutches of the Israelis. Although his supporters raised more than \$1 million in bond for Ziad's release, he remained locked up in the Metropolitan Correctional Center since August 21, 1979, steadily denied bail. For what this young man symbolizes is very dangerous for U.S. imperialism. Israeli authorities accused him of planting a bomb in the West Bank town of Tiberias that exploded on May 14, 1979, the anniversary of the founding of Israel. Two people were killed. Thirsting for revenge, the Zionist government tried to find someone to charge for the bombing, launching a massive manhunt that did not end until Ziad, who had been in the U.S. for three months, was arrested by the FBI. The only evidence against him was a torture-extracted confession from a Palestinian being held in Israel.

After a kangaroo court trial, on December 18, 1979 U.S. Magistrate Olga Jurco issued her ruling that there was probable cause to extradite Ziad back to Israel, knowing he would face the usual treatment meted out to freedom fighters — jail, torture and possibly death. The last appeal to this decision was exhausted on October 13 when the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear the case. The final order to carry out the extradition rested with the Secretary of State, whose action in this case is certainly not unexpected.

The order signed by Deputy Secretary of State William Clark contains the most cynical and hypocritical assurances of the "fair trial" that Ziad will supposedly receive. Clark's memorandum states, "I do not, and need not for the purpose of extradition, make any determination on the question of Abu-Ein's guilt or innocence. That decision can only be made by a trial court (in Israel) . . . . Abu-Ein has stated that if he could be 'assured of a just trial in an open system, he would have nothing to fear.' I believe he has those assurances."

While Clark prefers to propagate the time-worn myth of "tiny, democratic Israel," within the Zionist state itself the reaction to Ziad's extradition was more straight up. The Israeli government was barely able to conceal their glee. After the gloating TV announcement of Ziad's extradition, one of the largest demonstrations in recent years exploded in the occupied territory of the West Bank. 5000 Palestinians poured into the streets in defiance of the Israeli military authorities. The demonstration did not ebb until the Israeli Supreme Court issued an injunction stating that the home of Ziad's family would not be blown up. (This is a common form of punishment for those suspected of "terrorist" activity.)

Because of the international support for Ziad, the Israelis were forced to take the unusual step of allowing him to see his father and a lawyer. But this concession to public opinion was quickly withdrawn. The authorities have now announced that after his arraignment on December 17 Ziad will be held incommunicado for two weeks. Palestinian prisoners are routinely tortured during this time. No date has yet been set for trial.

As the upsurge in the West Bank demonstrates, the U.S. government's decision to extradite Ziad involved high political stakes. And contrary to the protestations of Deputy Secretary Clark, this decision was based not on the "legal merits" of the case but on how best to resolve the pressing political and military problems facing the U.S. in the Middle East. As far as the legalities go, the evidence against Ziad is flimsy indeed. The prosecution hung its entire case on the confession extracted from Jamal Yassin, a Palestinian being held in an Israeli prison — a confession that has since been recanted twice.

In fact, the U.S. government's railroad of Ziad has become so widely exposed that they were forced to dredge up another "witness" at the last minute as the pretext for his extradition. This witness, Jerome Radick, also incarce-

Ziad Abu-Ein



rated at the Metropolitan Correctional Center for a period of time, claims that Ziad "confessed" his role in the Tiberias bombing to him.

Radick, who was once found psychologically incompetent to stand trial, has a history of mental instability typical of many who are intimidated and/or bribed into acting as informers and agents for the political police. Originally sentenced to two years in prison on a charge of selling guns and explosives, his penalty was reduced to probation due to the personal intervention of U.S. Attorney Thomas Sullivan, who prosecuted Ziad. To cover his tracks, Sullivan has now ordered this motion impounded by the court so Ziad's attorneys have been unable to view it. Radick, recently picked up on murder and armed robbery charges, is reported to be bragging about his upcoming visit to Israel, where he plans to testify against Ziad.

Through this and various other legal acrobatic stunts to nail Ziad, the bourgeoisie has made it clear that his extradition is a political statement of its firm support for the imperialist-created Zionist state of Israel. The repeated court decisions upholding this extradition have been a declaration that the U.S. backs the suppression of the Palestinian people and the continuing theft of their land as a central part of maintaining Israel as an imperialist stronghold and strategic outpost in the Middle East.

At the same time, the U.S. has by no means abandoned its efforts on the diplomatic front to defuse the Palestinian struggle through proposals such as the Saudi Peace Plan or the Camp David Accords. Still, the decision in Ziad's case underscores the fact that the main weapon in the U.S. arsenal against the Palestinians is sheer force carried out by its most trusted ally, Israel. Any resistance to this by the Palestinian people is labeled illegitimate "terrorist" activity. This is the point that the government drove home repeatedly during the trial to determine whether or not probable cause existed to extradite Ziad.

It has been standard operating procedure in these political cases for the U.S. to treat them as merely routine "criminal" trials, and in Ziad's case this is definitely right in line with longstanding imperialist policy of slandering the Palestinians as "murderers" and so on.

But in the extradition of Ziad this question took on an extra added importance since the U.S.-Israeli Treaty has a clause prohibiting extradition in cases involving "an offense of a political character." So the defense set out to painstakingly prove what the world already knows — that the struggle of the Palestinian people not only has a "political character" but is a just struggle against imperialism.

During the course of the trial the testimony of defense witnesses was either curtailed by Judge Jurco or blocked completely. Jurco refused to permit evidence from Alexandra Johnson, former U.S. Vice-Consul in Jerusalem who was to testify to torture of Palestinians in Israeli prisons; Terry Fleener and Sami Ismail, two Americans who had been imprisoned in Israeli jails, were also not permitted to testify; and the judge refused to accept documentary evidence such as UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

For the prosecution's side, however, the State Department intervened directly in a very unusual move. Evidence was accepted from Knute Malmberg, head of the Dept. of Extradition, in the form of a letter stating that the U.S. government viewed the charge against Ziad as "indiscriminate killing" that could not be considered an "offense of a political character." Louis Fields, head of the State Dept.'s division on terrorism and narcotics, echoed the charge that there is no political struggle of the Palestinian people, merely a bunch of common criminals running around. This testimony, coming from the real masterminds of terrorism perpetrated against the people of the world, including the Palestinian people, was of course accepted by the judge as quite legitimate; and, in fact, the State Dept. position expresses the essence of the court decision ordering Ziad's extradition.

While the U.S. achieved the desired goal of driving home its solid support for Israel during the 2-1/2 year period of Ziad's case, they were concerned about the effects this would have on other U.S. objectives in the Middle East, namely its dealings with the reactionary Arab regimes with whom they are trying to firm up their "anti-Soviet strategic consensus in the Middle East" in alliance with Israel. It is these

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The *Revolutionary Worker* (ISSN 0193-3485) is published weekly except for the 4th week of December and the 4th week of July, by RCP Publications, 542 S. Dearborn, No. 906, Chicago, IL 60605. Controlled Circulation postage paid at Chicago, IL. Subscriptions and address changes should be sent to RCP Publications, POB 3486, Chicago, IL 60654. Subscriptions are \$20 a year, \$4.00 for 10 weeks in the U.S., Canada and Mexico. (\$30.00 for institutions; foreign subscriptions are \$80.00 a year airmail, \$40.00 for six months and \$30.00 surface mail.)

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# Support the Rebels in Poland

The following is the text of a leaflet by the RCP, USA distributed in the wake of the declaration of martial law in Poland.

Martial law has been declared by the revisionist rulers of Poland, with the full backing and support of the Soviet Union. This self-proclaimed "natural ally of the oppressed" has once again sponsored an attempt to brutally suppress them. As in Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Czechoslovakia, Kampuchea—these Soviet exploiters of just rebellion against U.S.-style imperialism have again openly bared their imperialist nature. And now the U.S.—that sponsor of mass murder and oppression from Chile to Vietnam to El Salvador—is itself donning the costume of "natural ally" of the oppressed Polish workers. In combination, this double imperialist spectacle is disgusting. In Paris, in a gigantic demonstration of support for the Polish people, a sizeable section of the crowd chanted "From Chile to Warsaw—Same Struggle."

In Poland itself, in the face of the arrests of thousands of Solidarity leaders

## Forward with the World Revolution

and the threat of jail terms—even death—for striking, the workers have already mounted significant resistance and more is stirring. These are crucial days in Poland, and events there are connected by a thousand threads to the profoundly important and rapidly developing events throughout the whole world. The ever-sharpening drive toward world war between the blocs of imperialists—in the West, led by the U.S.; in the East, by the Soviet Union—has provided the stage on which events in Poland are set.

### Revisionism

The true features of the brand of communism now in power in the Soviet

Union and throughout the states allied with it, notably in Eastern Europe and in particular Poland, have been mercilessly revealed: this is revisionism, capitalism with a socialist signboard, which enslaves the workers and oppressed people. It is social-imperialism—socialism in words; imperialism in deeds—and, like its Western counterpart, it faces today an immense economic and political crisis throughout its bloc and around the world.

Poland is a key link in the Warsaw Pact. It possesses the biggest army outside of Russia and is a developed capitalist country in its own right with an economy completely intertwined with the Eastern bloc. Poland's

technical base has been consciously geared up for war by the revisionists. It is these imperialist relations which lie behind the Soviets' "fraternal socialist relations" with Poland, relations set increasingly on a war footing.

### U.S. Rulers—No Right to Speak

On every level, the West also has its clutches deep into Poland. For some time, the U.S. in particular has consciously pursued a strategy of driving wedges into the Soviet orbit and gaining economic and political influence in order to strike when the time is right to pull even entire states away from the Soviets. All this is openly discussed and brazenly defended, especially in the context of world war.

Poland has accumulated a massive debt to the West, exceeding \$28 billion. The red bourgeoisies of the Eastern bloc have invited the red, white and blue bourgeoisie to share their feast. Coupled with the economic crisis in the West, this has played an important part in Poland's particular economic problems. Politically, the West has bent every effort to plant the flag of "freedom"—that is, of Western-style imperialist democracy instead of Soviet-style revisionism.

The concern voiced by U.S. Secretary of State Haig that the "political experiment in Poland must continue" is indeed touching. It is also thoroughly transparent. After all, there was another "political experiment" a few years ago in Chile. In that situation, the U.S. didn't shed tears; it shed blood.

But at the same time, the U.S. posture has been double-edged in recent days. It has continued an important element of approval of the martial law. This double-edged nature of U.S. policy is due to complex imperialist interests: on the one hand they definitely do not want the workers' struggle getting out of hand; on the other, they have openly worried that the Soviets will get away with suppressing it without paying enough of an international political price. In their cause, the U.S. has been aided immeasurably by the Catholic Church, with the Pope and the Cardinal of Poland appealing to the people not to "start a civil war," to "avoid bloodshed" and to obey the military.

### Proletarian Revolution

In the midst of this cut-throat imperialist rivalry, the question that has been posed so sharply in Poland is the question facing the oppressed people

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Gdansk, 1970 — During an upsurge of struggle, shipyard workers burn the city's Communist Party headquarters.

## Chorus of Oinks from Revisionist World Mudhole

The declaration of martial law in Poland has torn still more of the tattered mask off of Soviet-style revisionism. Since it is still the case that this form of imperialism exerts quite an influence on people internationally, on the revolutionary-minded, and even on people who are themselves in the middle of revolutions, it is hoped that the situation in Poland will serve as an awakening to the real role of revisionism in the world today, to the imperialist interests which underlie revisionist policy in different countries, and to the true interests of parties and governments which advocate these policies.

In a few short days, we have not been able to obtain a complete collection of statements and actions of revisionist states and parties outside the Soviet Union; but, some of this material is available now, and in a word, the decree of martial law in Poland has played to overwhelmingly rave reviews among the politicians of new Tsardom.

This was most immediately evident in official statements from the "People's Democracies" of Eastern Europe. It should be noted, incidentally, that rarely is an event as significant as this pursued by the Soviets without discussion among the allies. The East German party, for example, is said to have played a forceful role in the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. These countries form a real war bloc, and though they are far from immune to bourgeois national disputes, on major issues what is apparent is cooperation, not clash.

Via a Prague radio broadcast early in the week, the Czechs gave Jaruzelski the following ringing endorsement: "Each of our citizens is aware of the far-reaching importance for our security of the alliance with Poland in the framework of the Warsaw Treaty. And there is no doubt that to wrench Poland from the defensive system of the socialist community would disrupt the military strategic balance in Europe and

that this could prove conclusive in the present extremely sharp situation... In these circumstances, the report on the proclamation of the state of emergency in Poland, despite the dramatic contents of this fact itself, has a calming effect. This resolute approach of the Polish leadership is the only possible solution..."

So, according to these revisionist gentlemen, martial law in Poland is a measure for world peace! What is revealed here is unwavering support for any and all measures taken to tighten the Eastern bloc. The revisionists call this "fraternal socialist relations," though in Czechoslovakia, especially, it might be a little hard to swallow. The German Democratic Republic harped on a similar theme:

"In accordance with the constitution, the necessary measures have been taken in the People's Republic of Poland, to re-establish and consolidate law and order and to secure socialism. They



reflect the determination of the communists and all true patriots of the People's Republic of Poland to defend their socialist fatherland against attacks by internal and external counterrevolution and lead it out of the crisis." "In accordance with the constitution" they want to "consolidate law and order" and "all true... patriots" are determined to

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# Poland: Clampdown That May Blow Up

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The Polish Press Agency (PAP) issued feeble assurances about how everything was "functioning normally," how the army had the "overwhelming support" of the population and praising the "dignified civic attitude of the work force." Polish TV broadcasts showing pictures of "happy Poles" Christmas shopping in well-stocked stores were alternated with film of the Hungarians being crushed by Soviet troops in 1956, a pointed

reminder that things could be worse—and would be—if things didn't settle down.

Meanwhile, the naked truth rumbled through snowbound streets on the grinding treads of Polish armor. Factories were surrounded by tanks, their gates smashed through, as troops firing into the air and laying down blankets of teargas removed occupiers, arresting thousands. Crowds of jeering youth were broken up by military assaults.

Protestors occupying campuses, including the literary section of the prestigious Polish Academy of Sciences, were dragged out and beaten. A protest by Polish women was met by brute repression, heads battered, arms broken—compelling testimony to Jaruzelski's pious insistence, in his appeal to the nation, that "None of Poland's problems can be solved by force."

As of this writing, the army has reportedly broken a number of major strikes and factory occupations, but there is certainly no sign that they have the situation under control. Warsaw Radio reported that seven people were killed and 39 workers injured when striking miners at the Wujek coal mine

in Silesia fought back with stones, crowbars and axes wounding 41 policemen. Clearly the spirit of rebellion has been by no means snuffed out, and the Polish masses remain a powerful force to be reckoned with.

Throughout Europe, there was a rapid reaction to the revisionists' move in Poland. Demonstrations against martial law in Poland, and in support of Solidarity erupted in nearly every major West European city—Paris, Vienna, Rome, Zurich, The Hague, and West Berlin just to name a few.

Interestingly enough, the Associated Press felt obliged to consciously distort reports of at least one demonstration of over a thousand people in downtown West Berlin against the Polish rulers' martial declaration, mentioning only that the protestors broke windows of the Polish LOT Airways and the Soviets' Aeroflot offices, and then "burned flags of western nations apparently in protest of the 'non-interference' policy." In fact, at this demonstration (organized by the squatters' movement that has repeatedly targeted the U.S.) which upheld the resistance of the Polish workers, protestors also broke windows at the offices of British Airways and Pan Am and marched under a banner reading: "Russians and Yankees, Hands Off Poland!" Many could be seen carrying red flags, and as for any Western flags that were burned, it was obviously for reasons other than what the AP would have people believe.

## International Implications

As the U.S. and Soviets crossed verbal sabres over the crackdown in Poland, it was readily apparent that these latest events were having far-reaching ramifications for future international developments. What is happening in Poland today is by no means limited to that country's borders, and is in fact very much related to the much larger pre-war political topography internationally.

For sometime, Poland in particular has been a focal point of contention between the Eastern and Western blocs—for the West, a chance to drive some wedges into the Soviet bloc, and for the East, the necessity to prevent this. The ludicrous pretensions of the Soviets that the martial law crackdown is merely "Poland's internal affair" and that they have had nothing whatsoever to do with backing the suppression of the Poles—something they have been quite openly leaning on their revisionist allies to get down to the business of for some time—were belied by one of the sparse TASS commentaries which noted that the Soviet leaders "received with a feeling of satisfaction Jaruzelski's statement that the Polish-Soviet alliance has been and remains the cornerstone of Polish state interests..." This is precisely at the heart of the matter.

Given the press of international events, the necessity of the Soviets and their Eastern allies was clearly no longer a question of simply finding ways to contain the "Polish disease," but rather to seize the first opportunity to knock out the contagion with a powerful dose of revisionist medicine. The threat of Solidarity leaders in Radom to hold a nationwide referendum on whether the Polish party should continue to rule, and whether Poland should continue to give the Soviets "military guarantees" was not so much the immediate spark, as it was an excuse for the Polish government to make its move—conveniently assisted in tactical matters by the Soviet commander of the Warsaw Pact who just happened to arrive in Poland just before the clampdown (and who, according to a British reporter, told Jaruzelski, "If you don't do it, we will").

The swiftness and thoroughness of the military takeover made clear that plans had been "in place" for some time. This was confirmed as Polish diplomatic sources finally admitted that the move had been as much as four months in preparation and that the deployment of four man elite security and army units in 2000 Polish villages last October was, far from being related to "food distribution problems" as

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## "Natural Ally of the Oppressed"



Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia.

## "The Defenders of Democracy"



U.S. invasion and decade-long war against Vietnam.



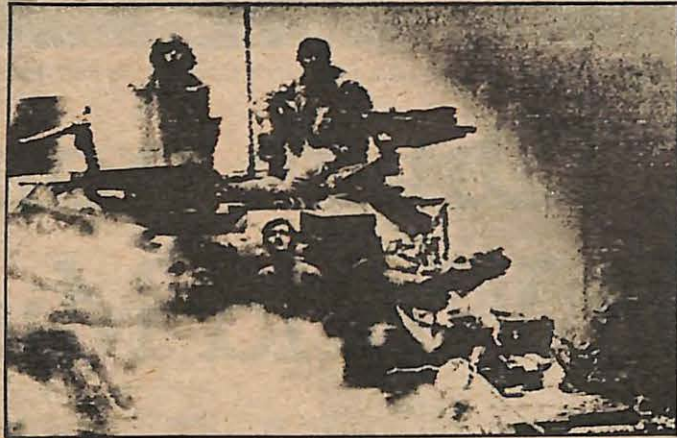
Soviets invade Afghanistan.



U.S.-backed junta troops in El Salvador.



Cambodian refugees flee Soviet-backed Vietnamese army.



U.S. invasion of Cambodia.



Soviet and Cuban advisors in Ethiopia.



U.S. puppet regime suppresses student revolt in South Korea.



# U.S.: "Martial Law? Good . . . in Turkey"

The imposition of martial law in Poland this week has uncorked a veritable torrent of outrage and concern about oppression from the U.S. ruling class and assorted mouthpieces of theirs: "We are seriously concerned that large numbers of people have been interned . . . The iron fist of military rule has descended on Poland . . . The use of violence against the Polish people by the Government would have extremely grave consequences . . ." and much, much more. Truly a touching display of sympathy and support for the Polish people. Coming from the mouths of people who hold most of the current world records for internment, iron-fisted military rule and vicious repression (though we don't want to take anything away from their equally-imperialist rivals headquartered in Moscow), this is nothing but the most

cynical and foul hypocrisy. Let's take just one example from the long list of U.S. accomplishments in this field. How about Turkey?

Just over a year ago, in September 1980, martial law was imposed in Turkey by the military. Like Poland, Turkey was (and still is) a political tinderbox, wracked by economic crisis and growing mass upheaval; but unlike Warsaw Pact member Poland, Turkey is a key NATO "ally". Early in the morning of September 12, U.S.-supplied tanks of the Turkish Army rumbled through the streets of Ankara and other major cities, taking up positions at vital intersections and buildings, while paramilitary units conducted massive raids against revolutionaries and progressive forces. Over 30,000 were jailed in the first three months of military rule. Martial law, already in force over part of

the country, was extended to all 67 provinces.

At the time of the coup, tens of thousands of workers in Turkey were on strike and in open rebellion against the government's attempts to tighten the screws of exploitation in response to the demands of Turkey's Western creditors for greater "economic austerity" and productivity. One of the first moves of the junta was to order the strikers back to work at the point of a gun and to announce that all union ac-

tivity and "unauthorized meetings" were illegal and would be broken up forcibly. In the weeks that followed, the U.S. and other Western powers moved quickly to shore up the economy—advancing billions in new loans and rescheduling Turkey's huge foreign debt as an expression of their renewed confidence in Turkey's "business climate." No credit cut-off here!

In the year since the military coup took place, the number of political

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During this past summer, 1500 demonstrators in Katowice, a mining town in southern Poland, surrounded a police station and overturned a police van to demand the release of several militants arrested for passing out leaflets.

## Clampdown That May Blow Up

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then claimed, little more than a dress rehearsal for the real thing—all under the supervision of Soviet military officials from the Warsaw Pact headquarters at Legnica.

One Solidarity spokesman, in Sweden over the weekend and caught there, revealed how something like this had been expected. In an interview, he said that especially since Jaruzelski had been elevated to the post of premier early this year, there had been increasing signs of militarization. And, especially since former party head Kania was dumped last summer at the party congress, and replaced in this post, too, by Jaruzelski, the government had been increasingly on the offensive. He also said that the workers had been making preparations by stocking various supplies.

### U.S. Response

No less cynical than the Soviets' claim that they are not involved in Poland's internal affairs was the U.S. rulers' dual-edged response. On the one hand, there was no dearth of noise about U.S. "concern" for the "plight of the Poles" with the U.S. rulers casting themselves as the champions of "freedom and democracy" for the oppressed. Protest marches in Chicago and at the Polish Consulate in New York were played up big, complete with instant replays of Soviet flags being burned. The media pumped out all sorts of commentary, highlighting the failure of "high-flown communist pro-

mises brayed over loudspeakers at countless May Day parades . . ." Reagan piously quipped on the phone to the Pope, "Our sympathies are with the masses, not the government"—a touching reminder of the U.S.'s well-known support for the "struggles of the people" not in Chile or El Salvador, mind you, but in countries where they are aimed against governments blocked with their Soviet imperialist rivals!

However, on the other hand, there was a definite aspect of initial, if grudging, acquiescence to the Polish rulers' martial law edict and a certain echoing of the Soviets' claim that the crackdown was purely an "internal affair". Among other things, there was Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Charles Percy's widely-publicized remark about how Solidarity may have "gone too far" and brought things down on itself.

The West's papal agent in the Vatican urged restraint upon fellow Poles and his words were appropriately mimicked by Archbishop Jozef Glemp, the Roman Catholic primate of Poland: "I shall plead, even if I must plead on my knees: Don't start a fight between Poles. Do not give your lives away, brother workers, because the price of human life will be too low."

Some insight into the dilemma facing Washington was provided by an editorial in the *Chicago Sun-Times* which remarked: "Disheartening as Jaruzelski's re-imposition of central power may be, chances of a general

bloodletting in Poland are reduced as long as there is no direct Soviet intervention . . . Solidarity's radicals were going for broke when they demanded a national referendum on a non-communist government for Poland. Lech Walesa would not have gone that far . . . maybe he and likeminded Solidarity still can salvage something of the gains they have won in behalf of a heroic Polish people."

Actually, this kind of thinking—at least for the time being—makes some sense for the U.S. rulers. For one thing, it jives with the strategy they have been pursuing for some time in Poland of counselling avoidance of confrontation and settling for low but steady inroads. And as things stand now, the U.S. probably sees some benefit in any potential short-term stability brought about by martial law in Poland which, among other things, hasn't put the kind of strains on the U.S./Western Europe relationship that a Soviet invasion would have.

Of course, things in Poland can change quickly, the Soviets could in fact invade, and this would demand a different posture from the U.S. There were signs of this toward the end of the week when some top government officials were publicly putting out that the administration had "erred" in its initial reaction. The big question was, "Have the Soviets paid a high enough price?" Reagan called a news conference designed, as one White House source put it, to put things in "a higher key." His ensuing denunciation of "coercion and violation of human rights on a massive scale" in Poland was delivered with all the authority of a government that few will argue is the world's acknowledged expert in such matters. However, beyond reaffirming that the U.S. was cutting off food aid to Poland

as part of its efforts to influence the outcome of events there, Reagan still refused to speculate on any other "initiatives or options" — and one which shows the interaction of international events.

Another complicating matter for the U.S. was the Israeli announcement under headlines about Poland that they were permanently annexing the Golan Heights in open defiance of the Camp David Accords. Coming when it did, this was clearly a source of extreme irritation for the U.S. rulers, giving the Soviets a juicy bit of exposure with which to come back at them. The U.S. was forced to announce that it would vote to condemn the actions of its own Middle East hitman at the UN, and subsequently Reagan fumed that "We deplore this unilateral action by Israel."

Meanwhile, the Soviets screamed in turn that the U.S. was attempting "to impose on Poland its own, in fact, imperialist terms for resolving the conflict" and accused the U.S. rulers of "meddling" and "overt interference" in Poland's affairs. While, of course, they are quite correct, the gall of such rantings was underscored by the fact that in the very same breath a Kremlin source let it be known that the Soviets will not hesitate to send its military forces to Poland if all resistance to the martial-law regime is not crushed soon. (Polish diplomatic sources reluctantly confirmed that military contingencies in case of "prolonged difficulties" include requesting the assistance of Soviet airborne divisions.)

It must be said, however, that the growing volume of Soviet threats and hypocritical charges are being born of desperation as they are facing the prospect of being caught in an even bigger jam than they are already in.

As we go to press, the Polish rulers have still not been able to consolidate their crackdown, raising the prospect of further leaps in the crisis depending on how things develop. Radio Warsaw has reported that in addition to the clash in Silesia, 164 civilians and 160 soldiers were injured in fighting the same day in Gdansk as troops moved to suppress the strike at the Lenin shipyards—the birthplace of the Solidarity movement. There were also reports that the government had to set up two massive internment centers, one outside Warsaw and one near Gdansk, to accommodate the thousands still being arrested. The Soviets and their sweating Polish revisionist understudies are clearly still sitting on a keg of international dynamite, the first explosions of which are only an indication of things to come. □



# Political Police Files on RCP FBI Targets Internationalism

The January 29, 1979 demonstration protesting the visit of Chinese Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping to the U.S. was an event with tremendous ramifications for both the proletariat worldwide and the bourgeoisie, particularly the U.S. bourgeoisie. Yet, since the police attack on the demonstration and the subsequent indictment of, and attempt to railroad Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants on multiple felony charges, the U.S. government has continuously attempted to play down, and in fact deny, that there was any broader significance to either the demonstration or their attack on Bob Avakian and the Revolutionary Communist Party. In fact, today the government would have us believe that their only interest in Bob Avakian and the RCP is based on a simple case of supposed assault on Washington, D.C. police officers (carrying, of course, "only" 100 years and more of jail time). According to them, it is almost silly to think that the U.S. government could be at all concerned about the international effects of the activity of the RCP, let alone that such effects could possibly be a reason for them to attack the RCP.

Well, history recorded in the documents of their own political police tells a whole different story. Although these documents, released in an earlier and separate court case, are highly deleted

and swamped with all kinds of legal restrictions about how they can be publicized, they still show, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that the international arena has, in fact, been one of the top priorities of the political police throughout their decade-long "investigation" of the RCP and its leadership. From the founding of the Revolutionary Union (RU—the main organization playing a role in forming the RCP) through the founding of the RCP, and up to the present, document after document notes with concern the developing ties between the RU and the RCP and revolutionary China (and later the deterioration of these ties after the revisionist coup in China) as well as the developing ties between the RU and RCP and other revolutionary organizations around the world, particularly in Iran.

These documents portray an increasing sense of alarm on the part of the ruling class, and their political police, with regard to the internationalist line and activities of the RCP. In the period leading up to, and following the formation of the Party, the political police appear to be in a frenzy over the prospects of a genuine "Maoist" party being formed inside the U.S. with, as a September, 1976 FBI memo put it, "the intent to instill the line of the Chinese Communist Party into the political

situation in the U.S."

## Iran, World War

During this same time period, they take careful note of the fact that Bob Avakian spoke at an August 1976 national convention of an organization of revolutionary Iranian students and "criticized the regime of the Shah of Iran and pledged full support from the RCP for the (Iranian organization's—RW) plan to overthrow the Shah." There is also a very in-depth report on the November, 1976 "Conference on the International Situation, War, Revolution and the Internationalist Tasks of the American People," which carefully pointed out the large number of Iranian students present at the event and their "very close relationship" with the RCP. The FBI also commented on the other numerous and varied organizations and individuals participating in the conference, and what the report described as the "unity in denouncing war." In this same December, 1976 report, the political police get to the heart of their own concern with the RCP in relation to the international arena. According to them, the RCP should be investigated because "it may be engaged in activities which involve or will involve violation of federal law for the purpose of substantially impairing the function of the gov-

ernment in order to influence United States government policies and decisions." Although the wording reflects the distorted and perverted views of the ruling class about revolution, the implications of this statement are quite clear, particularly when viewed in the context of an imperialist superpower gearing up for war.

In addition to keeping close tabs on these developments, the FBI also attempted to seize on them in order to develop a "legal pretext" for continuing, and intensifying, their attacks against the RCP and its leadership. This is particularly sharp around the continued attempts by the political police to paint the Party, and its leadership, as "agents of a foreign power," thus "legally justifying" black-bag jobs and other COINTELPRO operations, which, according to the Attorney-General's guidelines, were "acceptable" as long as they were aimed at "detecting and preventing...subversion...on behalf of foreign powers."

One of the sharpest examples of this scheme was the launching of an investigation requested by an Acting Assistant Attorney-General, John C. Keeney, to determine if an organization aimed at promoting friendship between the people of the United States and the People's Republic of China, and with very close political ties to the RCP at the time, "...may be acting as a subscription agent for the People's Republic of China, and therefore may be required to register under the Foreign Agents Registration Act." Of course, the FBI stipulated that the investigation should "center on the national organization and the chapters significantly influenced by, or controlled by the RU/RCP." Interestingly enough, testimony during the 1980 trial of FBI agents Felt and Miller revealed

Continued on page 20

## Mao Defendants Trial Battle Over Government Spying

The battle to force the government to disclose "all transcripts, logs and memoranda" of their electronic surveillance against Bob Avakian, the Revolutionary Communist Party and the Mao Defendants is continuing to heat up. On Tuesday, December 15, a new motion was filed on behalf of the Mao Defendants, demanding that either the court grant the defendants' motion to dismiss the charges, or hold an immediate status hearing, on or before December 18th, to address the government's failure to comply with the two-year-old court order to turn over this material. Citing the fact that the prosecution is no longer (as they did in the past) even holding out a vague promise of a delivery date, and the fact that the "saga of the government's failure to produce remains unexplained" by the prosecution, the motion turns up the burner a little higher by demanding that the court order representatives from the various police agencies to appear at this hearing, and "give precise information on the status of the search."

As we go to press, neither the court nor the government has officially responded to the defendant's motion. However, prosecutor Mary Ellen Abrecht did her best to continue bearing the tattered banner of the ruling class by informally offering up yet another flimsy excuse. In their most recent motion, the government stated that one of the reasons that they have delayed in turning over the material was the fact that there was so much of it that the "gathering and review of the materials has been a more cumbersome and time-consuming process than anyone anticipated." To this Abrecht recently added that the reason the material was so cumbersome was that the court order didn't set any specific cut-off date for how far back the search

should go. According to Abrecht, this is quite a problem since it could mean that the search for this material would have to be carried all the way back to the date of birth of each person involved. To this the only appropriate reply is, "if the government has been bugging Bob Avakian, the Mao Defendants or anyone else connected with the case since the day they were born, we would certainly be more than interested in getting that material too."

But no sooner had she let this little gem out than Abrecht indicated the real purpose behind it. According to Abrecht, the government is now thinking about proposing a reasonable cut-off date for the material—January 1, 1979—shortly before the demonstration against Deng Xiaoping's visit took place. In other words, even as they are forced to more openly raise the political banner of "national security" (see RW No. 133) as a cover for their refusal to turn over this material, the government is still clutching at, and attempting to wrap themselves in, the cloak of "it's just a criminal case." After all, according to the government, the only material that may be relevant to the "criminal case" would be in the files of the political police after January 1, 1979. All the other material, which will document a pattern of government political attacks and specific plans to disrupt and destroy Bob Avakian, the RCP, and its supporters, and would shed light on exactly how this so-called "criminal trial" is, in fact, a continuation of and intensification of this attack, is, according to the government, totally irrelevant.

As we go to press we have learned that defense lawyers were notified on the evening of December 17 to appear in court on December 18 on these matters.

## A Battle Won on One Front



As we go to press, we have learned that the French authorities suddenly found the ways to carry out their normal procedures, and remove the obstacles that had been obstructing the granting of residency papers to Bob Avakian. These temporary residency papers have now been given. However, this does not solve the problem of political refugee status, nor provide the political protection that refugee status does. This has been the heart of the matter all along and remains so. The battle around this is continuing and support and activity around it—especially telegrams—are especially important right now.

## Protest Rejection of Evidence for Bob Avakian's Refugee Status Appeal!

The French appeals commission overseeing Bob Avakian's demand for political refugee status refused to accept the first batch of testimonials on political repression in the U.S. unless they were all translated into French. This is a clear attempt to prevent these and the many more testimonials from the masses from being submitted at all. It is also a blatant attack on all immigrants seeking refugee status in France.

We call again on people to send telegrams in protest:

**Stop Harassment of Bob Avakian  
Stop Blocking Demand for Refugee Status.  
Accept All Testimonials in Language of Origin.**

These telegrams should be sent to the appeals commission for refugee status in France:

Commission de Recours de Refugies  
99 Rue de la Verrerie  
Paris, 4, France.

A copy should also be sent to the Embassy of France in the U.S., 2129 Wyoming Ave., Washington, D.C. or to the French Consulate nearest your city.

Another copy should be sent directly to the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants—either one of the local committees or to the National Office at 1801 Columbia Road N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009.



# THE THEFT OF THE GOLAN HEIGHTS

On Monday night, December 14, the Israeli Knesset (Parliament) headed by Prime Minister Menachem Begin voted to annex the Golan Heights—Syrian territory which has been under Israeli military occupation since the Israelis grabbed it in the 1967 war. Gesturing wildly and hopping about (despite the fact that he was in a wheel chair) Begin arrogantly stated that Syria's control of the Golan Heights, before the 1967 war, was the result of the division of the Middle East by Britain and France after World War 2, "the arbitrariness of colonial rulers in an era that has passed never to return... from the historical point of view, the Golan Heights were, and will remain, an integral part of the land of Israel." But who should know more about "colonial arbitrariness" than Menachem Begin himself, who personally led the vicious Irgun gang to slaughter hundreds of Palestinians in the 1948 massacre at Deir Yassin. This is a clear-cut case of the thief calling "thief." But what this "surprise" move points up very sharply is exactly the knot of contradictions coming to a head on a world scale, and the process in which these historic events are accelerating.

Begin made his move in the first days after the imposition of martial law in Poland, when the eyes of the world were on Poland, and the U.S. imperialists were busily pointing the finger at the suppression of the workers by the Soviet imperialist bloc. From the standpoint of U.S. imperialism, Begin's timing was terrible. The annexation, which touched off its own "storm of outrage," meant that on the diplomatic front, the UN Security Council was taking up yet another resolution deploring Israeli aggression when the U.S. was counting on the spotlight to be trained on the Soviet Union.

The *New York Times* reported that Secretary of Defense Weinberger and Secretary of State Haig (who had cancelled a trip to Israel to get on the Poland case) were "clearly upset by the timing of the Israeli move and by what they saw as a lack of consideration for American sensitivities." The *Times* also made quite clear, in an editorial, that timing was the real problem for the imperialists, stating that, "There are strong historical and military arguments for Israel's occupation of the Golan Heights... But, there is no compelling reason of security for Israel to annex the region now, or to do so with haste and disdain." Of course, what they mean by "historical" arguments has all to do with the aims of U.S. imperialism in the days ahead, and what they mean by "disdain" is clearly Begin's disregard for the overall interests of the U.S. bloc by mucking things up at a critical moment.

## Pressure on Egypt

Further, the annexation was carried out and announced, U.S. officials insist, without prior consultation. Secretary of Defense Weinberger, appearing on "Good Morning America," complained that "...these are actions that they take unilaterally, preemptively in some cases and without any prior notice to us and certainly without any slight suggestion that we consent to it or agree to it; quite the contrary, we are very unhappy with it." The November 30 agreement on "strategic cooperation" between Israel and the United States reportedly was in part designed to tighten the leash on Israel to insure closer coordination with U.S. imperialism's strategic objectives in the Middle East. The U.S. does, of course, frequently deny advance knowledge or approval of Israeli military terror tactics, such as the bombing of Iraq's Osirak nuclear facilities last June, when in fact, the U.S. had given at least a tacit and general go-ahead. But U.S. imperialism's complex efforts to juggle relations between its Arab allies and Israel have also produced conflicts with the Begin regime, and Begin has sometimes—as apparently in the present

case—seized an opportune time to carry out a *fait accompli* without consulting his U.S. masters.

The annexation has put further political pressure on Egypt. One press commentary pointed out that, "Should Egypt join the other Arab countries in a call for collective sanctions, Mr. Begin may claim that Cairo has violated the Camp David agreement, justifying an Israeli refusal to evacuate the remainder of Sinai. Should Egypt stay aloof from the other Arab states, it might find it impossible to rejoin them for some time to come." Some editorialists questioned whether the Golan annexation presaged some further Israeli maneuvers to back out of their agreement to withdraw from remaining occupied territory in Sinai by the scheduled deadline of April 1982, or to set a precedent for outright annexation of the Israeli-occupied West Bank. Any such step on the West Bank would destroy attempts to "settle the Palestinian question" by rigging up some form of "Palestinian state" there, as is envisioned in the recent Saudi initiative and most other U.S. and Western European "peace plans."

The upcoming deadline for the return of the Sinai to Egypt has caused problems for Begin within his own party, related to the threatened refusal of settlers in the occupied Sinai to leave. If the Israelis proceed with the plan to occupy the Sinai and a confrontation occurs between the settlers and the government, the political repercussions in Begin's beleaguered regime could mean the desertion of some of his parliamentary support. Thus, there is speculation that one reason for the move in Golan was to give some compensation to these political forces in advance of returning the Sinai to Egypt. Likewise, the move in Golan may have been calculated to split off some of the support of the Labor Party since the settlers in Golan who have been agitating for such a move are in opposition to the bulk of the Labor Party on this question.

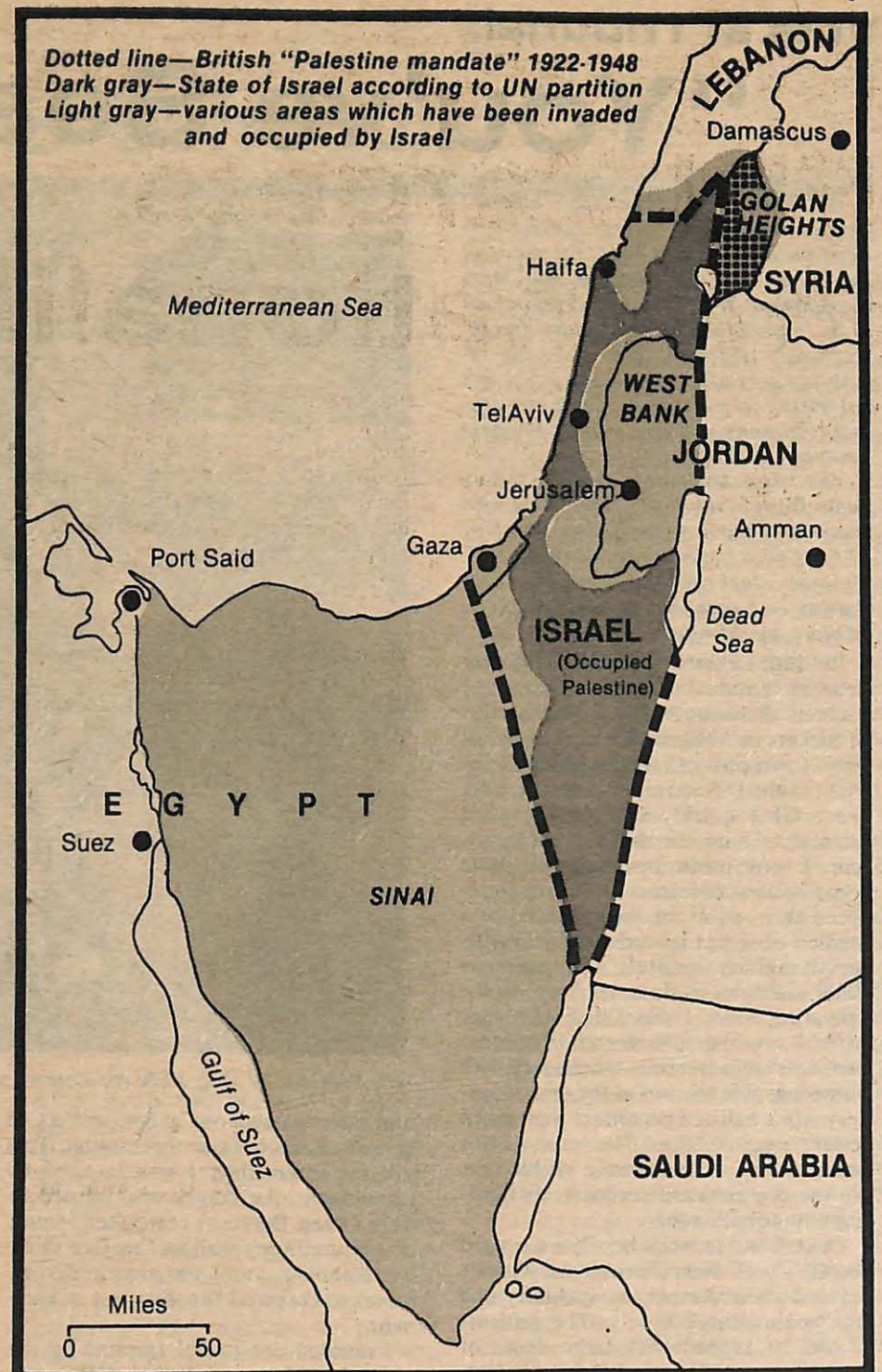
Despite Syrian denunciation of the annexation as "tantamount to a declaration of war," U.S. imperialist analysts tended to discount the likelihood of a direct Syrian military move to dislodge the Israel government from its fortified positions in the Golan Heights. But the possibility of new moves by either side in Lebanon is another question. Israel has recently re-raised the question of those Syrian missile batteries in the Bekaa Valley of Lebanon, which served as the focus of a so-called "Syrian missile crisis" earlier this year. Begin has stated that unless dormant U.S. diplomatic efforts to induce Syria to remove the missiles are successful soon, Israel will move to take them out by military means.

## The Golan Card

The Israelis have held the Golan Heights since 1967. They have established powerful military fortifications there, and a number of settlements. The Begin regime has long stated that it will "never" return the Golan Heights to Syria. Therefore, the sudden formal annexation, while it does not alter the actual military situation, is being read politically in the Arab capitals as another signal of "Israeli intransigence," and by the U.S. as a gratuitous obstacle to an imperialist-imposed "comprehensive settlement" of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The U.S., of course, was far from pressuring Israel to actually return the Golan Heights to Syria. Instead, the U.S. envisioned holding the "Golan card" in reserve to dangle as bait to the Syrians. The *New York Times* explains U.S. imperialist calculations like this:

"The prospect of even minor adjustments in the Golan frontier is one of the few incentives for Syria ever to join in peace talks. Instead of pointlessly provoking the Arab nations, a far-sighted Israel would use its present peace with Egypt and military



superiority to build up those incentives. And if Israel won't, the United States should—by refusing at this point to recognize the annexation."

Begin's move also exasperates the U.S. because it further embarrasses Saudi Arabia, whose 8-point peace plan, which implied recognition of the state of Israel, never got off the ground at the aborted Arab summit meeting in Fez, Morocco. "Despite the collapse of the Arab summit..." wrote Anthony Lewis in the *Times*, "the Reagan administration has been hoping for Saudi leadership in bringing other Arab coun-

tries, particularly Jordan, into the peace process." The sudden and "provocative" annexation of the Golan will undoubtedly increase the political difficulties facing the bourgeois Arab regimes in entering into any U.S.-sponsored settlement negotiations that break out of the bankrupt Israel-Egypt framework of Camp David.

Thus, the objections to the latest Israeli act of aggression from the U.S. imperialists: it happens to conflict with the U.S.' own strategic preparations for war, and the political maneuvers necessary to this end. □

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## Vets at Tribunal:

# "You've Sealed My Doom"

While the U.S. imperialists stepped up their efforts to reverse correct verdicts on the Vietnam War, the scene at the New York hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal of U.S. Imperialism was decidedly and refreshingly different. Below we are reprinting part of the testimony from vets submitted to the tribunal, and this crucial testimony will continue in the next issue of the RW.

The first testimony reprinted here came from a vet in the Northwest who was one of the Presidio 27—a group of 27 GI's who staged a protest in the S.F. Presidio stockade and were tried for mutiny in a case that exposed the U.S. military worldwide:

In 1965 I saw my first anti-war demonstration. I joined a group of hecklers throwing rocks at the handful of pickets in front of that mid-Missouri small town post office. Eventually I enlisted in the U.S. Army as a medic. Like every GI I quickly saw through and learned to hate the military caste system. I took medic training with some conscientious objectors and came to respect their point of view. Then as a medic I observed special wards for officers in military hospitals, and numerous other examples of class structure. In the operating room I was filled with rage when I saw that officers and their dependents were carefully stitched up with numerous fine stitches at the end of surgery while enlisted personnel were given fewer, bigger stitches. The result of this practice was a fine, barely visible scar for the one class and a coarse, disfiguring scar for the other.

Once I had to work briefly on a ward for GI's with mental problems. There I learned about American psychiatry and its "maintenance dose". The patients would be zapped with large doses of various tranquilizers and then "treatment" took the form of slowly varying the drugs and reducing the dosages until the victim/patient was controllable without being too spacey. In other words, perfectly miserable but unable to do anything about his situation.

All these, and other, exposures raised a lot of big questions in me about the system. But it was working with and talking to the amputees and especially the quadriplegics freshly returned from combat that really forced me to change my ideas about the war. A lot of them were broken in spirit. I remember this one quadriplegic (paralyzed from the neck down) begging me to kill him—he was so helpless he couldn't even shit without my help, much less take his own life. Other patients were bitter. "I caught a fragment in the spine while guarding somebody's rubber plantation," they would say. They gave me first hand accounts that forced me to question the correctness of the war, and grow bitter too.

I went to an anti-war demonstration



The Presidio 27 sing while the Commandant reads the mutiny article, October 14, 1968.

and later passed out a few leaflets to some buddies back at the hospital. This got me in trouble. I was inspired by Capt. Levy, the doctor who refused to train Green Berets. I remember I hung his picture in my wall locker. One thing led to another and I was given orders to report to Oakland for shipment to Vietnam.

I decided not to go. Inspired by the resistance of several AWOL GI's I met in the Bay Area, I went AWOL myself and got heavily involved in the anti-war movement. Eventually I turned myself in and wound up in the Presidio, San Francisco Stockade.

When I got to the stockade, I found that the prisoners had rioted the day before in protest to the shotgun murder of an inmate. There was also a tremendous excitement about the big anti-war demonstration which had occurred that day in San Francisco. There was an eagerness to link up with the civilian movement and a desire to get the word out to the outside world about conditions in the stockade. By the next morning, another anti-war GI and I had organized cell block meetings and a plan had been struggled out among the inmates for a sit-down demonstration, despite an earlier warning from the authorities that any further actions by prisoners would be considered mutiny.

On October 14, 1968 the inmates stood tensely in the yard of the stockade for morning formation. On a pre-arranged

signal, 28 of us broke ranks, moved into the middle of the yard and sat down, linking arms. We started singing "We Shall Overcome" and watched the turnkeys freak out. The Commandant showed up to read the mutiny article to us, ordering us to quit demonstrating and to move back into the building. We chanted and sang louder to drown him out. Only once did we stop long enough for one of us to stand up and read our list of demands to the Commandant. A CID photographer came into the compound and began moving around our circle, carefully taking each man's photo for "evidence." We sang on. Firemen were called to squirt us with their hoses, but when they arrived, they refused to do it. We knew that the penalty for mutiny was death, but in a wildly elated way we didn't care. We were going up against the motherfuckers, we were taking our stand. Finally a company of MP's in riot gear moved into the compound and put an end to the demonstration. The press, who had been secretly notified in advance, were stopped at the gates of the fort. That was OK, we knew the word would get out. This was a leap in the struggle and the brass knew it. This was what they feared most—a conscious, premeditated action by a group of working class GI's acting in concert to challenge military authority and the war effort.

In mid-1968, when the Presidio Mutiny took place, GI resistance to the war

was really starting to take off, although mostly on an individual level. This mostly took the form of AWOL and desertion. Also, a steady stream of GI's were refusing to board the plane to Vietnam, refusing to train or engaging in the daily minor acts of resistance. And in Vietnam, GI's were going over from what was described as the "well-trained, high spirited professional army" of 1966 to where in 1971 the *Armed Forces Journal*, a theoretical journal for the Pentagon, was moved to say: "By every conceivable indicator, our army that now remains in Vietnam is in a state approaching collapse, with individual units avoiding or having refused combat, murdering their officers and noncommissioned officers, drug-ridden, and dissipated where not near-mutinous." ("On the Collapse of the Armed Forces," *Armed Forces Journal*, June 6, 1971, p. 30.)

In 1968 the whole country thought there could be a revolution right around the corner and the military was trying desperately to crush the growing swell of resistance. I did time with a brother who received a 5-year sentence for refusing to get on the airplane. The unusual thing about him wasn't the length of his sentence (which was maximum) but the fact that his refusal stemmed from an open sympathy for the Vietnamese revolution. In Leavenworth I met the organizer of an underground GI newspaper who got 15 years, I believe,

## Letter from Toxteth, England Riot Scene:

### "Did They Apply to Join the Communist Party of Great Britain? No! They Took on the Forces of the State!"

Dear Comrades,

I received your letter and literature this morning (for which I thank you). You asked me to write to you about the situation here and my response to the articles on Ireland and the recent uprisings in Toxteth, etc. I will briefly outline some impressions of the recent rebellions "this side of the water" and will write again, about Ireland, in the near future.

The main lesson of the uprisings, which thousands are now certain of, is that "democracy" is for the rich and violent repression is for the poor (and everybody in the areas which ignited is poor!). If I can be permitted to use my own situation as an example of the con-

ditions people exist under: I am married with two young children. Since leaving school in 1973 I have worked for only two-and-a-half years (in a non-unionised shop). The rest of the time I have been unemployed—with the brief exception of 3 months on an Employment Rehabilitation Course (at dole rates of pay). As an unemployed non-skilled "worker" I have a one in one thousand and eighty-four chance of getting work. Having been out of work for more than six months my chances are actually nil. The question is not daring to struggle but how! The fact that the uprisings occurred underlines the fact that this realisation has penetrated the consciousness of thousands (mainly youth and

particularly black youth). Did the youth flock to the Labour Party? Did they apply to join the veteran revisionists of the Communist Party of Great Britain in order to march to the top of the hill and back down again, on the People's March for Jobs? No! They took on the forces of the state! (Your reference to the attraction of anarchism was spot on.)

Your paper will have dealt with the facts of the uprisings—may I continue in a personal vein with some of the effects and comments upon the "aftermath." I would like to give you some examples of the treatment we got here in L'pool 8. In order to keep it short I will relate only some events which happened to my "immediate" family and some prominent cases. My wife was on her way home and stopped briefly to watch the spectacle of the people fighting the police. She got too close to some pigs and as a result was grabbed by the arm, called a black bitch, and struck twice with what she thought was a truncheon. Fortunately enough she was not so stupid as to politely ask the pig to release her, she kicked him in the balls and as his grip loosened made a run for home. She suffered two fractures to her arm as a result of this treatment and

was told by the doctor who examined her that something heavier than a truncheon must have been used. Needless to say we will not sue for damages as we expect no justice which is not of our own making. On the same night—or early the next morning—my sister-in-law and her son were standing on their doorstep when a gang of pigs in riot gear ran down their street. Seeing her and her son, they shouted racist abuse and one of them picked up a brick and threw it at them. They managed to get indoors and close the door behind them just in time to hear the brick strike the door. More racist abuse was shouted and then the thugs ran off (presumably to find other victims).

Another example: XXX was the only person to come forward as a witness to the murder of David Moore—others were afraid of police reprisals (correctly as it turned out). When XXX went to give evidence to a solicitor he was confronted by three cops who wanted to take him in for questioning—he made a break and ran back from town to Toxteth. He later received a tip-off that he was in for some heavy treatment and so he moved out of his flat with most of his personal belongings. Later his flat was



# As A Patriotic Citizen"

for possessing a single marijuana seed. One of the 28 mutineers had been sent to the stockade merely for attending an anti-war demonstration. In fact, everybody had been restricted to post in an attempt to prevent GI's from attending the big demonstration.

It was in this context that the brass squealed in fright and charged us with the capital crime of mutiny — the military's most serious offense. The first 3 of us to get convicted received 16, 17 and 18 years. This was intended as a clear message to GI's and others of what was in store for anyone who united to resist their power. But as the saying goes, "repression breeds resistance." Just as in other actions of the time, our resistance and the brass' attempts to crush us first of all did not crush even those of us who were getting the big time. And far from scaring others away, it brought forth a tremendous wave of rage among military and civilians alike.

I should say a little about jail conditions. In the stockades and in Leavenworth the repression was more open and intense than in the regular army. While imprisoned I was beaten, urinated on, harassed endlessly, degraded, deprived of food, repeatedly placed in "the hole" (concrete segregation cells), and placed on "rabbit chow" (lettuce), white bread and water.

A lot of prisoners got hurt pretty bad by guards while I was doing time and the bad conditions caused quite a few inmates to start taking it out on themselves. There was a lot of suicide attempts at the Presidio Stockade. I think a lot about this one kid who plunged a white hot needle into his eye. We strained our arms through the bars, reaching from our cell into his, trying to stop him, shouting and begging him not to do it, but he was just a little beyond our reach. He thought that if he mutilated himself, maybe the authorities would let him go. I also witnessed a peculiar form of psychological treatment where disturbed prisoners were routinely placed in a seg cell and gassed. The idea was that if the gas subdued the prisoner, he wasn't really crazy! There was the GI just back from Nam whose duty from time to time had been to be the interrogator's helper. In other words he tortured the Vietnamese prisoners. In the course of the cellblock discussions he came to understand that the Vietnamese were right and the U.S. wrong. He couldn't handle it. He cut his whole body up several times, leaving himself a mass scar tissue. He drank caustic chemicals another. He hung himself a different time. U.S. imperialism is directly responsible for these things too.

But while some prisoners turned their anger on themselves, many more, including myself, turned to revolution, despising and hating the country and system which could produce the war and the conditions we found ourselves in. Inmates were constantly debating the ques-

tions of the day. Could Black and white unite? Should there be separate organizations? Was the war a fluke, a mistake caused by bad politicians or insane "brass" or was it just the latest example in a long line of foreign policy outrages? Was the Army or prison, with their clear class relations, an exception to American democracy or a concentration of the real relations beneath America's plastic mask? Should the movement support the Vietnamese and work for their victory or merely work for American withdrawal? Would the Black prisoners from the south be able to establish the kind of movement and consciousness that the Panthers were spreading in the west? What about socialism? Was Russia, Cuba, Vietnam, or China the revolutionary model to follow? I personally was set straight on that question by a Black GI who had shot his commander and arrived at Leavenworth full of revolutionary consciousness and a bunch of quotes from Mao's Red Book which he had memorized and would recite to the other prisoners.

And all the while we debated these and other questions, there was a growing stream of new inmates flooding in. My job in Leavenworth was in the prison clinic. I ran the X-ray machine. I hesitate to call myself the X-ray tech because I never received any formal training in X-ray procedures. Every new prisoner passed through my X-ray room as part of the in-processing. This unusual vantage point qualifies me to speak about GI resistance to the war because all the ones who were caught and sentenced to any real time passed through my clinic. I would make a point of asking guys what they were sent up for. I can say that an amazing percent of the incoming prisoners were political prisoners. Many of the prisoners who arrived without much consciousness soon developed some. I remember once the administration showed us a movie in which there was a scene of Chinese soldiers shooting the shit out of U.S. troops and the U.S. flag went down. The whole prison population cheered and clapped wildly.

But even my vantage point gave me only the smallest glimpse of what was going on. But the article in the June '71 *Armed Forces Journal* which I mentioned above entitled "The Collapse of the Armed Forces" reveals a bit more. "Frag incidents" or just "fraggings" is current soldier slang in Vietnam for the murder or attempted murder of strict, unpopular or just aggressive officers and NCOs. With extreme reluctance the Pentagon has now disclosed that fraggings in 1970 (209) have more than doubled those of the previous year (96).

"Word of the deaths of officers will bring cheers at troop movies or in bivouacs of certain units.

"In one such division — the morale-plagued Americal — fraggings during 1971 have been authoritatively estimated

to be running about one a week."

The article lists combat refusals by individuals and whole units, "Search and Evade" meaning tacit avoidance of combat by units in the field, defections over to the VC ranks, symbolic fasts by whole units, peace symbols, booing and cursing of officers and "even of hapless entertainers such as Bob Hope are unhappily commonplace."

By fall 1970 there were 103 underground GI newspapers. By mid 1971 there were 144! By 1970 the army's desertion rate was 4 times higher than in 1966, while the re-up rate was cut in half in those same years.

The army was rapidly falling apart by anybody's standards. We knew it in Leavenworth. But we didn't dream of how shaky for the brass things were getting. In retrospect it is safe to say that when Nixon withdrew ground troops from Vietnam, a large part of the reason was that he was forced to by the troops themselves. This is the story that none of the movies, none of the documentaries and certainly none of the liberal bourgeois summations of the war include. Not only was all their napalm, defoliant spray and big gunships unable to suppress the heroic Vietnamese people, but the U.S. rulers were not even able to control their own troops. The *Armed Forces Journal* bitterly complained, "When B Troop, 1st Cavalry, mutinied during the Laos operation, and refused to fight, not an officer or NCO raised his hand (or his pistol) or stepped forward. Fifty-three privates and Sp 4s cowed all the lifers of their unit."

I spent a year and a half in jail. When I got out I went on to continue working with anti-war and revolutionary GI's. At one point the Jane Fonda anti-war FTA show played right off base. Several thousand GI's and civilians were in the audience and Country Joe McDonald got up there and started singing a song. The whole crowd sang along, "We love Ho Chi Minh, We love Chairman Mao." Thousands of voices singing loud. This was the revolutionary dream of the future which no amount of jails, beatings or other oppression could stamp out. We stood with the people of the world!

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*Following is testimony submitted to the War Crimes Tribunal by a World War 2 veteran who was inspired to testify on the spot after hearing the testimony of others at the New York hearings.*

My name is XX — I'm a Black veteran of World War 2. I grew up in a poor sharecropping family subject to exploitation, humiliation and lynch mobs. When I was 16 years old, a friend of mine who was a little older got drafted. His name was J.C. Williams. Now J.C. knew something then that I didn't figure out for many years. And that was that he didn't have no interest in fighting for this country, that fighting in World War 2 would only benefit that

class of people who'd been subjugating him and all Black people.

Now whenever a Black man gets acting too smart, especially one like J.C., who not only was a rebellious Muslim leader but wouldn't go fight their wars either, now, this Black man had to go.

So the way they do it down South is to frame 'em up on rape to cover up their acts of violence. Most of the time they force the women to say they did it, but in this case they couldn't even get her to lie and a medical examiner said she hadn't even been raped. But this didn't bother them at all. Now J.C. was the kind of guy that if he refused to go and got away with it other Blacks might try it too. So the southern supremacists had to make an example out of him to maintain control and instill fear in the rest of the Black people. Now this wasn't an isolated incident, this was standard practice.

Later when I was 18 years old I was drafted into the armed forces. Even though I knew that I was oppressed and that the U.S. government acted violently towards me I still felt I had an obligation to defend this country as I was reaping some of the benefits of living here.

In the army I was still treated with the same old southern segregated plantation Jim Crow mentality. And during the last year of my service I felt like it didn't make me no difference who won and who lost the war.

But over a period of time since the Second World War, I've had time to think about it and reflect upon its meanings. I thought about how it wasn't fighting for my country because I saw first hand how the U.S. imperialist military robbed, exploited, plundered and totally subjugated the people of the Pacific. They bombed their homes and drove them off their islands. And I don't have to talk about Nagasaki or Hiroshima 'cause you know about that. The adverse conditions in the army affected me mentally and physically such that I never could hold employment or make a decent living.

After listening to the witnesses' testimony at this War Crimes Tribunal I can tell you that the discussion I heard here fully sealed my doom as a patriotic citizen. I will never be patriotic again. I was always going for the okeydokey that the Japanese were the bad guys and the U.S. the good guys when they were both up to the same exploitative money profit motive and the control of the wealth and people of the Pacific.

In conclusion I'm calling on the worldwide body of poor people, well-meaning of all nationalities and races now to not get swept up in the patriotic brainwash that the U.S. and Soviets are running like I did when I was young, but to join in battle to overthrow the capitalist imperialist government wherever it may exist. □

turned over, the remainder of his belongings smashed up, and paint thrown on the walls.

Some prominent cases:

David Moore was murdered (by a police jeep running him down) — it has just been announced that two pigs are to be charged with manslaughter.

Paul Conroy had his back broken (police jeep again — coincidence?). He's being framed on a petrol bomb charge. (See photograph enclosed.)

Henry Anderson: shot by C.S. gas projectile. Charged with petrol bomb and three other charges (framed?).

Phil Robins: shot by C.S. gas projectile. Burglary charges (framed?).

Ann Harris: framed on petrol bomb charge — 3 years sentence.

John White: framed on petrol bomb charge — 4 years sentence.

I could go on forever like this but this will suffice to give an impression. There are "guerrilla tactics" being employed to deal with the pigs ("10 against 1") as they turn corners to find that suddenly it's them that are on their own and outnumbered, and thus dealt with as severely as the people who have "accidents" when in police custody. Although, to date, no pig has received the vile treatment which they them-

selves are capable of (young women and girls threatened with rape and beaten up, a black youth nearly castrated, a gay guy raped with a truncheon, etc.). There will be more uprisings (with more unemployment, etc. providing a greater amount of people with nothing left to lose). The pigs realise this and are harassing\* activists and framing certain youth in order to have them locked up out of the way. But as one youth already behind bars (in Walton gaol) said, "They can kill people but not ideas" (a quote from Bobby Sands, M.P. — the brother meant it in the context of his being locked up — but his ideas being shared by others who are still "free").

Anyway, this seems as good a point as any to end. I hope these impressions are of some value. Should you wish to print any part of them in any form please do so — if any of it should make it into print I would be grateful if you could send me a copy of the "RW" they appear in (I will not be able to take out a subscription until in the new year due to my circumstances and the time of year).

Anyway, I'll say goodbye for now.

Thanking you,  
Comradely,  
XXX

Dare to Struggle! It is Right to Rebel!



A scene from this past summer's rebellion in Toxteth (a section of Liverpool).



# Rocks of Reality Poke Holes in U.S. Ship of State

In spite of obvious attempts to make light of it, the recent "leave of absence" of National Security Advisor Richard V. Allen and the events surrounding it have cast a cloud over the Reagan presidency and revealed some of the difficulties and infighting among the U.S. ruling class. And such a shame too. Why, millions of good Americans had placed so much faith in this man and his divinely inspired crusade to make America great again. They have given him their mandate and their prayers and now it appears to be going sour. Gosh golly it seemed to be going so good (only one unsuccessful assassination attempt) and all of a sudden it was "Budgetgate" where Reagan's boy wonder of a budget director, David Stockman, supposedly lost his head and told the *Atlantic Monthly* that the administration's tax cuts were a Trojan horse for the rich and that Reagan's promise of a balanced budget was a hoax, prompting charges that he was a Trojan horse for someone else. Then came the Haig-Allen dispute and now "Allengate" and renewed economic chaos. To top all this off, the whole functioning of the Reagan team is being called into question even if in the most polite and measured tones. (For example the Dec. 14 *Time* magazine cover reads "How the White House Works — and Doesn't".) And the press has announced the latest popularity polls showing that Reagan is no more popular today than Carter was at the same point in his presidency and "We all know what happened to Jimmy, don't we?" Jeepers, what gives?

Well, one thing is clear folks, there's a little more going on here than the "revelations" of Allen's petty graft involving \$1,000 and a couple of watches. And certainly no one is particularly surprised by yet another "shocking exposure" of "corruption in government." The dirty details here represent only the smallest bit of the bribery and other such routine practices that Allen and all the rest of them engage in. More importantly they pale in the extreme in comparison to the towering worldwide crimes of these political representatives of one of the most bloodthirsty ruling classes in history. Face it, when the National Security Advisor is forced to leave his post possibly never to return, something more is involved than the indiscreet acceptance of a few trinkets. And you can take that to the bank. More to the point is that the Allen affair, the Stockman affair, and the recent rash of "friendly criticism" of the Reagan administration from various corners of the bourgeoisie is a real reflection of the difficulties that the U.S. imperialists are having, particularly in the realm of foreign policy but also over the question of the economy, both of which are part of the overall question of preparing for world war.

More than a few powerful forces in high places are not happy with some of the gipper's handling of the ship of state. Such a shame really — here they had fashioned such a fine and fitting leading man, breathed life into his embalmed form and given it a cracker-jack script to recite. They had bestowed upon this decadent corpse all the power and authority of the "popular mandate" of U.S. imperialism, bathed it in glory and all the regal trappings befitting the leader of a superpower such as the U.S. of A. And now not even a year and an assassination attempt later, doubt and dissension are emerging. And perhaps the assassination attempt was the only thing that prevented this from happening sooner. Such is the political reality that they are faced with as they attempt to deal with the extremely sharp and deep-seated contradictions

November Newsweek cover — reflecting real problems and disputes among the imperialists.

that they are enmeshed in.

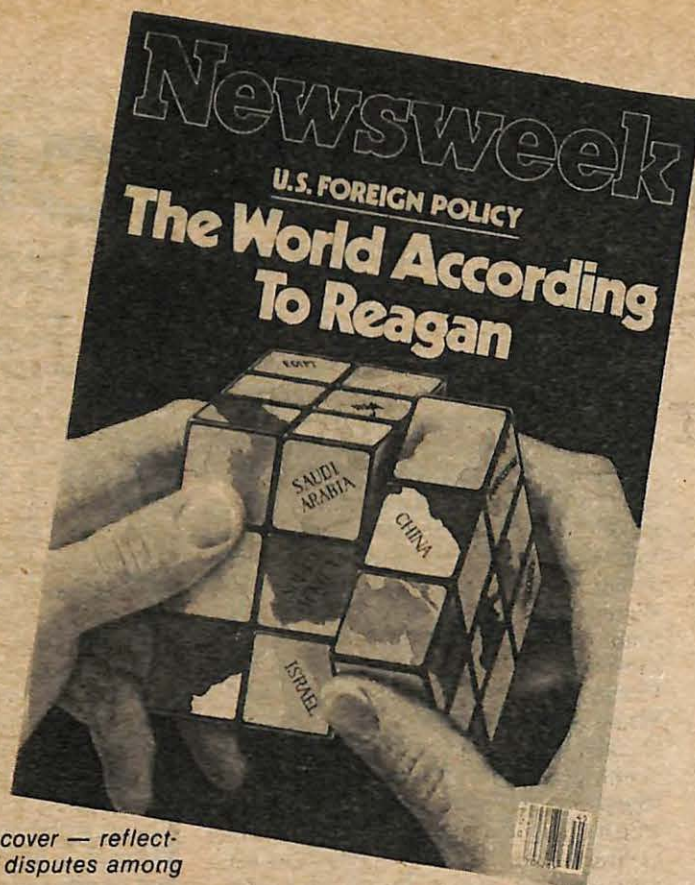
More than a little of the barrage of attacks on the Reagan team is simply part of the reactionary dual tactics of letting Reagan do some of the rabid dirty work which the whole bourgeoisie supports and then trying to cover their act through more "reasonable" voices. But intermixed with this are real problems and even disputes among the imperialists themselves over how to deal with the world situation. It is, of course, impossible to know precisely what all the disputes that lie behind the trouble in the Reagan team are, but some of the basic outlines are becoming clear. There has been a lot of criticism of the administration's handling of foreign policy recently, particularly toward Western Europe, where the U.S. is having considerable difficulties. The fact that Allen, a part of the Reagan team's foreign policy apparatus, is under fire now strongly indicates that this is the focus of the current uproar. And it is indeed an uproar despite attempts to underplay the whole thing in most of the media so as not to convey too much of an image of disorder and instability. Take, for example, the following passages from a recent *Economist* magazine which has been a big supporter of Reagan:

"The least successful departure is in foreign policy. Mr. Reagan has defied the tradition of strong national security advisors . . . Instead he is operating with a national security council staff so weak that it lacks authority even to call an inter-agency meeting . . .

"... The very weakness of the national security council staff and Mr. Reagan's reliance on written rather than face-to-face foreign policy briefings reflect Mr. Reagan's firm, if simple, view of the world and his impatience with detail . . . As his press conference and off-the-cuff answers suggest, Mr. Reagan is a light study who is often out of touch with what is going on from day to day."

The *Economist* follows this with a none too subtle hint that Reagan is something less than the sharp cookie the world knows him as: "His aides operate freely in his name and often forget that they are doing that. Yet there is no hint from them that they consider themselves the ventriloquists and Mr. Reagan the dummy."

This article in *The Economist* hits on the same vein as a number of other mouthpieces — the foreign policy machinery in the White House is gummed up and in disarray, with conflicts between Alexander Haig, Allen, and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger which have led to confusion and blunders in foreign policy making and its implementation. In a critique of the administration's foreign policy in the Dec. 6 *New York Times Magazine*, former National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski gets even more specific after making it fully clear that "I express this view not in the spirit of political partisanship but out of civic concern" (in other words he's speaking for the collective interests of the U.S. imperialists). He says: "Given the President's political style, it would appear desirable that



Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr. be given full responsibility, in genuine unambiguous fashion, and that he in turn be encouraged to shape foreign policy . . ." And in his critique, Brzezinski especially focuses in on the problems the U.S. is having in Western Europe, problems which have deepened since Reagan took office. It is apparent that many in the ruling class are very worried about this situation and the fact that the Soviets have been able to take advantage of U.S. difficulties with its NATO allies. And many feel that the very cowboy image that they loved so much about Reagan in the first place has caused some problems for them, getting their allies a bit too nervous and giving openings to Brezhnev & Co. Thus the statements about Reagan's "firm, if simple, view of the world" and "the President's political style."

The real deal here is not so much any particular blunders that the Reagan team has made or that there is backbiting and confusion inside it, but more fundamentally the conflicting necessities facing the U.S. When they gave Ronnie their mandate it was felt that his simple western-style bellicosity and neanderthal swaggering were just the thing for declaring U.S. intentions to take on the Soviets everywhere in the world and putting the lean on anyone who stood in their way — Western Europe or anyone else. Certainly more subtle and "reasonable" tactics were necessary but there were those who could handle that, and Reagan's leash could always be drawn in if necessary. He is nothing but the personification of this necessity to take a harder line toward the USSR in the preparatory moves toward war and to step up the necessary military preparations for the showdown. None have changed their minds that this is indeed an urgent need, and they have no objections to much of what Reagan has already done. Certainly they are happy to have their good old boy out there frothing at the mouth provided his leash can be drawn in when necessary. The problem is that there is a real danger of this very incarnation of imperialism's predatory nature itself becoming a liability, particularly when it comes to the delicate situation in Europe. Reagan is certainly a very good and deserving target for the anti-war movement there and is broadly despised for what he is and who he represents. Some among the U.S. ruling class sense this danger more acutely than others and are already trying to lay the basis to dump him should it become necessary. This is part of the current scandals and doubts surrounding the administration. Others are joining in the chorus of "friendly advice" that is being given in the hopes of getting the administration to make some adjustments in its style and methods.

Add to this the economic mess which is tainting Reagan the budgetcutter and budgetbalancer, and the stew thickens. With the economy taking another dive, disputes around how to deal with this are already emerging, as reflected in the Stockman affair. It would appear that David Stockman's comments to the *Atlantic Monthly* and the uproar in their

wake were one form of discrediting some of Reagan's economic moves or at least casting doubt about them regardless of whatever the wonder boy's personal motivations in all of it were. It should be noted that he has a reputation as a real careerist with his nose to the winds so to speak. It should also be noted that while the jabs at Reagan's economic policies take the form of demagogic criticism of the budget cuts and "tax breaks for the rich" and the immunity of the Pentagon from budget cuts, no one among the bourgeoisie is serious about reversing the current emphasis on cutting back social programs and the like or on current defense programs. Such demagoguery is purely for public consumption. Again, all are united behind the essence of Reaganomics, its budget cuts and anti-Keynesian crusade and its massive military spending increases. But there are differences over the timing and content of even more sweeping measures to stabilize and rationalize the deteriorating economy while gearing it up for war — as temporary and partial as these measures can be. Again Reagan was loved for his axman image, he was just the man for the job, but he is now becoming tainted in the eyes of some of his backers.

Such is the dilemma facing the U.S. imperialists. The very steps they have had to take to deal with the extremely deep contradictions they face, including championing various political spokesmen, are creating new problems and new difficulties. The great Reagan mandate, which showed such promise, is already breaking down, and there are hints that he may very well turn out to be yet another in a long line of one-term presidents — another of their best laid plans dashed on the rocks of reality. It would not be too far afield to speculate that perhaps preparations are being laid for a real horserace in 1984 pitting a tough but beleaguered Reagan against a toe-to-toe challenge from someone cast in the Kennedy image — a crusader for the American dream for all Americans, the "poor and downtrodden common people" included. (Of course, the main emphasis will be that all Americans, especially the poor and downtrodden, want to defend America above all and certainly must get on the frontlines of the war effort.) Interestingly, some articles about the "re-education of Walter Mondale," of all people, have appeared recently, and he has been kept in the news criticizing the administration. Perhaps he'll be one of the new and exciting horses in the 1984 race. And there are others waiting in the wings, even Teddy Kennedy himself.

But whether Reagan ends up a one-term president or not, his recent "dip in popularity" has caused some worried reflections over the strength and stability of the U.S. political system. What image does all the shuffling of presidents in this big bad superpower convey to the world? Gone are the heydays of Ike on the golf course when the U.S. was basking in its top-dog status after World War 2. He was the last two-term president and, of late, they have been moaning about the "failed presidencies" since those good old days. The press was filled with woeful commentary, as three ex-presidents, Nixon, Ford, and Carter, traveled to the funeral of Anwar Sadat (another U.S. imperialist servant who had outlived his usefulness). It was even pointed out that they traveled on the same plane that bore the bullet-riddled body of John F. Kennedy, another president whose tenure was terminated, and in a most dramatic manner. He too met his demise in the midst of the bourgeoisie's internecine battles — and he seemed to have a bright future as the chief executive for these bloodsuckers. And let's not forget LBJ who was forced out of running for another term thoroughly hated and discredited among the masses. It seems that U.S. presidents these days are a dime a dozen. This is, in fact, an important reflection of the deep underlying weakness of the imperialists. All over the world and right here in this country their spokesmen, representatives, and puppets are finding their political lives short-lived at a time when the need for political stability is very great. They rot from within even as they more and more boldly brandish the military might they are readying to unleash. □



# Martial Law Regulations Exposure of Revisionism, Lessons for Revolution

What follows is a compilation of various provisions of the Martial Law Decree in Poland. They are drawn from U.S. government translations of Warsaw radio broadcasts in the last few days. The provisions give a revealing picture of the implementation of military rule and from them can be gleaned the principal areas of concern to the revisionists under these circumstances. Of course, imperialist tactics in suppression and repression vary according to circumstances. In Chile, for example, the U.S. relied more on open slaughter, as have the Soviets in Afghanistan.

The convening and holding of all kinds of gatherings, processions and demonstrations is banned, as well as the organizing and conducting of public gatherings and artistic entertainment and sporting events, without obtaining the prior consent of the appropriate regional organ of state administration, with the exception of religious services and rituals, taking place on the premises of churches, chapels or other places designated exclusively for these purposes.

The dissemination of all kinds of publications and information, by any means, is banned, as is the public display of works of art and the use of all kinds of printing equipment without first obtaining the permission of the appropriate organ.

The right of workers to organize and to hold strikes and protest actions of any nature whatsoever and protest actions has been suspended.

Persons who are in public places are put under the obligation to carry an identity document and as far as school pupils of 13 years of age or more are concerned, the school identity card or a provisional identity card.

Tourism as well as sailing and other sports have been prohibited on inland and territorial sea waters.

Recruits recognized as fit for military service as well as reserve servicemen, regardless of their service, can be called up at any time by a decision of the minister of national defense.

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For the duration of the state of martial law, insofar as the interests of maintaining public peace, law and order demand it, the authorized organs of state administration may also:

Introduce a limitation of the freedom of movement of inhabitants in specified times and places through the introduction of a curfew or a prohibition on the arrival in or departure from specified voivodships, towns and parishes (gasoline was no longer publicly sold—RW).

Introduce censorship of mail of all kinds, telecommunications and telephone conversations.

Place an obligation on owners of radio transmitters, and as well as transceiver sets to hand them in for safekeeping in designated places.

Require the owners of pistols of any kind as well as hunting and sporting guns and owners of ammunition and explosives to hand them over for safekeeping in designated places.

Ban taking photographs and film pictures as well as television pictures of specified buildings (pol obiekt) and in specified places or regions.

Stop or limit the work of specified communication equipment and postal communications and telecommunication services.

Suspend or limit the transport of persons and objects by means of road, rail, air and water as well as motor vehicle traffic on public roads.

Stop or limit the movement of persons and goods through border crossing points.

For the duration of the period that martial law is in force all persons transgressing the principles, orders, duties and limitations being introduced will be submitted to more stringent penal regulations applied by summary and accelerated proceedings.

People over 17 years of age, in relation to whom there are justified suspicions that, if they remain at liberty, they will carry out activity which threatens the security of the state, may be interned in isolation centers for the duration of the state of martial law, on the basis of a decision by the voivodship commandant of the Citizens' Militia.

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Persons over the age of 16, but who have not exceeded the age of 60, may have imposed on them the obligation of personal contributions consisting in the unpaid carrying out, at any time, of various kinds of ad hoc work for a period up to 7 days for the benefit of units carrying out tasks for the needs of the state's defense.

Personal contributions may be combined with the obligation of using one's own simple tools as well as transport means.

As part of the contributions obligation, state and social institutions are obliged to make available property, movable and immovable, indispensable for defense purposes.

This obligation may also be imposed on individual persons and corporate bodies.

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The Committee for National Defense (Komitet Obrony Kraju) in connection with the introduction of a state of martial law for considerations of state security, has issued resolutions on militarization by which specified organizational units of the state administration and of the national economy have been militarized.

They are, in detail: the Polish state railways enterprises; the Polish motor transport amalgamation; the Polish post office telegraphs and telephone enterprises; the amalgamation of radio and television stations; communication units; petroleum products distribution enterprises; port complexes; some powerplants; industrial motor transport enterprises; professional fire brigades; special production departments and plants; radio and television broadcasting centers; communal transport enterprises and other organizational units defined in the above-mentioned resolution of the Committee for National Defense....

Fulfilling service in a militarized unit means that the person doing that service is obliged to carry out the instructions of superiors issued on professional matters, which are equivalent to orders in conditions of military service during a war.

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The minister for internal affairs may introduce in an order the duty of obtaining a permit prior to changing the permanent or temporary place of residence, amounting to a move to another locality and the registration with the authorities within 12 hours of arrival in the locality specified — the permit being issued by the authority concerned if the change of residence does not contravene the interests of security or defense potential of the state. Permanent residence in the border zone requires a previous permit from the head and temporary residence requires a permit from the commandant of the (words indistinct)....

## Marxist-Leninist Resistance Inside the USSR

*How is revolutionary Marxism-Leninism treated by those who wear its outer clothing but in fact practice capitalism? The following account by a recent exile from the Soviet Union exposes some of this. Its author is Natalia Malakhovskaya, who has received some publicity of late (MS magazine and elsewhere) as a feminist in exile. This passage comes from a reply she wrote to the Trotskyite journal Women and Revolution, which had attacked her. Her views are Christian/feminist, and this outlook clearly colors her observations. But nonetheless her report sheds some light on the existence of revolutionaries inside the belly of revisionism.*

"...While I would not stake my head that there is not one single admirer of Trotsky in the Soviet Union, I must say that I have certainly never heard of any such person. Marxists are a different matter: most of them are confined in prisons and psychiatric hospitals. It would be interesting to hear in what other countries adherents of the official ideology are subjected to similar treatment? Their groups are small and weak, and any hopes of their receiving broad popular support could be based only on sheer ignorance, for everyone, including the workers, has nothing but deep loathing for the ubiquitous posters of Marx plastered up all over the place. The only reaction produced by his name is one of acute nausea. As a rule, Marxist groups are made up of teenagers who

have read the official textbooks on history and sociology and then, taking a look around themselves have wondered: 'How can this be? Nothing is the way the books say it ought to be! This doesn't follow Lenin! This doesn't follow Marx!' So they dig deeper into their books, whisper among themselves and hold secret meetings and discussions until such time as they are all caught. Incidentally, the authorities have no qualms about imprisoning them for there is no reason to fear any serious support from Western Marxists for these youngsters. The Soviet authorities adhere strictly to the rule that 'he who is not with us, is against us.' This is why we did not consider Marxists as ideological foes (we had more important matters to occupy us) but rather as allies in the general struggle against our common foe.

"It must be noted that all the underground groups in Leningrad, no matter what their leanings, maintain very close contact with each other. They are united, first of all, by their courage, their uncompromising commitment and firm refusal to swell their ranks by unselective admission of new members. This is why members of the most diverse groups quickly become fast friends, why we always helped one another: we hid each other's materials during house searches and gave shelter to each other's members when necessary. For this same reason my friends attended and recorded trials of neo-Marxists, even though they did not share their views..." □

An employee is obliged to carry out his or her work 6 days a week; in the event of the place of work having special requirements, the manager of the establishment may introduce work on days which are legally free of work, but the employee working the extra time is entitled — once a month — to 1 day free of work....

The minister of communications may introduce a total or a partial ban or curtailment of the carrying of persons and goods in road, railroad, air and water transportation and may also instruct that parcels can be accepted for transportation under certain conditions.

The minister of national defense may introduce a total or a partial ban or curtailment on the flights of Polish and foreign aircraft over the land, inland waterways and territorial waters of the Polish People's Republic.

The minister of communications may introduce a total or a partial ban or curtailment of the movement of rail rolling stock as well as transportation, cable and regional cableways equipment belonging to public railroads and on the movement of Polish and foreign vessels in inland waterways.

The minister in charge of the Maritime Economy Office may introduce a total or a partial ban or curtailment of the movement of Polish and foreign vessels on inland waters and territorial seas.

Total or partial bans or curtailments may be introduced on the movement of mechanical vehicles on public roads. The minister of communications may introduce those with regard to the territory of the whole state or the territory equal in size to that of a few voivodships neighboring on one another. Voivodas can introduce those within the bounds of individual component parts of the administrative division of the state.

*The following is also taken from a U.S. government translation — this time of a Swedish radio broadcast of an interview with a spokesman for Solidarity's Warsaw branch who was in Sweden at the time of the martial law decree. His remarks contain both interesting information and experience — both positive and negative — that deserves the political attention of class-conscious proletarians in every country.*

What is happening now does not come as a surprise for us. Ever since we began our activities we have known that it would happen sooner or later. It must happen, for the people who have power in the country have no other way out than this and they will defend themselves to the end. This is stated by Stefan Czystyński who is press spokesman for Solidarity's Warsaw branch.

Czystyński also says that at the big enterprises around the country concrete preparations have been made to meet such situations and to resist them. The plans provide that in the eventuality that the government declares a state of emergency, which has now happened, we will proclaim a general strike in the form of factory occupations, says Czystyński. Workers at all larger factories are to lock themselves in and occupy the factories. Big food stores have also been collected to enable workers to hold out initially.

But now those in power have carefully chosen the time for the state of emergency, last night, when many factories were empty. Now everything depends on whether the authorities will let the workers into the factories tomorrow or whether they will be locked out.

How long then will these occupation strikes last? Until we gain full victory, says Stefan Czystyński from Solidarity's Warsaw branch. But what if the Army uses weapons? The Polish Army will not use weapons. The Polish soldiers are the same Poles as we. It is clear that if a soldier is ordered to shoot, it is possible that he will do so. But a government which gives the order to shoot will not be able to remain in power any longer than the shooting salvos last. That will be the end of such a government....

*The following is from AFP (France):* Groups of young men, sporting red and white Solidarity armbands and anxious to prove they would continue without their leaders — all arrested except for national chairman Lech Wałęsa who is closeted in the Baltic port of Gdansk with Minister for Union Affairs Stanisław Ciosek — discussed plans to send "workers' guards" out to the factories.

But how to organize the transport with no cars? □



# From 1973 Chinese Scientific Journal

# The Universe is the

# of Infinity

# Finite

by Bian Sizu

Recently an important collection of scientific articles from Mao's revolutionary forces in China has come to our attention. These articles were published in ten (and possibly more) volumes of a Shanghai journal, *Dialectics of Nature*, from 1973 through the end of 1975. To our knowledge, they have not been published anywhere in English, even though they speak to some of today's most pressing scientific and philosophical questions. For this reason we are asking for people to contact us to assist in translating more of these articles for publication not only in this newspaper, but in other forms as well—getting these articles into various arenas where they should be seen.

Some of the topics covered in other articles include: "On Necessity and Contingency in Mutation", "Motion is not Eliminateable—Commentary on Black Hole Theory", "Cancer is Knowable, Cancer is Curable", "Practice Raises our Understanding of the Brain's Function", "Critique of Einstein's World Outlook", "Can Physiology Give One Intelligence?", "On the Conservation and non-Conservation of Motion—also comment on the 1st and 2nd laws of thermodynamics", "The Internal Factor and the External Factor in the Evolution of Living Things". These are just a few of the titles from the tables of contents.

*Dialectics of Nature* was mainly a journal for the broad popularization of scientific knowledge and scientific outlook among the Chinese people. It also contained theoretical work on the most up-to-date scientific questions. Linking science with the masses and putting it at the service of the laboring people was a revolutionary principle in China. This was not only a question of spreading scientific knowledge, but an important question of the class struggle within China. There was a serious struggle to break the monopoly of the exploiting classes on the leadership and the outlook guiding science, which was being used by these class forces as capital in contending with the proletariat for overall leadership in society. There was also a question of breaking down superstition and unleashing the role of the masses as the main force in scientific experiment. Beyond combating the idea of science as private capital, the revolutionaries also struggled within scientific circles against metaphysics and idealism and for dialectical materialism to play a guiding role, leading scientists to break new barriers and make further advances in scientific theory.

These documents, along with other, more technical ones, need to be rescued from the bin the current leadership in China has dumped them in in their attack on the achievements of the Cultural Revolution.

This article is the second translation of articles from *Dialectics of Nature* to appear in the *Revolutionary Worker*. The first one, titled "Matter is Infinitely Divisible" by Bian Sizu, appeared in the September 18, 1981 issue of the *RW* (issue No. 122). All footnotes in the article below are translator's notes. Additional translator's notes appear in brackets in the text.

## THE UNIVERSE IS THE UNITY OF INFINITY AND FINITENESS

By Bian Sizu

(First appeared in *Dialectics of Nature* magazine No. 1, June 1973. Reprinted in *ACTA PHYSICA SINICA* Vol. 23, No. 2 in March 1974 with individual wording revisions by the author. This translation is based on *PHYSICA* reprint.)

### ABSTRACT

Based on the development of human knowledge about the universe, this article expounds the following views: (1) In terms of space, the universe is infinite. Infinity nevertheless cannot exist by itself independent of things finite. Infinity and finiteness form a unity of opposites. The finite transforms into the infinite, and the infinite transforms into the finite. None of the theories of the infinity and the finiteness of the universe that have existed in history, from Newton's classical model of the universe to modern cosmology, can lead to a correct knowledge of the dialectics of infinity and finiteness; as a consequence, they all degenerate into metaphysics and idealism. (2) In terms of time, the universe is also infinite. Matter in the universe is in incessant development. The totality of the universe has neither beginning nor end. The theory of a motionless universe is unsound. The development of human knowledge of the universe profoundly reveals that the universe is a unity of such opposites as absolute infinity and relative finiteness.

### Section 1: THE OVERALL CONCEPTION OF THE "UNIVERSE".

#### What Is The "Universe"?

The "Universe" is the universal, eternal, material world. In terms of space, on the macro-aspect of the universe, there are tens of billions of suns outside our solar system, tens of billions of galaxies outside of our Milky Way Galaxy. It is unbounded and borderless. On the micro-aspect of the universe, there are atoms within molecules, "elementary" particles within atoms and "elementary" particles also have complex structure. It is inexhaustible and without end. In terms of time, no matter how far one traces the universe back, it still has an infinite past; no matter how far one looks forward, it still has an infinite future. It has neither beginning nor end. Whatever form of matter, whatever kind of motion, all objective being is included within the universe. There is no way to exist outside of the universe.

Is there anything outside of the universe? Nothing. The universe is everything; the universe is all-encompassing; the universe is the totality. Some western scholars have proposed that outside of this universe of ours there probably also exists an "anti-universe" composed of "anti-matter". Actually, what is being called by them "anti-matter" is nothing but a special structural form of matter. There indeed exists such a material form in the universe. This further demonstrates the infinite divisibility of matter. This is still matter, a kind of material form which hasn't been really understood by us today. Therefore, even if there exist celestial bodies composed of anti-matter,

they are still a part of the universe, not at all some "anti-universe" outside of the universe.

The universe is the totality of everything, hence its fundamental characteristic is its universality and eternity. This is to say that in space, the universe extends infinitely and in time the universe develops infinitely. In our own country, as early as the Warring States Period<sup>1</sup> someone proposed that "The Four Directions and Up and Down is called *yu*"; from Past to Present is called *zhou*."<sup>2</sup> "*Yu*" means infinite space. "*Zhou*" means infinite time. The universe is the unity of the infinite space and infinite time of the material world. This is a very profound concept of the universe.

### The Development of Human Knowledge of the "Universe"

The universe in its essence is infinite, but the universe as it is manifested, i.e. the universe that human beings comprehend, is always finite. "Mankind therefore finds itself faced with a contradiction: On the one hand, it has to gain an exhaustive knowledge of the world system in all its interconnections, and on the other hand, this task can never be completely fulfilled because of the nature both of men and the world system". (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, FLP, p. 46)

The history of human being's understanding of the universe is a process of inexhaustibly expanding from the finite toward the infinite. Human beings have always tried to understand the whole universe, but at any given time, man's understanding of the universe can only be finite, and can only reach a finite portion of the universe. Everytime, whenever people's understanding expanded to a certain scale and reached a certain stage, there have always been some people who stopped halfway and jumped out to paint some "world picture" of the "whole universe", and to proclaim that the knowledge of the universe had reached its limit, thereby drawing the metaphysical conclusion that the universe is finite. But, as people's knowledge further developed, one after another of such "universe pictures" have all been successively destroyed.

At the very beginning, people's vision of the "universe" was a big tent with a round sky and square ground. This was actually only the finite framework of the surface of the Earth. Later on, people's vision expanded. They gradually discovered that the Earth is not a flat surface, but rather a sphere, and the theory appeared that the Earth is at the center of the universe (geo-centrism). At this time, the "universe" was the Earth, and the Sun, Moon, and stars were nothing but ornaments around it. In the 16th century, Copernicus summed up the accumulated knowledge of the universe and proposed the solar-centric theory, thus expanding the "universe" to the whole solar system with the sun at its center. In the 18th century, aided by the optical telescope, people were able to extend their vision beyond the solar system, expand their view into the Milky Way Galaxy. The galaxy, in the words of Herschel of that time, was the "universe-structure". In modern times, due to the development of production practice [advances in the level of the productive forces] and the employment of

radio telescopes, people's vision of the "universe" again broke through the limit of the galaxy and expanded into galaxy clusters, super clusters and an overall cluster consisting of billions and billions of galaxies. There are some people who think that the radius of the overall cluster might be as big as several billion, even tens of billions of light years. If this estimate is correct, then this is roughly the extent of space that we can observe today. But no matter how gigantic this overall cluster is, still it can only be some concrete expression of the universe. Though it can also be called some concrete universe, it can never be the whole universe. Earth, solar system, galaxy, galaxy cluster, overall cluster, . . . . . all are the different levels of the material world, the concrete universe known by man at a given time. It is also the universe as reflected in the natural sciences. If yesterday the universe found its limit in the solar system or the Milky Way Galaxy, and today it finds its limit in the galaxy cluster or overall cluster, then tomorrow it will necessarily find a new limit in a certain level of celestial body structures until that "limit" is in turn broken. "Dialectical Materialism insists on the temporary, relative, approximate character of all these milestones in the knowledge of nature gained by the progressing science of man." (Lenin, *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*, FLP, p. 314). This concept of the universe in natural science, i.e. the knowledge of some concrete universe-structure and characteristic is relative, finite.

But the levels of the material world are also inexhaustible, will never come to an end. In this "Universe-world" which is higher than the ordinary macro-world, people will never reach the "end of the universe", will never exhaust the knowledge of the whole universe, just as in the micro-world, people will never be able to find the "origin of matter", never be able to exhaust the knowledge of even a tiny "elementary" particle. Therefore, in the theory of knowledge; the universe signifies the philosophical category of the universal, eternal, objective Nature, which is reflected in human consciousness through the continuous development of human being's

This model of the surface of a so-called universe which envisions the universe as a finite, bounded, and abstract object. This view of an unbounded but finite outward universe and its abstract object of the universe in time and space, with a radius of the universe to be 3.5 billion light years, was proposed by an American.

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knowledge, from small to big, increasing both deeply and comprehensively.

The concepts of the universe in natural science and in philosophy are both distinct and interrelated. The overall conception of the universe in philosophy is always some summation of natural scientific knowledge of the universe; in turn, the concept of the universe in natural science is always governed by certain philosophical world outlooks. The dialectical materialist universe [world] outlook is formed through summing up the developments and achievements of natural science as a whole. It asserts that the universe is infinite, the concrete expression of the universe is finite. The infinity of the universe is absolute, the finiteness of the universe is relative; the universe is the unity of absolute infinity and relative finiteness.

## The Origin of the Two Kinds of "Universe" Outlooks

The theory of the finite universe arose out of the limitations of human knowledge. In class society, this theory often leads to theism and idealism of various stripes.

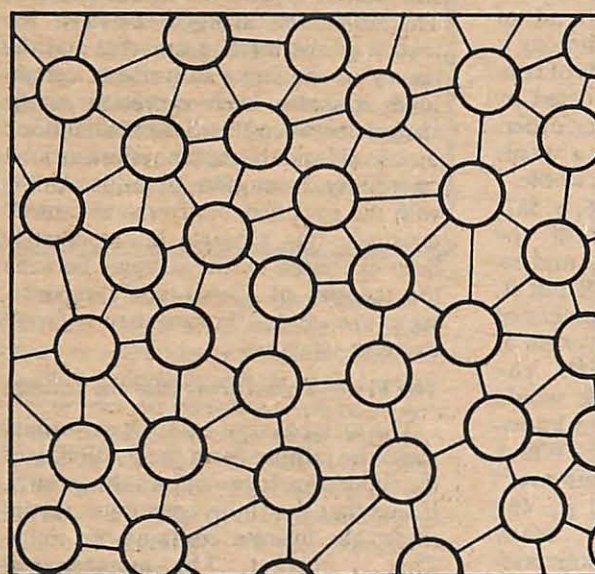
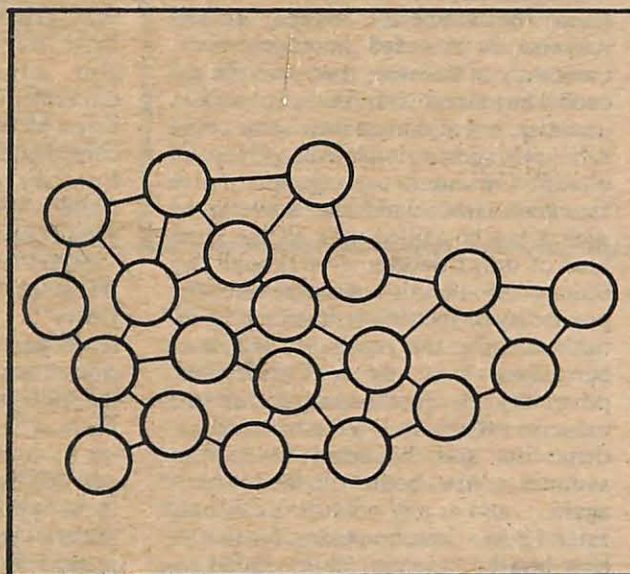
If the universe were a big tent, then what would be outside this tent? If someone stuck his head out of the tent, what would he see? As long as the universe has a boundary, then there is an "other side world" outside the universe. There, then, exists a residence for God. The reactionary ruling class can thus use such an "other side world" to argue for the existence of God, and argue that their rule is "bestowed by Heaven" and cannot be changed. Every step of advance of human knowledge of the universe is met with the desperate resistance of reaction. In the beginning, the theory that the Earth is round was viewed as a heresy. Later, solar-centric theory also suffered rabid, frenzied persecutions. In the 17th and 18th centuries when the newly rising bourgeoisie directly used the theory of an infinite universe to oppose religion, they still covered this under a cloak of theism. Even materialists such as Spinoza could only shamefacedly call God "the infinite one", using God as a code name for the infinite universe to oppose the tangible God.

The universe is infinite, but at any concrete point, people can know only finite things. The infinite exists within the framework of the finite. Therefore, people are always "seeking and establishing the infinite in the finite, the eternal in the transitory". (Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, Progress Publishers, p. 234). In the history of philosophy, some people didn't understand dialectics and absolutely separated the infinite from the finite. While they also recognized the infiniteness of the universe, they departed from the concrete expression of the universe to look for purely abstract infinity. Conse-

Continued on page 14



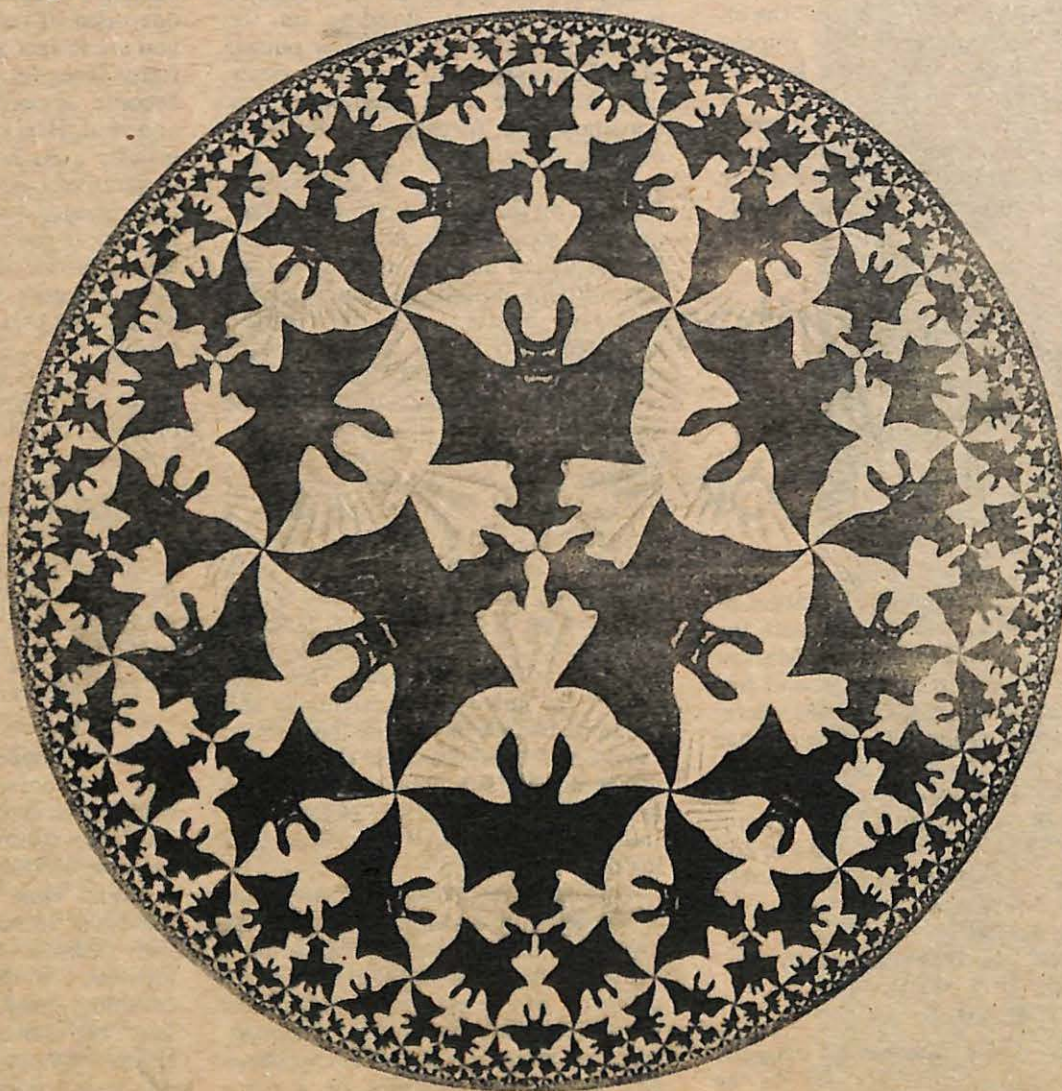
The accepted view of the universe during medieval times. Based on Aristotelian cosmology, the universe was seen as finite and beyond it was God. This reactionary view is openly idealist and theistic.



These two so-called "ball and stick" cosmological models illustrate the Newtonian view of the universe, which envisions the universe as a big box without boundaries, in which all celestial bodies are distributed homogeneously in the infinite void of space. This metaphysical materialist view was an advance over the earlier views of a finite universe, but itself ends up in a trap. In this view the infinity of space is actually only seen as an abstract or fake possibility. It first assumes a boundary and then lifts it. Connected with this it views infinity in space only in the quantitative sense, that is, more and more of the same things evenly distributed throughout the universe. The first model above shows the view of Newton himself, and the second is that of Leibniz, who was part of the same basic school of thought as Newton.

of a so-called 4-dimensional "pseudosphere" illustrates the Einsteinian cosmological universe as finite yet unbounded, as a "four-dimensional pseudospherical continuum." The finite universe rejects the Newtonian model of the homogeneous straight-line abstract or fake infinity, but itself ends up in contradiction to the actual infiniteness of space, with a model of a finite universe. Einstein at one point even "calculated" the universe to be 3.5 billion light years. Below is the description of this "pseudosphere" from an article "Does the Universe Expand Forever?", which appeared in the March 1976 issue of Scientific

**SURFACE OF A PSEUDOSPHERE** is represented in an etching, *Circle Limit IV*, by M. C. Escher. In the etching the surface is projected onto a plane. As in any map projection, the scale is not constant; on the pseudosphere itself the figures of angels and demons would all be the same size. If a single figure is regarded as a unit of measure, it is apparent that the circumference of a circle increases much faster than in proportion to the radius. Similarly, each figure defines a triangle (with the vertexes at the feet and the wing tips); from the number of triangles that meet at each vertex it can be shown that on the pseudosphere the sum of the angles of a triangle is less than 180 degrees. The pseudosphere is an infinite surface of negative curvature, analogous to space in a universe that expands forever. It has no privileged position that could be considered a center, and projection would be unchanged if it were centered on any other point.





# The Universe is the Unity of Infinity and Finiteness

Continued from page 13

quently, they could not but depart from the universe in reality and jump into the spiritual world, jump into God's world or man's subjective thinking to look for infinity. Thus, in their eyes, the infinite universe has become the "absolute spirit" or has become man's subjective spirit: "The universe is my mind, and my mind is the universe." This is the universe [world] outlook of idealist apriorism.

In the sphere of natural science, some people have replaced the infinite universe by the already-known finite universe. Today, the radio telescope extends our vision 10 billion light years deep into space. But, no matter how far human vision gets extended, there is always some infinite unknown territory beyond our sight, and the theory of the finite universe can exploit the limitation of human knowledge at every stage of historical development and resurface in different forms. It can always set the conception of the universe in natural science against the universe [world] outlook in philosophy using the concrete universe known to natural science in place of the universal, eternal, objective Nature in philosophy. This is positivism and idealist empiricism that directly takes man's subjective sensations as the essence of matter. The "cosmology" founded in the 20th century was born under the influence of this trend of thought. The definition of cosmology is given as "The system of all kinds of concepts and relationships constructed by man for the purpose of making an orderly description of the world as a whole with man himself as part of this whole." (*Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 6, p. 582, 1964 edition, translated from the Chinese). This is an unreachable and extravagant wish. As Engels well put it, "If at any epoch in the development of mankind such a final, definite system of the interconnections with the world... were constructed, this would mean that the realm of human knowledge had reached its limit." "Which would be an absurdity, pure nonsense." (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, FLP, p. 46.) During the past half-century, many scholars have proposed one "universe-structure" after another, built one "universe model" after another, and while some of them have also reflected in certain respects man's knowledge of certain concrete universes, and have played or are still playing a certain role in the development of science, as far as the knowledge of the whole universe is concerned, these various "structures" and "models" all artificially "circle" the infinite universe, and artificially impose upon the whole universe the laws of some local region. In the words of their own "ancestor", the great bourgeois philosopher and scientist Bacon, they all "use their own impotence in science to slander the universe." [translated from the Chinese].

## Reader Writes for Help on Science Book

Dear RW:

I am writing a book in refutation of Jeremy Rifkin's *Entropy*, and with the aim of elaborating on certain Marxist concepts in relation to science and historical materialism, etc. I would appreciate hearing from anyone who has done some thinking and study in relation to the *Cosmos* debate. I would particularly like to hear from C.M., the author of "The One-Sidedness of the 2nd Law of Thermodynamics" letter in *RW* No. 117. Please write to:

Ronald Hayley  
c/o P.O. Box 5811 (Station A)  
Toronto, ONT M5W 1P2  
CANADA

Yours, in common struggle,  
Ronald Hayley

The proletariat needs to study cosmic questions too, needs to sum up people's knowledge of the universe based on the development of production practice and scientific experimentation and to serve the needs of social practice. We soberly understand that such knowledge can only be local, relative. Human knowledge of the universe is an infinite process, will never exhaust its subject nor reach its "peak." The so-called "cosmology", under the influence of the idealist and metaphysical world outlooks, can only be, fundamentally speaking, a blossom bearing no fruit on a branch of the big tree of natural science.

### Section II: INFINITY OF THE UNIVERSE IN TERMS OF SPACE

The struggle between the theory of the infinite universe and the theory of the finite universe first manifests itself in the question of *yu*, i.e. the question of infinity and finiteness of space. This struggle is very complicated. Metaphysicians do not necessarily all absolutely reject infinity. On the contrary, to a certain extent they sometimes also recognize that the universe is infinite. They use the metaphysical outlook on infinity to oppose the theory that the universe is finite. Even though they have played a certain historical role, at bottom such an outlook on infinity is also wrong, and still ultimately joins the side of idealism. Therefore, the struggle between the theory of the infinite universe and the theory of the finite universe at certain times has also been expressed as the struggle between the dialectical outlook on infinity and the metaphysical outlook on infinity. In modern times, in dealing with the so-called "universe-structure" question, this struggle has concretely been expressed as the struggle between the theories of "level-type" universe-structure and "homogeneous-type" universe-structure.

#### The Finite Transforms Into the Infinite

The metaphysical outlook on infinity views the infinite from the possibility of the finite transforming into the infinite. It sees that the finite constitutes the infinite; the infinite contains the finite. This is correct. The metaphysical outlook on infinity indeed sees one aspect of the mutual relationship of the infinite to the finite.

The conjecture of the infinity of the universe by ancient primitive materialists had been built on just such an outlook on infinity. Some ancient Greeks argued that the universe has no boundary, because, if the universe had a boundary, anyone standing on the boundary sticking his hand-cane outside of the boundary could expand this boundary. Then one could stand on the new boundary and further expand it—on and on, without end.

In the 17th century, for the first time Newton, on the basis of natural science, painted a picture of the infinite universe. He postulated that the universe is a big box without boundary, where all the celestial bodies are distributed homogeneously in the infinite void of space. This is the homogeneous type model of universe-structure. Celestial bodies are engaged in mechanical motion governed by a "cosmic force", namely the gravitational force. The "cosmic force" can project along a straight line to an infinitely far distance and the celestial bodies can engage in straight line motion without end simply by the action of this force. Just as the infinite series of integers 1, 2, 3, 4... can go on infinitely without end. This "picture of the universe" is essentially still the same picture as that of the Greeks, except that it substitutes the laws of mechanics for the hand-cane. Such an infinity is the concept of "potential infinity" developed in mathematics during the 17th century.

This universe-structure is materialist. It has seen the possibility of the finite expanding into the infinite and demonstrated from one aspect that the infinite character of the universe exists objectively. Therefore, such an outlook on infinity has active significance in the struggles against the theories of a finite

universe, and religions. It was precisely this concept of potential infinity which brought the idea of infinite changes into mathematics and made dialectics enter mathematics.

But such an infinite universe outlook is also one-sided. It takes infinity as a simple expansion of finiteness, a simple continuation in quantity of finiteness, no discreteness, no qualitative change. As a consequence, it inevitably leads to a series of contradictions that cannot be overcome. If the universe were indeed such a big box filled with infinitely many of these stars that radiate light and exert gravitational force, then, as the "paradox" put forward in the 19th century said, any point in the universe must receive an infinitely large quantity of light, and infinitely large sum total of gravitational force. If this were so, then all the star bodies would be burnt to ashes instantly, and the whole universe would contract into one piece instantly! This is of course absurd. This metaphysical outlook on infinity bumped into a fatal difficulty.

Kant at that time had already sharply perceived this contradiction. He said that when human thought tried to "expand the links in the universe into infinity—link to stars outside the stars, the worlds outside the world, to celestial body systems outside the celestial body systems... imaginations are exhausted in such an immeasurably distant forward march, thoughts are also exhausted in such immeasurable imaginations; just like a dream, a person is walking forward forever without ever seeing how much further he must go." (Quote in Hegel: *Science of Logic*, translated from the Chinese.) Indeed, if the universe is extended homogeneously, uniformly in this way, then where is the end? The universe is infinite, not only in quantity, but also in quality. How could it be only such a simple enlargement in quantity without causing qualitative changes? How could the universe be such a big box filled with all the same kind of stars? Besides, even though this theory of infinity points out the possibility of the finite transforming into the infinite, this possibility will never be realized. It is only an abstract, fake possibility. It first assumes that the universe extends to a certain boundary, then lifts this boundary line, then assumes a new boundary, and lifts it again... and at any point you can only extend it to a finite boundary. No matter how big the universe gets extended to, still it cannot get rid of that boundary seemingly held by the Ghosts of Finiteness. The infinite series 1, 2, 3, 4... no matter how much it increases, is still finite, and infinity forever lies far ahead, conceivable but not reachable. Thus, this outlook on infinity, while to a certain extent reflecting the dialectics of finiteness transforming into infinity, is one-sided. If you make it absolute, then you are in fact absolutely separating infinity from finiteness, and infinity has become something intangible, vague, and void. Hegel called this infinity "bad infinity". As Lenin said, this "infinity qualitatively counterposed to finitude, not connected with it, separated from it... as if the infinite stood above the finite, outside of it". (Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's *Science of Logic*", *CW* 38, p. 112.) This is false infinity, not real infinity.

In order to comprehensively understand the infinity of the universe in terms of space, it is not enough to just see the possibility of the finite transforming into the infinite, in the way of the homogeneous type universe-structure; it is also necessary to see the other aspect of the dialectical relationship between the infinite and the finite, i.e. the aspect of the infinite transforming into the finite.

#### The Infinite Transforms Into The Finite

The homogeneous-type model structure of the universe bumped into a stone wall in science. This forced some bourgeois scientists and philosophers to propose another, level-type model. Kant thought that besides this "island universe" (actually meaning the Milky Way Galaxy) where our solar system is located, in the universe there are countless other "island universes" and the "big universe" consists of all of them. Many, many such "big universes" compose even higher level

bigger universes. Such steps ascend continuously without end. Later, some other people clearly divided the universe-structure into the following levels: Solar system, first level; star clusters, second level; galaxies, the third level; galaxy clusters, fourth level; overall cluster, fifth level;... In the beginning of the 20th century, someone used this universe-structure to solve the paradox to which the homogeneous-type model of the universe gave rise: Since the universe ascends level by level, the quantity of light and gravitational force that one star receives from other celestial body systems would decrease level by level, approaching zero. Thus, the light lumens and gravitational force received at any point in the universe, even though the result of infinitely many other celestial bodies, is nonetheless in its sum total, convergent and finite.

This illustrates that not only can the finite transform into the infinite, the infinite can also transform into the finite. "Take a one-foot-long stick. If you chop away half of its length daily, you can go on in this way for millions of generations". This, in mathematics, is the infinite series  $\frac{1}{2}, \frac{1}{4}, \frac{1}{8}, \dots$ . This process is infinite and it illustrates that "a one-foot-long stick" contains infinitely many parts. But the sum total of  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} + \frac{1}{8} + \dots$  approaches 1. Thus the totality of these infinite parts constitutes a finite "one-foot-long stick". Herr Dühring had propagated what Kant had said "An infinite aggregate of actual things cannot therefore be viewed as a given whole," (quoted in *Anti-Dühring*, FLP, p. 60) but in reality, not only are the Milky Way Galaxy and the solar system infinite, but one house, one cup, etc. are also infinite, even down to one molecule, atom, or "elementary" particle—all equally manifest themselves as complicated and inexhaustible worlds. Contrary to Dühring's b.s., every given finite whole is exactly the infinite aggregate of actual things.

Hegel called this infinity that can transform into finiteness, the "real infinity". The real infinity is the reachable, graspable infinity. It envisions that the infinite can transform into the finite, that the finite contains the infinite. Therefore, it is possible for matter to compose itself as given masses, and for the universe to possess a given level-type structure. The infinite material compositions form finite "elementary" particles, atoms, molecules, macro-objects, life, planetary systems, galaxies, clusters... Within it, every level is a different state of aggregation of matter, each is both an inexhaustible "universe" and a given finite whole. In this way, the infinite is no longer some void thing beyond the finite actual, but rather actually exists within concrete things. Engels said, "States of aggregation—nodal points where quantitative change is transformed into qualitative". (Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, p. 285.)

The process of the finite transforming into the infinite is no longer a simple expansion in quantity, but rather there appears discreteness, qualitative changes. From such a "small universe" as an "elementary" particle to an atom, molecule... till such a "big universe" as an overall cluster, all these have been one after another turning points in the transition from the finite to the infinite.

The level-type structure of the universe based on the concepts of real infinity contains dialectics. It opposes the views that treat the universe as a block of structureless, absolutely homogeneous mess, and illustrates that matter has definite structure and is divisible.

But, within the real infinity another deviation is covered. The real infinity is infinity completed, and makes the infinite finite. This actually is only a link in the process of the finite transforming into the infinite, an approximation in the method of treatment. If you make it absolute, and view this infinity as the final infinity, then you are liquidating infinity. Hegel is like this. He really worships the real infinity, treats it as something beyond the infinite. "Beyond" the infinite, doesn't it return to the finite? Therefore, in Hegel, if the bad infinity is like a straight line without an end, then the real infinity "picture is a circle, it is a line reaching itself, closed and completely present, without starting or ending

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"Letter to Comrades", October 1917

# Lenin on 14 Ways to Blow a Revolution

## Part 2

It took the leadership of Lenin to pull off the Russian Revolution. This is no exaggeration, since he had to fight every step of the way, even against leading Socialists — including some Bolsheviks — to get the Party to take the necessary vanguard line. The struggle for the Party to launch the October Revolution with an insurrection in Petrograd was a case in point. Many arguments were advanced as to why it was premature, even foolish. Within the Bolshevik Central Committee at that time, two leaders, Kamenev and Zinoviev, led a struggle against Lenin, who saw the time as finally right and the conditions for success slipping through the fingers of the Party. In a series of crucial Central Committee meetings on October 10 and 16, the struggle was engaged and Lenin won the vote. But Kamenev's and Zinoviev's positions had real influence, so Lenin, on October 17, wrote a "Letter to Comrades," citing his opponents' arguments (14 of them) and refuting them. Then, a few days later, Lenin heard that Kamenev and Zinoviev had committed the treachery of having their arguments (and thus the Bolsheviks' plans for an insurrection) printed in a newspaper. At this news, Lenin immediately demanded his own answer to them be printed in the Bolshevik press.

Lenin's response is a sharp example of Marxism as a living science, quite the contrary of an ossified, conservative dogma. As Lenin put it in his essay "Guerrilla Warfare" (1906), "We do regard it as our duty relentlessly to combat stereotypes and prejudices which hamper the class-conscious workers in correctly formulating a new and difficult problem and in correctly approaching its solution." In this same spirit, the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA at its 1980 meeting also took up a number of questions related to those dealt with by Lenin here (see RW 99, "Charting the Uncharted Course"). There, while upholding Lenin's line and approach, it also analyzed how a number of questions facing the revolution in this imperialist superpower would be different from those facing Lenin, including the fact that it will be unlikely that an insurrection will start with the firm support of a majority of the working class in the U.S.

The first part of Lenin's letter was reprinted last week (RW No. 134). Below we reprint the second (and final) part.

"But 'everyone' is against us! We are isolated; the Central Executive Committee, the Menshevik internationalists, the Novaya Zhizn people, and the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries have been issuing and will continue to issue appeals against us!"

A crushing argument. Up to now we have been mercilessly scourging the vacillators for their vacillations. By so doing, we have won over the Soviets, without which the uprising could not be safe, quick, and sure. Now let us use the Soviets which we have won over in order to move into the camp of the vacillators. What a splendid career for Bolshevism!

1. These forces, and others like them referred to in Lenin's answer, were various leftist and socialist forces.



Lenin returning from abroad in 1917 on the train from Finland.

The whole essence of the policy of the Lieberdians and Chernovs, and also of the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, consists in vacillations. The Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and Menshevik internationalists have tremendous political importance as an indication of the fact that the masses are moving to the left. Two such facts as the passing of some 40 per cent of both Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries into the camp of the Left, on the one hand, and the peasant uprising, on the other, are clearly and obviously interconnected.

But it is the very character of this connection that reveals the abysmal spinelessness of those who have now undertaken to whimper over the fact that the Central Executive Committee, which has rotted away, or the vacillating Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and Co., have come out against us. For these vacillations of the petty-bourgeois leaders — the Martovs, Kamkovs, Sukhanovs and Co. — have to be compared to the uprising of the peasants. Here is a realistic political comparison. With whom shall we go? Should it be with the vacillating handfuls of Petrograd leaders, who have expressed indirectly the leftward swing of the masses, but who, at every political turn, have shamefully whimpered, vacillated, run to ask forgiveness of the Lieberdians, Avksentyevs and Co., or with those masses that have moved to the left?

Thus, and only thus, can the question be presented.

Because the peasant uprising has been betrayed by the Martovs, Kamkovs, and Sukhanovs, we, the workers'

party of revolutionary internationalists, are asked to betray it, too. This is what the policy of blaming the Left Socialist-Revolutionaries and Menshevik internationalists reduces itself to.

But we have said that to help the vacillating, we must stop vacillating ourselves. Have those "nice" Left petty-bourgeois democrats not "vacillated" in favour of the coalition? In the long run we succeeded in making them follow us because we ourselves did not vacillate. Events have shown we are right.

These gentlemen by their vacillations have always held back the revolution. We alone have saved it. Shall we now give up, when the famine is knocking at the gates of Petrograd and Rodzyanko<sup>2</sup> and Co. are preparing to surrender the city?!

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"But we have not even firm connections with the railwaymen and the postal employees. Their official representatives are the Plansons.<sup>3</sup> And can we win without the post office and without railways?"

Yes, yes, the Plansons here, the Lieberdians there. What confidence have the masses shown them? Have we not always shown that those leaders betrayed the masses? Did the masses not turn

away from those leaders towards us, both at the elections in Moscow and at the elections to the Soviets? Or perhaps the mass of railway and postal employees are not starving! Or do not strike against Kerensky and Co.?

"Did we have connections with these unions before February 28?"<sup>4</sup> one comrade asked a pessimist. The latter replied by pointing out that the two revolutions could not be compared. But this reply only strengthens the position of the one who asked the question. For it is the Bolsheviks who have spoken thousands of times about prolonged preparation for the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie (and they have not spoken about it in order to forget their words when the decisive moment is at hand). The political and economic life of the unions of postal and telegraph employees and railwaymen is characterised by the very separation of the proletarian elements of the masses from the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois upper layer. It is not absolutely necessary to secure "connections" with one or the other union beforehand; what matters is that only a victory of a proletarian and peasant uprising can satisfy the masses both of the army of railwaymen and of postal and telegraph employees.

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2. A powerful and well-known reactionary in the bourgeois Kerensky government; president for a time of the State Duma (parliament).

3. A.A. Planson — a compromising socialist, Member of the Central Executive Committee (First Convocation) and a Popular Socialist.

4. Refers to the February 1917 Revolution — the first stage of the revolution in Russia which overthrew the Czar and brought the bourgeois Kerensky government to power.



# Lenin

Continued from page 15

"There is only enough bread in Petrograd for two or three days. Can we give bread to the insurrectionists?"

This is one of a thousand sceptical remarks (the sceptics can *always* "doubt" and cannot be refuted by anything but experience), one of those remarks that put the blame on the wrong shoulders.

It is Rodzyanko and Co., it is the bourgeoisie that are preparing the famine and speculating on strangling the revolution by famine. There is no escaping the famine and *there can be none* except by an uprising of the peasants against the landowners in the countryside and by a victory of the workers over the capitalists in the cities and Petrograd and Moscow. There is *no other way* to get grain from the rich, or to transport it despite their sabotage, or to break the resistance of the corrupt employees and the capitalist profiteers, or to establish strict accounting. The history of the supply organisations and of the food difficulties of the "democracy" with its millions of *complaints* against the sabotage of the capitalists, with its *whimpering* and *supplication* is proof of this.

There is no power on earth apart from the power of a victorious proletarian revolution that would advance from complaints and begging and tears to *revolutionary action*. And the longer the proletarian revolution is delayed, the longer it is put off by events or by the vacillations of the wavering and confused, the more victims it will claim and the more difficult it will be to *organise* the transportation and distribution of food.

"In insurrection delay is fatal" this is our answer to those having the sad "courage" to look at the growing economic ruin, at the approaching famine, and still *dissuade* the workers from the uprising (*that is, persuade them to wait and place confidence in the bourgeoisie for some further time*).

"There is not yet any danger at the front either. Even if the soldiers conclude an armistice themselves, it is still not a calamity."

But the soldiers will not conclude an armistice. For this state power is necessary and that cannot be obtained without an uprising. The soldiers will simply *desert*. Reports from the front tell that. We must not wait because of the risk of aiding collusion between Rodzyanko and Wilhelm<sup>5</sup> and the risk of *complete* economic ruin, with the soldiers deserting in masses, once they (*being already close to desperation*) sink into absolute despair and leave everything to the mercy of fate.

"But if we take power, and obtain neither an armistice nor a democratic peace, the soldiers may not be willing to fight a revolutionary war. What then?"

An argument which brings to mind the saying: one fool can ask ten times more questions than ten wise men can answer.

We have never denied the difficulties of *those in power* during an imperialist war. Nevertheless, we have always *preached* the dictatorship of the proletariat and the poor peasantry. Shall we renounce this, when the moment to act has arrived?

We have always said that the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country creates gigantic changes in the international situation, in the economic life of the country, in the condition of the army and in its mood — shall we now "forget" all this, and allow ourselves to be frightened by the "difficulties" of the revolution?

"As everybody reports, the masses are not in a mood that would drive them into the streets. Among the signs justifying pessimism may be mentioned the greatly increasing circulation of the pogromist and Black-Hundred<sup>6</sup> press."

When people allow themselves to be frightened by the bourgeoisie, all objects and phenomena naturally appear yellow to them. First, they substitute an impressionist, intellectualist criterion for the Marxist criterion of the movement; they *substitute* subjective impressions of moods for a political analysis of the development of the class struggle and of the course of events in the entire country against the entire international background. They "conveniently" forget, of course, that a firm party line, its unyielding resolve, is *also* a mood-creating factor, particularly at the sharpest revolutionary moments. It is sometimes very "convenient" for people to forget that the responsible leaders, by their vacillations and by their readiness to burn their yesterday's idols, cause the most unbecoming vacillations in the mood of certain strata of the masses.

Secondly — and this is at present the main thing — in speaking about the mood of the masses, the spineless people forget to add:

that "everybody" reports it as a tense and expectant mood;

that "everybody" agrees that, called upon by the Soviets for the defence of the Soviets, the workers will rise to a man;

that "everybody" agrees that the workers are greatly dissatisfied with the indecision of the centres concerning the "last decisive struggle", the inevitability of which they clearly recognise;

that "everybody" unanimously characterises the mood of the broadest masses as close to desperation and points to the anarchy developing therefrom;

that "everybody" also recognises that there is among the class-conscious workers a definite unwillingness to go out into the streets *only* for demonstrations, *only* for partial struggles, since a general and not a partial struggle is in the air, while the hopelessness of individual strikes, demonstrations and acts of influence the authorities has been seen and is fully realised.

And so forth.

If we approach this characterisation of the mass mood from the point of view of the entire development of the class and political struggle and of the entire course of events during the six months of our revolution, it will become clear to us how people frightened by the bourgeoisie are distorting the question. Things are not as they were before April 20-21, June 9, July 3, for then it was a matter of *spontaneous excitement* which we, as a party, either failed to comprehend (April 20) or held back and shaped into a peaceful demonstration (June 9 and July 3), for we knew very well at that time that the Soviets were *not yet* ours, that the peasants *still* trusted the Lieberdan-Chernov and not the Bolshevik course (uprising), that consequently we could not have the majority of the people behind us, and that consequently the uprising would be premature.

At that time the majority of the class-conscious workers did *not* raise the question of the last decisive struggle at all; not one of all our Party units would have raised it at that time. As for the unenlightened and very broad masses, there was neither a concerted effort nor the resolve born out of despair; there was only a spontaneous *excitement* with the naïve hope of "influencing" Kerensky and the bourgeoisie by "action", by a demonstration pure and simple.

What is needed for an uprising is not this, but, on the one hand, a conscious, firm and unswerving resolve on the part of the class-conscious elements to fight to the end; and on the other, a mood of despair among the broad masses who *feel* that nothing can now be saved by half-measures; that you cannot "influence" anybody; that the hungry will "smash everything, destroy everything, even anarchically", if the Bolsheviks are not able to lead them in a decisive battle.

The development of the revolution has in practice brought *both* the workers and the peasantry to precisely this combination of a tense mood resulting from experience among the class-conscious and a mood of hatred towards those using the lockout weapon and the capitalists that is close to despair among the broadest masses.

We can also understand the "success" on this very soil of the scoundrels of the reactionary press who imitate Bolshevism. The malicious glee of the reactionaries at the approach of a decisive battle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat has been observed in all revolutions without exception; it has always been so, and it is absolutely unavoidable. And if you allow yourselves to be frightened by *this* circumstance, then you have to renounce not only the uprising but the proletarian revolution in general. For in a capitalist society this revolution *cannot* mature *without* being accompanied by malicious glee on the part of the reactionaries and by hopes that they would be able to feather their nest in this way.

The class-conscious workers know perfectly well that the Black Hundreds work hand in hand with the bourgeoisie, and that a decisive victory of the workers (in which the petty bourgeoisie do not believe, which the capitalists are afraid of, which the Black Hundreds sometimes wish for out of sheer malice, convinced as they are that the Bolsheviks cannot retain power) — that this victory will completely *crush* the Black Hundreds, that the Bolsheviks *will be able* to retain power firmly and to the greatest advantage of all humanity tortured and tormented by the war.

Indeed, is there anybody in his senses who can doubt that the Rodzyankos and Suvorins are acting in concert, that the roles have been distributed among them?

Has it not been proved by facts that Kerensky acts on Rodzyanko's orders, while the State Printing Press of the Russian Republic (don't laugh!) prints the Black-Hundred speeches of reactionaries in the "Duma" at the expense of the state. Has not this fact been exposed *even* by the lackeys from *Dyelo Naroda*, who serve "their own mannikin"? Has not the experience of *all* elections proved that the Cadet<sup>7</sup> lists were fully supported by *Novoye Vremya*, which is a venal paper controlled by the "interests" of the tsarist landowners?

Did we not read yesterday that commercial and industrial capitalists (non-partisan capitalists, of course; oh, non-partisan capitalists, to be sure, for the Vikhlayevs and Rakitnikovs, the Gvozdyovs and Nitikins are not in coalition with the Cadets — God forbid — but with *non-partisan* commercial and industrial circles!) have donated the goodly sum of 300,000 rubles to the Cadets?

The whole Black-Hundred press, if we look at things from a class and not a sentimental point of view, is a *branch* of the firm "Ryabushinsky, Milyukov, and Co.". Capitalists buy, on the one hand, the Milyukovs, Zaslavskys, Potresovs, and so on; on the other, the Black Hundreds.

The *victory of the proletariat* is the only means of putting an end to this most hideous poisoning of the people by the cheap Black-Hundred venom.

Is it any wonder that the crowd, tired out and made wretched by hunger and the prolongation of the war, clutches at the Black-Hundred poison? Can one imagine a capitalist society on the eve of collapse in which the oppressed masses are *not* desperate? Is there any doubt that the desperation of the masses, a large part of whom are still ignorant, *will* express itself in the increased consumption of all sorts of poison?

Those who, in arguing about the mood of the masses, blame the masses for their own personal spinelessness, are in a hopeless position. The masses are divided into those who are consciously biding their time and those who unconsciously are ready to sink into despair; but the masses of the oppressed and the hungry are *not* spineless.

"On the other hand, the Marxist party cannot reduce the question of an uprising to that of a military conspiracy...."

Marxism is an extremely profound and many-sided doctrine. It is, therefore, no wonder that *scraps* of quotations from Marx — especially when the quotations are made *inappropriately* —

can always be found among the "arguments" of those who break with Marxism. Military conspiracy is Blanquism,<sup>8</sup> if it is organised not by a party of a definite class, if its organisers have not analysed the political moment in general and the international situation in particular, if the party has not on its side the sympathy of the majority of the people, as proved by objective facts, if the development of revolutionary events has not brought about a practical refutation of the conciliatory illusions of the petty bourgeoisie, if the majority of the Soviet-type organs of revolutionary struggle that have been recognised as authoritative or have shown themselves to be such in practice have not been won over, if there has not matured a sentiment in the army (if in war-time) against the government that protracts the unjust war against the will of the whole people, if the slogans of the uprising (like "All power to the Soviets", "Land to the peasants", or "Immediate offer of a democratic peace to all the belligerent nations, with an immediate abrogation of all secret treaties and secret diplomacy", etc.) have not become widely known and popular, if the advanced workers are not sure of the desperate situation of the masses and of the support of the countryside, a support proved by a serious peasant movement or by an uprising against the landowners and the government that defends the landowners, if the country's economic situation inspires earnest hopes for a favourable solution of the crisis by peaceable and parliamentary means.

This is probably enough.

In my pamphlet entitled: *Can the Bolsheviks Retain State Power?* (I hope it will appear in a day or two), there is a quotation from Marx which really bears upon the question of insurrection and which enumerates the features of insurrection as an "art".

I am ready to wager that if we were to propose to all those chatterers in Russia who are now shouting against a military conspiracy, to open their mouths and explain the difference between the "art" of an insurrection and a military conspiracy that deserves condemnation, they would either repeat what was quoted above or would cover themselves with shame and would call forth the general ridicule of the workers. Why not try, my dear would-be Marxists! Sing us a song *against* "military conspiracy"!

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## POSTSCRIPT

The above lines had been written when I received, at eight o'clock Tuesday evening, the morning Petrograd papers; there was an article by Mr. V. Bazarov in *Novaya Zhizn*. Mr. V. Bazarov asserts that "a handwritten manifesto was distributed in the city, in which arguments were presented in the name of two eminent Bolsheviks, against immediate action".

If this is true, I beg the comrades, whom this letter cannot reach earlier than Wednesday noon, to *publish* it as quickly as possible.

I did not write it for the press; I wanted to talk to the members of our Party by letter. But we cannot remain silent when the heroes of *Novaya Zhizn*, who do not belong to the Party and who have been ridiculed by it a thousand times for their contemptible spineless-

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5. The German Emperor.

6. Monarchist gangs organized by reactionaries to fight the revolutionary movement.

7. Cadets (Constitutional-Democratic Party) — a leading imperialist bourgeois party.

8. A trend within the French Socialist Movement led by Louis Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881), which saw revolution as a conspiracy hatched by a small circle of intellectuals.



## Co-Conspirators Write

## Examining the FDR in El Salvador

Recently a group of us, which includes immigrants from Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador and natives from the U.S., have been engaging in study and discussion on revolution in the colonial and dependent countries. We have been using, in particular, a section from the Basic Principles of the International Communist Movement as a guide.

We are taking up this study from the standpoint of our obligations and responsibilities to the International Proletariat, in view of the urgent necessity to promote internationalism and the goal of communism among the people. In this we are acting in the spirit of some recent articles by Bob Avakian which stimulated a great deal of thought and discussion and has spurred us on to more study.

All of us wholeheartedly support the tremendous revolutionary upsurge of the people of Central America as a powerful part of the world revolutionary forces. Among us are people who have participated in the revolutionary movements in Central America.

For a time now we have had our disagreements with the Sandinista leadership in Nicaragua and the FDR/FMLN leadership in El Salvador (since we are most familiar with the position of the FPL, one of the principal groups within the above alliance, our views are directed mainly at them. We recognize that there are some important differences between these groups and we are continuing to try to understand them, though in some cases information is hard to come by).

We have seen that they have a compromising attitude towards U.S. imperialism which they very disgustingly displayed when Duarte came to San Francisco and they have carried on a love affair with the equally imperialist and murderous Soviet Union which they promote as the liberator and ally of the oppressed.

Though we understand that their line is wrong and dangerous and certainly not Marxist-Leninist, it is important to understand where this line comes from and what is the line that corresponds to the interests of proletariat and oppressed peoples worldwide.

We believe the essence of this question lies with the fundamental basis of Marxism, the class struggle of understanding the independent ideological and political outlook and line of the proletariat.

As we understand it, in the colonial and dependent countries like El Salvador, at this point in history while imperialism and capitalism are dominant in the world, the revolution to achieve socialism must pass through several stages. In the first stage the proletariat, peasantry, urban petty bourgeoisie and certain sections of the bourgeoisie held down by imperialism can and must unite to defeat imperialism and its lackeys which represent the bourgeoisie whose interests are most tied in to those of imperialism, i.e. Somoza, the Junta in El Salvador, etc.

Within this united front or broad alliance the proletariat, through its party, whether it is in leadership of the struggle or whether it is part of an alliance led by the bourgeois forces and is striving for leadership, must draw a sharp distinction between the ideological and political stand of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie. It must consistently educate the masses about these differences while it struggles to win as many as possible among the masses, including non-proletarian elements, to its broad internationalist stand, to the long term historic goal of ending exploitation of man by man.

The proletarian forces must, while fighting in the first stage of national democratic revolution, be laying the basis for going on to the second stage, the socialist revolution. The Basic Principles, in Section 217, says: "...the party must train the proletariat and broader masses in a scientific estimate of different class forces and interests in

society, including within the broad united front of forces opposed to the reactionary regime, and it must without fail propagate the need to carry the revolution forward to socialism upon victory in the first stage and to fight in unity with the international proletariat toward the ultimate goal of communism worldwide."

In our own experience we have attempted to engage in discussion and debate around this and other points with leaders of the FDR; thus far they have refused to discuss any of this publicly. We did have some private debates with defenders of their position. We asked them what was the goal of the revolution in El Salvador and their consistent reply was "justice for the people" and "independence from imperialism." And they emphasized again and again the need for a broad alliance to accomplish this end. When we asked how this idea of "justice" differed between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and peasantry in the alliance, and when we asked them how the FPL was training the masses to understand the different classes and their different goals in the revolution, they were very adamant, "We don't discuss these differences for the sake of unity." In fact, "unity" is such a constant theme with them that you'd think it was some magic formula. In fact pressed on this point in the street one day in front of the masses, one FDR leader yelled, "How come you ask such stupid questions, if you want to know about El Salvador go there!"

People in the FDR have told us before that the working class cannot lead the revolution because the workers are too backward! This is not coming from people who are ordinary bourgeois liberals, but people who claim to be and promote their organizations as "Marxist-Leninist." This makes them more dangerous and makes it necessary for genuine revolutionaries to unmask their line, while upholding real Marxism-Leninism.

From what we have come to understand of Lenin, his line has nothing in common with theirs, except that he fought against it. Russia was not a colonized nation like El Salvador but the proletariat there did face the necessity of overthrowing the Czar's semi-feudal regime, completing the bourgeois revolution, before moving to the socialist one. This meant the necessity of the proletariat uniting with the bourgeoisie against the Czar's regime. Here is what Lenin said in 1905 to "revolutionary forces" that were essentially arguing that the proletariat could only play a supporting role to the bourgeoisie in the revolution: "It stands to reason that if Social Democracy (Communism) even for a minute forgot the class separateness of the proletariat as against the lower bourgeoisie, if it concluded at the inopportune moment an alliance unprofitable for us with one or another untrustworthy party made up of lower bourgeois intelligentsia, if Social Democracy for a single minute lost sight of its own independent aims and necessity (in every political situation at every political turn and overturn) to concentrate its attention on developing the class consciousness of the proletariat and its independent political organization — in that case participation in the provisional government would be extremely dangerous."

Mao Tse Tung, under whose leadership the New Democratic revolution and the socialist revolution were carried out in China, had this to say in his opening remarks on his work entitled "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship", speaking of the independent stand of the proletariat and its Communist Party: "We are the opposite of the political parties of the bourgeoisie. They are afraid to speak of the extinction of classes, state power and parties. We on the contrary openly declare that we are striving hard to create the very conditions which will bring about their extinction. The leadership of the Com-

munist Party and the state power of the people's dictatorship are such conditions."

For Lenin and Mao it was a cardinal question of principle that a sharp distinction be drawn between the communist/internationalist stand of the proletariat and the narrow nationalist stand of the bourgeoisie when temporarily these class forces were fighting together against a common enemy, but for FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT goals.

That keeping these distinctions hidden can only harm the proletariat and keep it from fighting consciously for its own interest should be obvious. What is becoming increasingly obvious also, is that the Sandinistas and some so-called Marxist-Leninist groups in the FDR represent a section of the bourgeoisie in these countries that want revolution only in so far as it brings them to power. These forces cannot and will not prepare for the second stage in the revolution because to do so would cut the political ground for continuing capitalism from under their own feet. Being a new bourgeois class in an oppressed country they know they are too weak to rule independently and thus seek the aid of a big power. What could be more suitable to them than the Soviet Union, which is not only a rising imperialist power driven by its own necessity to try and oust the U.S. in places like Central America, but also comes complete draped in a Red Flag, proclaiming itself the great liberator of the oppressed.

The fact that the FDR does not seek any fundamental change in class relations in El Salvador is made clear by the latest peace proposal printed in the fall edition of *El Pulgarito* to preserve basically the old class relations, but a willingness to compromise with the U.S. in line with present USSR strategy in Central America. This is the same kind of "historic compromise" being carried out in Nicaragua where U.S. interests have been allowed to continue exploiting the Nicaraguan people, the Soviets not being in a position at this time to totally replace the U.S., but are nevertheless gaining position for the upcoming war to redivide the world. This strategy was revealed to thousands in San Francisco when during Duarte's visit the FDR which called for an anti-Duarte demonstration raised the absurdly narrow slogan of "Duarte, Out of San Francisco" and refused to denounce and expose U.S. imperialism, going so far as to try and save the U.S. flag from being burned by outraged

demonstrators. They did their best in conjunction with the police to bust up the demonstration which became far too militant and anti-imperialist for their liking.

As to how the proletariat must relate to these pro-Soviet forces presently in leadership in El Salvador's struggle, the Basic Principles lays out some points that deserve deeper discussion and consideration. "In certain specific conditions, particularly for example when one imperialist power, actually carries out an invasion and attempts to occupy a particular colonial or dependent country, it may be necessary and correct not only to direct the spearhead of struggle against the particular power (or bloc) but even to ally with or at least seek to neutralize—'put to the side'—certain domestic reactionary forces who are dependent on and serve other imperialists (in particular the rival imperialist bloc). But in such cases it is all the more important to expose the class nature and interests and imperialist connections of such forces; to resolutely combat and defeat their treachery in the struggle and particularly their attempts to suppress the masses..." (Section 227). Not surprisingly, nowhere in the FDR/FMLN propaganda, either written or in films like *The People Will Win* does this ever get expressed since they are the very pro-imperialist forces this passage refers to!

These are some of the points we are trying to understand and apply. (Keeping in mind that the present conjuncture with its crisis, impending war and tremendous revolutionary upheavals offers great opportunities for the oppressed worldwide to make advances towards ending exploitation) we will continue to try and deepen our understanding of Marxism-Leninism while bringing it out as broadly as possible to the masses. Towards this end, we would like to see others write and comment on this subject, including those people around the FDR, most of whom are honestly striving for the liberation of the Salvadoran people. And we will continue to call on those leading forces in the FDR who have thus far refused to respond publicly to these criticisms, to answer and lay out more fully what their position is. Genuine revolutionaries have nothing to fear from this debate which can only deepen the understanding of the proletariat and masses of the people, putting the proletariat in a stronger position to defeat decaying imperialism in this period of crisis and revolution in front of us. □

## What is the State Dept. "Threat Analysis Group" Doing in the Salvador Tour Trial?

In the past week, the battle of the U.S. government versus the Salvadoran revolutionaries' speaking tour reached a new intensity in a series of fiercely contested courtroom clashes during pre-trial hearings on motions to dismiss the charges. The government had already made abundantly clear that it wants not just a railroad, but an *express* railroad — and it still aims to get it, despite the stiff counter-attack by the defense. Since the hearings, the judge has denied all the motions except one, which he postponed to the very morning of the Salvadorans' trial, set to begin Friday, Dec. 18. An emergency appeal of these denials, to the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals in Denver, was swiftly turned down, as was a request for a stay of the Salvadorans' trial.

The Salvadorans' trial is on a misdemeanor charge of "failure to have alien registration receipts" (i.e. not having

the "proper immigration papers"). The government may well use a conviction there to speed along deportation proceedings, to act while it has them in its clutches. Deportation for these two revolutionaries would mean prison and possible torture and death at the hands of the El Salvadoran junta. The trial of the other two revolutionaries, which has been postponed for two weeks until January 4, is on the felony charge of "transporting illegal aliens," which carries up to 5 years in prison.

The stage on which these trials take place is marked by a tense and sharpening world situation, with upheaval rocking Poland and feverish imperialist maneuvering in Central America. The U.S. has been busy denouncing "the threat of totalitarianism and foreign intervention" in what it has long considered its own "backyard" while finding

Continued on page 23



# U.S.: "Martial Law?" Good . . . in Turkey"

Continued from page 5

prisoners in Turkish jails has swelled to over 100,000. Under military rule anyone suspected of "anti-government activity" can be arrested and held for 90 days without charges; once in prison, systematic torture is practiced on detainees, including beatings, electric shock, rape, tearing out finger and toenails, burning with lighted cigarettes, beating on the soles of the feet (commonly known as *falaka*) and then being forced to walk on salt or glass, and many other methods of "interrogation" developed jointly by the CIA and Turkish political police. Over the last year, at least 75 revolutionaries and other progressives have been reported tortured to death in prison. 500 have been murdered in the process of being "arrested" or shot "trying to escape."

What was the response of U.S. officials to the military takeover in Turkey and the ensuing fascist terror that swept through the country? Barely restrained glee. To begin with, the coup was announced by the State Department in Washington even before it was completed in Turkey. The U.S. government was in a good position to know all about the coup—and to have given its full support to it—for Gen. Sahinkaya, the commander of the Turkish Air Force, had returned from "consultations" with top military officials in the U.S. only several days earlier. A coincidence perhaps? Just like Soviet General Kulikov's visit to Warsaw shortly before martial law was declared in Poland.

As soon as the coup in Turkey took place, the American media set out to do a thorough public relations job for the

new military junta. "All Else Failing, Turkey's Military Junta Takes Over Again," headlined the *New York Times*. "Turkish people welcome takeover" was the feature story on many network news programs which ran selected interviews with people in well-to-do residential sections of Ankara who would say they were glad the military had finally stepped in to put an end to "terrorism." Truly outdoing itself, the *Washington Post* ran an article under the headline "Junta Leader Outlines Reforms to Save Turkish Democracy", regurgitating

Gen. Evren's explanation that the military takeover was really not a coup at all, but rather "an operation carried out to remove the threat to our democracy." According to the U.S. press, Gen. Evren and the other "patriotic" military men on Turkey's newly-formed "National Security Council" intervened "very reluctantly" to break the paralysis of the civilian bourgeois government, to put an end to "terrorism" and streamline some laws and the constitution, and were anxious to turn the country back over to civilian rule, probably in a matter of months.

Today, of course, the American press corps is incisively "exposing" Gen. Jaruzelski's claims that he is not instituting a military dictatorship, but is rather moving to "restore law and order", and to bring Poland back from "the abyss of civil war." Truly, when it comes to clamping down on the masses of the people, pro-Western reac-

tionaries and Soviet-trained revisionists sound very much the same!

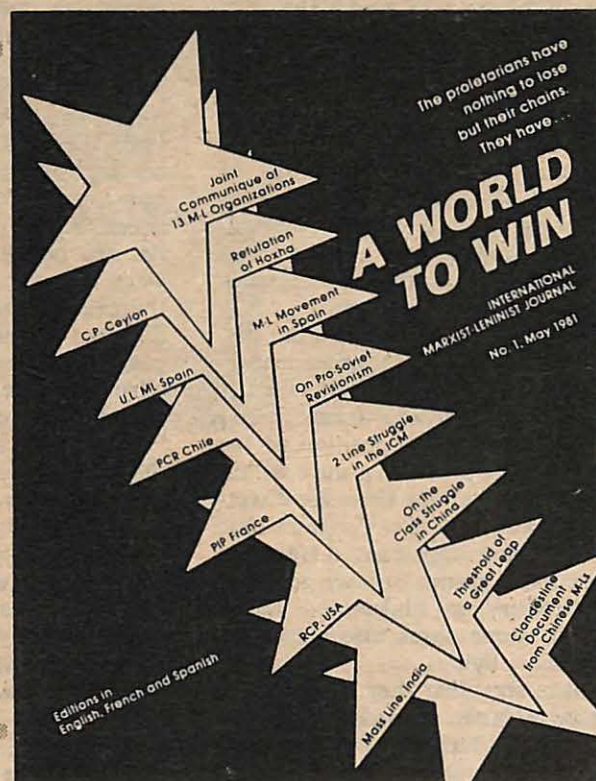
During a recent trip to Turkey, which took place the week before martial law was imposed in Poland, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger made some remarks that quite accurately express U.S. concern for "oppression" in the world today—that is, it's fine when they and their lackeys are dishing it out. And, their chief concern here is that it is done well, and in good measure. After promising a substantial boost in military shipments to the junta and announcing the formation of a Joint Military Group to "improve military coordination" between the U.S. and Turkey, Weinberger told Gen. Evren, "We admire the way in which the order and law have been restored in Turkey under your very able direction," adding that the military government had "lived up to our great expectations." Need we say more? □

**"To carry out the struggle against revisionism and to aid the process of developing and struggling for a correct general line in the international communist movement, the undersigned Parties and organizations are launching an international journal. This journal can and will be a crucial weapon which can help unite, ideologically, politically and organizationally, the genuine Marxist-Leninists throughout the world."**

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## Oinks

Continued from page 3

"defend their... fatherland." If you omit a few catchwords here, it sounds like something Spiro Agnew might have once said.

The other revisionist parties in power in East Europe are running the same essential line. Bulgaria hailed martial law in Poland as a "drastically needed measure." A Hungarian government statement said: "Leading bodies of the Hungarian People's Republic and Hungarian workers followed and heard with great attention and sympathy the resolution of the State Council of the Polish People's Republic, the establishment of the Military Council of National Salvation and its measures..." Romania, too, welcomed martial law which, it said, was aimed at "ensuring internal quiet, order and the security of the population..." After all how much more "secure" could the population be than with a tank on every corner!

As might be expected, there was reaction (in both senses of the word) from the revisionist parties of the West over Poland. Life is sometimes difficult for these people, who face the contradiction of operating in areas of domination of Western imperialism, and trying to maintain and attract a social base there, while at the same time pursuing the long-run interests of the Soviet Union. This, it is true, leads to a bit of a quandary on occasion (and no doubt throws these parties into a certain amount of internal chaos). Thus, a few so-called Euro-Communist parties in Italy, Spain and Greece had a few sharp words for the Polish government's act. The fact that things had not yet come to a Soviet invasion undoubtedly aided their tenuous position, so that the protests could be narrowed to a purely Polish target.

But, from other quarters, there was a shameless, unabashed support for martial law in Poland. The PCF (Communist Party of France), had staked quite a bit on skating on thin ice around Poland.

Their pitch to the French workers had been, in large part, "See how much the Polish workers are doing without a clampdown. Why in the West, the army would be out for sure." Well, it was a humorous exposure of the West and it worked fine—as long as the tanks didn't roll. But, when they did, it seems the PCF just skipped the embarrassment and went to hearty support. They called for a boycott of a December 14 demonstration against the edict initiated by the ruling Socialist Party. Whole union locals under PCF control rejected the boycott and marched anyhow. Summing up the PCF reaction as a combination of "embarrassment and irritation," the *New York Times* goes on to report, "The official Communist newspaper, *L'Humanité*, said that Solidarity was to blame for the Polish crackdown, called on the French to say and do nothing to inflame things, and denounced the Right for exploiting the situation." Well, obviously "the Right"—including the Socialist Party—had its own imperialist reasons for calling the demonstration, but unfortunately for the Communists in France, it is their own noses that have been the most bloodied this week.

But, support for mass repression is not a characteristic indigenous to revisionism in France. We contacted the offices of the *Daily World* (newspaper of the Communist Party, USA) and asked for the CP's official position on martial law in Poland. We were told that there was no official position, that we should read what was said in the *Daily World*, and if we had any more questions, to call the offices of the CP directly. When we called the offices of the CP directly, they said there was no official position, to read what was said in the newspaper, and to call the *Daily World*. So, as of this writing, the only public indication of the CP's line is in a couple of *Daily World* articles published this week. But this is plenty.

In transparent anticipation of the trouble they're about to get into—and in an almost unbelievably lame retort to this—the CP begins a Dec. 17 news story with this: "With his anti-labor record could anyone really believe that

President Reagan is interested in the welfare of Polish workers. If the President really did care about workers' rights, he would never have fired 13,000 PATCO workers and outlawed their union. The President claims sympathy for Polish workers—yet he puts millions of U.S. workers on the breadlines instead of production lines. The question arises, why this double standard?" The question arises—how evasive can the CP get? Commentary on your less-than-stinging indictment of the U.S. aside, Gus and Angela, the question at hand happens to be the declaration of martial law by the Polish government, the approval and backing of the Soviets in this, and whether one supports this or opposes it and on what basis.

For the answer to this, we must turn to another news story two days earlier in the *Daily World*. In a way, the headline of this article is an extremely appropriate concentration of the ideology and politics of these people: "Poland Goes Back To Work". Who else could so aptly couch a rapid defense of repression and now murder and the machinations of an imperialist war bloc with economist drivel, a slice of Americana, and appeals to the narrowest of philistines?

"The Polish government moved this week to avert a takeover of the country by anti-socialist elements. Following a direct provocation by the leaders of Solidarity, government officials declared martial law, suspending activities of Solidarity, banning public demonstrations and arresting many of those whose actions had led to the present crisis. Reports on the second day after the government action indicated that calm prevailed and most workers were on the job..." Of course, there's more to this than a general desire for order and calm, or that workers should be allowed to pursue their rightful role as busy-bees. However impossible, they desire stability for a clear purpose: the strengthening of the social-imperialist war machine.

The revisionist banner *should* be held proudly over the outrageous dealings in Poland, because events in Poland show exactly what they are fighting for. □

## Lenin

Continued from page 16

ness (they voted for the Bolsheviks the day before yesterday, for the Mensheviks yesterday, and who *almost* united them at the world-famous unity congress) — when such individuals receive a *manifesto* from members of our Party in which they carry on propaganda against an uprising. We must agitate also *in favour* of an uprising. Let the anonymous individuals come right out into the light of day, and let them bear the punishment they deserve for their shameful vacillations, even if it be only the ridicule of all class-conscious workers. I have at my disposal only one hour before I send the present letter to Petrograd, and I therefore can say only a word or two about one of the "methods" of the sad heroes of the brainless *Novaya Zhizn* trend. Mr. V. Bazarov attempts to polemicize against Comrade Ryazanov, who has said, and who is a thousand times correct in saying, that "all those who create in the masses a mood of despair and indifference are preparing an uprising".

The sad hero of a sad cause "rejoins" as follows:

"Have despair and indifference ever conquered?"

O contemptible fools from *Novaya Zhizn*! Do they know *such* examples of uprising in history, in which the masses of the oppressed classes were victorious in a desperate battle without having been reduced to despair by long sufferings and by an extreme sharpening of all sorts of crises, in which those masses had not been seized by indifference towards various lackey-like pre-parliaments, towards idle playing at revolution, towards the Lieberdians' reduction of the Soviets from organs of power and uprising to empty talking-shops?

Or have the contemptible little fools from *Novaya Zhizn* perhaps discovered among the masses an *indifference* — to the question of bread, to the prolongation of the war, to and for the peasants?



# Statement from Chicago Polish Workers

Right after martial law was declared in Poland, some *Revolutionary Worker* sellers went out into the Chicago Polish community (the largest outside of Warsaw) with the following statement in Polish. It is a paragraph taken from an August 22, 1980 *RW* article on the Polish workers' upsurge. This whole article, exposing the Polish revisionist rulers and the Soviet and U.S. imperialists, has also been translated into Polish and sold in the hundreds in Chicago. 39 Polish rebel workers have signed this message:

"This rebellion of workers in the heart of the Soviet imperialists' empire also has great significance for the international proletariat. Any actions of the working class and masses of people that weaken their own capitalist class or the imperialist superpowers, and, in any way, brings closer the day of their overthrow and destruction, serves the interest of the international proletariat. But even more concretely, this rebellion of the Polish workers has to be seen as a sign of the potential ability of the workers of the East or the West, and even in the superpowers themselves, to rise in revolution and thus prevent an imperialist-sponsored nuclear war, or to accomplish this revolutionary goal in the course of such a war." □

## Proletariat

Bunt robotniczy w samym środku sowieckiego, imperialistycznego, podporządkowanego kraju ma szczególne znaczenie i wpływ na międzynarodowy proletariat. Każda akcja klasy robotniczej która osłabia klasę kapitalistyczną albo która jest skierowana przybliża dzień w którym wspomniane ustroje zostaną zniszczone przez międzynarodowy proletariat. W dodatku, bunt Polskich Robotników pokazał zdolność proletariatu do rewolucyjnych aktów, w krajach przygotowujących się do wojny nuklearnej.

[The following text is heavily redacted with black bars and signatures.]

## Support the Rebels in Poland Forward with the World Revolution

Continued from page 3

over the whole world—*revolution and state power*. But for the seizure of power and the fundamental transformation of society to occur in Poland, there is a need for the complete overthrow of the existing order, and of all existing social conditions. In other words, the masses of people have come objectively up against the need for a proletarian revolution and a Marxist-Leninist, Maoist line to guide the revolution. This is true even if, ironically, many people engaged in the struggle think that they are rebelling *against* Marxism-Leninism and a Leninist state.

Who is going to run society? This question is not an abstraction or something invented by revolutionary communists. It is objectively posed right now by developments in Poland. Everyone—even bourgeois forces—is basically saying so.

In the absence of a real proletarian leadership and a Marxist-Leninist line, this question of power can only get resolved to the benefit of one or the other imperialist bloc. A proletarian revolution means concretely not only complete overthrow of the existing order and social conditions, but also a complete rupture with both imperialist blocs. And a proletarian revolution is the only way to bring this about. It can't be done with Western democracy. It certainly can't be done with the Catholic Church, or by nostalgia for the old days when Poland was ruled by the landed aristocracy (and at that time, for example, fought against the proletarian revolution in Russia when it was, in fact, a real revolution).

Revolutionary communism, proletarian revolution against bourgeois "communism" (and Western capitalism) is the only way forward; anybody who says anything else should be challenged to show how there can be a way forward out of this without taking that road.

But at the same time, the struggle in

Poland (or any other country) can't be isolated from the rest of the world, and revolutionaries have to proceed first by understanding the overall international situation and viewing things on a world plane. This stresses the importance of sharpening international developments. Poland shows how events in one country are bound up with the world situation, with the intensifying contradictions and struggle in the world, especially the increasing rivalry between the two imperialist blocs. This emphasizes the importance of real internationalism, not just as a fine idea but

concretely as the line guiding the actions of the masses of the people and the struggle of the proletariat in all countries.

Poland is a concentration point, a potential weak link in the chain of imperialism which a proletarian revolution might break. But the revolutionary forces are lagging behind. This shows the importance for people who are rebelling there—and those who support their rebellion—of grasping the centrality of the question of state power and the need for a Marxist-Leninist line.

As Lenin powerfully expressed it: "There is one, and only one, kind of real internationalism, and that is—working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in *one's own country*, and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy, and material aid) *this struggle*, this, and *only this*, line, in *every country* without

exception."

The present heroic attempts of the masses of Poland to break out, to find a solution, to organize their resistance must be supported. But, still more, events there show (again, even if not clearly understood) that objectively revolution needs a real Marxist-Leninist leadership and it needs serious preparation on every level. This is a lesson of great importance right now in every country. Even if there is some temporary suppression of the struggle of the Polish masses, the situation cannot long remain stable and calm. Poland is just one concentrated example of the fact of today that nowhere can things be put back in their previous order and stability restored. In Poland and the world in general, the future will not be calm and orderly; it will be full of upheaval, and the only road forward through all this is proletarian revolution. □

### Joint Communique of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations.

Autumn 1980. Published in Chinese, Creole, Danish, English, Farsi, French, German, Italian, Malayalam, Sinhalese, Spanish, Tamil and Turkish.

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# Yellow Ribbon Burners Sentenced

Eugene, Oregon—On Friday, December 11, Judge George Woodrich sentenced John Kaiser and Nancy Whitley, two members of the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB), who were convicted of first degree arson, for burning a yellow ribbon during the appearance of ex-hostage, and CIA agent, Victor Tomseth to 10 days in the county jail and two years probation (with a threat of 20 years in jail). He also ruled that the defendants would have to pay the entire court costs—some \$8,000. The court proceedings, and the sentence itself, revealed a new twist in the government's desperate efforts to bolster the aims of the trial itself, despite the shift in tactics. The aim of the state in this case has always been to secure and maintain an "arson" conviction against supporters of the RCP, no matter how flimsy this conviction may be, in a wild attempt to establish a further political, and legal precedent, for attacking the Party as "terrorists" on a nationwide basis. By maneuvering on the question of the sentence (holding back a maximum 20 year sentence and for now imposing just 10 days), the state hoped to forestall the development of even more outrage at this blatant political attack on the Party, while at the same time maintaining the conviction itself.

The defendants and courtroom supporters were lectured by the judge how the politics of the defendants' "was not the issue" in this case, and he assured

all present that he took quite seriously his "responsibility to protect the minority point of view". But, as Nancy Whitley gave her statement to the court Judge Woodrich, unable to contain his ire at such ringing condemnation inside the Halls of Justice, interrupted: "Miss Whitley, certainly your views are well understood by the court...if you have some guidance to the court concerning an appropriate sentence..." Nancy's sharp retort: "I am giving you reason why you should drop the whole case!"

The day of the sentencing, another large group of statements denouncing the conviction (the judge had, on a previous occasion, stated that he had never received so many letters before a sentencing) were submitted by the defense. Despite the fact that the official court schedule listed the sentencing hearing three hours later than it was actually held, some 50 people filled the courtroom, overflowing into the aisles. When the judge said "Defendants rise," all the supporters stood with fists raised.

The trial had been a clear political railroad all along. An agent from the local office of the FBI attended virtually every day, along with an assortment of police agents and prosecuting attorneys from around the state. At the same time, police activity against the Brigade in Eugene was noticeably stepped up: homes of Brigade members and at least one defense lawyer were kept under heavy surveillance, marijuana was planted in one member's car, etc.

In fact, the judge had to rule that the piece of yellow ribbon, so righteously burned, was "valuable property", in order to squeeze the ribbon burning into the legal definition of "arson."

The crowning performance came after a secret raid on a defendant's house when the prosecutor produced photos showing a .22 caliber hunting rifle and a shotgun (both legal) which the cops had dragged out of a closet and carefully displayed criss-cross across a copy of the *RW*. The prosecutor demanded to know if the defendant was "stockpiling arms" and proceeded to rant and rave about guns and terrorism. The judge then ruled the photos out of order, while stating that "the Party is not on trial here, at least not today."

After the sentencing the local Eugene *Register Guard* ran an editorial in the hopes of smothering the very political lessons exposed in this attack. Under the headline, "Yellow Ribbon Case Was Just," they attempted to fog up the air:

"Nancy N. Whitley and John Kaiser were not trying to burn down the Erb Memorial Union last February. They were trying to make a political statement in a dramatic way. It turned out to be too dramatic..."

"...Aside from the danger of physical damage, there is the risk of causing panic...Fortunately, no such result ensued at the Tomseth speech."

And so, they conclude, while the judge could've handed down a 20-year sentence and a fine of \$2,500, "The

sentencing properly took into consideration the mild consequences of this particular act, and avoided any taint of persecution of the defendants for their political beliefs."

Oh, how fair and even-handed—from one of the papers that echoed the state's rantings about "arson" by writing about "reckless endangerment". Is one supposed to be eternally grateful for a felony arson conviction? Is one supposed to welcome their undisguised attempts to financially drain the defendants, the RCP and its supporters with this \$8,000 court tab? And was it the avoidance of any "taint" of political persecution that prompted the judge to remind the defendants that the 2-year probation would guarantee that "the court will always be in a position to monitor the situation"? Hardly. It was just his way of saying that anything less than politically toeing-the-line could result in the 20 years. And, as noted earlier, the main point of seeing this conviction stand regardless of the actual sentencing was to get legal ammunition in the imperialists' war to "taint" the RCP as "terrorist."

The defense is already in the process of filing a motion for a new trial and if that is denied, plans for an appeal regarding the whole case are being readied as well. It is clear though that what the rulers have been quite unable to extinguish that burning yellow ribbon, and the path of proletarian internationalism that its flame illumined.

## FBI

Continued from page 6

that in order to carry out this investigation, a number of black-bag jobs were indeed carried out against this particular organization.

Although the entire set of documents, currently in the hands of the defendants, is filled with numerous examples of the concern of the ruling class and their political police agents with the international activities of the RCP, and the implications of that activity, by far the sharpest exposure is found in documents dealing with the period immediately following the demonstration against Deng Xiaoping. The content of just a couple of these documents thoroughly debunks the government's claims of nothing more significant than supposed criminal assault being the basis for their attempt to railroad Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants. On January 31, 1979, the FBI director dispatched a memo to all field officers declaring that "full domestic security investigation" of the RCP was "officially" re-opened. In citing the various reasons for this, the FBI director stated that "the RCP can be expected to do everything possible to disrupt the United States-People's Republic of China relations."

A little more than a month later, the special agent-in-charge for the Pittsburgh, PA area, who had apparently been denied official permission to "re-open" the investigation in his area, wrote an appeal to the director. It's in the content of this appeal that some light is shed on the real underpinnings of the case against Bob Avakian and the RCP. After briefly describing the Embassy 5 action at the Chinese embassy in Washington, D.C. on January 24, 1979, and a January 22 action at the Pittsburgh Immigration & Naturalization Service office in support of the Iranian revolution, the agent states his case: "The activities of the RCP (in relation to China and Iran—*RW*) surfaced at a period of critical political climate for the United States, at which time, public opinion properly swayed could significantly affect world affairs. At stake, and the cause of RCP demonstrations in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Washington, D.C., were:

"1. U.S. interests, economic, strategic, and political which are threatened by the precarious situation in Iran. It should be noted that the

demonstrations of the RCP were timed prior to the fall of the Bakhtiar government in Iran.

"2. Newly formed ties between the U.S. and the People's Republic of China alter the strategic balance between the U.S.S.R. and its allies." Quite a clear presentation of one of the key motivations guiding the ruling class' attack on Bob Avakian and the RCP, and this is just one minor document from that period. The volumes of

other documents that remain to be exposed certainly reveal even more interesting stories. Yet, the government would have us believe that this is just the analysis of one agent in their political police apparatus, that nothing else like this document exists anywhere. While it is never clear in ensuing documents whether or not the Pittsburgh agent was finally granted official permission to "re-open" an investigation, what is clear is the fact that his

sentiments crystallize the sentiments of the entire ruling class. And it's precisely these sentiments and the various methods of, and results of, their attempted implementation that will be revealed in the contested material on electronic surveillance, material which when pieced together will leave no doubt as to the thoroughly political nature of the government's assault on Bob Avakian and the RCP. □

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BOB AVAKIAN DEMANDS POLITICAL REFUGEE STATUS IN FRANCE

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# The Universe is the Unity of Infinity and Finiteness

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point". (*Science of Logic* V.1, translated from the Chinese.) Circular lines of course won't touch boundaries, but the realm of space is infinite. Thus, in order to solve the contradictions to which the bad infinity gave rise, Hegel in the end simply abandons infinity and returns to the finite. His universe is actually the circle of his "absolute spirit".

During the 20th century, because bad infinity was bumping into so many difficulties in cosmology, one natural scientist after another turned to the Hegelian real infinity, at the same time abandoning the level-type universe-structure, and returning to the homogeneous-type structure, thus closing up the infinite universe. So, with the turning of the bourgeoisie from its rising period to its declining period, their viewpoint toward the universe has also changed from the materialist yet metaphysical theory of the infinite universe to the anti-metaphysical yet idealist theory of the finite universe. Einstein's "universe model" is a typical example of this. In contrast to Newton, he abandoned bad infinity and avoided that bothersome boundary question: "If we can view the universe as a finite and closed continuum, then we don't need any boundary conditions at all". ("The observation of cosmology based on the theory of general relativity", *Principles of Relativity*, 1923, U.S. edition, p. 184, translated from the Chinese.) At the same time, he also abandoned the level-type structure of the universe, and eventually circled the universe into a so-called "4-dimensional continuum". This continuum is continuous everywhere, nowhere discrete, and therefore is a boundary-less yet closed 4-dimensional spherical space, identical to Hegel's circle. Starting from this "boundary-less, finite" universe model, Einstein even "calculated" the "radius" of the universe to be 3.5 billion light years. This is the inevitable result of pushing the real infinity to the extreme.

The scientists headed by Einstein negated the metaphysical bad infinity, and opposed the absolute separation of the infinite and the finite. This was an advance. But, they didn't understand dialectics. By pursuing the aspect of the infinite being able to transform into the finite, they ended up at the other one-sided aspect, and absolutely equated the infinite with the finite, consequently abolishing the infinite and returning to the finite. They started with opposing metaphysics, but not daring to recognize dialectics, they finally walked back into metaphysics. This is the punishment that dialectics dealt them.

## Space As A Unity of the Infinite and the Finite

Engels said, "Infinity is a contradiction, it is full of contradictions." "The removal of the contradiction would be the end of infinity." (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, FLP, p. 63, 64). We say that the universe is the totality of everything. Actually, this sentence itself contains various contradictions. Since it is "of everything", then is the universe itself also included in it? If not included, then it is not "of everything". If included, then there exists an even higher universe that encompasses this universe, and the universe has become an inexhaustible series of "universes".

From the viewpoint of dialectical materialism, such a contradiction is not strange at all. It precisely reflects the contradiction of infinity and finiteness. Infinity cannot exist alone, it always exists in a dialectical unity with finiteness. Even though the universe is infinite, the "universe" that people can know is always finite, and the infinite series of such universes compose the inexhaustible levels of the universe, and compose the universe. If one cuts apart this unity, artificially imposing concepts such as "closed system" applicable only to finite things, to the infinite universe, only absurd conclusions will follow.

The homogeneous-type model of the universe-structure imagines the universe as a big warehouse filled with all the same kind of goods, a unified, infinite space. This is not correct. Space is always concrete. Concrete material space

is always finite. Atomic space is finite, molecular space is finite. Similarly, the spaces of a galaxy, cluster, and overall cluster are also finite. Apart from these various sizes and stripes of concrete space, there is no abstract space of some "whole universe" independent from finite things. Searching for such a unified space would certainly land you in bad infinity. The infinity in space of the universe can only be realized in countless finite concrete spaces, and cannot be separate from these. Therefore, the universe is always both finite and infinite, both with and without boundary. Every concrete universe has its boundary and limit, this is equally true from the atom to the overall cluster. Beyond the boundary of this "universe", this "universe" has reached its peak; there will be qualitative change taking place, thus it will enter into an even higher level "universe" with its own new boundaries. Therefore with regard to the universe as a whole, the universe is boundary-less, limitless, and is infinite in space. The rational factor in the level-type universe-structure is expressed here: With levels it is possible to have the diversity of material forms. Not only does this structure illustrate the infinity of the universe in quantity, but it also makes it possible to illustrate the infinity of the universe in quality.

Potential infinity and real infinity, each seeking to solve the contradiction between the infinite and the finite from two different aspects, each individually grasps a one-sided truth. Potential infinity grasps the aspect that the finite can transform into the infinite, but pushing this to its extreme, separates the infinite from the finite. Thus the infinite has become a conceivable yet unreachable void, an intangible ghost. Real infinity grasps the aspect that the infinite can transform into the finite, but pushing this to its extreme, equates the infinite with the finite. Thus, the infinite has also become finite. Finally, just like a frog in a well, looking up and insisting that the sky is only as big as the opening of the well, as a result of such an absolutization, bad infinity has then become false infinity, real infinity has become real finiteness. Both have liquidated the infinite and returned to the finite. Scientists and philosophers, if they don't recognize the materialist dialectics of Marxism, then owing to the limitations of their world outlook, will often fall into either this or that one-sidedness. No matter how far they go, still they cannot escape the domain of the theory of a finite universe. [Translator's note: Here the original text makes reference to a well known episode of the novel *Journey To The West*, in which the Monkey King, despite his unusual powers to leap 18,000 miles, cannot escape a pawn of Buddha—to illustrate the point above.]

Then, will it do to avoid the contradiction by employing the method of simply eliminating the concept of infinity? No. "Every attempt to eliminate these contradictions leads, as we have seen, to new and worse contradictions." (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, FLP, p. 63, 64). For example, one Soviet revisionist scholar has declared "Talking about the infinite space and infinite time of the universe... is just as meaningless as the discussions caused by trying to understand the question of whether the universe is blue or yellow or whether the universe as a whole has color". This concept of infinity was "obtained from religion". (Kolemann [?], *On The Concepts of Space, Time, Matter and Motion in Cosmology*, translated from the Chinese). In so declaring, this fundamental question of whether the universe is infinite or finite, which has been heatedly debated during several thousand years of human civilization, has become a mere argument for argument's sake, a question of religious belief. He wants to eliminate the contradiction of infinity and finiteness, but ends up only completely betraying the basic positions of dialectical materialism, of Marxism. The representatives of the bourgeoisie during its rising period, Bacon, Spinoza, Newton, Kant, etc., had all, in different forms,

recognized the theory of the infinite universe. The big retrogression of modern revisionism can only demonstrate that it is the doomsday offspring of the decaying, reactionary bourgeoisie.

## Section III: THE INFINITY OF THE UNIVERSE IN TERMS OF TIME

The struggle between the theory of the infinite universe and the theory of the finite universe is also manifest over the question of "zhou", i.e. the question of infinity and finiteness of time, in the theory of the developing universe and the theory of the static universe.

The universe is infinite in space, it necessarily includes infinitely diversified forms of development and possesses the potential for infinite development. Therefore in time it is also necessarily infinite. Engels said, "The eternally repeated succession of worlds in infinite time is only the logical complement to the co-existence of innumerable worlds in infinite space". (Engels, *Dialectics of Nature*, p. 39). The dialectical materialist theory of the infinite universe firmly holds that the universe is an infinitely incessantly developing process of being both discrete and continuous.

### Everything In the Universe Is Continually Developing

Everything in the universe is changing, everything is a process. All things in the universe, as tiny as an "elementary" particle, or as big as all the celestial bodies, are developing forward as processes, all experiencing the process of birth, development and death. All concrete things in the universe are finite in time. Their existence-time varies, life-expectancy varies, but no matter whether long or short, at bottom, each is a finite process.

"Elementary" particles can be called "changing without certainty [order]"! Except for electrons and protons which are relatively more stable so that today we still don't know how long they live, "elementary" particles are all short-lived. Neutrons can be counted as long-lived, but can only live approximately 17 minutes. All the various mesons and hyperons generally can live only a hundredth of a millionth of a second down to a tenth, hundredth or a thousandth of a billionth of a second. But even though so short-lived, they still experience the whole life of birth, "decay" or "decline", finally transforming into other matter. Therefore, "elementary" particles are both "without order" and "with order", both changing and stable. Without the relative stability, "elementary" particles wouldn't be "elementary" particles and they wouldn't exist.

The "life-span" of celestial bodies is amazingly long. If counted by the "year" on Earth, the "ages" of the Milky Way, Sun, and Earth are not several decades, or several centuries, but rather over several billions, or tens of billions of years. Take the Sun for example. It is estimated to have approximately a 5 billion year history. The Earth may be slightly younger, but still over 4 billion years old. But no matter how long their life-spans are, still they are like a human life, and can't escape from the process of birth, aging, sickness and death. The stars started out as giant and thin nebula, contracting and condensing into shapes by virtue of the gravitational force. Later, their temperatures rose and they experienced their youth. After a thermonuclear reaction had begun, they entered middle age. When the hydrogen in the core is all transformed into helium, some stars [for example] become red giants. They increasingly decay and enter old age. Later on, the outer shell will disappear and they will become white dwarfs, until all the energy dries up and only a pile of "bones" is left behind. They will have transformed themselves into other material forms. Therefore, even though the changes in celestial bodies are slow, even though their life-spans are long, they cannot last forever.

Lengths of time are relative. "Erlai" is 48,000 years old". This can be regarded as long-lived but compared to celestial bodies' several billions of years life-expectancy, it is only a split second. A split second should be counted as short, but compared to a  $\pi^0$  meson which is only able to lead a life a few hundredth quadrillionths of a second, it is almost like infinitely long. The length of time ex-

ists in relative terms. No matter how long, the existence time of any concrete thing is always finite. There are no forever unchanging, permanently existing things in the universe at all.

Of course, compared to a human's life, the lives of celestial bodies are after all very long. Overwhelmingly, the major portion of the development and changes of celestial bodies is not only very difficult for a person to eyewitness, but even the whole human history is rarely witness to such changes. People see that the Sun always rises in the east and sets in the west, the moon is always full in the middle of the [lunar] month and a slim crescent in the beginning of the [lunar] month. The 7 stars of the Little Dipper always circle around the North Star. Because of this limitation in knowledge, people very easily exaggerate the aspect of order in celestial bodies and draw the conclusion that the universe or the heavens is unchangeable. All reactionary classes exploit this mistaken understanding of people and promote the theory of an unchanging universe, that "Heaven won't change and the Order won't change on Earth either". Obviously, if they admit that the heavens are changing and society is developing, this would no less than announce their own class's death sentence. Therefore, the struggles between the theory that the universe is developing and the theory that the universe is unchanging have historically reflected the class struggle between the advanced forces and the reactionary forces. The spokesman for the ancient slave-owner class, Aristotle, declared that celestial bodies were perfect without any defects and eternal without any decay, which reflected the dreams of the slave-owner class to "rule generation after generation". Newton of the 17th and 28th centuries thought that the stars would forever stay in their original positions, the Earth would forever run along a given fixed orbit, which reflected the class wishes of the bourgeoisie after having seized power and its desire to maintain its own established interests.

All concrete things in the universe have their birth and death, beginning and end, always from quantitative change to qualitative change, continuously transforming into their opposites. They are all "closed systems"; in space, closed in finite domain, in time, closed in a finite period. All things produced are bound to die out. "Elementary" particles are bound to transform, humans are bound to die, the Milky Way, Sun, and Earth are bound to finally decay and be destroyed. Even something lasting as long as "Heaven and Earth", eventually will come to an end. Even the human species itself is going to change, and going to die out. But the doom of the Sun, Earth, and the human species are not some "doomsday of the universe". When the Earth dies out, there will be even higher levels of celestial bodies to replace it. By that time, people will celebrate the victory of dialectics, welcoming the birth of new stars. When the human species dies out, there will also appear even higher level species. Speaking from this point of view, human activities are creating conditions for the appearance of even higher species. If the old did not go, the new wouldn't come. The death of the old is precisely the necessary condition for the birth of the new. "In the world it is always in this way that the new replaces the old, in this way the new supercedes the old, getting rid of the old and making way for the new or weeding through the old to bring forth the new."

The finite transforms into the infinite. Precisely because all things in the universe are continuously changing and continuously developing, they constitute the endless development of the whole universe. Precisely because everything has its birth and death, beginning and end, can the universe as a whole be without birth or death, without beginning or end. All things are like thousands and millions of streams which join together and form an inexhaustible long river of the universe. As far as concrete things are concerned, their development is finite, time is finite. But infinite are the transitions from one kind of thing to another, from one form of matter to another,

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# The Universe

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namely from one concrete time to another concrete time. Precisely because of the finiteness of concrete things in time, they constitute the infinity of the universe as a whole in time, and the development of the universe will never come to an end, will never reach the peak. Just as in space, in time the universe is also both finite and infinite, and the infinite is composed purely of and transformed from the finite.

## The Universe As A Whole Has Neither Beginning Nor End

When we say that the universe is also developing, isn't it meant that the universe as a whole is changing and developing just like the concrete things in the universe? This question is formulated incorrectly. The development of the universe is expressed in the developments of all things in the universe. Isolated from the developments of concrete things, the development of the universe itself is meaningless.

During the past several decades, within bourgeois cosmology, there has developed a trend, "evolutionary cosmology", which advocates the "evolution" of the universe itself. These cosmologists think that the universe has an origin. In the West, since the '30s, there have been some people who have advocated the theory that the universe originated in a Big Bang of a "primitive atom" or a "primitive fire ball". As a result of the explosion, the debris of this primitive matter scattered in all directions and subsequently continuously expanded just like a balloon. In the mid '60s, the "3°K microwave radiation" was discovered and the "Big Bang cosmology" again asserted that this is the residual heat of radiation after the Big Bang of the primitive fire ball. Since the universe itself is "expanding", no matter how big it gets, no matter how potentially infinite its expansion at any given moment, the universe is always finite. Because we

can talk about the expansion only of a finite thing, how can an infinite universe possibly expand? Where would it expand to? Therefore, the "evolution" here is a sham. any idea of the evolution of the universe as a whole already implies a finite universe. This universe has not only a beginning, but also necessarily an end, a doomsday.

Since the end of the 19th century, there have always been people trying to argue for the doomsday of the universe. Using the 2nd law of thermodynamics, they proposed the so-called "heat-death theory of the universe". That is to say, since heat can only spontaneously transfer from warmer objects to cooler objects, i.e. a closed system can only more and more approach thermodynamic equilibrium (entropy becoming bigger and bigger), sooner or later the universe will also reach a state of thermodynamic equilibrium, and will become a stagnant pool, losing all potential for any motion or change. This is the doomsday of the universe.

The universe as a whole cannot have an origin and doomsday, because the universe as a whole is not a concrete thing [like a table, chair, or cup], not a closed system. Concrete things have their beginnings and ends, have their own time. An "elementary" particle has the time of "elementary" particles, man has man's time, the solar system has the time of solar systems. All these times are finite. The sum total of these concrete times constitutes the time of the universe; the time of the universe exists then within these concrete times. Is there a general time independent of these concrete times? No. Time which is divorced from concrete forms, namely "time as such" (Engels, *Anti-Dühring*, FLP, p. 65) is only an abstraction in our thinking, just like the concept of house, table, etc. are all abstractions in our thinking. Metaphysicians always postulate one unified stream of time of the whole universe, as though there really is an inexhaustible long river of the universe, which doesn't exist within concrete material processes, but rather exists independently outside of material processes, and everything in this river appears, develops, and dies within this unique time line of the whole universe. This is completely wrong. If there indeed existed such a unique all-encompassing river of time, then it is for sure beyond the material world, and must become the absolute being over and above matter, which can only be a synonym for God. Therefore, if one imagines time by analogy as a river, then time exists in the universe not as one unique river, but rather with thousands of origins and flowing in millions of valleys in competition. The time river of the universe can only exist within all this not outside of it.

## The Unity of Infinity and Finiteness In Time

Chairman Mao has taught us that all absolute things can exist only within relative things. Time is infinite, but it is also finite. The infinity of time exists within finite time, and the sum total of countless finite times express the infinity of time. This is the dialectical unity of infinity and finiteness in time.

Bourgeois scholars don't understand this, hence they fall into insoluble contradictions. Kant is a typical case. He thinks that it is both OK to say time is finite, time has a beginning, and to say that time is infinite, time has no beginning. This is self-contradictory. If you say that the world has a beginning in time, then what about before that? There must have been a nothing-can-happen "void time", i.e. time as not-time; this is beyond imagination. Conversely, if you say that time has no beginning, then "to reach any known point in time, it must have passed through an eternal time. Therefore, in the world, an infinite series of things must have already flowed past in a mutually linked continuum. The infinity of a series consists in the fact that it can never be completed through successive syntheses." (Quoted by Hegel in *Science of Logic* Vol. 1. Translated from the Chinese). That is to say, the universe has passed through an infinite time before it reached any given moment. But infinity is named as such, precisely because it can never be reached. Since an infinite time stream would necessarily make the universe develop to an infinitely high

level, why has it only reached the contemporary finite level of development?

Kant's contradictions originate in his not knowing the dialectics of infinity and finiteness. The finite transforms into the infinite, the infinite also transforms into the finite. The infinite time series is precisely what makes it possible and necessary to reach the given contemporary level of development. For example, one man is 40 years old, he has experienced 40 years of finite time series and reached such a definite development level as 40 years of age. What was there before this man? He is also the result of over 1 million years development of human history, and has thus also passed through a finite time series of over 1 million years. What about before mankind? There were also several billion years of historical development of the whole of living beings, and there was also the history of development of the solar system, and of the Milky Way Galaxy... The sum total of these finite time series constitutes the infinite time series.

There is no such thing as a unified universe time at all. Is there a beginning and an end of the universe? Or in other words, does time have a beginning and an end? We say that: There is both a beginning and not a beginning; there is both an end and not an end. Time is always a concrete thing's time, it is concrete time. Such a time has a beginning and an end. One person has his beginning and end; mankind has its beginning and end; the solar system has its beginning and end; therefore, this kind of time that we have experienced, namely the time calculated according to year, month, day, and hour, has also its beginning and end. This time is linked with the existence of the solar system. What about before the time of this kind? Certainly there existed other time, which was linked to other material processed and there existed another time framework and other time characteristics of which we as yet have no knowledge. Modern theorists of the heat-death of the universe take time as the growth process of entropy (the process of approaching thermodynamics equilibrium). If this thermodynamic process also possesses its own particular time form, then, this is still only one kind of particular time. Even if a certain material system has reached the maximum of entropy, that still can only be

the termination of the concrete time of that kind, and later there will still begin some new time. It definitely is not the only time stream in the universe, and it can only be one kind of time among infinitely many concrete times. One kind of time terminates, and another kind of time begins. That is to say, one "universe" is finished, and another "universe" is born. The universe is in this way going continuously from quantitative changes to qualitative changes, in transition from one kind of material form to another, forever, without end and without boundary. Therefore, time, "time as such", namely time in the general sense, is the universal form of existence of matter; it is eternal and infinite. But time as concrete time is always the form of existence of concrete things, it is always transient and finite.

In sum, time is like space; it is only the form of existence of matter. Matter has both unity and diversity. Matter in essence is unified, but the concrete manifestations of matter are rich, colorful, and diversified. The general can only exist within the particular and unity can only exist in diversity. These characteristics of matter are equally reflected in the forms of existence of matter—time and space. This is our conclusion. □

## Footnotes

1. (Translator's Note) The Chinese words for infinity, the infinite, infinitude, infiniteness, etc. are all the same. Likewise for the finite, finitude, finite, finiteness, etc. We have used our judgment in rendering subtle distinctions in meaning into English.
2. (Translator's Note) Approximately 475—221 BC when China was divided into different states at war with one another. The time of the Confucian/Legalist struggle, a period of transition from slave society to feudal society, and time of "a Hundred Schools of Thought Contending."
3. (Translator's Note) *yu zhou* is the Chinese 2-character word for universe.
4. (Translator's Note) Erlai—A legendary Chinese elderly person.
5. *pi-zero* meson.

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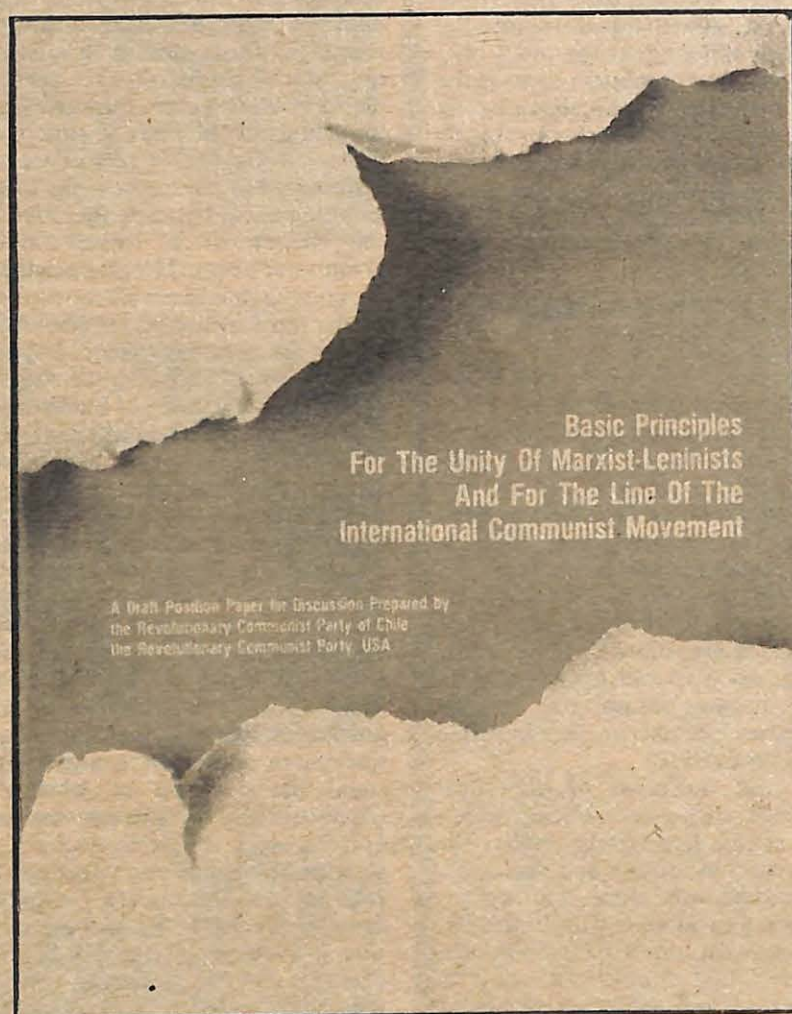
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# U.S. Kidnaps

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Arab states with Egypt and Saudi Arabia at their head who suffered additional exposure as the shameful puppets that they are around this case.

Among the Arab masses in the Middle East, support for Ziad ran at a high pitch, particularly among the Palestinians. The case received almost daily coverage in the newspapers and television. Actions and demonstrations were staged in support of Ziad as Palestinian students risked torture to attempt a sit-in at the U.S. consulate in Jerusalem,

large public meetings were held in Kuwait, and several demonstrations occurred in Beirut, Lebanon.

All this compelled the bourgeois Arab states to put on a show of pressuring the U.S. to release Ziad. Last March the Council of Arab Ambassadors, representing 17 Arab nations and the PLO, sent a long memo to Haig urging against any attempt to extradite Ziad; resolutions in support of Ziad were passed by the United Nations; and Ziad received a steady stream of visits from Arab officials in his jail cell. In his recent visit to the U.S., King Hussein of Jordan reportedly made a personal appeal to Reagan in Ziad's case.

But while there are real contradictions in the "anti-Soviet strategic consensus" between Israel's aggressive expansionism and the interests of the reactionary Arab regimes, what they all agree on is

that the relentless struggle of the Palestinian people, driven from their homeland and scattered throughout the countries of the Middle East, threatens to upset everyone's applecart. So while they mouthed support for Ziad, behind the scenes these Arab governments worked to suffocate the struggle around his extradition.

Sources inside the Ziad Abu-Ein Defense Committee say that it was the Council of Arab Ambassadors, including the PLO leadership, that pushed the line to downplay Ziad's case in favor of "letting the diplomatic channels work." To protest their outrage over this, when Ziad's extradition came down, radical Arab students not only demonstrated against U.S. imperialism, but occupations of the Arab League Office were also staged in Chicago, Dallas, New York, San Francisco and

Washington, D.C. on December 14.

What has been so vividly shown by the kidnapping and extradition of Ziad by the U.S. government is that a key part of their strategy in the Middle East is the suppression of the struggle of the Palestinian people, which stands as a major obstacle to their plans there, and support for the Zionist state of Israel. Ziad Abu-Ein and his fight has become a symbol of the struggle of the Palestinian people and a rallying point in this country and in the Middle East for opposition to the U.S. imperialists and their Israeli junior partners. They have lashed out viciously with this latest move and have made their intentions clear to all. Nevertheless even as Ziad goes to trial before the Israeli butchers, they cannot escape either his determined struggle nor that of the heroic people he represents. □

## Tour Trial

Continued from page 17

its own "authoritarian" regimes and its own imperialist intervention increasingly exposed and hated.

In this light and in light of the continued success of the Salvadoran revolutionaries' tour, the imperialists are determined to swiftly move in these court cases — and in so doing, to deliver a message to the revolutionary internationalist forces, to immigrants who dare to defy them on their home turf, and to any who would stand with them. And they are moving quickly. In just the latest example, the judge ordered the pre-trial hearings at which the various defense motions were heard to continue on into the night on Friday, Dec. 11, till 9 p.m., and then to continue on Saturday as well, again into the night.

The imperialists are also hoping to avoid exposure by concealing this attack as a "routine criminal case" (a phrase which they have repeated with nauseating frequency). But events have relentlessly forced them to let more and more of what they are actually up to hang out. The only thing that is routine about this case is the "routine" political workings of the U.S. state apparatus being used against revolutionaries.

The pre-trial hearings gave a revealing glimpse of some of the highly-placed forces whose own involvement in "ordinary criminal matters" is far from routine. Among those subpoenaed by the defense were William Chambers, the District Director of the Southern Region of the INS; Mr. Viña of the U.S. State Department's Office of Security in Dallas; Tulsa's head FBI and Secret Service men; and two toll booth attendants from Miami, Oklahoma. Other government agents in attendance included a local Miami FBI agent and a local Border Patrol agent. Three prosecutors watched over the government's case at the hearing, including the U.S. Attorney himself, Frank Keating.

But this line-up proved to be just the tip of the iceberg. Assistant U.S. Attorney Ben Baker announced that Mr. Viña of the State Department would not be appearing, and that he had been informed of this by a personal phone call from State Dept. headquarters in Washington, D.C. Why does the Dept. of State come up at all? More on this spilled out during William Chambers' testimony. He denied flat-out any involvement of the State Dept. whatsoever. But then the defense produced a copy of an internal State Dept. memo which the Office of Security in Dallas had sent to one Isabelle Johnstone, a member of what is referred to as the "Threat Analysis Group" of the State Department! This "Threat Analysis Group" is a domestic unit of the Office of Combatting Terrorism of the Dept. of State.

The "routine criminal case" scenario also claims that there are no political targets of this attack. As Frank Keating put it, in a letter to the *Eastern Oklahoma Catholic* (part of an unusually high-profile battle being conducted by the prosecution outside the courtroom): "This office would not countenance (illegal) behavior, and it did not occur.... We intend to proceed through with this prosecution as we would any

criminal offense committed by any criminal offender, without regard to race, color, creed or country of origin." It would appear that Mr. Keating doth protest too much — and more than that is afraid that his little "routine" veneer is growing thin.

When asked why he tried to interview the two Salvadorans while they were in jail following the arrests, the FBI agent from Miami replied that yes, this was a bit unusual for a "common case of aliens," but that his superiors had received a request from the U.S. Attorney's Office to investigate them. Why the request? The FBI agent had trouble remembering at first, finally mumbling something about "domestic security" — then quickly, a little too quickly in fact, adding that his superiors hadn't used these words, only that "they had mentioned that they were possibly members of the Revolutionary Communist Party." Ben Baker then proceeded to top this off by introducing what presumably he considers "routine" evidence (in fact, the only evidence the prosecution entered on Saturday at all): two issues of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper. Open targeting of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the involvement of the "Threat Analysis Group" of the State Department, visits from the CIA, the introduction of the *Revolutionary Worker* as evidence — nothing political here! Oh, no.

The attack on the tour is in many ways tied in with the way the bourgeoisie goes after immigrants more broadly, particularly those from countries where there is revolutionary struggle being waged against U.S. imperialist domination. It came out in the hearings in testimony from William Chambers and from both Border Patrol agents that the only immigrants who are charged with the misdemeanor of not carrying alien registration receipts are Salvadorans, and that this is only if they are unwilling to sign INS voluntary departure forms. A defense witness later explained that this is in order to give the INS time to check out identities of the "aliens" with the Salvadoran government (which means the junta can then be ready and waiting if they're deported).

In order to cover up just what it is up to in Haiti, El Salvador, and other "hot spots" under its domination, U.S. imperialism has also routinely denied political asylum to refugees from these countries. Keeping this issue entirely out of the case is also one of the main ways that the prosecution has tried to maintain the already tattered image of the "ordinary criminal case." The defense presented a number of expert witnesses who hammered at this issue, which is central to both trials. An immigration attorney from south Texas testified for three hours — over repeated objections and shouts of "irrelevant" from the prosecutors — and told of how Salvadorans who were her clients were deported despite pending political asylum claims. She described how one of her clients had taken off his shirt at his hearing to show his seven bullet wounds to the INS officials and produced documents showing that the junta was out to kill him — and then was denied with a routine form letter. The INS explained that this was because he didn't know the names of the persons who were trying to kill him. A sociologist from Pan American University in Texas exposed the discrimination against Salvadorans at all levels of the

INS, and a person who traveled as a human rights observer for Amnesty International in El Salvador testified to the practical impossibility of Salvadorans receiving the papers necessary for permission to leave that country. Attempts to testify about the crimes of the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador which have given rise to so many refugees were repeatedly cut off by a chorus of government cries of "irrelevant."

The testimony of the Salvadorans themselves also hit sharply at the government's case. On Friday, the prosecution had subpoenaed the Salvadorans as "state witnesses" to appear in the trial of the felony transport case (in keeping with their farcical theory that this was just another case of "smuggling illegal aliens," and entering the Salvadorans as an exhibit). They vainly hoped to use their testimony in one way or another. But the U.S. Attorneys were noticeably slinking down in their chairs as the Salvadorans took the stand and tore into their flimsy web of distortion and lies, exposing how the Border Patrol officers had attempted to intimidate and threaten them into signing voluntary departure forms, how they had completed political asylum claims before setting out on the tour, and how it was nothing but the tour itself that was the object of their travels (and certainly of the court's attack). The judge had heard enough, angrily admonishing the Salvadorans to "tell the truth" — but it was already clear that the judge had heard far too much exposure of bourgeois lies and crimes for one day.

Growing uptight at the defense's counter-attack, at one point the judge angrily snapped, "Am I under oath in this interrogation too?" In the government's closing statement, Ben Baker whined, "Ever since this case began, my office has been under siege. This court has not been used for what it's supposed to be used for (sic).... Telephones began to ring from all over the country.... Telegrams demanding their release.... Headlines in revolutionary communist papers all over the country!" His ranting reached a crescendo when Baker, who has waged a campaign in the press against the tour, culminated in threats of treason char-

ges, demanded that the court place a "gag order" on the defense attorneys. This tactic, which has been increasingly threatened in other cases involving revolutionaries, gives a glimpse of just what kind of trial the government is preparing to conduct.

The seriousness and the relentless speed with which the bourgeoisie is attacking the tour members deserves an all the more serious and prompt response — and it is already getting one. Telegrams of protest have begun to come in, including an especially significant one from the Emergency Southeast Conference on Immigration Rights and Political Asylum, a conference held in early December in Miami, Florida, attended by over 140 delegates from various "human rights" groups.

The tour cases are at an especially critical juncture now. While a date for the deportation hearings has not yet been set, it is certainly possible that the government is planning to go ahead with that part of the attack as well, especially if they are able to get the Salvadorans in their clutches by nailing them on this misdemeanor. This looks more ominous because the judge has ordered the Salvadorans to personally appear at their trial, after they had already been granted the right not to appear and just to have an attorney represent them. Even further adding to the critical nature of the December 18 trial is that the government will certainly try and use a conviction there to strengthen the case against the other two. It is, then, an urgent time to step up the siege on the enemy fortress, to deal blows to their plots against the Salvadorans and the other two revolutionaries, and to give solid support to the revolutionary speaking tour and its internationalist line and impact.

Statements should be sent to:

Judge Brett  
333 West 4th St.  
Tulsa, OK 74354

Contributions should be sent to:

Salvadoran Tour Legal Defense  
11 East Latimer  
Tulsa, OK 74106

For more information, including regarding the latest developments in the cases, call (918) 592-6843. □

## Flash

As we go to press, we have just learned that the misdemeanor charges on the two Salvadorans were dismissed. They had been charged with not having immigration papers in their possession. This is an important victory in the continuing battle to defeat this government attack on the Salvadoran revolutionaries' tour. It calls for even further and more determined struggle and support to defeat this railroad completely.



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# CONQUER THE WORLD?

## The International Proletariat Must and Will

by Bob Avakian

This special issue of *Revolution* contains the full text of a talk given recently by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. Three short excerpts from it were published in the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper.

Its sections are:

- \* Further historical perspectives on the first advances in seizing and exercising power—proletarian dictatorship—and embarking on the socialist road;
- \* More on the proletarian revolution as a world process;
- \* Leninism as the bridge;
- \* Some summation of the Marxist-Leninist movement arising in the 1960's and the subjective factor in light of the present and developing situation and the conjuncture shaping up;
- \* Some questions related to the line and work of our Party and our special internationalist responsibilities.

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“In an overall sense, and to close with this, while we have to do everything possible toward revolution in the U.S., it's not just *that* that we have to do. And it's not just that our greatest contribution to the world struggle is to make revolution in the U.S. Even that's too narrow, though in a more limited sense there's truth to it. We have to look at it even more broadly. In fact, even seeking to make revolution in the U.S., even that has to be done as part of the overall goal and with the overall goal in mind, of doing everything possible to contribute to and advance the whole struggle worldwide toward communism and in particular to make the greatest leaps toward that in the conjuncture shaping up.”

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