

# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

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Shanghai January 1967



Rally in Shanghai celebrating receipt of a message of support for the January revolution from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

## The Month They Stormed Heaven

Fifteen years ago this month in the midst of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China, the 1967 Shanghai "January Storm" blasted its way into history. At the time, this mass upheaval power seizure from below was seen by both contending classes—the proletarian headquarters headed by Mao Tse-tung, as well as the bourgeois counter-revolution, one masterminded by Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping—as of fateful significance for the outcome of the broader, life and death political struggle then being waged. Its on the spot leaders included Mao's revolutionary comrade Chung Chun-chiao whose sentencing, along with Chiang Ching's, took place in Deng Xiaoping's revisionist courtroom one year ago on January 26.

But the January Storm is remembered by the revolutionary communists of the world not only as a significant date, even high point, in the history of the Cultural Revolution; in many ways, the experience of the proletariat of Shanghai during those tumultuous January days can be seen as a concentrated expression of Mao's line of mobilizing the masses to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat for it was impossible to walk the streets of China's major industrial center in early 1967 without exclaiming to oneself (whether in joy or in fear): So this is the proletarian dictatorship... yes, this is the revolution!

\*\*\*\*\*

On August 5th, 1966, Mao's big-character poster "Bombard The Bourgeois Headquarters" had the effect of committing the "proletarian headquarters" to a decisive battle. It had by this time become clear that the Cultural Revolution was nothing less than a contest for political power. Inevitably, the struggle for the allegiance of Shanghai's 2 million workers, with their legendary

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### "Only the People Can Close the Case of the Atlanta Black Youth Murders"

Declaring "the murder of 28 Black youth in Atlanta... is vivid testimony to the whole experience of Black people in the United States since its origins, and an ominous sign of what is to come in the decade ahead," people from a number of political views and backgrounds have joined together to hold a teach-in—"Only the People Can Close the Case of the Atlanta Black Youth Murders!"—near the Atlanta University campus on February 9 and 10 at 7 p.m.

While all the details have not yet been finalized, a wide range of people and organizations have already endorsed the event, including Chimurenga Jenga, the leader of the Techwood Homes Bat Patrols; Walter Collins, a citizen of the Republic of New Afrika and a veteran fighter who spent three years in prison for refusing the draft in the 1960s; the Morehouse College Student Government Association (part of the Atlanta University Center); Dr. Sondra O'Neale,

### Atlanta—Teach-In

an Emory University professor who has been doing extensive investigation into the murders; Shelby Lewis of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists; Michael Ganby, a well-known popularizer of reggae music in Atlanta; the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania; the Revolutionary Anarchist Organizing Committee; the Revolutionary Communist Party; and several others.

There is much work still needed to be done to publicize and organize the teach-in. Along with distributing thousands of leaflets this week, organizers plan to put together and distribute a packet of articles representing different views on the murders and their implications that have been published. We urge RW readers to join in this timely and important event. For information, call (404) 766-8726 after 8 p.m. Atlanta time.

# Chemical War "Leak" Triggers Amnesia in Ruling Circles

Last week's *Revolutionary Worker* carried an article exposing the U.S. government's supremely hypocritical propaganda campaign on the Soviet Union's use of chemical warfare ("Yellow Rain") in Laos and Afghanistan. In the past week new information has come to light which reveals new details of the massive use of chemical warfare by the U.S. during the war in Indochina. This information shows once again that for the U.S. imperialists to howl about a Soviet "rain of terror" in Indochina is like Hermann Goering puffing up his chest and lambasting anti-Semitic terror. The material consists of a 500-page secret Air Force history of the whole U.S. chemical warfare program in Indochina, including for the first time documentary evidence of both the secret chemical spraying program over Laos and the official cover-up of the Laos operation—complete with orders to lie to the press. It was obtained through a Freedom of Information Act suit filed by the National Veterans Task Force on Agent Orange.

Some of the contents of this report were published in the *New York Times*. No doubt there was much more in it than the *Times* chose to report but even what was printed is quite revealing. Some highlights from these documents are:

\*\* Planning the massive U.S. chemical warfare program began in 1961 during the first months of the Kennedy administration.

\*\* The U.S. systematically smuggled the chemicals into south Vietnam to evade detection by the International Control Commission set up to monitor the 1954 ceasefire in Indochina. And this at the same time the U.S. was screaming about "communist violations", the Ho Chi Minh Trail, and so on.

\*\* Among the first victims of the U.S. chemical warfare program were the mountain tribe people over whose fate the U.S. has now extended at least a barrel-and-a-half of crocodile tears in its "yellow rain" charges against the Soviets.

\*\* The U.S.' only qualm over the whole program was that they might get caught at it.

The release of the Air Force history, complete with damning quotes by all the government policy-makers at the time, immediately set off a record setting attack of amnesia in Washington: For example, the history cites noted war criminal and then Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara in 1961 as favoring "continu(ing) to hold open the option of disguising the defoliation program as a South Vietnamese operation." When contacted by the *New York Times*, McNamara, who has spent the last decade preening his reputation as a "great humanitarian" as president of the U.S.-controlled World Bank, said, "I guarantee you I never suggested anything like that." The new humanitarian McNamara then went on to claim that "many of us were environmentalists and would have been concerned"!

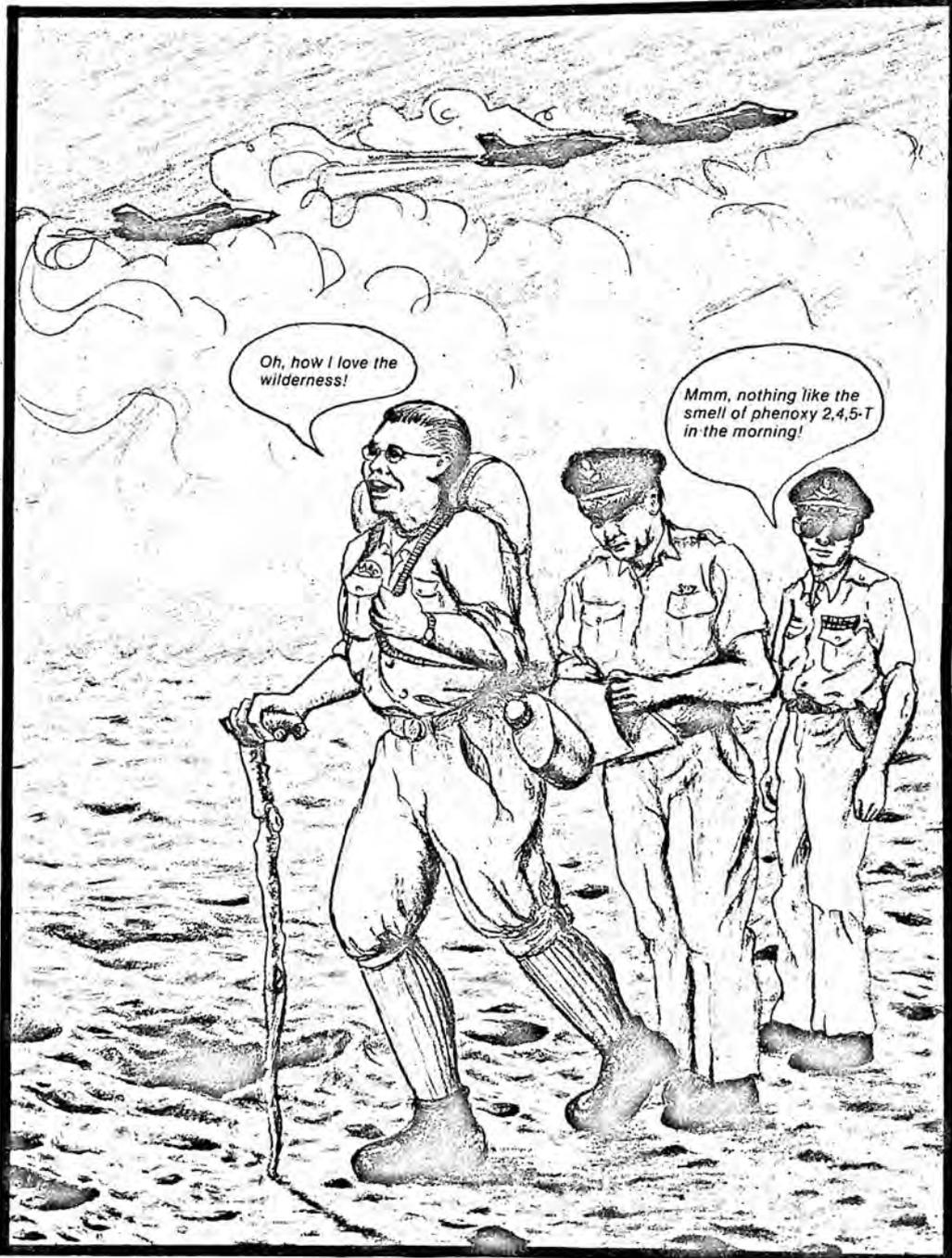
Anyone who wants to make a quick environmental impact study of the effects of "environmentalist" McNamara's war program on Vietnam should recall that this is the butcher who brought the "automated battlefield" to Vietnam,

brought "cost analysis" to the Pentagon, and pioneered in the use of the "body count."

The history next quotes a Deputy Undersecretary of State as proposing that "U.S. aircraft be used to conduct a

'major defoliant spray program in South Vietnam,' although the aircraft would carry South Vietnamese markings and the pilots would wear civilian clothes." When contacted by the *Times* Continued on page 15

## Making a Safe Environment for U.S. Imperialism... *McNamara in Vietnam*



Revolutionary Worker

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Recently, Bob Avakian responded to a number of questions from a comrade who has been involved in the revolutionary struggle throughout the decades of the '60s, '70s and into the '80s. The answers elaborate on a number of questions raised in the talk, "Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Must and Will," just published as a special issue of Revolution magazine. These answers (edited from a tape) are being published in serial form in the RW. Previous sections ran in RW Nos. 136-139.

by Bob Avakian

# The Party: The Key Part of Organizing Forces

**Q:** In "Conquer the World?..." in the part on the central task when you speak of "preparing minds and organizing forces" you say that the party is the key aspect of organizing forces. Maybe you could develop a bit more how you see that.

**BA:** On the one hand maybe it should seem obvious that the party is the key aspect of organizing forces since it is a principle of Marxism-Leninism that the party is the most important organization of the proletariat, right? But the fact is that in opposition to that there's been a trend which has also had a lot of influence within our own ranks going all the way back to the RU,\* where the party was seen as less important or treated as less important than mass organizations or attempts at mass organizations. If this was not true theoretically or in name, nevertheless it was true in another sense in actual political terms.

This went along with the idea that the key thing was to have mass struggle. In other words it went along with the understanding we used to have of the old central task of our Party. Now, through forging the line of Create Public Opinion... Seize Power, we've come to see that the struggle of the masses largely and overwhelmingly takes place, or is initiated, independently of the direct calls to action of the party, although that's not always true and there are some important cases where the party does issue direct calls to action and mobilizes the masses in struggle. But for the most part, the struggle of the masses should be viewed more as part of the objective conditions that the party deals with, because most of it comes into being, people come into motion, independently of the direct calls to action of the party; even to a large degree independently of the indirect work of the party to initiate struggle, that is, the agitation and propaganda that indirectly causes people to come into motion. Even if you take that into account, still most of the struggle of the masses is something that takes place, is provoked if you will, or called into motion, by other and in an overall sense larger forces than the party itself. And in a general sense it forms part of the objective conditions that the party has to deal with, has to react upon. That's in its principal aspect, not in its entirety; there are important secondary aspects in which the party does directly initiate certain important forms of mass struggle, and even leads them directly from the beginning.

In other words, in the past, the party was seen as a direct generator of mass struggle; and going along with this view was a tendency for those struggles to be treated as things unto themselves, even though we never gave up on the goal of revolution or forgot about it. The goal was always proclaimed and even work to propagate it was carried on in relation to mass struggles, but often in a way of sort of tacking it onto the work of building these struggles. But still those struggles were seen as something of a thing unto themselves, and the building of struggle like that was likewise seen as a stage unto itself. So building mass organizations tended to become the focus and emphasis of our work in organizing forces. This was true no matter how it was formulated, even if these organizations were called transmission belts or conveyor belts between the party

and the masses.

In opposition to that understanding, as a negation of it if you will, the more that the line of actually preparing for revolution has been grasped and carried out, the more that Create Public Opinion... Seize Power, or preparing minds and organizing forces, has come to the fore as the real basis of the work, the more there has been the necessity to grasp the real meaning and importance of the fact that the party is the most important organization that the proletariat has. Yet there has still been a lagging in that area. Even while there have been real advances in grasping and applying that new line on the central task, still there has been lagging on that aspect of the role and importance of the party as the key organization of the proletariat and the key aspect of organizing forces. If you think about it, the two really do go hand in hand.

In the past we operated with an idea of a sort of "intermediate stage" (summing this up obviously doesn't mean we are now saying that today is directly a revolutionary situation, or even one that is immediately heading toward a revolutionary situation). With this intermediate stage idea it wasn't that you carried out reformist work in the sense that you were consciously or subjectively trying to build toward something else than revolution even in the interim, even as an intermediate program. But nevertheless, objectively, the more that you treated struggles as things unto themselves, and as things which had their own dynamic, their own dialectic and their own process which was treated as self-contained — the more the role of the party would be downgraded. And on the other hand, in opposition to that, the more that you see that all of your work is work of preparation in the sense and with the content expressed by the formulation of the central task now, Create Public Opinion... Seize Power, or

the formulation of "preparing minds and organizing forces" — the more you see that really the party is the most important organization. As we've swept away the old view, the importance of building the party has become much clearer and sharper.

Any kind of mass struggle or mass organization — as important as it genuinely may be, and even if it's a struggle that becomes very broad and lasts a long time — has a temporary character as compared with the party and as compared with the ongoing task of revolution. Such a mass struggle cannot be identical with, nor still less replace the overall work, but has to be a subordinate part of the overall process and work of building for and carrying out revolution; any mass organization has to be looked at in the same way, even where it is correct for a mass organization to be maintained or even for the party to directly initiate it.

One of the things that Stalin more or less correctly pointed out (even if he tended to be a little bit mechanical in the way he treated it) was that the soviets (the councils of the masses) were the kind of organization that could only really be brought into being and maintained in a period of revolutionary upsurge; you couldn't have soviets all the time. In fact it's interesting to note, and perhaps the implications should be drawn out more fully at another time, that when it came to consolidating things after the Russian Revolution and the whole upsurge there associated with the conjuncture around World War I, they basically had to do away with the soviet form. Even with the proletariat in power, the soviets were not able to be maintained in the form in which they had existed as part of the revolutionary upsurge. Now to what degree that was due to errors and to what degree that was more due to the rise and fall of the revolution and its spiral motion (which is what I tend to think) should be looked into more. But if we take just the aspect of when you're not in power, I think it is correct as a general principle, without being mechanical about it, that you cannot maintain that advanced kind of organization all the time, especially when you don't have a revolutionary upsurge.

This is one of the things that we summed up around the NUWO (National United Workers Organization), for example. We kept trying to find new ways to provide a theoretical basis and a practical basis to maintain it, but we finally summed up that there wasn't any. The original meeting back in 1977 actually did show something. It showed that there were a number of advanced workers around who were interested in revolutionary politics. I know that some of the workers were brought there on a trade-unionist basis, especially by the Mensheviks,\* but also by the general influence of the economist trend within our line at that time; but there were also many who were brought forward on a much more advanced basis who wanted to take up politics and even world affairs. That was what was positive about that meeting, what was reflected there, even though it was perverted, especially by the Menshevik leadership of that meeting.

But even as we went forward and tried to root out the Menshevism that had influenced — I was going to say infested — but influenced our thinking, our line and our work, we still weren't able to forge a practical and theoretical basis for maintaining the NUWO and we finally had to sum up that it wasn't possible to maintain that sort of conveyor belt, transition belt, in this kind

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\* Revolutionary Union, the organization which preceded and played the key role in the formation of the RCP, USA.

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\* A faction within the RCP that came to a head and finally split in 1977, siding with the revisionist coup in China.

## Excerpts on the Cultural Revolution from Mao's Immortal Contributions

# Against the Norms

Following are some excerpts on the Cultural Revolution and the theory behind it taken from Bob Avakian's book, Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions, published in 1979. These excerpts come from Chapter 6, "Continuing the Revolution Under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Mao explained, in 1967, why this Cultural Revolution was a necessity in the following words:

"In the past we waged struggles in rural areas, in factories, in the cultural field, and we carried out the socialist education movement. But all this failed to solve the problem because we did not find a form, a method, to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below." (Chinese Communist Party's 9th Party Congress Report, p. 27)

This statement brings out many things, one of which is that the Cultural Revolution was unprecedented, not only in general or in China, but in the history of socialism. It went against all the "norms" of what socialism was supposed to be, what a communist party is supposed to do, and so on. This, of course, is true only in a superficial sense, because in reality the sole purpose of a communist party is to lead the proletariat in making revolution to achieve communism, and this is what Mao was leading the Communist Party of China to do. But it was something that went against all the traditions and the force of habit that had been built up and had in fact become obstacles under socialism. The force of habit cannot be followed in making revolution, including under socialism. Social habit and tradition has been built up by thousands and thousands of years of class society, and following such tradition will not lead toward classless society.

And, of course, it was unprecedented for the chairman of a communist party to call upon the masses to rise up and strike down powerful persons in the party. But revolution does not work on precedent, and in fact within the Party there were two headquarters. The capitalist-roaders had their own machine and their own headquarters, and this was what was necessary to dislodge them in order to prevent China from being taken down the road to capitalism.

Thus Mao summed up that it was not enough to talk about upholding the leading role of the Party, etc. It was a question of constantly revolutionizing the Party as part of revolutionizing society as a whole. Of course overall the Party had to play its leading role. Even when the Party in China was being shaken to its very roots and ceased to exist in many areas, it never ceased to exist nationally, and Mao had every intention of reconstituting the Party. The Cultural Revolution was also the form for reconstituting and strengthening the Party, and doing it unit by unit, area by area, from the base up, by relying on the mass action of the people. And unless such revolutionization of the Party was carried out, unless the masses were mobilized to recognize, to drag into the light of day, and strike down top leaders of the Party who were trying to turn it into a bourgeois party, and to subject to mass criticism and supervision the leading cadres in general, then through the force of habit and the conscious action of revisionist high officials the Party would become an instrument of the bourgeoisie and society would be taken "peacefully" down the capitalist road under its leadership.

So Mao summed up this most important point from the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat

both in China and internationally, particularly the counter-revolution in the Soviet Union, and began to develop the ways and means of reconstituting and revolutionizing the Party, driving out of its ranks those in authority taking the capitalist road. And, again, the form, the method, that was found was basically *reliance upon the masses*. The Party was in fact reconstituted by bringing the Party leaders and members before the masses to receive their criticism and supervision. In this way, together with guidance from the proletarian headquarters in the Party led by Mao, the Party units on the various levels were reformed and linked together according to democratic centralist organizational principles. As indicated above, such a rectification of the Party was, like the Cultural Revolution as a whole, completely unprecedented. For with regard to the Party, as well as the society as a whole, it was determined that the so-called "normal way" of doing things was not sufficient to root out revisionists and shake the upper levels of the Party in particular out of the bureaucratic mold into which they were being increasingly cast. A party in power, Mao summed up, must continue to be the vehicle for leading the proletariat in the continuing class struggle under socialism, but it can also become the vehicle for a bureaucratic stratum to pursue bourgeois interests. Only mobilizing and relying on the masses, under the guidance of a Marxist-Leninist line, could solve this problem. (This is very much related to Mao's analysis of the bourgeoisie in the Party itself—which will be dealt with in detail later in the chapter.)

Through this Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution further transformations were made not only in the Party but throughout society. Here again, the working class and masses of people, led by Mao and other communist revolutionaries, carried out changes which were unprecedented. Divisions and inequalities were reduced between different strata and sectors of society, including between the country and the city. The people rose up in their hundreds of millions, developing and strengthening not only new economic and social relations and the revolutionization of culture, of people's thinking, etc., but also the different forms of struggle so characteristic of the Cultural Revolution—big-character posters, public mass criticism of persons in power, the organization of brigades of youth, which came to be called the Red Guards, and so forth.

Mao warmly supported the struggles and initiatives of the masses and constantly urged them on to persevere in their revolutionary upsurge. He wrote an open letter to the Red Guards, for instance, saying that their actions

"...express your wrath against and your denunciation of the landlord class, the bourgeoisie, the imperialists, the revisionists and their running dogs, all of whom exploit and oppress the workers, peasants, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary parties and groups. They show that it is right to rebel against reactionaries. I warmly support you." (9th Party Congress Report, p. 35)

To provide leadership and guidance to the masses in this momentous mass struggle, in August 1966 the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" was issued. ...The "16-Point Decision" talks about the organizations created by the masses:

"Many new things have begun to emerge in the great proletarian cultural

revolution. The cultural revolutionary groups, committees and other organizational forms created by the masses in many schools and units are something new and of great historic importance.

"These cultural revolutionary groups, committees and congresses are excellent new forms of organization whereby the masses educate themselves under the leadership of the Communist Party. They are an excellent bridge to keep our Party in close contact with the masses. They are organs of power of the proletarian cultural revolution."

These groups became, through a process of development in the Cultural Revolution, the Revolutionary Committees which were set up at many different levels of society. These creations of the masses were, of course, hailed by Mao. And just as predictably, the capitalist-roaders who have usurped power for the time being in China have hastened to do away with them on the basic levels of society and to transform them into bourgeois-bureaucratic devices where they have been retained in form. . . .

In the course of the Cultural Revolution, and most especially during the mass upsurge of its first few years, the profound truth that Lenin expressed—that masses of people learn in a few weeks of struggle in a revolutionary period what they could not learn in years of "normal times"—was once again powerfully demonstrated and proved to be of decisive importance not just for the struggle in capitalist society but in socialist society as well. All this has everything to do with the fundamental question of who is to be relied on in advancing society to communism. Reliance, Mao insisted over and over, could only be placed on the broad masses. The dictatorship of the proletariat can only be really that if it is dictatorship exercised by the broad masses themselves, which means mobilizing and arming them with a Marxist-Leninist line to fight against the class enemy—and enabling them to distinguish the correct from the incorrect line and the actual interests of the proletariat from those of the bourgeoisie through the course of their own struggle and the study of Marxism-Leninism to master its basic stand, viewpoint and method.

If any other method is used, Mao summed up, then if revisionists seize leading positions and are able to put the official "stamp of approval" on a counter-revolutionary line—in the guise of Marxism—the masses will be in a passive position politically, and, in the name of adhering to the line of the Party and loyalty to its leadership, they will be led back to the hell of capitalism. In short, the dictatorship of the proletariat must not be treated metaphysically—in a static and absolute way—or it will be lost. Exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, Mao showed, means, and can only mean, *continuing the revolution* under the dictatorship of the proletariat, continuing to wage the class struggle against the bourgeoisie and all exploiting classes through reliance on the broad masses. This does not mean that the kind of mass upsurge characteristic of the first few years of the Cultural Revolution is always necessary and possible. What it does mean is that, through different forms, the masses must be politically mobilized and led to wage the class struggle and that, repeatedly through the socialist period, at certain points in the development of the class struggle such mass upsurges will indeed be "absolutely necessary and most timely."

As noted, Mao stressed many times that the Cultural Revolution which

began in 1966 could not be the only one if China was to remain a socialist country. At different times Mao gave somewhat different estimates of how often such a thing would be necessary, and possible, but the important thing, of course, is not the exact timetable, which will be determined by the twists and turns of the class struggle both within the country and internationally, but the fact that such a revolution is necessary repeatedly, again and again, throughout the historical period of socialism. And Mao also indicates above *why* this is so. Of course, the people who are the targets at a particular time, individual capitalist-roaders, may be overthrown and cast down—and certain ones may even be won over. But throughout the period of socialism new individuals (or sometimes the same ones again) will come to the fore as revisionist leaders constituting the core of a new bourgeoisie, and they must be continually overthrown. That is why the real object of the Cultural Revolution, as Mao points out here, is not just to overthrow those capitalist-roaders who have, at that time, entrenched themselves in the party of the proletariat; rather, it must be to remold the world outlook of the masses of people, so that they take up the stand, viewpoint and method of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism, and thus are increasingly armed to recognize, isolate and strike down revisionists whenever they raise their heads, while at the same time strengthening their mastery of society (and nature) and their ability to win over and remold the majority of intellectuals, cadres, etc.

The same point is stressed again when Mao talks, a year later in 1968, of the victories which have been won through the Cultural Revolution:

"We have won great victory. But the defeated class will still struggle. These people are still around, and this class still exists. Therefore we cannot speak of final victory. Not even for decades. We must not lose our vigilance. According to the Leninist viewpoint, the final victory of a socialist country not only requires the efforts of the proletariat and the broad masses of the people at home, but also involves the victory of the world revolution and the abolition of the system of exploitation of man by man all over the whole globe, upon which all mankind will be emancipated. Therefore, it is wrong to speak lightly of the final victory of the revolution in our country; it runs counter to Leninism and does not conform to facts." (9th Party Congress Report, pp. 64-65)

Here Mao makes clear that final victory cannot be achieved for a long time both because exploiting classes still exist in the world as a whole and because the bourgeoisie still exists in China itself. And, with regard to the second point in particular, Mao is not merely describing a phenomenon—that the bourgeoisie still exists in China—but is emphasizing again a fundamental *objective law of socialist society*: that, as he had summed up several years earlier, socialism is not an end in itself or something which can be fully consolidated as such, but is precisely a long period of transition, all throughout which the bourgeoisie will continue to exist and with it the danger of capitalist restoration; and that the key link in continuing the advance toward communism is class struggle, in unity with the struggle of the proletariat and oppressed people the world over.



January 26 last year marked the end of the trial of the "gang of four," in which Mao's revolutionary comrades Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao were sentenced to death, with execution suspended for a two year period to life imprisonment in solitary confinement at hard labor. But far more importantly to the revolutionary proletarians of the world, this trial was marked by the thoroughly revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist stand of these two leaders. Chang Chun-chiao remained totally un-cooperative and silent through the whole proceeding, while Chiang Ching exposed her revisionist captors at every turn:

"You have power now so you can easily accuse people of crimes and fabricate false evidence to support your charges," she told the court. "But if you think you can fool the people of China and worldwide, you are completely mistaken. It is not I but your small gang who is on trial in the court of history." Throughout the last year, both these comrades have struggled against the authorities to be allowed to write in jail.

Right, Chiang Ching and Chang Chun-chiao are also pictured at the height of the Cultural Revolution, addressing a rally celebrating the formation of the Peking Municipal Revolutionary Committee. This was on April 20, 1967, close in the wake of the January Storm in Shanghai, which had pioneered the way for power seizures from below by the masses led by Mao's revolutionary line. Both these comrades had been leaders of this struggle, Chiang Ching as part of the central group of leadership for the Cultural Revolution and Chang Chun-chiao as its delegate on the spot in Shanghai.

## Long Live Chiang Ching! Long Live Chang Chun-chiao!

From Red Flag, 1967

### "On the Proletarian Revolutionaries' Struggle to Seize Power"

*The Chinese Communist Party journal Red Flag No. 3, 1967 was a famous and important issue and contained the article excerpted below which was based on the Shanghai struggle. This article was commissioned and partly written by Mao and was one of the key programmatic documents of the Cultural Revolution.*

Proletarian revolutionaries are uniting to seize power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. This is the strategic task for the new stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution. It is the decisive battle between the proletariat and the masses of working people on the one hand and the bourgeoisie and its agents in the Party on the other.

This mighty revolutionary storm started in Shanghai. The revolutionary masses in Shanghai have called it the great "January Revolution." Our great lead-

er Chairman Mao immediately gave it resolute support. He called on the workers, peasants, revolutionary students, revolutionary intellectuals and revolutionary cadres to study the experience of the revolutionary rebels of Shanghai and called on the People's Liberation Army actively to support and assist the proletarian revolutionaries in their struggle to seize power. . . .

The current seizure of power from the handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road is not effected by dismissal and re-organization from above, but by the mass movement from below, a movement called for and supported by Chairman Mao himself. Only in this way can the leading organizations of our Party and state, enterprises and undertakings, cultural organizations and schools be regenerated and the old bourgeois practices be thoroughly eradicated.

Experience proves that in the course

of the struggle for the seizure of power, it is necessary, through exchange of views and consultations among leading members of revolutionary mass organizations, leading members of the local People's Liberation Army units, and revolutionary leading cadre of Party and government organizations, to establish provisional organs of power to take up the responsibility of leading this struggle. These provisional organs of power must "take firm hold of the revolution and promote production," keep the system of production going as usual, direct the existing set-ups in administrative and professional work (they should be readjusted where necessary) to carry on with their tasks, and organize the revolutionary masses to supervise these set-ups. These provisional organs of power must also shoulder the task of giving unified direction in suppressing counter-revolutionary organizations and counter-revolutionaries. To

set up such provisional organs of power is justified, necessary and extremely important. Through a period of transition, the wisdom of the broad masses will be brought into full play and a completely new organizational form of political power better suited to the socialist economic base will be created.

A number of units, where a handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road have long entrenched themselves, have become rotten. These persons have been exercising bourgeois dictatorship, not proletarian dictatorship. The Marxist principle of smashing the existing state machine must be put into practice in the struggle for the seizure of power in these units.

In summing up the experience of the Paris Commune, Marx pointed out that the proletariat must not take over the existing bourgeois state machine but must thoroughly smash it. Practice in the international communist movement has proved that this is an essential truth. Since a number of units, in which a handful of persons within the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road have entrenched themselves, have been turned into organs for bourgeois dictatorship, naturally we must not take them over as they are, resort to reformism, combine "two into one" and effect peaceful transition. We must smash them thoroughly.

The great mass movement to seize  
Continued on page 17

# The Day the Maoists Met the Polish Seamen

We received the following report from comrades in the Northwest.

For some 6 weeks, up to 8 Polish fishing ships with several hundred seamen aboard were docked in Vancouver, British Columbia. For us, revolutionaries in the U.S., it was a rare chance to learn first hand about the struggle in Poland. And more, it was an opportunity, coming right in the wake of martial law being declared in Poland, to take the line of the revolutionary communist/proletarian internationalist trend to workers from the Eastern bloc. From late December through mid-January we made three trips to Vancouver to visit the Polish sailors, and what we found there was a simmering cauldron of political discussion and upheaval, a situation with tremendous opportunities.

Following the martial law decree in Poland, the Polish rulers faced the problem of bringing the clampdown thousands of miles to their fishing fleet. The fleet is the third largest in the world and an important part of Poland's economy. The U.S. sanctions against Poland, which included declaring U.S. waters off limits to Polish fishermen, forced 8 ships fishing in the Bering Sea off the coast of Alaska into the harbor of Vancouver. The crews were now able to go freely between the ships and discuss the highly disturbing events in Poland. This posed even greater problems for Poland's "Czerwong burzuażja" ("red bourgeoisie" as the Polish sailors called it).

Canada's rulers got into the act by impounding the fishing ships on the pretense of too much money owed in back bills; payment for the ship's release was demanded. This was a move geared to create an international incident. The Western press dutifully reported it, as well as gloating over the rise in the number of Polish seamen defecting since martial law was declared.

In the midst of this clashing of imperialist international forces, were the Polish seamen themselves. Initially they talked about perhaps seizing the ships in protest of the clampdown, even as it was hanging over their heads. A "moral strike" was declared—in other words, working under protest. The seamen keenly followed accounts in the Western press of the developments in Poland and other world events as they unfolded. They took advantage of the moorage to hold meetings between different ships' crew members and struggled over these tumultuous events. A swirl of forces was drawn into the scene—anarchists, Polish Canadians, Canadian "labor leaders," social democrats.

When we first arrived at the pier, we talked to a reporter from a local Canadian TV station. She pointed out one of the ships and told us that the navigation officer on it spoke very good English but warned "He refuses to talk politics." We, however, found a very different situation. We walked up the gangplank and passed a sign declaring, "No Public Persons Allowed on Board." While Solidarity was outlawed in Poland, forced underground and many of its leading members jailed—we found, to our surprise, a real above-board presence, some 90% of the crew, including many officers, openly opposing martial law and supporting Solidarity. Many defiantly wore Solidarity buttons. We looked around and tried to figure out just who was in control.

We brought out the *Revolutionary Worker* and started agitating. The sailors gathered around, some puzzled. One stepped from the crowd to translate. Maoists? Revolutionary communists? The sailors were intrigued.

Communists who hated the Soviet Union? They'd never met Maoists before. It was wild for them, and challenging. The translator grabbed a stack of papers and quickly distributed them. Suddenly the crowd dispersed as the sailors went to read the paper or stash it for a safer time and place. This same scene was reenacted time and time again.

Not only did the sailors grab the latest issues of the *RW*, but also the special edition on the 5th anniversary of Mao's death. We distributed quite a bit of literature: *To The Marxist-Leninists, The Workers, And The Oppressed Of All Countries*, the Joint Communiqué of 13 Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations; *Basic Principles for the Unity Of Marxist-Leninists And For the Line Of the International Communist Movement*; the latest issue of *Revolution* magazine, which features the talk by Bob Avakian—"Conquer the World? The International Proletariat Can and Must." The great interest in this literature could be seen early on when copies of the *Joint Communiqué* would slowly pass from hand-to-hand among the sailors. Each seaman would carefully check out the names of the organizations on the cover, and what countries the groups were from. Undoubtedly, this material is circulating in Poland by now.

At one point a comrade noticed a crowd on the deck of one of the ships so he went to check it out. He found a Canadian Pole trying to sell a newspaper in Polish but the sailors were booing and hissing at him, hooting at every sentence he uttered. Our comrade asked, "What's going on?" Finally, the Canadian Pole turned to him and explained that he was telling the seamen how good the Soviet Union is and how grateful they all should be. Our comrade began to speak to the crowd in English about proletarian internationalism; he exposed revisionism in power and called for revolution around the world and in the U.S. The men were stunned; an argument between a "communist" and revolutionary communist was totally new, unheard of. A sailor who spoke a little English grabbed a stack of *RW*'s from his hands and they were quickly distributed. Then he left. The revisionist slunk away, disgruntled. One sailor approached the revolutionary communist and, pointing to himself, explained with a smile, "Me, proletarian international." Forming a big circle with his hands, he added: "No rich, anywhere in the world."

Another sailor led our comrade to a cabin where we had been in deep discussion with a number of sailors. He was face to face with the seaman who had distributed the *RW*'s a few minutes earlier who looked at him and asked with a grin, "Journalist? KGB? CIA? Revolutionary?!" Everyone burst out laughing. You had to be *somebody* if you were hanging around these ships.

Within half an hour of our arrival in Vancouver on the second trip, two of us were sitting on a bunk inside a small cabin. Roman, our host, was slowly turning the pages of the latest issue of the *RW*. As he opened the centerfold he smiled. Turning the paper towards us he said, "Meine Familie, Gdansk." It was a proud statement. He pointed to the pictures of youth erecting barricades in the streets of Gdansk. Roman then reached under his mattress and pulled out a small bundle of papers—leaflets and newspapers he had gotten in Canada in English and in Polish. He handed two of them to us, an anarchist leaflet and a flyer from the Polish Cana-

dian Congress.

Word had gotten around the ship that we were in Roman's cabin and the room quickly filled with sailors. As each one came in Roman would introduce us, and then we would hand them a copy of the *Revolutionary Worker* turned to the page which carried the statement of Polish workers in Chicago, written in Polish (No. 135). "This rebellion of workers in the heart of the Soviet imperialists' empire also has great significance for the international proletariat..." it began. A young seaman named Mark came in and as he read the statement, tears welled up in his eyes and he turned and left the room. When he returned the other seamen were looking at the pictures in the same issue of the *RW*, eight pictures, 4 showing the Soviet Union and its proxies in Czechoslovakia, Afghanistan, Cambodia and Ethiopia, four showing the U.S. and its puppets in Vietnam, El Salvador, Cambodia and South Korea. Someone showed Mark the series of pictures in the *RW*. They talked together and then Mark pointed to the picture of South Korean students laying face down, their hands behind their heads, while a soldier with an M-16 stood guard over them. "Lager," he said, German for "camp." "Lager," some of the other sailors repeated in agreement. And then Mark looked up at me and said, "Auschwitz."

Not exactly the picture the U.S. wants to paint of these rebels, is it? As you can tell, there is a real sense here of a fundamental hatred of oppression. (Later on, when the discussion turned to the situation in the U.S., we brought up the common police practice of murdering people in jail and calling it suicide. "That happens in the jails in Poland too," said Jan. "In Poland, it is the Communist Party.")

The next morning, we looked up Steve and Jan, two sailors we had met on the first trip. Before long we were in Steve's cabin discussing the future of the movement in Poland. This led us to raise the question of world war. "The West has no need for it," Steve said. To him it was clear that the Soviet Union was the "expansionist power," but the West was another question. If there was a war, it would be because of the Soviets. This idea was widespread.

Here, the spontaneity came out starkly. For one thing, it was an expression of the tendency among the more politically aware people to focus narrowly on the contradictions that they're more or less immediately up against, without seeing the bigger picture. As we know, this goes on in the U.S. and the West in general, where you hear a lot of people (political opportunists, true, but also a lot of honest people) come up with some variant of this kind of thinking—you know, the line that the U.S. is the sole source of war and the Soviet Union "doesn't need it."

It goes to reinforce all the more the cruciality—and the possibility—of exerting every effort to spread our line and influence, and win people to our trend.

These sailors certainly have a wealth of experience with Soviet-style revisionism. Steve explained why he wanted no part of what he called the "red ideology." Steve went through 18 years of his life being spoonfed Soviet style communism. "I was a bloody communist!" he recalled angrily. And then the strikes of 1970 found Steve on strike with his fellow workers. "My whole world exploded. I ran into authority." It was a run-in from which he would never recover. A few years later Steve

was sent to a "Marxist-Leninist Institute," a training school for state bureaucrats. "You call each other 'comrade,' and memorize a few phrases. I lasted two months. I couldn't stand it." His friends couldn't understand why he quit. It was, after all, the best ticket to a cushy job. But Steve had higher goals than just a cushy job.

He was fed up with "communist ideology." "We need a brand new ideology," says Steve. "We'll make it as we go." When asked what kind of society he envisions for Poland, Steve says something like Sweden or Finland. Both Steve and Jan have read the *Communist Manifesto*, but little else. The stultifying atmosphere of official party dogma was enough to keep them largely away from Marxism when combined with their experience of "socialism." "Communism is a beautiful dream," said Jan, "but the reality doesn't work." The discussion turned to Mao. Steve mentioned, "I have a Red Book in Russian." He told us how a friend picked it up while traveling through Albania a few years ago. But Steve had never read it. "More red ideology," he said.

Obviously there are some big questions raised here: the road forward and the need for a real Marxist-Leninist line and leadership; the approaching historic conjuncture; what socialism is and the class struggle under socialism and so on. (And frankly, our own understanding and grasp of the line was called up a little short in the course of the struggle and discussion.) Sharply posed is the crying need to bring in the science of *revolutionary* Marxism. And if this must be from "outside" the Eastern bloc and revisionist orbit (by ourselves and other comrades internationally), well then, that's a little irony of history which will certainly serve the cause of the international proletariat!

We were eager to return for our third visit, but anxious because we knew this politically volatile situation would not last. Upon arriving we found that one of the four ships remaining on the pier was filled with nearly 200 seamen—half of them replacements just arrived from Poland, the other half crewmen who were leaving for Poland that night. Gone were the Solidarity buttons, and a tense mood prevailed.

As our newspapers began to circulate, the situation tensed up even more. But we will never forget the defiant expression of a sailor who clutched a bundle of *RW*'s in the same hand which held his duffle bag. We began to piece together what was going on. Not only had the two ships with the most militant crews been sent out to sea, but the crews on the remaining ships were being replaced in two massive waves only two days apart. The clampdown had arrived.

Many sailors had expected to receive mail and messages from new crewmen. Since martial law, they had had no contact with home. The new crews were strip-searched before boarding the planes from Poland. "Every stack of paper was destroyed," said one sailor.

We learned that militants from other ships were being drafted immediately into the army upon their return to Poland. It was said that some 1,500 out of 3,000 personnel at the headquarters of the merchant fleet had been fired or arrested. The replacement crews were forced to sign loyalty oaths, and the fishing fleet had been militarized, meaning that any seaman who jumped ship was liable to the same penalties as a deserter from the army—five to 15 years in jail and the confiscation of all personal property. The new crews were also

Continued on page 8

# Learning from the Clampdown in Poland:

# PREPARED— BUT PREPARED FOR WHAT?

This is the 2nd of two articles. The first was in issue No. 137.

Jan. 1, 1982, New York Times.  
 "Poles who have sympathized with the dramatic advances wrought by the union during its days of legality are distressed by the ease with which it has been crippled. Wherever they gather, the conversation is the same: How could this have happened so quickly? Where was the promised resistance, the contingency plans, the open opposition pledged in the do-or-die speeches?"

"Our great mistake was we didn't think it through enough," said a retired official who is a close friend of a Solidarity leader in detention. "We always believed that Polish soldiers would never shoot Polish workers — and it's still true, they haven't really. But the diabolical thing is they don't have to."

"A young friend entered the apartment and brought news that the political detainees at the Bialoleka Prison were in good shape. In fact, said the young man, they spent their recreation hour Wednesday in the prison courtyard constructing a snowman of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, the military leader, complete with dark glasses. They marched around it, saluting, in mockery.

"You hear that?" the older man said, "they are children." He shook his head. "How is it possible they had no plan?" he went on. "Didn't they know where they were living?"

"The union was too much impressed with its own sense of numbers and invincibility, he theorized. The leaders were easily deceived. Because the Government had not yet passed a bill giving itself special emergency powers, they believed that such powers could not be used.

"They thought we already had a de-

mocracy," he said. "They forgot, they're too young. They forgot that the authorities can do anything they want to. They can declare war — and that's just what they did."

"Another visitor brought news of how Jan Kulaj, the leader of Rural Solidarity, was taken into custody on Dec. 13. He was driving to Gdansk to meet the Solidarity leadership. South of the city, he came to a roadblock. His driver leaned out the window and yelled to the soldiers: 'Hey you guys, move aside. This is Jan Kulaj here.' The farmers' leader and hero was promptly bundled into a police car.

"The older man, hearing the story, shook his head in despair."

A vivid picture is painted in the above account taken from the *New York Times*. The authorities of the West, anxious to take advantage of the troubles of their rivals in the East, are publishing all this and thereby doing an unconscious favor for revolutionaries (West and East) — a favor, that is, if the revolutionaries sum up and learn. These and many other well publicized events in Poland following the clampdown indicate that Solidarity and the masses were caught off guard by the sudden roundup of leaders and the imposition of martial law. There are lessons to be learned from this for the proletariat not only in Poland but in other places, especially in other advanced capitalist countries.

In this article we want to explore the question of preparation for such periods as those of Poland today and in recent months. We will examine the link between the political and ideological line and goals of the leading forces and the kind of preparations they made — and

also what kind of political, ideological and (based on that) organizational preparations must be made to enable the revolutionary forces to recognize and seize revolutionary opportunities when they present themselves.

Solidarity, an organization arising from the workers and spread by them to farmers, students and intellectuals, has been a positive development of the sharpening class struggle in Poland, a vehicle created by the workers to enable them to advance their struggle against the oppression they face from the Polish revisionist ruling class. As such the attacks on and roundup of the Solidarity leaders were aimed at attacking and stopping their movement. However, it would be foolish for revolutionaries not to sum up the line leading this movement in addressing the problems of preparation and how the class-conscious proletariat must prepare for sudden turns and "fault lines" like those that have appeared in Poland.

As we have analyzed in other articles, the question that is presenting itself in Poland objectively to the proletariat is state power — who is to rule? The capitalist/revisionist ruling class is in deep trouble, very much a part of the troubles of world imperialism, East and West, which are leading toward world war — and, as Poland shows, revolutionary opportunities. The masses there have been pulled into active political life in their millions and are demanding radical change; they have not been satisfied by the concessions the authorities have been forced to grant, the situation has been persistently pushing them into a revolutionary mood. The leaflet published in the *RW* in late December said: "For the seizure of power and the fundamental transformation of society to

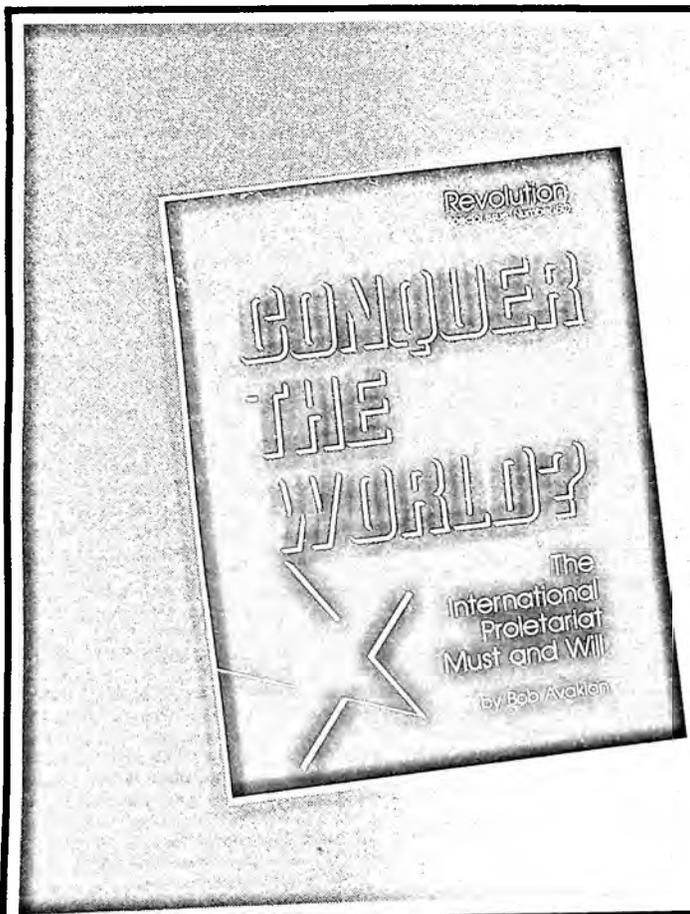
occur in Poland, there is a need for the complete overthrow of the existing order, and of all existing social conditions. In other words, the masses of people have come objectively up against the need for a proletarian revolution and a Marxist-Leninist, Maoist line to guide the revolution."

Solidarity was not influenced significantly or led by such a line, nor were the leaders preparing for revolutionary action. While Solidarity leaders did have some sense that the government might try to take action such as arresting leaders or outlawing the organization, and while they made some preparations, when the force of the state came down their preparations and resistance were clearly shown to be inadequate to deal with the actual situation. The problem was not that they made no plans and preparations to deal with such a situation; the problem lay in *what they were preparing for*. They were preparing for a general strike to win greater democracy and "workers' control."

Influenced by various trends, the dominating line within the movement has been a liberal, bourgeois-democratic one. The general orientation of Solidarity has been to form one big union of workers, peasants, students and intellectuals to demand a broadening of workers' rights, and workers' control of the factories and various aspects of society. Through the strike movement, the majority of the population would threaten to shut down the economy, isolating the government to the point where the bourgeois state would knuckle under and be forced to the negotiating table and the workers' councils would in effect democratize and run society. This is what even the more honest forces within Solidarity were preparing for (leaving aside for now the outright and conscious forces of Western imperialism).

But this view does not match up with the reality of the class struggle. And further attempts to reorganize and "go at it again" in the same way only with better preparations and broader support will still not lead to the fundamental change the masses so fervently desire. For what is required is not more bourgeois democracy; instead, as Mao wrote, "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution." This reality is being driven home today in Poland and it is *this* task which must be prepared for in advance of the ripening of the revolutionary situation in

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## A Special Issue of Revolution Magazine

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.

"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 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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# Nuclear War no Worse than the Bubonic Plague: U.S. Experts Say

**"Would Survivors of Nuclear Attack Envy the Dead ... Experts Say 'No'."** Armed with 15 camera-ready newspaper columns with titles such as the above, an assortment of hokey pamphlets, and a crackerjack sales pitch, the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), which is in charge of the U.S. civil defense program, has launched a new crusade. With the dauntless William Chipman at the helm, FEMA has set about to convert people to the idea that nuclear war is not only thinkable but winnable. In fact, according to Chipman nuclear war isn't really that bad a thing at all — why, "the United States could survive nuclear attack and go on the recovery within a relatively few years."

Such is the line being run out by the government, all nice and neatly packaged for public consumption. According to a recent *Los Angeles Times* article, Mr. Chipman and a crew of imbecilic operatives all cast from the same mold have sallied forth to bring a new optimism to the question of nuclear war following the lead from those like T.K. Jones, Deputy Undersecretary of Defense for Strategic and Nuclear Forces, who says, "It would only take two to four years for the United States to fully recover from an all-out war with the Soviet Union." The bourgeoisie, of course, doesn't believe any of this for a minute and is openly worried about what the likely effects of such a war would be on its ability to continue to rule in the face of massive destruction and death and equally massive political chaos. But for mass consumption such "optimistic" (and obviously silly) blather as Chipman's is not only fine but a necessary part of preparing to actually fight a world war in which nukes will play a big part, very likely involving U.S. territory at some point.

Anyway, let us continue with Mr. Chipman's messages from nuclear fantasyland. Pointing to charts and graphs, he hastens to remind the pessimists, doubters, war haters and such that even in an all-out nuke war *most* Americans would pull through, and castigates some war planners: "When they figure fatalities, they figure it on the basis of your Crimean War medical care, which is to say, almost none. And yet, if I remember rightly, of the people who reached the so-called hospitals of the Crimea — they were more or less like sheds — I think 85% ... eventually survived, essentially unaided, essentially pre-arrival of Ms. Nightengale." Hey, no problem here after all — if 80 to 100 million people were killed in this country in a full-scale nuclear exchange, as the U.S. war planners conservatively estimate, *most* people would survive and those who did would get along just fine without hospitals. Why, FEMA even supplies advice on first aid so the survivors can get right down to business rebuilding the empire. All they have to do is pull out their trusty pamphlet "Special Advice on Tourniquets" and FEMA's 7-point plan for aiding burn victims. And for those who really want to be prepared to spring quickly into action to get the country back on its feet, they can start preparing right now by taking Red Cross first aid classes and implementing FEMA's brilliant "Plan D." "Plan D" is an easy-to-follow blueprint for building a "pre-planned basement snack-bar fallout shelter" which conveniently doubles as a home entertainment center be-

fore the nukes fly. Now that's a plan any loyal American can relate to — convenient, economical, and effective, a valuable asset to both your home and your country. Why not have the Joneses over for a Martini and a game of bridge and at the same time practice some of Mr. Chipman & Co.'s handy advice for survivors?

Turning his attention to claims that decomposing corpses would provide breeding grounds for all manner of plague, cholera, typhus, meningitis, smallpox, etc., Chipman quickly dismisses this as a preposterous scenario. "... the spectre of pestilence and disease stalking the land in the aftermath of nuclear war is probably just that — a spectre, not a realistic probability. It need not, and probably would not, occur." Rest assured all you patriots, because "Even under the worst circumstances imaginable there would be no danger of a repetition of the bubonic plague that devastated Europe in the mid-14th cen-

tury." In fact, as the *L.A. Times* article satirically states: "The bubonic plague is a source of considerable optimism to Chipman, who observed, 'It was horrifying at the time, and yet six or eight years later, not only had English society rebounded but, by God, those people went out on an expeditionary force to France.'" Here we have it, a clear and succinct statement of exactly what all this war-planning talk is about anyway — not only making imperialist war thinkable but actually making preparations (including lining up sections of the masses) to fight for the god-given goals of expanding the U.S. empire, even in the face of large-scale destruction on the U.S.' home turf. The more sober and pessimistic U.S. spokesmen make the same point, only they prefer to be more realistic in assessing the kinds of immense problems the bourgeoisie is going to face in the wake of a nuclear war. Of course, neither the absurd "optimists" nor the "pessimists" care to talk very

much about the death and destruction that the U.S.-led bloc and the Soviet-led bloc are feverishly planning to unleash on the rest of the world. They especially do not mention the misery and degradation that they are already perpetrating the world over. All these survival planners are simply concerned with the survival of the U.S. as an imperialist power ready to continue on the paths of glory even if at a somewhat slowed pace.

Chipman's angle is: Nuke war will not exactly be a picnic, but it won't be so bad — certainly we can survive it so we can get ready for the next war. He explains: "It's very depressing and horrible on the one hand, but if worse ever came to worse, I think people would be miserable, but they would in all probability rise to the occasion and restore some kind of country that would fairly be called the post-attack United States. No one would ever forget what had happened, and I hope to God if it ever happened once, it would never happen again." Well, well, now not only is the first nuclear war in history thinkable and winnable, but Chipman & Co. are setting about making a *second* one thinkable too! Clearly the madness that is imperialism cannot be allowed to survive any longer. □

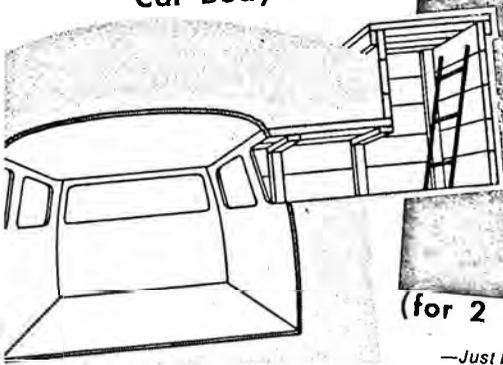
The new propaganda prepared for public consumption by the Federal Emergency Management Agency strangely echoes the "optimism" of 1950s-style Civil Defense campaigns. Pictured here, variations of nuclear shelters from the 1950s:

—Every modern house should have a convertible rec room/fallout shelter.

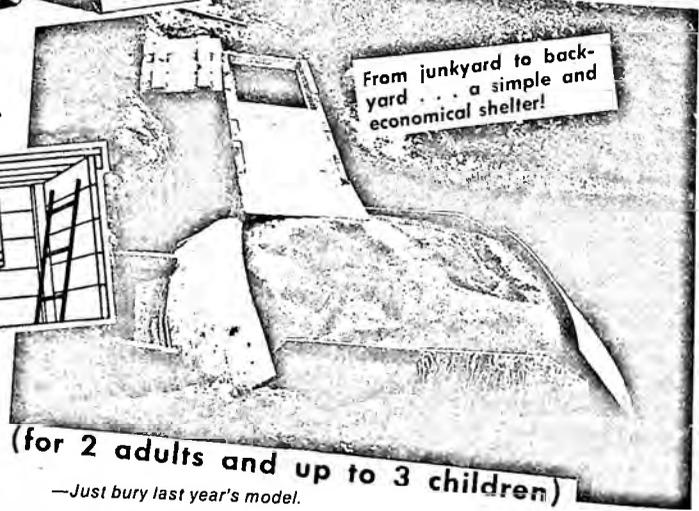
—Safety was as close as your desk.



Car Body Shelter



From junkyard to backyard... a simple and economical shelter!



(for 2 adults and up to 3 children)  
—Just bury last year's model.

## Seamen

Continued on page 6

riddled with spies, and it was rumored that aboard the ships were secret "political commissars," party members with more political clout than the Captains themselves.

We found that we continued to be identified and sought out by the sailors who quickly adapted to operating under the increased repression. The following day we split ourselves up into two teams. While one team was in the cabin of one

ship, two of us walked over to another ship. As we boarded the ship, the first sailor we saw abruptly started down one of the narrow passages. Looking back he gestured for us to follow. "Come on, please," he said impatiently. We followed him down the hallway, not sure what to expect. He then opened the door to a cabin and sat us down in the middle of a discussion of 5 sailors.

In another case a sailor demanded, "You Maoists?" his face lit up. "Yes," we responded. "Give me one of those," he said taking a paper and leaving. By then we were more aware of the tactics of sailors taking papers to go off and

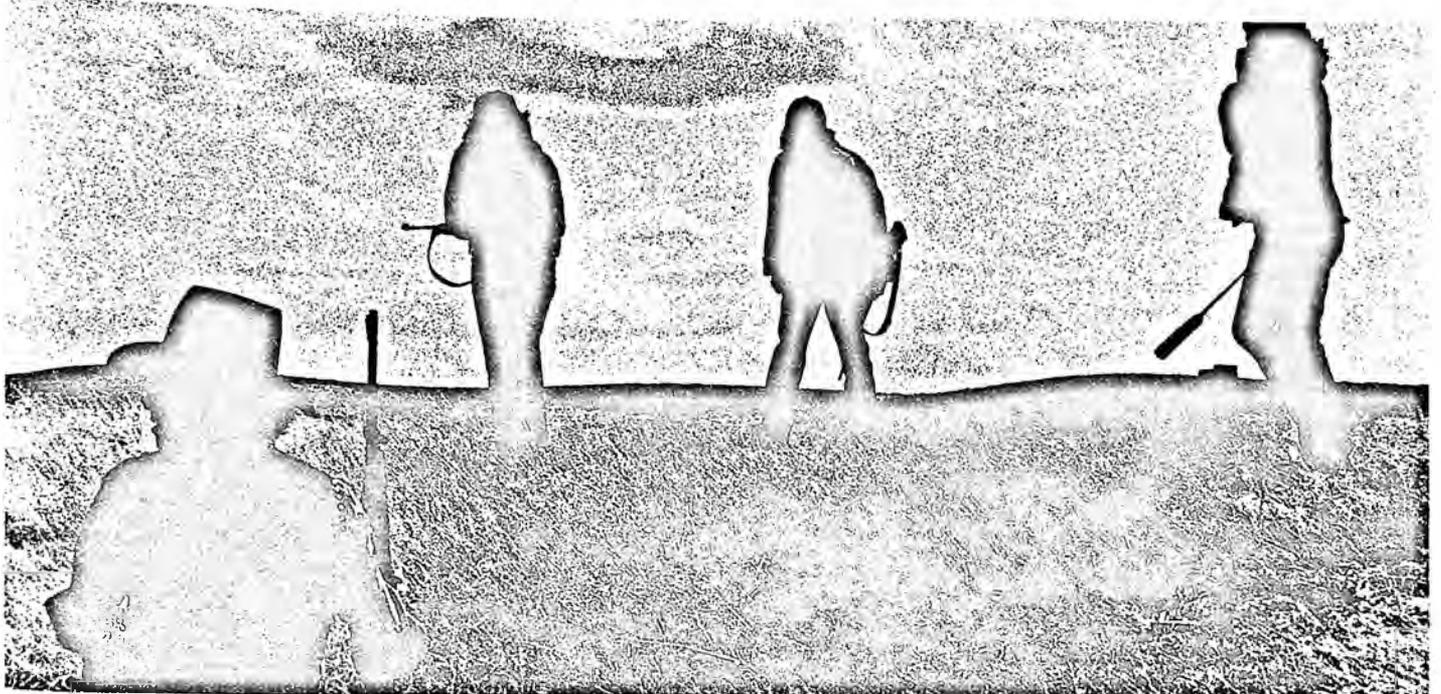
study them (or in some cases, trusted friends would translate) and then find the ways and means to get back to us. Another time we were speaking to a seaman who had just come from Poland when he spotted a spy poking his head around the corner. He thrust his paper deep into his work overall and brushed his index finger across his nose. We knew it immediately—the sign for PIG—but we didn't know they used it in Poland! Later he attempted to meet with us as we played cat and mouse with the spy.

We had spent many hours in deep discussion and struggle with small groups

and individuals like Jan and Steve, hammering out steps on the path to the future. Goodbyes were always moving. With Jan and Steve, as we rose to leave we knew that we might never see each other and yet we had forged internationalist bonds between us. All of us shared the feeling that history was being made. This fraternization between proletarians from countries in opposing blocs was a sign of things to come. And we smiled as we remembered Steve saying how they would read Lenin's *What Is To Be Done?* and *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*—yes, even these books they had to read in Russian! □

# Native People Testify at War Crimes Tribunal

## The Day Will Come...



Wounded Knee, 1973: Four warriors patrol perimeter of occupied area.

This week we are publishing excerpts from the testimony given on Saturday, December 5, 1981 at the New York hearings of the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal by Native Americans and a member of the Leonard Peltier support group in New York. The first testimony was given by Archie Fire Lame Deer, Mnicojou Lakota spiritual advisor for the Native peoples including for Leonard Peltier. Archie Fire Lame Deer testified on behalf of the Native people at the Bertrand Russell tribunal in Rotterdam in 1980 and served as a witness and panel member for the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal in Los Angeles and New York City:

First of all, I want to welcome everyone that is here. And in the old days when we used to go visit different tribes in different areas, we paid our respects to those tribes in those areas. And one of my brothers is here. He's from one of the tribes that's here. So, I'm paying my respect to that brother 'cause he's of this area. All of us Indians here on this Turtleback Continent we do it this way, usually we do it with ceremonies. But being that most of you are new to this movement, just newcomers, it's going to take you a while before you really understand what the fight is all about. For us, it's been a long fight...

And before I start I want to welcome any FBI informers that are here, CIA agents, BIA employees, or any of these workers for bigot corporations. On behalf of the Indian Nations I want to say, thank you. I want to thank you for the exposure of this man-made monster, U.S. imperialism, colonialism, the mass indoctrination of an once proud people.

This evening I'm asking as a traditional Indian for the support of my brother whose picture you see in front of me, Leonard Peltier. My brother, Leonard, is fighting for his life to be free, not to become a martyr. Too many times, as in history, we make martyrs out of people who are still living. It's like issuing a death warrant for these people who are fighting for freedom, fighting for freedom for tomorrow for the future generation of our young people, and for a better world for the man of color. Some of you might not fit into that category. When you walk up to a person and say, "What do you think about the white man?", then you have a problem. And it goes the other way also. The very fact that some of you here helped us at Wounded Knee, at Big Mountain and other places where we fought for sacred things shows me the

sincerity of my brothers and my sisters here. The very fact that you are here today as brothers and sisters shows me the prophecies of my Grandfathers when they said the day will come when the four colors of the human race must band together and put aside their differences and their prejudices, imaginary borders set up by colonialism, and fight together. Many of us as Indians, for many years we stood alone wondering when the rest of you brothers and sisters will come and help us. I say, now it is your turn to be in the barrel. Since 1492 we began to believe that no one loves Indians...

Today as we look around up here on the panel and around you I see new faces. My brother, a black man, my sister, the yellow race, my sister, the white race. The red has always been here on this Turtle Continent. And some will say, what about the brown man? In our religion brown is a sacred color also. Look at Mother Earth, she, too, is brown. Now as Indians we must say to you: Let us unite together and take these shackles off, these shackles of shame and oppression. We, the Indian, extend to you our hand, and freedom and friendship. In the words of my brother, Leonard Peltier: "Let us unite brothers and sisters. Let us unite and with one word, resist." Those are the words from Leonard, "To resist!" And on the behalf of my brothers and sisters from the Yellow Thunder Camp in the Black Hills they ask me to say these very simple words to you: In 1868 the government said, "Sell or starve." We didn't starve, and we're still alive. In 1981 the government said, "Freeze or get out." We are not leaving the Black Hills. With you or without you, neither are we going to freeze...

I feel saddened because my brother, Larry Anderson, is not here tonight. He is also a member of this panel, and so is Long Walker, and so is Leonard Peltier. They're not here because they're busy fighting right now. And I might add, that the spirit of our people are here. The brothers from the Big Mountain, the Navajos and the Hopis send you their regards and their friendship.

My name is Sam Sapiel and I am a Penobscott from Maine. Indian Island, Old Town, Maine. My Indian name is Ganuch. I just want to say that I was born and brought up on a reservation. Since the '50s, when I was old enough to go into the service, I was kind of afraid to leave the reservation because I didn't

know what was on the outside, and I heard so many stories about white people and things like this. I wanted to find out for myself what the world was all about. Now I'm kind of sorry today — but I'm kind of glad in a way because I found out a lot of things that were happening to my people. The things that the United States government has been doing to them. Not only the U.S. government, but the state governments too, through their legislation procedures which Indian people didn't know anything about. And the loss of our lands, our fishing rights, our hunting rights, a lot of things that we, as Indian people, have lost.

This is what I couldn't understand when I got out of the service back in 1955. Why should I be over there fighting for this country, America, while they are doing things to my people here, right here in the U.S.? Like stealing their lands and taking away a lot of things that were a part of their heritage, their culture, their ways. And I said to myself, "I've got to get active in things in order to help my people." And I went to see my medicine man that lived on the reservation, and I asked him, because I was confused. And he told me, "Ganuch," he says, "you go out there and you work for your people and do whatever you can for your people. And I will guide you and I will help you." And to this day, he is with me.

He died last year. He froze to death because the Indian Agent on the reservation wouldn't fix his heater. He froze to death in this little trailer that he had. He called it the hut, the Beaver Hut. They always had a name for things that were towards the white man's ways, like the little trailer he had. So he called it his Beaver Hut. The door was broken on it and they wouldn't fix the door either. And the furnace was broken down and they wouldn't fix it.

And everywhere I went, I'd taken him with me. But this time I didn't bring him with me because he said he was tired and he wanted to stay home. He wanted to rest up. So the next day around noon time I got a phone call saying that my Medicine Man had died. I looked into the circumstances of why he had died, what happened, but I couldn't get the right answers from my people — the administration part — and the Indian Agent. Well, I found out later that he had frozen to death.

Good evening. My name is John Soto, and I work for the Leonard Peltier

support group in New York. Before I get into my presentation on this case, I'd like to give my thanks to this Tribunal for letting me come here. And I also give a special thanks to my brother Archie Fire Lame Deer. It's an honor for me to stand here on the same podium with this brother. Tonight I didn't wish to speak rhetorically, but more so factually. When I say Leonard Peltier is a prisoner of war, that is reality. That's not rhetoric. A prisoner of war. This war the Native people refer to as the longest war. It is a war that has been going on for 500 years. Leonard Peltier is an extension of the resistance to that war. Leonard Peltier is a freedom fighter in the truest sense...

For people to understand Leonard Peltier, we just have to look at the history of this country. And in Leonard Peltier we can see the Crazy Horses, the Geronimos and the Sitting Bulls. The case of Leonard Peltier, the incidents, the battle that took place June 26, 1975 — a lot of things led up to that incident that took place that day...

Leonard Peltier on June 26, 1975 was fighting a war. The people in Big Mountain are fighting a war. The weapons are real. The tools are real. On June 26, 1975 the corrupt tribal council chairman of the Pine Ridge Reservation was in Washington, D.C. conniving with United States officials in the Department of the Interior to sign away one-eighth of the Pine Ridge Reservation for natural resources, namely uranium and coal. And on this same day, the U.S. moved in its ground forces, in the form of FBI agents and Bureau of Indian Affairs police. They started a fire-fight in Oglala, an Indian spiritual encampment, of which there were 4 adult Indian men. Those men were Leonard Peltier, Bob Robideau, Dino Butler and Joe Stunts. When these two agents, Coler and Williams, came into this encampment, they started a fire-fight; the Native people defended themselves. The two agents and Joe Stunts lost their life in the battle. The other people managed to escape along with the women and children, the elders and the young people. They fled into the ravines and they were taken in by the people in the community on the outlying regions of the reservation. The United States government brought in its armored personnel carriers and its attack helicopters and for one full month they had a full occupation army of 250 FBI agents dressed up in clothes like this. With M-16s, automatic weapons, bashing down people's doors. And then

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## The Month They Stormed Heaven

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tradition of revolutionary struggle and political sophistication, rapidly assumed critical importance.

The Shanghai City Party Committee was controlled by allies of China's leading "capitalist-roader" president Liu Shiaoqi. Shanghai's First Party Secretary, Chen Pei-hsien, and Mayor Tsao Ti-chiu were well-entrenched in the city, or so they seemed to be. Their prestige among the workers was considerable. Partly this was due to their ability to cloak themselves in the mantle of their predecessor in Shanghai leadership, the immensely popular Ko Ching-shih, but the late Ko had been, in truth, a lifelong opponent of Liu Shiaoqi. He was one of Mao's veteran political comrades and a fighter for revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. Under his leadership, Shanghai had made important economic progress, though Ko's efforts were frequently hampered or blocked by the revisionist faction on the Party Committee. But more remarkably, Shanghai under Mayor Ko became a major center for the creation and dissemination of "Maoist" propaganda, political education, and culture. In fact Chang Chun-chiao, later a "Gang of Four" revolutionary, served under Ko in Shanghai as Director of Propaganda. It was not mere chance that the early literary polemics of Yao Wenyan (another of the Four) were first published in Shanghai, or that Chiang Ching found there the necessary assistance for staging her pathbreaking experiments in revolutionary opera—assistance usually mysteriously unavailable in Peking.

But after Ko's death in April of 1965, the pro-Liu group on the Shanghai Party Committee gained the upper hand. Mao's supporters including Chang were consigned to obscurity and deprived of influence. Revisionist administration was swiftly extended to Shanghai's economic life. Those revolutionaries in the factories alert enough to detect and resist the early signs of retrogression on their own were subjected to both subtle and not-so-subtle forms of intimidation.

Probably by the summer of 1966, many workers had sensed an oppressive pall of some kind descending over Shanghai. But only a relatively small and isolated core of advanced workers at first took up Mao's August 5th directive to "Bombard The Bourgeois Headquarters" as a real call to class struggle against the revisionists entrenched in power in the Communist Party, and directly relevant to the situation in Shang-

hai. Chen and Tsao were able to play on the Shanghai workers' loyalty to the Communist Party, co-opt some phraseology of the Cultural Revolution, pose as "adherents of Mao's line," and declare that opposition to their own leadership was tantamount to opposition to the Party. In the beginning, this classic tactic had some success; though as events developed, the rapidly developing political consciousness of the Shanghai working class would prove equal to the challenge of dissecting conflicting claims to recognition as "Mao's best apostles."

Under the guidance of the Shanghai Party Committee, the Cultural Revolution was run as a round of stale study groups and timid criticism sessions hemmed in by guidelines, regulations and lists of prohibition. When contingents of Peking Red Guards, flushed with rebel spirit, arrived in Shanghai to get down with struggling local rebel groups, the city authorities strove to prevent any joining of forces. The Peking Red Guards were branded as "anti-socialist elements" and subjected to violent attacks. But on September 4th, a small group of indigenous rebel organizers met at Shanghai's East China Textile Institute. The rebels mapped a strategy for the political overthrow of the Chen-Tsao clique. After the meeting, they marched to Party Committee headquarters, linking up there with a demonstrating contingent of Peking Red Guards who had been subjected to violent intimidation by gangs of hoodlums—many of them misled workers—organized by the Shanghai Party Committee.

Through the next few months, Red Guard elements worked to spread their influence among the proletariat, and counteract that of the officially assigned "work teams," which claimed to represent the Cultural Revolution but really functioned as sort of political police. At the same time, the "proletarian headquarters" at the Party center brought the target of the nationwide movement—the bourgeois headquarters within the Communist Party headed by Liu Shiaoqi—in to finer focus. This latter condition, the ideological leadership given by the revolutionary communists within the CCP, was of course a vital guide to the work of the Shanghai rebels. Also the Chen-Tsao group found it more difficult to maintain their pose as "Mao's reliable representatives" when their own repressive actions were in such glaring contrast to the revolutionary propaganda emanating from those central organs under Mao's control. Thus, broader sections of people in Shanghai began to rally to the Red Guard banner, and the position of the city Party Committee began to weaken.

### Anting Incident

A qualitative leap in the movement occurred in early November, when representatives of many factories, schools and other units initiated the Shanghai Workers Revolutionary Rebels General Headquarters (WGH) an outlaw organization in the eyes of local officials. The charter statement of the group, issued on November 7th, declared, "We want to seize power, to take back from the capitalist roaders inside the Party the people's power they have usurped and put this firmly in the hands of the proletariat." On November 9th, a big mass meeting sponsored by the WGH was denounced by the Shanghai Party Committee. Instructions were issued to all units forbidding attendance at the rally, and gangs of hoods were mobilized to try to break it up. Since Shanghai officials refused to meet with WGH or consider its demands, the rebels decided to commandeer a train, travel to Peking, and bring their case before the Central Committee of the CCP.

With the collusion of other high-ranking party officials in East China, the Chen-Tsao clique instigated a demonstration to block the train transporting the rebel emissaries. The demonstrators were told the train was carrying counter-revolutionaries. The train was stopped at Anting, about 20 miles north of Shanghai. Authorities boarded the train and told the workers they were forbidden to continue, were sabotaging production by leaving their jobs and should return to

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(Left to right, top to bottom)  
Distributing copies of the message of support from the Central Committee.  
Night falls in Shanghai, but the political atmosphere remains charged.  
Mimeographing leaflets in a workshop.  
Revolutionary students who had come to work in a factory join with revolutionary workers to put up slogans in the workshop. Signs read "Grasp Revolution, Promote Production" and "Down With Economism."  
Factory workers read the Red Book.

**"No Buried Treasure Here"**

# Government Stonewalls Mao Defendants' Wiretap Info

After months, actually years, of steadfastly refusing to comply with a 1979 court order ordering the disclosure of all electronic surveillance against Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants, the government has issued its "complete response." On January 22 the prosecution, in conjunction with attorneys from the Justice Department and armed with the authorization of the "Acting" Attorney General, turned over one small packet of material to the chief judge of the U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C. and two small packages to D.C. Superior Court Judge Ugast. These are for the judges' eyes only. Not surprisingly, the defendants received absolutely nothing.

In addition, a crucial part of what the government has so arrogantly termed its "complete response" consists of a whole barrage of new motions and affidavits aimed at suppressing even this tiny fraction of material on the grounds of national security, foreign intelligence and irrelevance. In essence, the government's response adds up to one big zero and in fact, is yet another maneuver to avoid the politically explosive exposure tied up with their pursuit of the attack on Bob Avakian and the RCP.

It is certain that there is quite a bit of information that the government does not want to reveal about what it has going against the RCP, including the minutest details. And, still more broadly, it is clear that the government's stonewall response to turning over its electronic surveillance is an important case in the whole repressive atmosphere that the ruling class is attempting to foster around this question throughout society.

After a supposedly tedious and thorough search through all of the files of the various police agencies, the government claims that only the FBI has any material relating to electronic surveillance against Bob Avakian and the other defendants. And then, after searching through FBI records, "to the extent that such records had been indexed," the government claims that it could only come up with enough material to fit neatly into two standard sized, insulated shipping envelopes. The government's response asserts that the entire extent of their electronic surveillance against Bob Avakian and the other defendants from 1968 until 1981 boils down to the following: a few "various occasions" during which Chairman Avakian and three other defendants were "overheard" on matters relating to "foreign intelligence and national security" (all of which are admitted wiretaps without warrants, prior to May of 1979), one "legally authorized" wiretap against another defendant in April

of 1979 and a few incidents where Bob Avakian was "overheard" on "domestic security" wiretaps at the National Headquarters of the Black Panther Party and the National Office of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) during 1969 and 1970. (Apparently the government felt it couldn't avoid revealing the existence of the 1969-1970 "overhear" of Bob Avakian since the assault by the political police against the Panthers and the SDS had been well-exposed and documented and since this particular information had already been revealed in a highly-censored response to a Freedom of Information Act request concerning Bob Avakian.)

The outrageous absurdity of the government's response is particularly glaring in relation to what they admit to having on Bob Avakian. Essentially their response claims that over the course of the last 13 years the government and its political police had no ongoing political "interest" in Bob Avakian. Along these same lines the prosecution is rumored to be filing a motion claiming that the moon is made of cheese and the world is actually flat.

### History of Snouting About

The defendants are already in possession of literally thousands of pages of FBI and Secret Service documents that, although highly-censored and only the tip of the iceberg in terms of what actually exists, paint a vivid picture of an undeniably concerted campaign by the ruling class and its political police to not only spy on, but to attempt to destroy the RCP, the RU (Revolutionary Union)—the main organization involved in forming the RCP) and its leadership. And, at the center of this attack is Bob Avakian and the government's continual attempts over more than a decade to "neutralize" him. (See *RW* No. 133) These documents show how the FBI even hired a former cop/photographer to diligently spy on Bob Avakian, spending literally dozens of hours each month over a period of years during the mid-1970s and filling out volumes of FBI reports which carefully detailed Chairman Avakian's daily routine, the layout of his house and even how and when he took the garbage out—leaving no doubt that there was more than just eavesdropping on the minds of the ruling class. And this is just one example of what they have already been forced to admit to.

In the current attack itself, it has been made clear many times over the last three years that Bob Avakian is the focus of the attack. The government even plans to introduce sections of his political speeches at a press conference and rally prior to the January 29th, 1979

demonstration, which interestingly enough they had tape-recorded, as key pieces of evidence in the trial. The attention of the highest officials in the U.S. government was focused on the January 29th demonstration and the subsequent legal attack, including particularly the arrest and indictment of Bob Avakian. This was sharply revealed in a document from the Secret Service which shows how a meeting between "command officers" of the police agencies and then Chief U.S. Attorney Earl Silbert setup a body to oversee the more than 1,000 cops assigned to the demonstration and to make various tactical decisions, including whether and when to revoke the permit, based on their monitoring of the demonstration. Following the police attack on the demonstration, Silbert himself found it necessary to personally appear at Bob

Avakian's arraignment to demand extra high bail and special conditions. Yet, according to the government, there was no electronic surveillance at all (and, of course, no political decision) carried out in relation to the January 29th demonstration.

And finally, but by no means exhausting the possible examples, the Secret Service even attempted to carry out a blatant frameup of Chairman Avakian for supposedly threatening the life of the president in the latter part of 1979. But, according to the government's claim, all of this is purely coincidental and in no way should be construed as pointing to even the remotest possibility of any electronic surveillance against Bob Avakian other than what they have admitted to.

The government also claims that none of its electronic surveillance was carried

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## 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. □

# Eritrean Rebels Torpedo Imperialist Predictions

Recently Lt. Col. Mengistu, head of the Soviet backed military junta ruling Ethiopia, travelled personally to the Eritrean capital of Asmara to supervise plans for yet another new offensive against the forces of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). Sharing the desires of their Soviet rivals to see the defeat of the liberation forces in Eritrea and harboring their own plans for the Horn of Africa, the U.S. quickly announced in the *New York Times* its premature claims of total victory for the Soviet armed offensive in Eritrea. In a Jan. 19th story headlined, "Ethiopia Says It Crushed Eritrean Secessionists," the *Times* reprinted the Ethiopian government's claim that it had "effectively smashed" the EPLF and reduced it to only "scattered pockets of insurrection." Perhaps a little nervous about a *a priori* reportage, the *Times* cautiously hinted that diplomatic

sources were reporting "tens of thousands of troops and armor" still moving into Eritrea and Tigray.

Hardly had the *Times* of the 19th reached the bottom of the canary cage, than the fighters of the EPLF struck. On Jan. 21 the airport of Asmara was seized in a lightning raid, trapping Mengistu in the besieged town. MIG fighters and Russian made helicopter gunships on the runway were blown up, and the runway itself was badly damaged as the EPLF held the airport area for 24 hours. The nearby barracks of the Ethiopian 35th brigade were also entered and attacked. Then, pulling out after inflicting maximum damage, the EPLF also destroyed two nearby military stations. Needless to say, this striking victory of the EPLF in the very heart of the Eritrean capital was not reported in the *Times*.

Meanwhile in the United States, the U.S. government unleashed a new and vicious attack on Eritrean and Ethio-

pian political refugees living in the U.S., many of whom are supporters of the genuine liberation movements in the Horn of Africa. While the U.S. representative to the UN, Jeanne Kirkpatrick, continues to beat the propaganda drum, denouncing the "savagery" of the Soviet backed Mengistu government and recalling the "red terror" of Mengistu's seizure of power, the State Dept. in Washington has quietly revoked the "voluntary departure status" of all Ethiopians living in the U.S. Under this status they were granted temporary residence and protected from deportation to Ethiopia. In this sop to the Ethiopian regime, to which the U.S. still gives bounteous economic aid in hopes of seeing the struggle in Eritrea smashed and bringing Ethiopia back into the U.S. bloc, 2,400 Ethiopians and Eritreans have already been ordered to leave the country!

In response to a reporter's question, the State Dept. declared that it "con-

tinued to watch developments in Ethiopia and in August 1981 concluded that current conditions within Ethiopia are not comparable to conditions in existence during the previous 7 years in Ethiopia and the continued grant of blanket voluntary departure could no longer be justified." In other words, the political needs of U.S. imperialism have changed.

This new attack on Eritrean and Ethiopian refugees amounts to the largest attempted mass political deportation since the attempt to deport Iranian students during the embassy seizure crisis. Over 30-40,000 Eritreans and Ethiopians have come to the U.S. since 1974, which the government points out is the largest immigration of Africans to this country since the days of slavery. The U.S. now finds it in its political interest to attempt to feed thousands to the firing squads of the bloody Mengistu regime. Their attempts are sure to meet fierce resistance. □

By all accounts in the national media, startling "new evidence" was presented by the prosecution in the trial of Wayne Williams, the state's "lone killer" in the Atlanta murders. Now more than ever, the line goes, the murders of Atlanta's Black youth can be safely called a "Black on Black" crime. End of outrage. End of issue. End of story.

But the actual facts of the matter are altogether different, quite at variance with newspaper reports around the country. The seemingly airtight case—supposedly bolstered last week—is ridiculously full of holes. While Williams' role—if any—remains murky, what's clear is that the state is digging itself ever deeper into a pit of deceit and contradiction as it tries to bury the Atlanta murders by convicting Williams.

On the first day that Judge Cooper allowed the state to bring in so-called evidence linking Williams to murder victims for which he is not charged, the prosecution began a parade of witnesses who claimed to have seen Williams with many of the slain youth. First came two witnesses who said they had seen Williams in the shopping center with victim Geter the day the youth disappeared. Detailed descriptions followed. As it turns out, both witnesses had "seen" Williams with Geter on Friday, January 2. Yet Geter disappeared, by all

## The State's Startling "New Evidence" in Atlanta

the police and family records, on January 3—a day that Williams spent working with a number of people in a recording studio miles from the shopping center. Another "eyewitness," a white woman, claimed she had seen Williams with Geter. But it turns out that she had originally identified another man months ago as the individual she saw with Geter, and only later came up with the identification of Williams.

More startling evidence: the state brought in specialists who had tested two blood samples from the Williams car and

found them to be Type B. This just happens to be the blood type of two victims who had been stabbed. No matter that the car is 10 years old, or that literally millions of people have Type B blood.

Probably the most damning testimony against Williams came late in the week, when an older Black woman placed Williams with both victims Larry Rogers and Bubba Duncan. She said she had seen Williams at the funerals of both victims. The problem with this testimony is that reporters and cameramen for local TV stations had spent hours last summer looking over their

film footage of the funerals and had not come up with a single picture of Wayne Williams at any of them. Of course, that fact has not been aired on the witness stand.

The state also did not put on the stand their widely acclaimed "eyewitness" to Larry Rogers' abduction last year—a woman who had given them a composite drawing of a grey-haired Black man in a green Chevrolet station wagon. This composite drawing made the national news for weeks after Rogers' body was found April 10. That is, until Wayne Williams was picked up for questioning May 24!

Another eyewitness: One man took the stand and tried to connect Williams to the Rogers murder. This witness was in such a state that he was unable to remember the name of the victim. In fact, he couldn't even remember Williams' name! He admitted he had been on dope for 23 years, and that he'd smoked "herb" that morning before trial. But this came after he had made a complete fool out of the D.A. by totally botching the story.

As the trial of Wayne Williams proceeds, the state gets more and more desperate to get a conviction, and to put an end to the 2 1/2 year-long international spotlight on Atlanta. As things unfold, there's bound to be more news clearly not "fit to print." [ ]

## Mao Defendants

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out after May of 1979. However, this certainly seems to be in contradiction with the letter from the Department of Justice dated August 10, 1979. In this letter the Justice Department refuses to answer questions about the FBI's "investigation" of the RCP and the Iranian Student Association (ISA) on the grounds that the RCP and ISA files "relate to active and ongoing investigation." And further, "The terms 'terrorist' and 'domestic security' are applicable to both the RCP and the ISA file. Production of the ISA and RCP files would cause substantial harm to the government because such production would impair those ongoing investigations as well as the ability of the FBI to meet its mandated responsibilities in the domestic security and terrorism areas. The harm would relate to foreign intelligence or counter intelligence areas, and in addition would possibly relate to anticipated criminal prosecution." With their "complete response" the government is apparently hoping to propagate the fairy tale that the FBI is carrying out this intensive, ongoing investigation without the use of the slightest bit of electronic surveillance.

In light of all this, the government's response is obviously a patently ridiculous pack of lies. Their "complete response" is a total stonewall and clear reactionary political message aimed, ironically, also at bolstering the prosecution's attempts to paint their politically-motivated railroad as a "factual" criminal matter unconnected with whatever other "interests" the government has in Bob Avakian and the RCP. No politics?! Except for the latest, suppressed stuff, no wiretaps since 1969-70 and then only at the Panther and SDS national headquarters?!?! The only appropriate response is, to paraphrase Lenin, "Lie gentlemen, we expect you to do so. But please, at least attempt to give your lies some tiny semblance of believability."

### Broad Suppression of Documents

As a complement to their blatant lies about the amount of spying that the government has carried out against Bob Avakian and the Mao Defendants, the other aspect of the government's "complete response" is also quite revealing and significant. The government's response includes an attempt to blanketly suppress even the material that they are willing to admit having. Their intended message is quite clear—"No one is getting anything." While this is obviously tied up with the "criminal" charade that the ruling class is attempting to maintain with regard to this case, it is also a very significant part of broader questions in society, specifically

their extensive effort to clamp down the lid on exposure and disclosure of their imperialist machinations and crimes.

Linked with their deepening crisis and their preparations for war, the ruling class has been hurriedly attempting to cut off the type of exposure that grew out of the struggles in the '60s and '70s and plug the "leaks" that had been the result of infighting in their own ranks around events such as Watergate or the Congressional "investigations" of the CIA in the mid-1970s. On the one hand, they've attempted to do this by whitewashing and prettifying all of their past political spying and COINTELPRO-type attacks even while they are continuing, intensifying and propagandizing the need for these very same attacks. On the other hand, they have concocted a whole arsenal of new laws and restrictions justifying the suppression of material documenting their various crimes on the grounds of "foreign intelligence" and "national security".

Current examples of the government's efforts in these arenas abound, but the most outrageous recent example concerns the refusal of the U.S. Court of Appeals to turn over to former Black Panther leader Geronimo Pratt, FBI documents detailing admittedly "illegal" attacks on the Panthers. The grounds used to suppress this material was that, although the FBI activities were "illegal," the documents deserve some protection since they were put together "at least in part" to facilitate law enforcement. In essence, the ruling class is finding it more and more necessary to silence any and all, particularly revolutionary, opposition to and exposure of U.S. imperialism while at the same time developing the means to launch and ram through political attacks in the quiet of criminal courtrooms.

This is particularly evident in the government's maneuvers to avoid disclosure of their electronic surveillance in the Mao Defendants' case. In fact, their move to suppress the classified "warrantless foreign intelligence" material in this case is an outright attempt to set "legal precedent" for broadly applying this tactic. In order to suppress the information on these "warrantless foreign intelligence" wiretaps the government rushed into federal court to invoke the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). Under this Act, the government only has to raise the spectre of foreign intelligence and national security, very broadly defined, and all decisions regarding the legality of the surveillance and its disclosure are immediately relegated to the federal court. The federal judge alone views the material and decides whether it was all done on the up and up. If its decision is that the electronic surveillance is "legally clean" then absolutely no one else gets to see the material—it is immediately returned to the files of the political police and its

very existence cannot even be referred to in the course of the trial.

In the Mao Defendant's case, the government's invocation of the FISA law is quite revealing on a couple of counts. Ironically, in using this law the government has, despite its efforts to the contrary, provided a tiny glimmer of what the political motivations of their attack actually are and what is at stake in the battle. Their constant reference to the authority of the Attorney General and the president in order to prove the "legality" of the "warrantless foreign intelligence" wiretaps is very convincing testimony to the fact that the highest levels of the government has been intimately involved in the attempts to destroy the RCP and Bob Avakian. And, although the FISA law refers to "foreign powers" and "agents of foreign powers," in actuality it is a quite blatant means to facilitate and coverup the government's attacks on genuine internationalism and the international revolutionary movement. Tucked away in the "definition section" of the FISA law, the ruling class offers as one of the definitions of a "foreign power" any group engaged in "international terrorism" (the latest ruling class catchphrase for revolution) or in activities in preparation for it and, more broadly, any foreign-based political organization not substantially composed of U.S. citizens. And "agent of a foreign power" is then described as any person who "aids and abets" such groups.

Secondly, and indicative of the government's determination to push ahead with their railroad on their terms, is the fact that in order to invoke the FISA law, the government has once again had to do more than a little contorting and stretching of their own laws. According to the government's claim, all of the "warrantless foreign intelligence" surveillance that they admit to is from a period before the FISA law took effect in May of 1979. Therefore, this material is technically not covered by the FISA law. This is in fact what gave rise to the Justice Department's earlier worries about "the Constitutional problems involved" and that spurred them on to "work overtime" to resolve these problems. The resolution of the problems concocted by the agile acrobats of the U.S. government is indeed a classic—they simply contend that these wiretaps are covered by the FISA law regardless of when they took place since, "by analogy," the "same security concerns hang in the balance."

But the government's efforts to suppress even the paltry amount of material they admit to having has not been confined to just the classified material in the federal court. In fact, in conjunction with going into federal court, the government has also launched a whole campaign to suppress both the classified and unclassified material in the D.C. Superior Court. The basis for this move is the government's assertion that all of this

material is irrelevant to its "criminal case." As testimony to its "irrelevance" the government points to the "limited and mundane content" of the unclassified material it has turned over to the judge (but not to the defendants).

Leaving aside the fact that the issue of "relevancy" has absolutely nothing to do with where the battle, legally or otherwise, over the government's disclosure of its electronic surveillance stands today, still the government's arguments are a little bit interesting. According to the government, the material they turned up is all from times, places and dates other than the January 29th demonstration is therefore "irrelevant." According to the government's motion filed in the D.C. Superior Court, "... the government's interest in the RCP prior to the 1979 demonstration is irrelevant to the factual dispute surrounding the assault charges." So the government urges the judge to rule all of the material, both classified and unclassified, irrelevant and to proceed as quickly as possible with the trial without waiting for the outcome of "potentially lengthy" proceedings in the federal court.

This argument is particularly interesting when viewed in light of the fact that the government has stated that it plans to introduce as key evidence of its conspiracy theory of prosecution political speeches and demonstrations that also occurred on times, places and dates other than the January 29th demonstration. Should we assume that by implication the government is also willing to declare its own key evidence as irrelevant? The government's predicament here is the sharp example of the continually widening horns of dilemma that it is attempting to straddle in maintaining that its political assault on Bob Avakian and the other defendants is merely a "factual" criminal matter devoid of any political content.

The government's response on the issue of disclosing their electronic surveillance is a continuation of, and concentration of, their years of maneuvering around this issue. What their response highlights is just how high the stakes in the battle are, and the political explosiveness bound up with their pursuit of the attack. The disclosure of the electronic surveillance material has emerged as a threshold issue in an intense battle to set the terms of how the government's railroad is going to be carried out. And, as an indication of just how intense that battle is, the government states in its motion to the Superior Court that any move by the judge to compel disclosure of their "state secrets" can only be resolved by "an Executive decision" on how to proceed, a decision at the top rungs of the ruling class government—the president, the attorney general and the director of the FBI. Quite an impressive statement on how high the stakes of the battle actually are. [ ]

# Stormed

Continued from page 11

their units at once. Some workers did return to Shanghai, but others refused to move. An impasse developed and the confrontation began to attract national notice. Students from Shanghai and other localities began to stream into Anting; workers in the area organized shipments of food and water to the demonstrators.

On November 12th, Chang Chun-chiao personally brought the greetings of the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee to the demonstrators at Anting—the first direct public intervention by Mao's headquarters in the Shanghai struggle. During a 9-hour meeting, Chang listened to the rebels' accusations against the Shanghai Party Committee, and discussed at length the complex question of how to resolve the contradiction between "grasping revolution" and "promoting production" in the course of waging class struggle.

The rebels returned to Shanghai with what they considered a direct expression of backing from the Central Committee and Chairman Mao.

From this point on, the struggle in Shanghai became the central battleground of the whole nationwide cultural revolution. Chang Chun-chiao was assigned by the center to stay in Shanghai and work with the WGH.

The allies of Liu Shiaoqi in Shanghai made a special effort to neutralize Chang Chun-chiao. A rumor campaign was started up, alleging that Chang had been a Kuomintang agent. His house was broken into and his life was repeatedly threatened. It will be kept in mind that the local Party Committee, while slowly being forced on the defensive, was still able to command the active allegiance of large numbers of workers, organized as the "Red Detachment for the Defense of Mao Tsetung"; the rebels were still a minority; life could be very dangerous for one targeted by the Party Committee as a principal enemy. It was later revealed that dozens of key rebel leaders had been secretly designated as "counter-revolutionaries" and sentenced to death by the Party Committee. Rebels persisted with an understanding of some basic principles of Marxism, as spelled out by Mao: "It is right to rebel against reactionaries"; "Truth, all truth, is ever in the hands of a minority in the beginning"; "Going against the tide is a Marxist-Leninist principle."

## Liberation Daily Incident

That the struggle for political power was at the heart of the Cultural Revolution became clear to many in Shanghai and throughout China with the battle that became famous as the "Liberation Daily incident."

In late November, authorities at *Liberation Daily* (LD) one of Shanghai's major daily newspapers, went back on an agreement to distribute a Red Guard newspaper—jointly with the LD—this when the LD editors discovered that the Red Guard paper carried a lead editorial entitled "The *Liberation Daily* is a loyal tool for carrying out the bourgeois reactionary line of the Shanghai City Party Committee." When the Red Guards confronted LD officials, they were met with a series of excuses such as, "our postal workers are complaining that joint distribution would make the bundles too heavy."

After efforts to negotiate a new distribution agreement proved vain, Red Guards occupied the circulation department and stopped distribution of the *Liberation Daily* itself. Some LD employees sided with the rebels, and a split developed on the staff. The city Party Committee, meanwhile, mobilized a large number of workers from the "Detachment" to surround the Red Guards. Violence broke out, and both groups grew in size as reinforcements were rushed in and each camp sought to encircle the other.

The next day, the "Detachment" was able to mobilize over 100,000 people to demonstrate in the streets against the Red Guards, shouting "We want to read *Liberation Daily*! Where is our newspaper?" Once again, an impasse developed: for 9 days, neither side could force the other to back down. But with the passing of each

day, the basic issue involved, a clear attempt by the Party Committee at political suppression, stood out more clearly. Finally, the Party Committee was forced to stage a partial retreat, acceding at least verbally to the rebels' demands for joint distribution. But at the same time, workers of the "Detachment" controlled by the Party Committee again hit the streets, "refusing to recognize the agreement" and threatening the rebels with fresh violence: large angry crowds milled in front of the LD offices. On the 9th of December, the rebels actually had to organize a "breakout" and retreat to a sanctuary at a nearby university.

But throughout Shanghai, the tide of mass opinion was turning in the rebels' favor. On December 11th, the WGH, the Red Guards and other revolutionary groups held a mass meeting in Shanghai's People's Square to popularize the significance of the *Liberation Daily* incident.

## Economism

The revisionist headquarters in Shanghai, though, was to mount yet another major counter-offensive: the "economist wind" of late December. In order to disorganize the ranks of the workers and distract their attention from the political aims of the Cultural Revolution, Chen and Tsao instituted a helter-skelter program of material "concessions." Wages were suddenly and sharply raised, special bonuses were paid out, workers were given large amounts for "expenses", promotions were granted retroactively and "back salary" paid out. Workers were told to leave their posts and travel around the country at state expense to "exchange revolutionary experience." In many cases, raises were used to split the workers from Red Guard members who had come to work in the factories: it was suddenly announced that the students would receive large raises which would put them in a higher salary bracket than veteran workers. In other places, workers were encouraged to "go on strike" because "striking was revolutionary" so to both sabotage production and lay the blame at the feet of the revolutionaries. The sabotage included stoppage of essential services and deliberately created shortages.

The response of the WGH and the other revolutionary organizations to this reactionary counter-offensive led to what has become known as the "January Storm." Shanghai dockworkers not only refused the bribes, they moved to seize administration of production tasks from the revisionist authorities. Throughout Shanghai, at first in a piece-meal response to the urgent task of restoring production, rebels in various factories, communes and units actually seized control, taking over the running of enterprises. In many cases, one worker voluntarily took on the jobs of two or three people. At the same time, the WGH sent out propaganda squads to the striking workers led by the "Detachment," to reason with them and open their eyes to the counter-revolutionary aims of the Party Committee in instigating strikes, sabotage and an orgy of economism. Frequently, the work teams were physically attacked on orders from leaders of the "Detachment." Some "Detachment" workers were won over to the WGH, but many others, for the time being, could not be reached.

Then, on January 3rd, it was announced that the newspaper *Wen Hui Pao* had been seized by the rebels, and the old leadership dismissed. On Jan. 5th, the new *Wen Hui Pao* published a "Message to the Entire Population of Shanghai." The message exposed what lay behind the economist wind, advocated the necessity of "taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production," and called on the workers to "launch a new upsurge in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in the factories and plants."

"A handful of Party persons in authority," the "message" declared, "who are taking the capitalist road... have a bitter hatred for the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. They have been trying by every means to resist the policy of 'taking firm hold of the revolution and promoting production' put forward by Chairman Mao. Their schemes and devices may be summarized in the following ways:

"At the beginning of the movement,

they used the pretext of 'taking firm hold of production' to repress the revolution and oppose taking firm hold of the revolution. When we workers of the revolutionary rebel groups wanted to rise up in revolution and criticize and repudiate the bourgeois reactionary line, they used the tasks of production to bring pressure to bear on the workers and tagged us with the label of 'sabotaging production'..."

"Then they resorted to another trick, that is, they played with high-sounding revolutionary words, giving the appearance of being exceedingly 'left' in order to excite large numbers of members of the Workers Red Militia Detachments whom they have hoodwinked to undermine production and sabotage transport and communication..."

With the increasingly effective exposure of the desperate lengths to which the city Party Committee had gone in its vulgar attempts to buy off the working class, many workers voluntarily returned the illegally dispensed funds. Stories were later told of workers who—showing a firm grasp on the nature of economism—slammed the money on the desks of the bureaucrats, saying, "We workers don't want bribes, we want state power." Mass meetings were organized throughout the city, where revisionist functionaries were pelted with paper currency (yuan) until they stood knee deep in it, heads bowed in shame.

## Seizure of Power

Mao was the first to sum up that the mass takeovers in Shanghai actually represented "seizures of power from below" of profound significance, and that the experience of the January Storm had to be summed up and carried still further. In speaking to the Cultural Revolution Group of the Central Committee on Jan. 9th, he gave his support to these developments, observing that "the rise of the revolutionary forces in Shanghai has given hope to the whole country."

Chang Chun-chiao, in a talk to a delegation on March 25th, 1968, (reprinted in *RW* no. 90) vividly describes the nature of the revolutionary events of January 1967:

"In the early stage of the seizure of power in Shanghai, we never thought of the 'capture of power' nor did we use the words 'January Revolution.' We proceeded in the main from the Party spirit with no thought of factionalism. This is because we saw with our own eyes stoppages of work in industrial plants, and the piers were in such a state of paralysis that foreign vessels entering Shanghai harbor were unable to unload or load cargoes. Taking advantage of the situation, imperialists lost no time in broadcasting to the world, saying that wharf workers in Shanghai went on strike. They did so with the malicious intention to attack and slander us. Some foreign merchant ships displayed our national flag upside down. This greatly irritated the rebels and wharf workers.

"Because large numbers of members of the 'Workers' Red Militia Detachment' quit their jobs after drawing their pay, many revolutionary workers worked for several days on end without leaving their jobs, instead of working the usual eight-hour shift or sixteen-hour double shifts. Railway stations were also manned by a skeleton staff and only two runs were scheduled each day. Sometimes, not even a single train was run.

"At the time, we were not motivated by factionalism nor did we think of recapturing power from the power-holders. What was uppermost in our minds was what we were going to do about the widespread dislocations. After discussing the situation as a whole, we set about putting the vital departments such as the piers, railway stations, waterworks, power plants, broadcasting stations, postal offices and banks under our control. We did so to prevent counter-revolutionary acts of sabotage. Therefore, we mobilized troops and students and the rebels of industrial plants and railway stations to assist the revolutionary workers.

"We submitted a report to the Center on the situation in Shanghai and what steps we had taken. Chairman Mao endorsed our actions, telling us that the seizure of power was wholly necessary and correct. This is how we came to use the term 'seizure of power' as suggested by Chairman Mao."

With open and unreserved support by the central organs controlled by the "proletarian headquarters," the conditions were created where it was not only possible, but necessary, to consciously carry forward what was already proceeding under its own momentum: the full seizure of power by the revolutionary forces in Shanghai. The old Party Committee was paralyzed and had lost all credibility; with decisive intervention by the center on behalf of the rebels, the "Detachment" and other conservative mass organizations began to fall apart. On Jan. 22nd, the Peking *People's Daily* in a major editorial both ratified the experience of Shanghai, and summed up its implications for the Cultural Revolution as a whole, in the following terms:

"Power of every sort controlled by the representatives of the bourgeoisie must be seized... reversals and twists and turns over the past several months, and the repeated hurricanes of stormy class struggle gave the masses of revolutionary rebels profound lessons. They are seeing ever more clearly that the reason why the revolution suffered setbacks is due precisely to the fact that they did not seize in their own hands the seals of power."

The revolutionary organizations of the Shanghai masses, with Chang Chun-chiao in particular at the head, took over the central reins of power in the city. This occurred in January and continued into February. The process of establishing the new ruling authority, forging new alliances, weeding out old and new opportunists was quite remarkable; Chang tells of day and night long sessions, meeting with a multitude of organizations and people until now totally unknown to each other and those trying to lead this process. The Shanghai Peoples' Commune was officially proclaimed on February 5.

As Chang points out in his talk, "The seizure of power in Shanghai was not just plain sailing." The experience of Shanghai could not, of course, be reproduced as a formula everywhere in China, and it was not possible—and would not have been correct—in Shanghai itself to maintain some of the innovations which grew out of the January Storm, such as the effort to create a "Shanghai commune" modeled in many ways after the Paris Commune. Instead, revolutionary committees were formed at all levels of government and society. Contradictions of all kinds, of course, continued to arise among the revolutionary masses in the course of striving to consolidate what had been gained and to make still further advances. All this perhaps goes without saying; but none of it, certainly, diminishes the historic stature of the January Storm in Shanghai as one of the richest and most brilliant chapters in the history of the proletarian revolution.



"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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# INS Deports Sinn Fein Members

On January 27, two members of Sinn Fein, the political arm of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), were ordered deported back to Canada as a result of hearings by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Owen Carron, elected to H-Block hunger striker Bobby Sands' seat in the British Parliament after Bobby Sands died, and Danny Morrison, a press spokesman for Sinn Fein, were arrested on January 21 as they drove across the Peace and Rainbow bridges that lead into Buffalo and Niagra Falls. Carron, who has refused to be seated in Parliament in protest of British occupation of Northern Ireland, and Morrison were on their way to a fundraising event in New York City. They and two others, who were Canadian residents, were stopped on the bridges in what can only be called a setup—indeed, it became known that the U.S. border patrol had been monitoring their movements since they arrived in Canada from Northern Ireland. As if to underscore the fact that this bust was a calculated act in order to prevent two well-known figures involved in the Irish struggle from speaking in the U.S., when a federal judge moved to set bail at \$10,000 each the INS stepped in and recommended that they be jailed without bail.

Carron and Morrison were charged with falsifying information (allegedly in the form of Canadian citizenship papers) and conspiracy to enter the U.S. illegally. They face 10 years and a \$10,000 fine each. Their two Canadian friends face 2 years imprisonment and \$5,000 fines each on charges of "alien smuggling." Interestingly, this charge of "alien smuggling" is the same charge that the INS is currently trying to stick on the translator and coordinator of the U.S. tour of the two Salvadoran revolutionaries. It appears that the INS is slated to play a big role in the U.S. government's attempts to keep those from the oppressed countries who are struggling against U.S. imperialism and other imperialists in its bloc from bringing the lessons of their struggles to people in this country.

While the U.S. may try to claim that this was an unpartisan criminal bust, the

facts speak quite clearly that the U.S. imperialists are anything but "neutral" on the "Irish Question," despite their claims to the contrary. In addition to the openly political nature of these arrests, barely a week earlier a pro-British tour of Protestant Loyalists made its first stop in New York City. This reactionary quartet—consisting of John Taylor, a ruling Unionist Party hardliner; Peter Robinson, Secretary of the Democratic Unionist Party which Rev. Ian Paisley runs and Paisley's right hand man and confidant; Mrs. Robert Bradford, widow of the recently assassinated Rev. Bradford; and Mrs. Paisley herself—is making the rounds to Washington, D.C., Chicago, San Francisco and Paisley's alma mater, the Bob Jones University in South Carolina. They hope to recoup some of the serious

losses the cause of British imperialism has sustained over its domination and occupation of Ireland. And the U.S. imperialists are trying to make sure that it is *their* side of the story that gets told and none other.

After a series of conference phone calls between an acting U.S. attorney and the Justice and State Departments "to make sure that there were no diplomatic considerations that should be afforded to Carron as a member of Britain's Parliament," an arraignment was held. From then on, over the course of a week, all four were held incommunicado as the U.S. government banned all press interviews, placed them in isolation from other prisoners, and proscribed all visits except from spouses. So uptight were the authorities that when a hearing was held this past

Tuesday, January 26, the four were taken through an underground tunnel into the court so as to avoid any contact with supporters who were rallying outside. Other supporters inside the courtroom noticed right away that all four had been beaten by the authorities.

A trial date for Carron and Morrison has been set for March 8 (there is no word on the other two people arrested). Both men have let it be known that they will use the occasion of the trial to expose both the U.S. and British imperialists. As they explained in a letter from their jail cell:

"We consider ourselves political prisoners and we will act with the dignity and standards set by our Republican precursors in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh." □

## Child Rape: A Great American Institution

A judge in Wisconsin has recently provided a concentrated example of both the extent and viciousness of the oppression of women in this country and just how far the bourgeoisie is going in officially approving all manner of degenerate abuse and degradation of women. As is the common practice in the courts, Circuit Judge William Reinecky of Grant County let rapist Ralph Snodgrass go, blaming an "unusually sexually promiscuous young lady" for causing her own rape. The "young lady" in this case was 5-years-old!

There is no need here to go into the sordid details of Mr. Snodgrass' attack on this girl. Judge Reinecky's courtroom remarks pretty much sum it up: "The child was the aggressor. No way do I believe Mr. Snodgrass initiated sexual conduct. I am satisfied that we have an unusually sexually promiscuous young lady and that this man just did not know enough to knock off her advances on that occasion and allowed the contact to take place. I'm not calling that kid a

whore on the street... going to bed with every man she meets. The facts simply don't support anything like that in this case." Obviously, Reinecky and his ilk consider any female from the earliest age on up to be whores and fair game to be molested, raped, maimed or whatever. And as the girl's foster parent stated after the trial, "This judge is giving license for sexual assault to any man who looks at a 5-year-old on up." Quite so, but while some may argue that this judge is a maniac and in the extreme (which he is), he has simply put his public seal of approval of what is recognized, officially and unofficially, as the initiation rite into the community of women, where "free market" rape and degradation go hand-in-hand with "American family morals."

In this country one in every four women are subjected to rape or some other form of sexual abuse by the age of 18. In Wisconsin, 30-40% of the reported cases of sexual abuse are sexually abused children, the vast majority of whom are girls. In Madison, Wiscon-

sin, a few years ago after a high school woman was raped by three men, the judge dismissed the charges and blamed the woman saying, "how can we blame a young man who responds normally to provocative stimuli in the environment." The "provocative stimuli," according to the judge, was a turtleneck sweater the woman was wearing. More recently, in Kalamazoo, Michigan in December, a judge refused to allow an 11-year-old girl, who had gotten pregnant as a result of being raped, to have an abortion. The judge was no doubt an adamant right-to-lifer and his decision illustrates clearly what lies at the heart of the current reactionary anti-abortion crusade—intensify the oppression of women.

Indeed misogyny in all its manifestations is reaching unparalleled depths and oozes out of every pore of U.S. society. Judge Reinecky has merely entered his decision into the social register whose motto on these matters is "from the cradle to the grave." □

## Chemical War "Leak"

Continued from page 2

about this, former Secretary of State Dean Rusk said he couldn't recall anything like that but that "I don't have records and I can't get into that."

The next faltering memory belonged to Frederick E. Nolting, Jr., who was President Kennedy's ambassador to south Vietnam. The history gives some details of how war material was smuggled into south Vietnam in the early '60s along the "JFK trail" by quoting Nolting on how to use civilian aircraft and crews to avoid International Control Commission inspection: Mr. Nolting now most appropriately teaches a course on Ethics in Government at the University of Virginia, and when contacted by the *Times* said he couldn't remember wanting to disguise the chemical warfare shipment as civilian cargo.

Former Deputy Secretary of Defense Roswell Gilpatrick is quoted in the documents as saying that spraying the mountain tribespeople "made sense militarily," but "the use of chemicals to destroy food supplies is perhaps the worst application in the eyes of the world." Contacted by the *Times*, Gilpatrick said he couldn't remember saying that and was surprised that his name appeared in the report (we bet he was surprised!).

On the secret spraying of Laos, the history attributed the order to General Westmoreland, who wanted to defoliate the jungles of southern Laos. Contacted by the *Times*, Westmoreland scratched

his head, thought and thought, but just couldn't remember ordering any spraying of Laos. He did, however, cheerfully suggest that "it could have been done by people in my headquarters without my being involved"! On the secrecy of the operation, former U.S. ambassador to Laos William H. Sullivan (later infamous as U.S. ambassador to Iran during the last days of the Shah) claimed that it wasn't secret at all—"Rather, it was not admitted nor confirmed." Oh, that explains it. But since the report says that McNamara and Rusk gave explicit orders to stonewall any press inquiries about chemicals dumped on Laos, the *Times* asked them about that, but neither could recall any such directive.

This sudden loss of memory by those involved is indeed remarkable but there is more. In fighting the release of this damning exposé in federal court, the current administration made a few new damning admissions of their own. Thomas W. Ainsworth, from the State Dept. office which deals with the declassification of government documents, presented an affidavit to the federal court stating that while the U.S. has signed the international treaties banning chemical and germ warfare, "the applicability of the agreements to herbicides is a matter of disagreement between the parties... The subject of possible use of herbicides in war therefore remains sensitive." You bet it does! And the most sensitive thing about it is that the U.S., as a sham and a dodge, is signing all the international treaties banning chemical warfare while working hand-over-fist to prepare to unleash it again—all the preparations being very thinly disguised as "herbicides," "riot control agents" or "defensive" research on lethal agents.

Yet another specific exposé in Ainsworth's complaint is his objection

that the document contains sections that "would, if disclosed, confirm officially that the U.S. some years ago gave consideration to the possibility of military use of herbicides in certain specific countries, concretely, the use of herbicides to destroy war-making potential." Well, who could that be? China, perhaps? That "specific country" was "some years ago" ruled by the revolutionary proletariat and it gave great support to the struggle of the people of Indochina including sending Vietnam thousands of tons of rice and other material aid during the Vietnam war. But apparently to "confirm officially" today that the U.S. had plans to use chemical warfare against China would put the current revisionist regime there, which is shamelessly prostituting itself to the U.S. including acting militarily on behalf of the U.S. bloc in Indochina, on the spot and could cause problems in the relations between China and the U.S. At any rate, the court did see the relevance of this argument and ordered 20 pages withheld when the history document was turned over to the veterans' group.

The relevance of this history of U.S. imperialist snake-like evasions to disguise its massive chemical warfare in Vietnam and Laos was thrown into even sharper relief by another story appearing in the *Washington Post* the same morning as the *New York Times* story on the secret Air Force history. This story revealed that the Reagan administration was about to call on all the signatories of the 1925 Geneva Protocol banning gas warfare to strengthen the treaty by now banning possession of chemical warfare material entirely. Now as Bertolt Brecht observed in a poem several decades ago, "When the leaders speak of peace, you can be sure the mobilization orders are being written out." And sure enough, the new ad-

ministration's proposal is reported as part of a "two-track" plan, under which the government begins a massive build-up of chemical weapons at the same time as it noisily proposes grand new peace initiatives. Such a two-track plan is needed, the *Post* quotes administration sources as saying, "to head off the expected widespread opposition of West Europeans to what some will argue is an American start-up of a new arms race in chemical weapons." This "two-track" approach, the *Post* goes on to explain, "is similar to that already under way with another controversial set of new U.S. weapons, the nuclear Pershing II and the ground-launched Cruise missiles, which also are to be based in Western Europe. They already have been the target of enormous public protests in the past."

In fact, the new "peace offensive" of the administration was also taken as the occasion to unveil a new binary nerve gas bomb which the *Post* reports "would be relatively immune from demonstrations by anti-weapons groups" since it would be based aboard carriers at sea. The new aerial bomb, called "Bigeye," is reported by CBS News to be effective over large areas because it releases its gas as it falls rather than just in one spot where it hits. In addition, later on in the week Reagan announced his official approval of stepped up production of binary nerve gas weaponry.

These imperialists are real peacemakers and "concerned environmentalists" as well no doubt. They are also some of the biggest liars imaginable. In fact, their lies and hypocrisy are so profuse and routinely practiced that they cannot avoid constantly getting trapped in them. And really the sudden-loss-of-memory bit is getting a little old, don't you think Mr. McNamara, et al? □

# Prepared —But

Continued from page 7

order to be able to maximize the opportunities for great leaps, including the seizure of power. The force of the state must be met by an all-round political struggle aimed at going over to actual armed seizure of power, smashing the state apparatus of the revisionist/capitalist authorities and establishing the armed revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

## A General Strike Strategy

It seems that Solidarity leaders saw the possibility that key leaders might be arrested and the organization banned through some form of martial law, but their preparations to deal with such a possibility were all directed toward the general strike which they thought would cripple the government and force it to back down or negotiate. They viewed the strike as the way to strangle the power of the government — if there's no production, it'll force them to their knees and to concede more democracy. While there were warnings brought to the Solidarity leadership meeting the night of the clampdown, no precautions appear to have been taken by the leaders — they met till after midnight and when they broke up the meeting went to their homes or hotels. Apparently they were confident that if the government were to make a move against key sections of the leadership, the workers would shut down the country with a massive strike. But the ruling class beat them to it, they shut down the country and sent the army to occupy the workplaces on a Sunday when no workers were inside. This they did not so much with the illusion that this would force the workers to produce, but to assert their power and regain the initiative, hoping over time to wear down the workers and put themselves more firmly in control.

There was and is widespread passive resistance in many factories where the workers only pretended to work or openly refused to. And in some workplaces that are basic to the economy such as steel mills, coal mines and shipyards there were strikes and in some cases pitched battles and threats to blow up the plants if the military entered. These strikes were coupled with calls for passive activity aimed at the lowest common denominator among the broadest masses, to put pressure on the government towards negotiating a settlement that would salvage some of the freedoms won over the previous 18 months. They called on everyone to light a candle of protest and put it in the window. They called for a 15-minute blackout. They called on people to work slow, to make mistakes in their work and to be uncooperative with the authorities. This was for the purpose of demonstrating to the government the massive moral outrage against the arrests and martial rule.

Some preparations were made for such activities. Food was stockpiled inside workplaces to enable the strikers to hold out. Explosives had also been stored or were seized and rigged up as strikers threatened to blow up machinery and coal mines if the army tried to rout them. There were rumors of stockpiles of medical supplies and other self-defense supplies.

As a strategy for the Western imperialists and the forces they influence within Poland such as the Catholic Church who have no interest in the proletariat taking revolutionary action towards breaking with imperialism, this might fit the bill. They want to pursue their interests through taking advantage of the political and economic turmoil in Poland, to gain more influence without pushing to the point of actual confrontation with the Soviet Union at this time — saving that possibility for a more opportune moment for them, in the context of world war.

But as a strategy for the proletariat for resolving the underlying contradictions giving rise to the economic and political crisis, this plan and the preparations necessitated by it are bankrupt. Certainly strikes play and have played an important role historically in the development towards revolution, especially political

strikes. But they are not enough. They must go over to armed uprisings led by the class-conscious proletariat and from there to seizure of power and suppression of the bourgeoisie and their entire state apparatus. This, as Mao said, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. The decisive power of the bourgeoisie does not rest on its control of the factories nor will it die or capitulate if production is choked off for a period of time. As Mao said, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." Power rests in the armed force of the state — that is what must be overthrown and defeated. Striking cannot accomplish this task, only armed struggle can. The answer, then, is not to develop broader and more militant strikes to bring heavier pressure to bear on the government. Something entirely different is needed, based on different goals and therefore different strategy and tasks of preparation.

## Gradualism or Sudden Leaps?

The situation that the bourgeois liberals and social-democrats prepared for is more or less "peaceful" times where mass militant struggle can wring gradual concessions from the system, resulting in evolutionary change through pressure from the masses. This view looks at sharp jolts and changes such as crisis, war or martial law and the revolutionary uprisings of the masses with horror; it sees the bloodshed, the chaos, the violent wrenching of the system as the destruction of civilization, as a diversion from the road of progress which must be brought back to the peaceful, stable, steady path of development before more progress can be made. They base their preparations on this gradual, straight-line view of the development of society. With this line the overwhelming character of preparation is legal, peaceful, aimed at winning over larger and larger numbers of the masses and chipping away at the bourgeoisie bit by bit. It aims to share more and more power with the capitalist ruling class until they can take the whole thing through legal, peaceful means.

This view can only lead to a defensive posture in the times when the stakes are the highest, to protecting what has been won from the "onslaught." It seeks to re-establish or hang onto democracy and stability as a prerequisite to further advance. It does not dare challenge or risk the integrity of the bourgeoisie nation and sees civil war (an inevitable development of the class struggle in reality) as a horror to be prevented at all costs because it will destroy that nation. The resultant policies are like that put out a few days after martial law by the Catholic Church and some of the Solidarity leadership: "Don't bring down more repression or spill Polish blood. Avoid civil war. Passively resist to aid the negotiations." In other words, revolutionary action can only bring down more repression, the only hope is negotiations: "If we're reasonable, maybe they will be reasonable."

Of course, how "reasonable" and actually how desperate the Polish revisionist ruling class is has already been demonstrated. This line can only lead to conciliation with the oppressor for fear of "something worse" — the exact line the Polish government was running.

Class-conscious proletarians, in contrast, prepare exactly for these exceptional times of crisis, chaos and sudden turns when the ruling class is at its weakest, beset with immense contradictions stemming from the intensification of contradictions on a world scale. These are times when they must take extreme measures to hang onto their power because of internal disintegration or external attack or, as in many cases, both. These are times when the bourgeoisie must muster all their strength to attack precisely because their growing weakness widens their vulnerability — and times when the masses are dragged from the stultification of normal life under imperialism into active political life by the ruling class itself. It is in these times that a revolutionary situation may present itself very suddenly and the proletariat must be ready to seize power when the time is right, and carry through the armed struggle to victory, "risking a lot to win a lot" for the world proletariat. This necessitates civil war between classes where the proletariat leads the other oppressed classes and strata in seizing

power, smashing the bourgeois armed forces and state apparatus and establishing something entirely new, the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this, completely different kinds of preparations must be made, including during the preceding "peaceful times" when efforts must be directed toward this situation and this central task.

Is it such a task that is being prepared for by the advanced forces, or is it evolutionary growth and, in moments of crisis, a return to "normal times"? This will determine whether a revolutionary opportunity will be seized or thrown away. In times such as these, even relatively small revolutionary forces that have been preparing themselves and an advanced section of the masses in an all-round way for precisely this can step to the fore and give decisive leadership.

## Organization — Legalist or Revolutionary?

From these two different views flow two different lines on organization. Lenin said in "The Collapse of the Second International": "Flimsy, thin-soled shoes may be good enough to walk in on the well-paved streets of a small provincial town, but heavy hob-nailed boots are needed for walking in the hills."

(It should be noted in passing here that, ironic as it may seem for a movement that has largely conceived of itself as rebelling against Marxism-Leninism and a Leninist state, Lenin's real, revolutionary line is quite relevant and necessary to those who really seek to overthrow the existing revisionist/capitalist state power in Poland, the Soviet Union and elsewhere. It is also true that the political line of the reformist "Marxists" which Lenin polemicized against in "The Collapse..." and elsewhere has much in common with the line that has so far held sway in Solidarity — and today also dominates most of the "left," including the revisionist parties, in the world.)

When the goal is greater democracy under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and bargaining for better conditions of the sale of labor power, trade unions can do the job organizationally. But to prepare and lead the struggle in the all-round way required for abolishing the rule of the bourgeoisie and maintaining proletarian revolutionary state power under socialism, a Leninist vanguard party with a backbone of trained professional revolutionaries is needed. It must be a party that grasps the situation and actual class relations from the international and historical perspective of the world proletariat, from the science of that class, Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought, and that prepares in every way from that point of view and no other.

This organization must be one which, stemming from its ideological and political line, has the flexibility required to take advantage of all revolutionary opportunities no matter what the conditions — legal or illegal, peaceful or tumultuous. The "Joint Communiqué" of 13 Marxist-Leninist parties and organizations says, "The party must give great attention to the illegal forms of struggle and organization, in order to preserve its independence and to educate the masses in the struggle against their enemies. From a strategic point of view, illegal forms of work are fundamental. At the same time the party must make use of legal opportunities in order to broaden its influence without falling into or promoting bourgeois-democratic illusions and while preparing for the inevitable repression by the reactionaries." Overthrowing the government is always "illegal." Even to carry out all-round mass "open" political struggle, clandestine activity is needed. All the more so to carry through and topple the ruling class from power.

In rapidly changing conditions approaching a revolutionary crisis, ideological and political line and preparation of the conscious forces is key, but this interpenetrates with organizational line and preparations. These organizational preparations both flow from and react back on the political line. Revolutionary preparation or the lack of it reinforces either the tendency to wage the offensive or, on the other side, a pull to capitulate and see no possibility of going forward because the party has not mastered all forms of struggle or cannot adapt itself

organizationally quickly enough and would pay "too high a price."

In the period of 18 months leading up to martial law as the crisis deepened, millions of workers and others were abruptly pulled into political life; Solidarity blossomed from nothing into a legal mass organization of over 9 million; political debate and struggle developed in an open and broad character unheard of months earlier. Then abruptly conditions changed: the banning of any political or union activity; the arrest of Solidarity leaders and activists; and martial law imposed on an entire country. This is the kind of situation that must be anticipated by the vanguard party in times of severe crisis — anticipated and prepared for to lead the masses in advancing through all the varied conditions.

But the line leading Solidarity seemed to be intoxicated with the air of democracy and "liberalization." They seemed to be convinced of the invincibility of their numbers. Certainly organizations of workers had existed underground before the recent period in Poland, but they were organized for the purpose of rallying forces to shift the policies of the Polish government, not to overthrow it. Political power was challenged — with a referendum! With the gains in legalizing Solidarity, and many other concessions forced out of the government, as well as the huge increase in membership of Solidarity, it seems that the leadership saw little need for underground organizations — at least of a revolutionary type. Even their stockpiles of food, medical supplies and explosives were clearly viewed and used as a way to hold out longer in strikes, not to carry out an all-round political offensive ultimately aimed at developing to an armed contest for power. They placed their eggs in the legal, reformist basket of the general strike.

Lenin exposed the bankruptcy of such a line in "The Collapse of the Second International": "Not only in wartime but positively in any acute political situation, to say nothing of periods of revolutionary mass action of any kind, the governments of even the freest bourgeois countries will threaten to dissolve the legal organizations, seize their funds, arrest their leaders, and threaten other 'practical consequences' of the same kind. What are we to do then? . . .

"There is only one conclusion a socialist can draw, namely, that pure legalism, the legalism-and-nothing-but-legalism of the 'European' parties, is now obsolete and, as a result of the development of capitalism in the pre-imperialist stage, has become the foundation for a bourgeois labor policy. It must be augmented by the creation of an illegal basis, an illegal organization, illegal Social-Democratic (revolutionary communist — R/W) work, without, however, surrendering a single legal position. Experience will show how this is to be done, if only the desire to take this road exists, as well as a realization that it is necessary."

There seemed to be the illusion within Solidarity that "we've got the power," a naive assumption based on their view of "spreading democracy" and forcing the government to accede to the workers' will. The example in the *New York Times* article starkly illustrates this. Here is the driver of Jan Kulaj, the leader of Rural Solidarity, telling the army, "Hey you guys, move aside. This is Jan Kulaj here." Certainly the strength of the movement had been growing in leaps and bounds and the regime was growing more and more isolated in the eyes of the masses. But negative public opinion does not paralyze the ruling class from acting to secure their rule. In fact it often necessitates it. The Polish government knew they did not have the allegiance of millions of people. And they knew that "democratizing" had not convinced the masses to line up behind them. They had powerful necessity to try to stabilize the country economically and politically in the interests of the Polish bourgeoisie whose interests are tied to the Soviet bloc. They struck with a powerful demonstration of their armed might for the same reason that they had earlier conceded to "liberalization" — to strengthen their grip on a volatile situation.

It seemed that Solidarity thought the government would have to have either

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# Prepared —But

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popular backing first from a section of the masses to make heavy repressive moves or else the Soviet Union would have to do it. But the political power of the bourgeoisie rests on its armed force, not on popular consent — this has been proven time and again in history.

Despite illusions about the bourgeois democracy of the Western imperialists on the part of the older man quoted in the *New York Times*, which no doubt characterize the sentiments of many of the masses in Solidarity as well as the leadership ("Didn't they know where they were living?"), the masses in Poland can take a lesson from the U.S. military on the nature of state power. The following is from U.S. government counter-insurgency documents used to train the military (previously printed in *RW* No. 76): "Perhaps the most misunderstood concept in the area of civil disorders is that of Martial Rule. It is commonly called Martial Law which is itself a misnomer. The invocation of Martial Rule is the result of the absence of law and its concomitant 'order' and is purely and simply rule by the military. It comes into existence when civil government can no longer maintain law and order, even with the assistance of the military." It goes on to say, "What must be remembered is that the common law tradition that a society may avail itself of what means are at hand, and this at the moment of complete chaos and anarchy is usually only military forces, to preserve itself is the basis for Martial Rule." (emphasis in the original — *RW*) As comment, we can do no better than to quote Mao once again, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

## Fight for the Troops

There was a general view among the Polish masses that the army was Poland's first line of defense, they have always fought to defend Poland. They thought the army would refuse to fight the Polish masses. This view was proven right and wrong in practice. Right in the sense that the armed forces are the defenders of the nation. But the bourgeoisie are the best upholders of the capitalist nation and thus the armed forces serve the interests of the bourgeoisie in maintaining the dictatorship of that class over the proletariat and masses. They were wrong for this reason to think that the army would not be used against the masses when there was a necessity for the authorities to do so, and for that reason it would have to be fought.

The nationalist banner under which the Polish struggle is largely being fought greatly weakened things in this regard. First, the movement has been very susceptible to the line (actively promoted by the regime) that to fight the Polish army would only bring a greater evil to the nation — the Russian army. (Never mind the fact that the class interests both armies serve are identical.) Secondly, there was the nationalist/reformist illusion aptly described in a December 16 "Letter from Warsaw" printed in the December 18 *New York Times*, where the point is made that the Polish masses believed that the army would not be effective because it was made up of the Polish people. But, the letter points out in quoting an observer, "What we didn't see was the other side of the coin. Because the army contains so many sons and brothers, people were reluctant to move against it."

They were prepared to try and win over the Polish troops (if they were used) through persuasion and appeals to conscience and loyalty to the people. But they were not prepared politically or militarily to fight the troops, the basic pillar of the regime, and in doing so win over the honest, basic soldiers. Solidarity leaders had approached the question of the troops gingerly; in de facto agreements with the government they had agreed not to tamper with them, essentially agreeing that the army was the bourgeoisie's turf. They had the workers' Solidarity and rural Solidarity but no attempt was made to build a soldiers' Solidarity. While they had many less illusions about the role of the political

police, they were not prepared to fight them and defeat them either.

In an interview with a youth who took part in the fighting in Gdansk, he said that some of the soldiers fraternized with the masses, but the government used the masses' idea that the soldiers were on their side to get the strikers to allow soldiers to pass through — the same soldiers who were used to suppress them. One soldier shouted out, "It's not me, it's orders." And it's true, as soldiers in the bourgeoisie's army they are instruments of the will and orders of the ruling class. Winning over the troops and disintegrating the bourgeois army takes a "ruthless and determined offensive," a real fight for the troops with the ruling class, as Lenin said in the "Lessons of the Moscow Uprising." The proletariat cannot passively wait for the soldiers to be persuaded from afar, because the bourgeoisie will in the meantime also deliver passionate pleas to the soldiers, and use every form of trickery and lies to get them to fight for the state. And barring that, if the troops are starting to waver and go towards the proletariat, the officers will lock them up, disarm them, put guns to their backs or shoot them. They are determined to win and so must be the proletariat.

Bold, decisive steps against the state must be taken by independently organized proletarian armed forces based first off on the revolutionary mass organizations outside the army, and in this way, direct attempts made to break the troops away from their officers. In that same essay, Lenin said, "It is alleged that there is no possibility of fighting modern troops; the troops must become revolutionary. Of course, unless the revolution assumes a mass character and affects the troops, there can be no question of serious struggle. That we must work among the troops goes without saying. But we must not imagine that they will come over to our side at one stroke, as a result of persuasion or their own convictions. The Moscow uprising clearly demonstrated how stereotyped and lifeless this view is. As a matter of fact, the wavering of the troops, which is inevitable in every truly popular movement, leads to a real fight for the troops whenever the revolutionary struggle becomes acute."

And: "It is not passivity that we should preach, not mere 'waiting' until the troops 'come over'. No! We must proclaim from the housetops the need for a bold offensive and armed attack, the necessity at such times of exterminating the persons in command of the enemy and of a most energetic fight for the wavering troops."

## Revolutionary Crisis and Revolutionary Organizational Principles

Illusions of "workers' power" without state power must be put aside and the work of preparing for the highest task, the armed seizure of power, begun. The key to this is building a vanguard proletarian party based on Leninist principles to take up the tasks of all-round work toward this goal; this is key work in "peaceful" as well as revolutionary times and is acutely lacking now in Poland. In preparatory periods, the main work of such a party is creating public opinion, principally through agitation and propaganda, aimed toward the goal of the seizure of power. But practice shows that even to carry out this work in "democratic" times requires the ability to do both legal and "illegal" work — let alone preparing for when conditions change.

As a revolutionary situation begins to shape up and the masses broadly enter into political life, they will create new mass organizations; under such conditions, the party itself has to grow, intensify its agitation and propaganda, foster revolutionary principles of organization broadly among the masses, and promote non-party organization based on these principles. In Poland today, for example, this would not mean abandoning Solidarity and the essential political work of agitation and propaganda within such an organization, but neither does it mean to abandon a correct and necessary Marxist-Leninist orientation for the reformist, trade-unionist line of the leadership of Solidarity. And in a revolutionary situation, as the bankruptcy of these lines is demonstrated, the vanguard party must mobilize the masses towards the seizure of power. The ques-

tion of armed struggle and military organization of the workers will then come to the fore.

Lenin spoke of the need to prepare to create revolutionary organizations of the advanced masses in such times, led by the party and capable of carrying through the armed struggle in a revolutionary situation. "That is not easy, to be sure. It will demand arduous preparatory activities and heavy sacrifices. This is a new form of organization and struggle that also has to be learned, and knowledge is not acquired without errors and setbacks. . . . It is not so often that history places this form of struggle on the order of the day, but then its significance is felt for decades to come. Days on which such method of struggle can and must be employed are equal to scores of years of other historical epochs." ("Collapse of the Second International")

He spoke of the tasks of party organization and the tasks of the revolutionary organizations under the party's leadership in the times directly preceding the attempt at seizure of power. The following quote from Lenin addresses the question of the organization of workers in factories for a developing revolutionary situation where the armed overthrow of the Czar would become an immediate task. This was a period in Russia when revolutionary organizations were illegal: "As soon as the factory subcommittee (a party organization — *RW*) has been formed it should proceed to organize a number of factory groups and circles with diverse tasks and varying degrees of secrecy and organizational form, as, for instance, circles for delivering and distributing literature (this is one of the most important functions, which must be organized so as to provide us with a real postal service of our own, so as to possess tried and tested methods, not only for distributing literature, but also for delivering it to the homes, and so as to provide a definite knowledge of all the workers' addresses and ways of reaching them); circles for reading illegal litera-

\* "We must get the workers to understand that while the killing of spies, agents provocateurs, and traitors may sometimes, of course, be absolutely unavoidable, it is highly undesirable and mistaken to make a system of it, and that we must strive to create an organization which will be able to render spies innocuous by exposing them and tracking them down. It is impossible to do away with all spies, but to create an organization which will

ture; groups for tracking down spies\*; circles for giving special guidance to the trade-union movement and the economic struggle; circles of agitators and propagandists who know how to initiate and to carry on long talks in an absolutely legal way (on machinery, inspectors, etc.) and so be able to speak safely and publicly, to get to know people and see how the land lies, etc. The factory subcommittee should endeavor to embrace the whole factory, the largest possible number of the workers, with a network of all kinds of circles (or agents). The success of the subcommittee's activities should be measured by the abundance of such circles, by their accessibility to touring propagandists and, above all, by the correctness of the regular work done in the distribution of literature and the collection of information and correspondence." ("Letter to a Comrade on Our Organizational Tasks")

Of course, this was written about the tasks in Russia in a situation where the seizure of power was rapidly becoming the question. Still, not only the general principles but even many of the particulars apply to Poland today.

Lenin emphasizes over and over again in his writings that what we are preparing for are revolutionary times when the system is wracked with contradictions, when the masses in their millions find it intolerable and days concentrate years of experience. These situations do not gradually or steadily arise but are the products of leaps in the development of worldwide contradictions and the effect of that within various countries, resulting in the ripping of the old fabric of society. The existence, line and resultant preparations of the proletarian vanguard in such conditions make the decisive difference in whether the revolutionary opportunities are maximized or squandered. Class-conscious proletarians must prepare and organize with this, and no other, task in mind. □

ferret them out and educate the working class masses is both possible and necessary." — Lenin

\*\* "We also need combat groups, in which workers who have had military training or who are particularly strong and agile should be enrolled, to act in the event of demonstrations, in arranging escapes from prison, etc." — Lenin

# Seize Power

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power from the handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road has begun to create and will continue to create new organizational forms for the state organs of the proletarian dictatorship. Here, we must respect the initiative of the masses and boldly adopt the new vital forms that emerge in the mass movement to replace the old practices of the exploiting classes and in fact to replace all old practices that do not correspond to the socialist economic base. It is absolutely impermissible to merely take over power while letting things remain the same and operating according to old rules.

On June 1 last year, Chairman Mao described the first Marxist-Leninist big-character poster in the country, which came from Peking University, as the Manifesto of the Peking People's Commune of the '60s in the twentieth century. Chairman Mao showed his wisdom and genius in predicting even then that our state organs would take on completely new forms.

As a result of arousing hundreds of millions of people from below to seize power from the handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road, smashing the old practices and creating new forms, a new era has been opened up in the international history of proletarian revolution and of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This will greatly enrich and develop what we have learned from the experience of the Paris Commune, and the experience of the Soviets, and greatly enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism. . . .

Once the revolutionary mass organizations have seized power in a particular department, their own position alters. At this time, the bourgeois ideas and

petit-bourgeois ideas in the minds of certain comrades readily come to the fore. We must be highly vigilant. We must rid ourselves of all selfish ideas and personal considerations and make a revolution to the depth of our souls. Everything must proceed from the fundamental interests of the proletariat. We must attach the utmost importance to the interests of the whole instead of concerning ourselves with personal prestige and position. We must firmly respond to Chairman Mao's call to "practice economy in carrying out revolution" and not show off, spend money without measure and waste state property. We must not fall victim to the "sugar-coated bullets" of the bourgeoisie.

Revolutionary mass organizations which have seized power and the leaders of these organizations should adopt the principle of unity towards the masses and the mass organizations holding different views. They should win over and not exclude the majority. This will help isolate to the maximum the handful of Party people in authority and taking the capitalist road and deal them blows, and help establish the new proletarian revolutionary order.

Everyone, in the course of the struggle to seize power and after coming to power, has to undergo new tests. We hope that the revolutionary path-breakers who have emerged during the movement will always be loyal to the proletariat, to Chairman Mao, and to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, and that they will become politically mature in the course of time rather than be like those who just flash across the stage of history. The only way one can live up to this demand is to study Mao Tse-tung's thought conscientiously, to integrate oneself with the masses of workers and peasants and to make serious efforts to remold one's own non-proletarian world outlook. There is no other way. □

## The Day Will Come...

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they had the audacity to call people like Leonard Peltier the terrorists.

You know, it's time for people to really look at this terrorism thing. Find out who the real terrorist is. And I firmly believe it isn't Leonard Peltier, Geronimo Pratt or anyone else. It's the people right now putting on the new Hollywood TV show, "The New FBI," and there ain't nothing new about them...

After the shooting, Leonard Peltier had managed to get out of the country. He got into Canada, to seek political asylum. And during that time, the two other brothers, Dino Butler and Bobby Robideau and another brother, Jimmy Eagle, who the FBI also said was at the scene of the fire-fight, were arrested and brought to trial in Cedar Rapids, Iowa — in 1976, of the Bicentennial. In that trial, there was a lot of FBI misconduct. They coerced witnesses. They tampered with evidence. They did all kinds of manipulations in trying to deny these people a fair trial. What came down at that trial was that Jimmy Eagle was found to be not at the scene. All charges were dropped against him. The other two brothers, Dino and Bobby, were acquitted on grounds of self-defense. The Federal Government, having no one else to convict, proceeded to start extradition proceedings against Leonard Peltier. And they went through some extra-illegal maneuverings to obtain that extradition. You see, what came out in the Butler-Robideau trial — Clarence Kelley who was then head of the FBI, was called in to testify — they produced a document that the FBI had circulated to all its field officers called the Dog Soldier Memo. This memo was a fabrication on the part of

the head FBI officials to create scare tactics among its ranks: to say that people in the American Indian Movement were going to blow up Mt. Rushmore, they were going to kill the Governor of the state of South Dakota, they were going to take over all kinds of installations, bomb oil pipelines, and other things during the Bicentennial as a demonstration against the celebrations. Needless to say this never materialized, but this was put in the minds of the officers in the field.

And this is how they related to Indian people, as terrorists. In 1972 Indian people had a caravan that went to Washington, D.C., a Trail of Broken Treaties, and Leonard Peltier was one of the people who organized a caravan going to Milwaukee. After Native People went to D.C., they took over the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They liberated a lot of documents and found out a lot of dirty dealings that the Bureau of Indian Affairs had been involved in. After that the FBI said to a lot of its agents: arrest any AIM member on any fabrication, on any evidence you can get on them, parking tickets, violations, anything, you name it, you can try to bust them. And this is one of the things that they leveled against Leonard. They were out after Leonard since that time of the Trail of Broken Treaties. This was the atmosphere, this is the kind of thing that was built up all through this period, from the Trail of Broken Treaties to the Wounded Knee occupation, to the time of the shooting, to the time of the extradition.

Coming back to the point I was trying to make early on the extradition, on how the FBI were about to get Leonard extradited from Canada, they got hold of a woman named Myrtle Poor Bear and they forced her to sign three affidavits, each one of which contradicts the others. As a matter of fact, they even forgot to get her birthday right on one of them. Each one of these affidavits told a different story. And the Canadian government conspired with the United States government and extradited Leo-

nard Peltier on the basis of these three false affidavits. The validity of these affidavits was discussed when Leonard's case was appealed at the court of St. Louis; it was a three-judge panel, and they said that Leonard Peltier should have never been extradited on the basis of these three affidavits, but the horse was already out of the barn.

Leonard Peltier was brought back to the United States to stand trial in Fargo, North Dakota. In Fargo the federal judge was a man by the name of Paul Benson; in that trial, Leonard Peltier was convicted on circumstantial evidence of aiding and abetting in the death of two agents and was sentenced to two life terms. But you have to understand that Leonard Peltier was tried on the same charge that his two co-defendants had been acquitted on. There was a lot of judicial tampering going on in that trial and as a matter of fact Myrtle Poor Bear testified at that trial on behalf of Leonard Peltier, and she said that the FBI agents had forced her to sign the affidavits. An interesting thing happened: the judge dismissed the jury on the basis that Myrtle Poor Bear was not a credible witness, so the jury never heard her testimony, but she was credible enough to sign the affidavits. So this is the way in which the FBI and the United States Justice Department mete out justice. Consequently Leonard was the only man sentenced directly from court to the maximum security prison of this country in Marion, Illinois. Every other prisoner who had managed to get to that prison had come through the whole prison system.

Marion itself is a prison that was created by the John Kennedy administration; it was the prison that took the place of Alcatraz as the maximum security prison of the country. For the first time, the U.S. government was going to use behavioral modification techniques, and that's what Marion prison is all about. They gained a lot of this technology from the West Germans who had used this kind of prison and behavior

modification techniques against the Red Army factions in West Germany. In Marion they have 75 cells, that's called the Box Car and this is where they put people they say have revolutionary ideas, who do not fit into society. You are put into a sensory deprivation cell for an indefinite term; you can spend anywhere from a day to a year in there, or longer, and the whole objective is to break your mind, to wear you down, to bring you down to their level, to smash your spirit. When you look at Marion, when you look at the population, you can see how many political prisoners go there; there are eight brothers from the Virgin Islands there, Rafael Cancel Miranda was there... We don't really have to look too far for the Dachaus, 'cause they are right in our own backyard...

Leonard Peltier was spending this time in Marion, and during this period a lot of support has been built up for Leonard, a lot of people are becoming aware of what's going on. People are becoming aware that in June 1975 two FBI agents were not assassinated; they are starting to find out that on the same day the U.S. government, their corrupt tribal chairman, signed up the reservation and a couple of years later Union Carbide was on that land exploring for uranium; and that's why we came up with the saying, "Yesterday's gold is today's uranium." It was the same thing a hundred years ago, almost on the exact same day, there was the battle of Little Big Horn, and that time it was for the gold. It was two hundred soldiers, or you can also call them federal agents: General Custer went to the battle of Little Big Horn with two hundred of them, and they lost their lives. One hundred years later, two soldiers from the 7th Cavalry went into Oglala, and they lost their lives, for the same interests, for the same goals...

Leonard P. was doing that time at Marion and a lot of support was built up, people were becoming conscious, so

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## The Party: The Key Part of Organizing Forces

Continued from page 3

of a period. We did not conclude from this that any kind of mass organization is wrong now; and as for very advanced forms of organization, something equivalent to soviets, a mass form of basically revolutionary organization — that doesn't mean they could not be maintained or should not be maintained and even initiated when the situation demands them; that is, in particular, when the situation is ripening to a revolutionary situation and the masses are rising in a general revolutionary upsurge. But nevertheless, you have to ask, well, why was there this sort of general tendency to view mass organizations as more important than the party? It was because there was a tendency to view struggle as cut off from and apart from and in reality as a substitute for the work of actually carrying out all-round preparation for revolution. Now we understand that our work of various kinds in building, supporting struggles has to be in fact a part of and just one part, in a general sense a subordinate part, of our overall preparation for revolution.

### A Backward Pull Will Emerge

I tried to point out in that letter of mine that was excerpted over a period of time in the *RW* (see issue No. 109) that there is going to be a tendency to go back to the old economist tendencies again. It has been pointed out that this has started already to assert itself and will increasingly do so now that there is more mass ferment and mass struggle. Opposition to Create Public Opinion... Seize Power has been difficult for people who aren't still won over to it inside and outside our ranks because there hasn't been a big mass movement that they could latch onto, point to and use as a weight against this line. But now, even if only the beginning stages, there clearly is mass ferment and mass struggle breaking out here and there. And there will be a pull to say, "How can we stand aside from that?" In other words, how can we not plunge head-down into it and throw away all the line that we've fought to forge up to this point. There will be the very strong pull, even among the best, to get drawn into any particular mass struggle and lose sight of the fact that as important as some of those struggles may be, they are only one stream that we are trying to direct eventually into a general torrent that can knock down the dams ahead (if you want to carry out the analogy). There will be a tendency to get lost, to dive head-first into these streams

and get lost just trying to swim in the swirl and complexity of the particular struggle, especially an important one. This is not to say that we shouldn't enter into some of those streams, and actually swim right in the current of them, plunging into some of those struggles, but we should not do it head down. Nor should we do it in such a way that we throw away or lose sight of the revolutionary goal, even unconsciously or just by being pulled along by spontaneity and not through actual design or conscious policy. We cannot lose sight of how this is still only one stream of the overall advance, one current that we are trying to — and that in fact *only* we can help to — channel toward the goal, along with a number of other streams.

The more that you grasp all of that basic revolutionary line that I've just been talking about up to this point, the more you can see that only the party is in a position to do that; and the more you can see how important it is in fact that the party be strengthened both qualitatively and quantitatively in order to be able — precisely as there is more mass struggle and mass upsurge — to carry out the kind of line that is concentrated in Create Public Opinion... Seize Power. We have pointed out that this central task is a whole process which includes the preparation for revolution and also, eventually, the act of revolution itself in the sense of the seizure of power. To be able to carry out that whole process, you can see how crucial it is that the party be strengthened at every point as much as possible, that real effort and real leaps be made in building the party both qualitatively and quantitatively. The more you see all these diverse streams that you have to relate to — but in that way, with that kind of line — the more you can see how important it is to qualitatively and quantitatively build the party as much as possible at each stage. To summarize this point, this revolutionary line meets opposition from both the spontaneous pull (which still exists) and the conscious line and thinking (which also still exists in varying degrees) to treat any particular mass struggle or mass struggles in general as the be-all and end-all and a thing in themselves. Inevitably a part of that is to downgrade the role of the party.

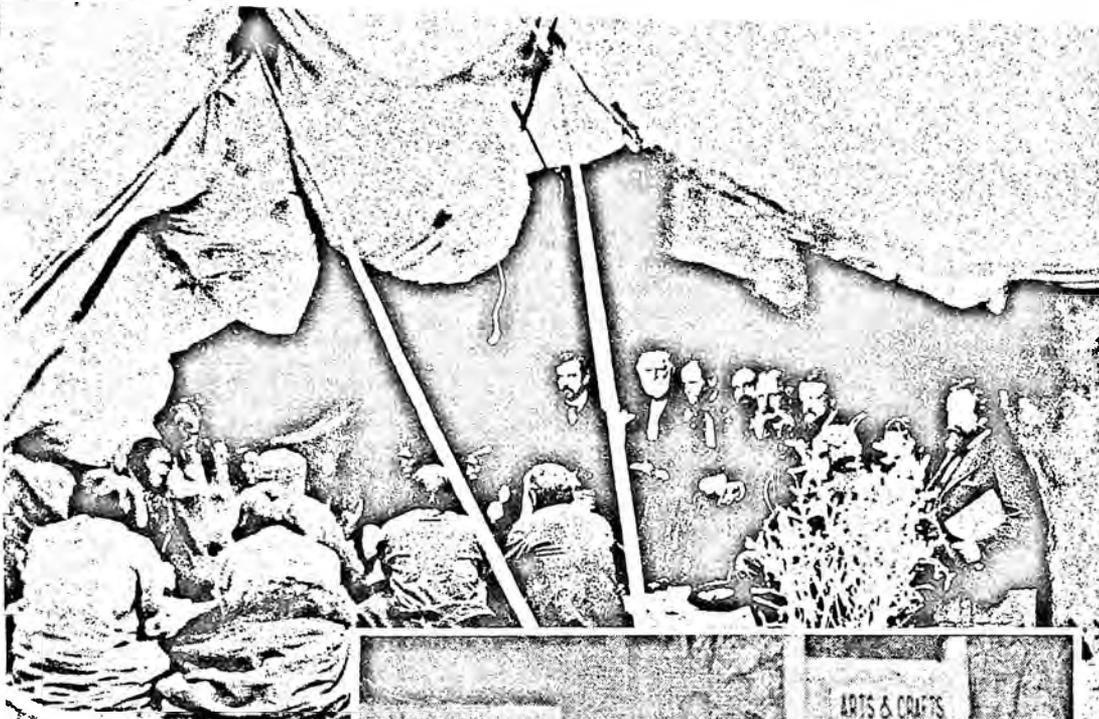
It's really going to take a great deal of political courage, by which I don't mean some existential or psychological thing of "do you have guts," but a great deal of consciousness and determination to carry out the line that we've been forging more deeply, precisely not to plunge head-down into all these struggles and lose sight of the overall process and lose sight of the importance of the party. This is because there is going to be a

tremendous pull of spontaneity, and there is always going to be the pull from masses involved in struggles to want to draw the party deeply into them in a kind of way that causes you to lose sight of the overall process which is comprehended by Create Public Opinion... Seize Power, and of which these struggles have to be treated as a part, a subordinate part, however important any of them may be, or however important they may be overall as a general phenomenon.

In our history there has always been an active orientation and not an armchair orientation. And in one sense it was a strength of the RU, which stood out in opposition to a lot of armchair revolutionaries, and has been a part of the positive thing that I have described as "taking responsibility for the movement as a whole," that is, taking responsibility for building a revolutionary movement. But it must also be said that this divides sharply into two; to a significant degree all along and at times unfortunately even the principal aspect, there has been the tendency to define "activity" narrowly and to identify it simply with being involved in struggle, while tacking on or adding on in a quantitative way and a mechanical way propaganda (in particular) about the need for revolution, socialism, and propagating the positive model of the socialist countries such as China (when it was one). So while there was a strength, there was also a great weakness, and now we've come to understand much more clearly that our activity has to be understood in a much broader sense and has to be seen as an ongoing process, as preparation toward and then carrying out the revolution, that is, the seizure of power.

There can't be any sort of wall created between the work we do now and the seizing of power later. And the most important form of work we are doing now is the agitation and propaganda, with all-round exposure key. Even where we may get involved in struggles on the level of trying to give tactical and organizational leadership, still in an overall way the propaganda and agitation and exposure we do in relation to them is more important. And beyond that we have to carry out exposure in an all-round way which in an overall sense will *not* be directly related to any particular mass struggle or mass organization. And there, again, the question of political courage comes in, in the form of standing up against the pull of "Let's do something more immediate, let's do something more practical," as if anything short of revolution can do what has to be done.

(To be continued)



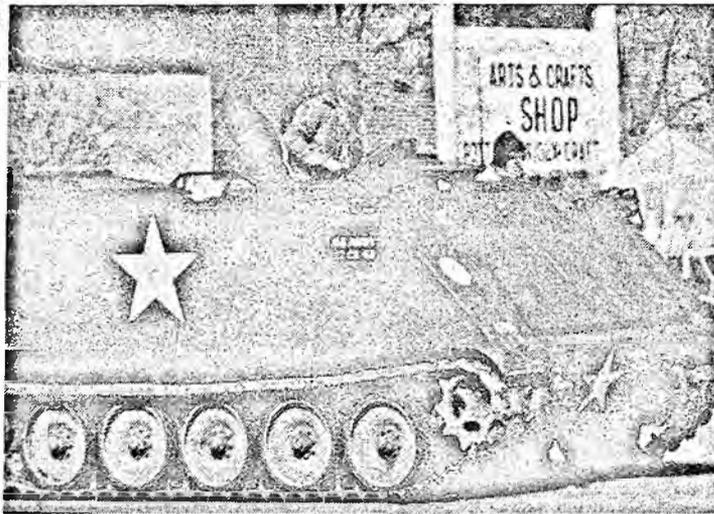
Guns and treaties—two faces of U.S. government oppression of Native Americans. Top: Fort Laramie Treaty Commission, 1868. Right: Government armored personnel carrier advances towards Wounded Knee, 1973.

## The Day Will Come

Continued from page 18

the U.S. government created a plan in which they said they were going to neutralize Leonard Peltier while in prison. I want you to understand all the machinations which the U.S. government will go through in order to extinguish the life of an individual they really want to get rid of. But to understand what I mean when I say this is a war: from 1975 to the present day right up to last October, 12 people have died around this case, 12 people have gone. When Leonard Peltier was facing the extradition, Anna Mae Aquash, a Micmac woman who was very active within the Native struggle, a Wounded Knee veteran, was found dead in February 1977 in the Pine Ridge reservation. The original autopsy said she died of exposure and then when her family and friends found out about her death, they exhumed her body to find out that she died not from exposure but from a bullet in the back of her head. Anna Mae Aquash was interrogated prior to her death, right after the shooting had occurred, by FBI agent David Price about any information she might have about the people that had been involved in killing his two buddies. She refused to give him any information, and Price said: "If you don't help us out within a year, you'll be dead," and sure enough Anna Mae was dead. The first agent on the scene was David Price, but when they buried Anna Mae they buried her in an unmarked grave. But David Price knew who Anna Mae was. They cut off her hands and sent them to Washington for identification. Who is the terrorist?

Leonard Peltier, while he was in prison, was faced with an assassination attempt on his life. Marion had had very few escapes in it, and none of them has been successful. There was a prisoner in Marion by the name of Robert Wilson, who was also known as Standing Deer: the federal government and an official from the prison had approached Standing Deer with a scheme in which they wanted to use Standing Deer to take part in a plot, to neutralize Leonard Peltier. Standing Deer agreed to this, but only to get something in return; the agent who had come to Standing Deer to talk about this proposal said they would drop the seven felony charges against him in Oklahoma, and give him treatment for his disease in the lower back and give him a lighter sentence and a chance for parole. So Standing Deer consented; and for



him to take part in this neutralization process, he had to get closer to Leonard Peltier, he had to gain Leonard's confidence, and that's what Standing Deer did. The plan was to supply Leonard, Standing Deer and another Indian inmate with zip-guns that did not work and they would escape from Marion. Later the official decided to change this last part for they thought Marion was too secure a prison to make this last part credible. So they were going to transfer Leonard Peltier, who was considered a maximum prisoner — they rate you from 1 to 6, you can't get higher than 6 in a federal prison system, and that's what Peltier is.

So, during this period Standing Deer was getting close to Leonard and he was befriended by Leonard: you have to understand that Standing Deer had not yet come to terms with his Indianness, he had not yet understood his roots, his culture, and by coming close to Leonard and the other Indian brothers who were there at Marion he started to gain that awareness, and through that he started getting really close to Leonard.... Subsequently, Standing Deer informed Leonard of the hit, and they just played along with what the government was laying down. So the time for their transfer was to come, Standing Deer was sent to Leavenworth and Peltier was sent to Lompoc. Lompoc is not a maximum security prison. It's medium. Standing Deer was to hook up with him at a later time at Lompoc as another Indian was coming into Lompoc also to take place in this assassination.

Before all these things could come together, Leonard was working out some of his own plans. While in Lompoc, Leonard had got acquainted with two other Indian inmates, Bobby Garcia and Dallas Thundershield. In July of 1979 these three men made an escape attempt out of Lompoc. Dallas Thundershield was shot in the back as he surrendered, Bobby Garcia was immediately captured, and Leonard remained free for five days, until he was recaptured.

Then we come to another legal process, which was the L.A. escape conspi-

racity trial. In this thing there are a lot of things that intertwine, that overlap, a whole lot of legal things, and I forgot to mention Leonard's appeal but I hope I will go back to it later, and I will continue with the escape attempt. At the escape trial, the authorities captured another man outside the prison by the name of Rocky Duanos, who assisted Leonard and Bobby in escaping. All these men were tried in L.A. in the later part of 1979, beginning of 1980.... But the same thing came down in the L.A. trial that came down in Leonard's Fargo conviction: Leonard Peltier was denied the right to present a defense. The defense at the L.A. trial was presented on a reason of duress, which meant that Leonard Peltier had a right to escape from the prison due to the fact that his life was in danger inside the prison walls.... Halfway through the trial the duress defense was stricken, and the judge tried with every means to stifle the assassination attempt from being brought up. So, consequently Leonard Peltier was found guilty of escaping, as was Bobby Garcia. They were found innocent about some other heavy charges, like assault against law enforcement officials. They were found innocent of conspiracy, but they got the maximum sentence. Leonard had already been convicted to get two life terms on the original charges. At the escape trial he was given the maximum sentence of seven years, on top of the two life terms. Bobby Garcia got the same thing, and they were supposed to spend the rest of their time at Marion. Then the prison administration got into the action, and they placed them in double jeopardy, and they said that they were going to spend the rest of their time, an indefinite amount of time, in Marion's control unit. And we fought back, and with a very successful letter campaign we beat that back. Up to this point we lost two people, Anna Mae and Dallas.

I would like to get back to the appeal process, so that you can understand some of the aspects of the legal system, and how it was used to incarcerate Peltier. After the Fargo trial, Leonard's

case was brought to the U.S. Court of Appeals, which has a three-judge panel; in St. Louis the head judge of that panel was William Webster, who is now the head chief of the FBI. William Webster at that time was being reviewed by the federal government to be head chief of the FBI, and our defense said: it's not cool to have a head judge here who is a man who is about to be head of the FBI in a case that has to do with the FBI. So the government said, OK, we will give you some new judges. Anyway, Leonard's case was denied by the Eighth Circuit Court, even after the exposure of the false affidavits and a lot of legal actions that were carried out at the Fargo trial. After that, the case went to the Supreme Court, and that was done in the beginning of 1979. Native people from all over the United States and Canada went to Washington, D.C. and they made a 24-hour vigil in front of the Supreme Court, on the Capitol grounds. They stood in the snow, in the rain, in the cold, from January 10 to March 5 of that year, to apply pressure, to educate the people of D.C. to the reality of Leonard Peltier's case. The Supreme Court denied Leonard's right to a re-trial.

So all that brings you up to right now, the whole legal thing that has gone down, every aspect of the court thing has been expired, the whole appeal process, the escape thing. And through that period since the escape trial Bobby Garcia and Standing Deer were sent to Terre Haute federal penitentiary. At Terre Haute Bobby and Standing Deer shared the same cell and last December 1, Bobby Garcia was thrown into isolation at Terre Haute. 18 days later Bobby Garcia was found hanged in his cell: that's the third person killed. And another man that was a key witness to the L.A. escape trial this past October. We lost the last remaining witness to the escape. Keep in mind also that we appealed the original L.A. conviction, and it was overturned by the appeals court. Now the U.S. government wants to appeal that decision, we don't have no more witnesses. The only one left is Standing Deer but he was not actually a witness to the escape, he was an individual that was part of the assassination attempt that led up to the escape. He is the last man around that whole situation.... After Bobby was killed, Standing Deer was transferred to Springfield, then to Lewisberg federal penitentiary in Pennsylvania and just a couple of weeks ago, on his own request, he was transferred back to Marion.... The last thing they want to do right now is to have this information, the evidence that has been brought out since 1975, in the past six years. Now it's the time in which they are creating new television shows like "The New FBI" trying to build a new image for a decadent, decaying organization that has no morals or scruples. They're trying to force on us the illusion that these people dressed up in suits are good people and they can't have a thing exposed like the thing that went down at Oglala in 1975. It would just smash the whole illusion. We also ask: why has there been no investigation about who killed Joe Stunts? That's still a remaining question, and we are not going to forget about it. We want some answers to these questions, and this is what we are striving for right now.

The last legal effort that we have within the judicial system is called the writ of habeas corpus. The writ is based on 12,000 pages of FBI documents released through the Freedom of Information Act that detail the FBI determination of neutralizing Leonard Peltier, details of all the methods and activities used to railroad Leonard Peltier to prison. They haven't released 6000 pages of those documents for "national security reasons"; they just don't want it to come out.

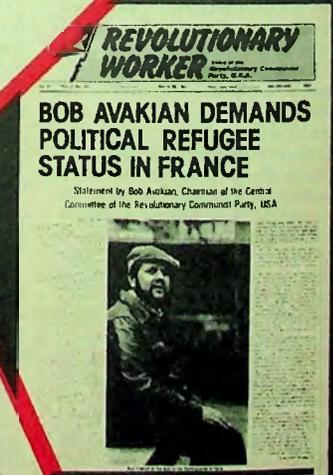
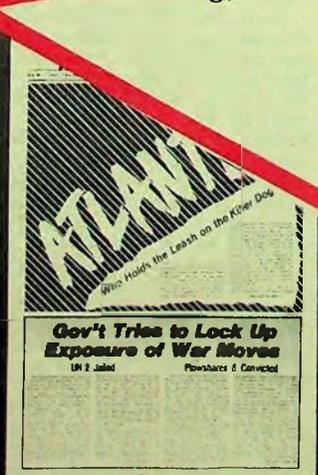
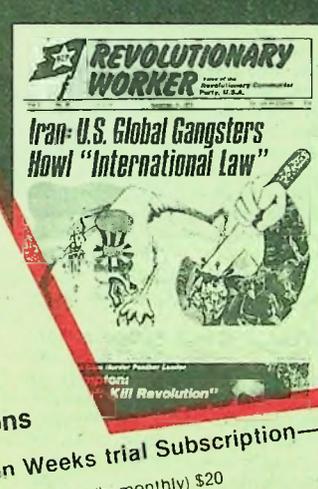
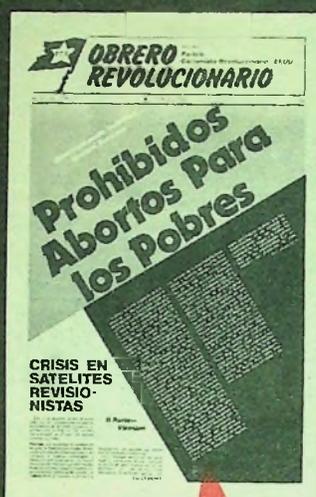
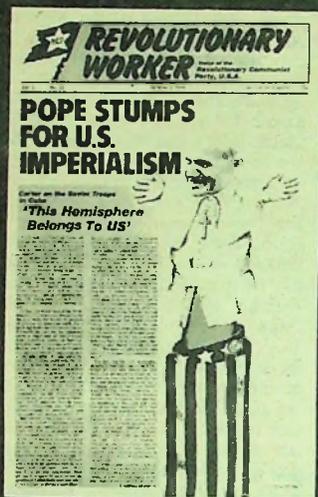
We never asked for pardon in Leonard Peltier's case, because we know Leonard Peltier is not guilty. If you recall, Gerald Ford pardoned Richard Nixon. A pardon is an admittance of guilt, and Leonard Peltier is not guilty....

This case is just so full of holes, there is not a righteous just and thinking person on the whole face of the earth that would not say that this case is a railroad, that would not say that this man does not belong to prison, he belongs to his people. □

Even a quick glance at the front page of the *Revolutionary Worker* for the last few months (Crisis in Poland; neutron bomb go-ahead; U.S. attack on Libya; rebellion rocks England...) underscores the urgency of the *RW* getting consistently into more hands every week. And its theoretical articles and in-depth analysis of various trends play an important role in the advance of the revolutionary communist movement here and even in other countries. The RCP is launching a central subscription drive to the *RW* as part of continuing to spread and strengthen the influence of the *RW* among the many varied forces who are being drawn into political life throughout the country and to enable thousands who are only able to buy an issue periodically to receive the *RW* every week, hot on the heels of the events of the day—a necessity with the accelerated pace of world events.

There are many areas of the country—major urban centers, university towns, reservations, more isolated cities, etc., where there are forces for revolution but that do not now have regular access to the *RW*. All of these areas and forces will be affected by (and in turn can help affect) the developing historic conjuncture, including a revolutionary situation possibly unfolding in this country. The question remains, under which banner will sections of the masses be mobilized and in whose interest will they fight? The *RW* has played and must continue to play a crucial role in making the proletarian internationalist trend a powerful force throughout society. The penetrating analysis and exposure in the pages of the *RW* is vital, as Lenin said, in creating the ability in the proletariat, "to find practical solutions for great tasks in the great days in which twenty years are embodied."

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