



REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

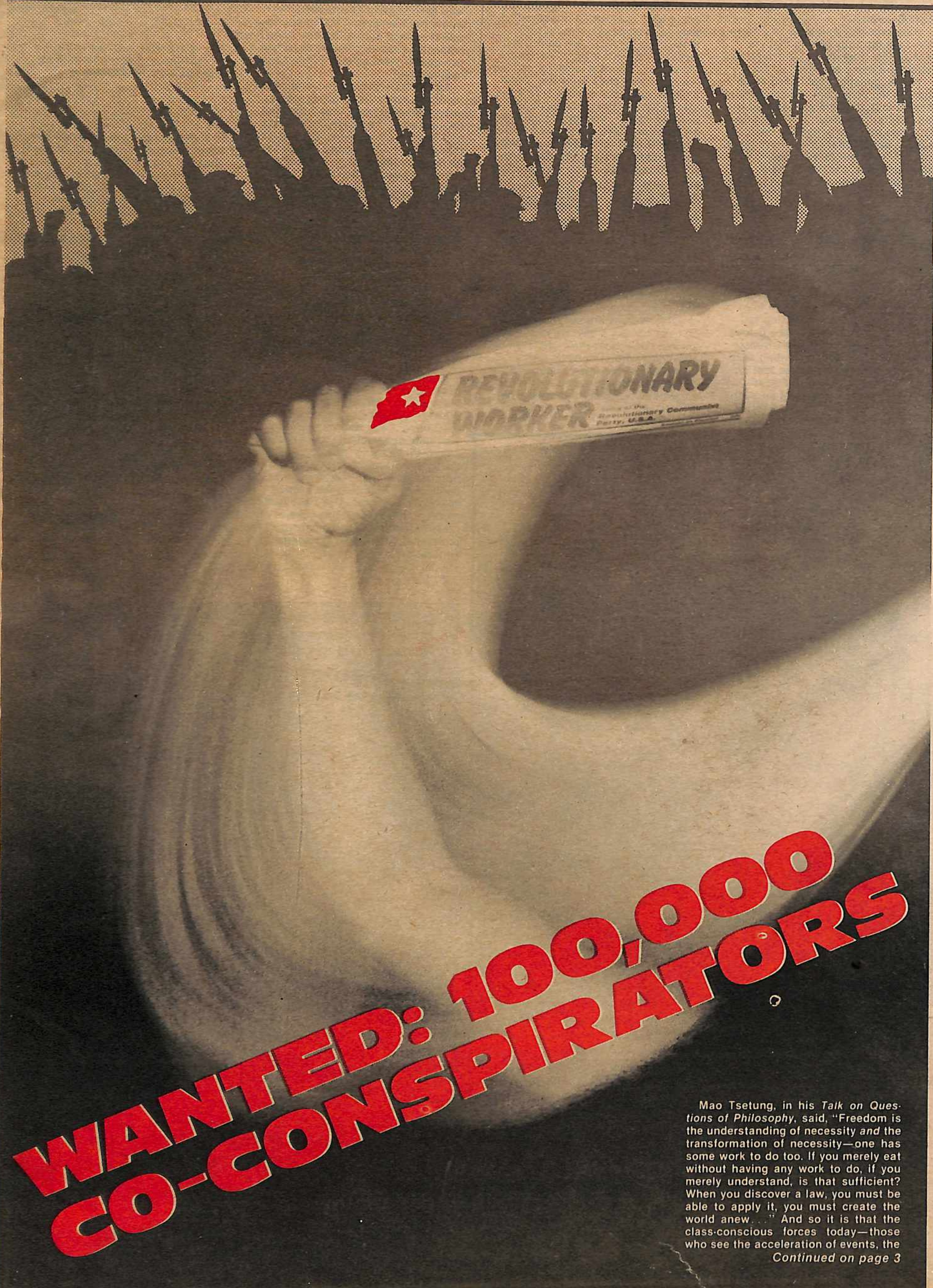
Voice of the
Revolutionary Communist
Party, U.S.A.

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**WANTED: 100,000
CO-CONSPIRATORS**

Mao Tsetung, in his *Talk on Questions of Philosophy*, said, "Freedom is the understanding of necessity and the transformation of necessity—one has some work to do too. If you merely eat without having any work to do, if you merely understand, is that sufficient? When you discover a law, you must be able to apply it, you must create the world anew..." And so it is that the class-conscious forces today—those who see the acceleration of events, the

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Prisoner Letter

3 Dead from Heat at Menard Prison

We received this letter from Menard Prison in Illinois.

Dear Comrades,

Have received your letter of July 15—I am fervently hoping that you receive this from me as I am sure my letters are being scanned "up front".

Your suggestion that I shed some light on the conditions here at Menard was, in fact, the catalyst I needed to put the truth on paper, finally. I'd entertained the idea before but decided against acting on it as you have other matters to attend to. However, "the time has come, the Walrus said. . . ."

Of current interest is the lethal heat wave which has already claimed the lives of three men here. Little wonder when ventilation is practically non-existent. While temperatures outside may reach 100 degrees, inside it is 10 or more degrees hotter. With no movement of air, naturally the compounded body heat and moisture give rise to respiratory failure and heat stroke. I have enclosed a memorandum from the fat cat (Warden) expressing his "concern" for our welfare (see below). I heard some of the men here substituted it for toilet paper. A fitting sentiment! It has been suggested that animals in a zoo receive better treatment—I have no doubts on that score!

After all, we are no longer considered citizens of the U.S., how do we rate?

The above paragraph applies to "general population". I, on the other hand, am in what is called "Protective Custody". For some obscure reason, those of us in "P.C." are denied privileges which are our right. We go to the yard only once a week for an hour (everyone else goes every day, sometimes twice or three times a day). We cannot have mirrors, canned foods, peanut butter. . . the list is quite long. All of these things are allowed in population. Except for one hour per week, we must stay in our cells, doors locked, deprived of exercise; confined to a space that would give a mouse cramps.

Of the deaths I mentioned above, I know the facts concerning one, which occurred in my cellhouse. It seems a man who had a history of heart trouble was suffering from the intense heat and made his discomfort known to the guards on duty. He was told that he would have to wait until the next morning before seeing a doctor or nurse. Nurses are supposed to be on call 24 hours a day. He was thus ignored throughout the night, even by a sergeant who strolled by with a flashlight, peered into the poor man's cell, and continued on his merry, ignorant way laughing to himself. The

resident was discovered early the next morning, dead since 3:00 or 4:00 a.m. Though his death was ascribed to the heat, I think it quite probable that, with even superficial attention, he would have survived. This, of course, was not made public. Further, I find it reasonable to assume that the other two deaths were a result of the same negligence.

As can be expected, the men say little of what they think; politics is a hazy subject at best. They know that they suffer at the hands of the State and Federal governments but not why this is so. . . . It is a gross human injustice that does not go unobserved nor will it ever. A price will be exacted, one which the bourgeoisie cannot pay except by their capitulation to the Revolutionary forces, working even now toward that end. This is the message I give you: **KNOW YOUR ENEMY!** Do not fight your brother, the man who stands beside you. Fight the ones who suppress public opinion, who live off the blood and sweat of the common man, who would drag you down into the stifling swamp that is capitalism, who would throw your life, along with countless others, into a war that serves their greed and lust for power! **THIS IS THE ENEMY!!**

Brothers, the time for speculation is past. What remains is action. We must unite against the common enemy. While revolution may be more effective during a war, can we afford to wait until hundreds of thousands are killed? While I write this, President Carter's draft registration sets in motion the Imperialist machinery that is hellbent on destroying the lives of millions of our youth. This insanity must end! Let us throw off this yoke of oppression and take up the banner of the proletariat. Fight against Imperialist aggression!!

Please send me any material you can—I cannot afford to pay at this time but if I can in the future, I will. Will write more very soon.

Your comrade

This is the letter referred to by the brother above. It was delivered to prisoners after the 3 deaths.

July 17, 1980

TO ALL RESIDENTS:

I am becoming increasingly concerned about the news coverage of the heat situation and the effect it is having on Menard Correctional Center residents. Some of the things you have been hearing on the radio and t.v. and reading in the newspapers have been grossly exaggerated.

We are doing everything possible to make it more comfortable for all residents here. We are purchasing block ice at \$20 a block, and are purchasing two extra freezers to freeze ice here. We are passing out a gatorade type beverage at two meals and during the evening hours. Whenever possible, extra ice will be passed out and extra showers given.

I have said many time before that the residents here handle stress-type situations very well and I am asking again for your full cooperation until this heat wave is over. I realize that both staff and residents are very uncomfortable and that tempers are short, however, we should all try to work together and handle this as adults in a responsible way.

Thanks again for your full cooperation during this trying period.

Jim Greer
Warden



Revolutionary Worker

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WANTED: 100,000 CO-CONSPIRATORS

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tremendous storms on the horizon and do not shrink from them but welcome them because they see the possibility arising, the possibility of one of those rare moments in history when all the strengths of the system and the ruling class are turned decisively into their opposite, when in a month or a week more drastic change occurs among millions and millions of people than in years of so-called "ordinary" times, the possibility of revolution; so it is that those who understand this and all those who may not yet fully understand but dream, or hope or even pray for an end to the madness of imperialism; so it is that the class-conscious forces and all revolutionary-minded people have some work to do.

We have some work to do to transform the world: we have to prepare for revolution. And today, the most concrete, practical and immediate task in this preparation is to carry out the bold plan which the Revolutionary Communist Party is calling for—a campaign to make a leap in the distribution of the *Revolutionary Worker* to a sustained weekly distribution of 100,000 issues by the end of September. The summer—what is left of it—is not very long, but it certainly has been hot in a number of ways, and an ebb in the heat-wave notwithstanding, it promises to get even hotter. The quickening pace of developments in the objective situation—crisis and war, the growing upsurge of spontaneous struggle among the masses, only intensifies the urgency for revolutionaries to quicken the pace of their work and create favorable new conditions for revolution by doing so. When the leaves begin to turn, it might very well be decisive that the grand conspiracy based on the revolutionary line of the Party has taken such a leap to 100,000 co-conspirators and is continuing to advance.

In little over one year, since the publication of the first issue of the *Revolutionary Worker* on May 1st, 1979, the revolutionary movement in this country and throughout the world has made advances. In particular, the great leap taken in the historic action of thousands of class-conscious workers in the U.S. on May 1st, 1980 has put new challenges before us. As Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, pointed out in a statement published in the *RW* on May 23, 1980, "This great leap is precisely the conquering of a new position from which to carry forward and accelerate the class struggle. The declared and demonstrated determination of these class-conscious workers to mount and remain on the political stage must now be given sustained and growing expression." And the very real possibility that a revolutionary situation may develop in the next decade puts the necessity right out there to maximize every opportunity to broaden and deepen the role of the Party and the impact of the class-conscious workers on major events and other strata in society—that is, to prepare for revolution and to see to it that we have, as Lenin put it, "a revolutionary organization, capable of combining all the forces and of leading the movement not only in name, but in deed, i.e., an organization that will be ready at any moment to support every protest and every outbreak, and to utilize these for the purpose of increasing and strengthening the military forces required for decisive battle."

And even if a revolutionary situation does not ripen in this country in the next decade, perhaps if one will ripen in some other country or countries and our work here will assist it. In any case,

what other work toward what other goal is worthy of a class-conscious worker? The emancipation of all mankind is not just a goal for the "80s."

The class-conscious workers who see what is shaping up in the 1980s want to know how we are going to come out of all this making revolution, and how the relatively small minority of class-conscious forces enter into the spontaneous outbreaks of today and raise them up, raise the consciousness of the masses to go over to something different—an organized offensive to seize power from the capitalist class? And to this we answer that the main line for developing and expanding the kind of organization necessary to lead this struggle is through the work of production, correspondence and distribution of the central newspaper of the Party, the *Revolutionary Worker*.

In his talk before May 1st (available in a pamphlet, "Coming From Behind To Make Revolution"), Chairman Avakian pointed out that "especially with regard to the advanced workers—including those who have for some time, for various reasons, been more inclined toward a revolutionary position, but generally those who more readily gravitate toward and tend to take up revolutionary agitation and propaganda—we have to struggle with them to understand our analysis of the objective situation and its possibilities. I believe that if they do not grasp that, we cannot win them to take up May Day—and not just to come out themselves, but to build for it. 'Cause why should they act?... Simply because they've always hated this system and would love to see it wiped away?... Many people, especially among the more advanced, have been through a lot of struggle and they have a lot of deep questions. They are not just going to come out and struggle, no matter what their sentiments may be, they are not going to come out in large numbers and in any kind of sustained way unless and until they see the possibility for it to make a real difference, to have a real effect on society, to actually contribute something important toward basic change, toward revolution."

And this analysis has been borne out in the struggle for revolutionary May Day and in many articles in the newspaper summing up May 1st. It is clear that the *RW*, as well as the *Draft Programme and Draft Constitution* and other publications of the Party played a decisive role in the battle for May Day, but all this must be viewed in the context of the struggle for revolution and not as an end in itself. Is it conceivable that this overall understanding of the Party's line can be gained without the weekly content of the *RW*? And the analysis made of the importance of the advanced workers grasping the line of

the Party must be applied in this campaign for 100,000 *RW*'s, and in particular, the importance of the advanced forces grasping the central task as put forward in the *Draft Programme*—create public opinion, seize power. Because unless people understand what difference it makes to have 100,000 *RW*'s distributed every week on a sustained basis, why should they act? Why should they actively build the conspiracy? If they do not grasp the central task and the role that the class-conscious forces have to play in this

period of preparation and see what difference it makes in terms of making revolution, then why should they do it? It is necessary for them to understand how things will be transformed in order to take up the work in a sustained and lively way.

These questions have to be taken up in the heat of this battle to increase distribution of the newspaper, and this is a matter of both taking up the science of warfare in its own right and of learning warfare through warfare.

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Gary, Indiana.

"CREATE PUBLIC OPINION... SEIZE POWER!"

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Statement by New Zealand Marxist-Leninists

The Communist Party of New Zealand had been widely honored for standing up to Khrushchev revisionism in the struggle led by Mao in the early 1960s and later had avoided succumbing to the blandishments of the new revisionist rulers of China as well. But recently, through what amounted to a kind of inner-Party coup carried out by the Party Chairman and others in top leadership, the CPNZ has suddenly reversed its previous principled position, and issued a wholesale attack on Mao Tsetung, the basic principles of Marxism and on revolutionaries within the CPNZ. (The sleazy and thin justifications for this sudden about-face were first run out in New Zealand Communist Review and then in the CPNZ's newspaper, People's Voice.) But a growing number of CPNZ members have rebelled against this reactionary move and have arisen in defense of Mao's contributions, Marxism in general and the world proletarian revolution, and are working to establish the conditions to carry forward the revolution in New Zealand. This is an important part of the realignment and forward surge that is taking place in the international communist movement. The following statement on the CPNZ's desertion, dated July 22, 1980, was written by Marxist-Leninist groups in Auckland and Wellington, New Zealand, who asked us to publish it to help make it available to the international movement.

C.P.N.Z. JOINS REVISIONIST RANKS

The Communist Party of New Zealand has joined the revisionist anti-Mao chorus. This was made known to the world revolutionary movement through a Central Committee statement of March 6, 1980, published in the March-April issue of the *Communist Review* under the title "Carry the Struggle Against Revisionism Through to the End."

The Central Committee statement makes it clear that the CPNZ now follows the line of the Party of Labour of Albania as outlined in *Imperialism and Revolution* by Enver Hoxha and in other material. It virtually declares that Mao Tsetung was never a Marxist-Leninist but only a bourgeois democrat. It also repeats the distortions and misrepresentations of Hoxha on many aspects of Chinese history, on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China and on the question of two-line struggle within a revolutionary party.

What makes this new line of the CPNZ so despicable is the fact it completely reverses the line previously held and unanimously endorsed by the higher committees of the Party. The original line which contained sharp criticisms of many of the views and ideas of Hoxha and the PLA, was conveyed to the PLA by a delegation of two Central Committee members in August, 1979. On their return the delegates reported to an enlarged Political Committee meeting (described as "virtually a Central Committee meeting.") The reports, which made it clear that the Albanian position remained unaltered, were enthusiastically and unanimously approved and it was resolved that the PLA line was incorrect and must be opposed.

The content of the reports and resolutions were communicated to the whole Party through circulars, articles and special meetings of members in different areas. The membership with the exception of one or two individuals endorsed the Party's stand and line.

However, in late November the Chairman of the Party, aided and abetted by some other leading members, in violation of the norms of democratic discussion and practice, forced through a complete about-face in the Party's stand. A leading comrade who opposed this treachery was expelled. Later some long-standing as well as

some newer members and even one complete Branch withdrew from the Party which they now regard as a revisionist organisation.

It is now evident that the CPNZ, under the command of its present opportunist leadership, is committed to a revisionist ideological and political line. The fact that it clearly follows the PLA in the latter's wholesale denunciation of Mao Tsetung shows beyond any doubt that it has abandoned revolutionary theory, Marxism-Leninism. Furthermore, the repudiation of the concept and principle of two-line struggle in a revolutionary organisation is a total rejection of dialectics and therefore of objective reality. It is precisely through the operation of the law of contradiction, the unity and struggle of opposites, that Marxist-Leninist parties and the revolutionary working-class movement have developed.

Thus the leadership of the CPNZ are rejecting the lessons of the experience and history of their own Party and even what they themselves used to teach, i.e., that the party cannot isolate itself from its class environment and that (contrary to the ideas of Hoxha), the proletarian party in reality is bound to be an arena of class struggle and conflicting class interests. This does not mean tolerating bourgeois lines or ideology in the party. The concept of two-line struggle is a weapon in the hands of Marxist-Leninists, not for tolerating or accepting bourgeois ideology and its expression in revisionist lines, but for combatting and overcoming such ideology. It is a weapon for combatting liberalism and individualism and all opportunist trends which inevitably appear from time to time in a revolutionary organisation.

Bourgeois opportunist lines require bourgeois opportunist methods of work. The leadership of the CPNZ who formerly frequently quoted Mao "to be open and above board" have introduced their new line by rejecting the basic principles of democratic centralism and have repressed all efforts to have policy discussed in a democratic manner.

As the CPNZ correctly pointed out before its change in policy, the line of the PLA is causing considerable harm in the international movement and it is necessary to expose and oppose it.

In denying the experience of the Communist Party of China, specifically in relation to the struggle against the rise of a new bourgeoisie and using Mao's principle of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the PLA are themselves opening the door to the emergence and development of a new bourgeoisie in Albania. The PLA refuse to accept the fact that bourgeois ideas and new bourgeois elements spring from contradictions in the production relations under socialism. If such bourgeois elements are not defeated they are certain to gain supremacy and control of the proletarian state precisely as has occurred in the Soviet Union and China.

It is a regrettable fact that the CPNZ which formerly enjoyed a high standing and prestige in the international movement as an implacable foe of revisionism and imperialism, has been transformed into a revisionist organization. However, new Marxist-Leninist groups consisting of ex-members of the CPNZ and supporters have grasped the red banner of Marxism-Leninism and revolution thrown into the dust by the reactionary opportunist leaders of the CPNZ. They will continue the revolutionary struggle abandoned by the revisionist party, for the revolutionary cause of the proletariat.

Statement issued by Marxist-Leninist groups in Auckland and Wellington, New Zealand, July 22, 1980.

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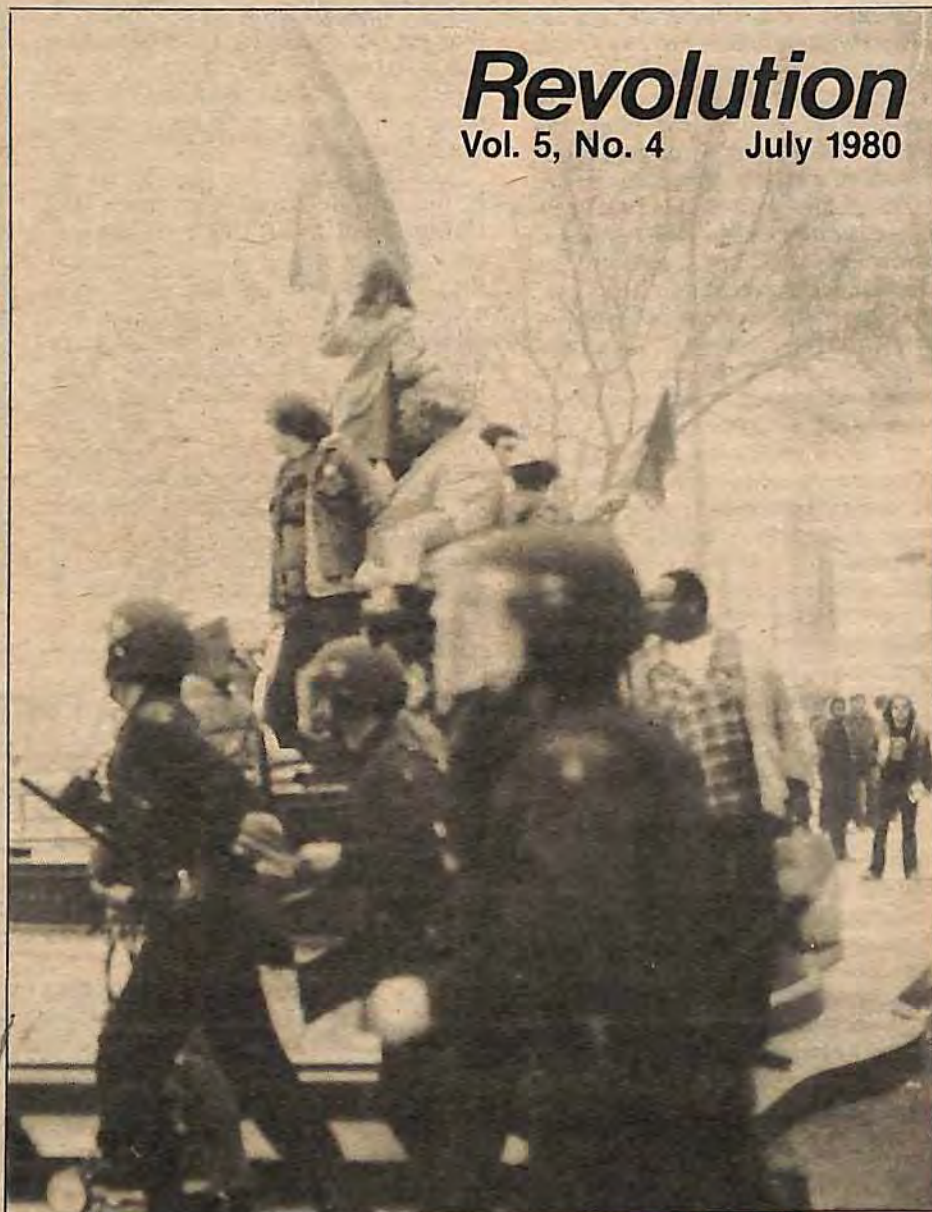
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Revolution

Vol. 5, No. 4 July 1980



Fight Back Calls for Protest Oppose World War 3 Dress Rehearsal

It's called "Autumn Forge '80"—the biggest war games ever organized by the U.S. imperialist war bloc. And our rulers are not playing. Come September, they will be assembling the combined might of the Western imperialist armies for the largest assault on Europe since D-Day in a mock-up version of World War 3. For the U.S. imperialists, it is a crucial part of gearing up their NATO alliance for the approaching showdown with their ruling counterparts the Soviet Union. For the people of the world, it is a blatant step toward the nightmare they are both feverishly preparing to unleash—a step that must be vigorously fought. Fight Back, known as "the revolutionary voice of GIs in Europe," has issued a bold call for all progressive and revolutionary forces in Europe and the U.S. to oppose and expose these war maneuvers. The following excerpts are from an article in the latest issue of Fight Back's newspaper in which this urgent call was made.

This year the NATO countries are preparing to carry out the largest maneuvers in the history of the alliance. Beginning in September, "Autumn Forge '80," this year's version of the "Autumn Forge" NATO maneuvers, of which REFORGER (REturn of FORces to GERmany) is a part, will see 100's of thousands of soldiers, sailors and airmen from the various NATO armies (with many being flown in from the States and England) being run ragged all over Europe under the whip of all sorts of would-be Napoleons.

But this year's maneuvers are not just some generals' "war games," they are something much more serious. For in today's world, where the contention for world domination between the 2 blocs of imperialist countries headed up by the U.S. and U.S.S.R. is growing sharper by the day, these maneuvers are not "games" at all—they are deadly serious preparations for war itself. "Autumn Forge '80" is nothing less than a DRESS REHEARSAL FOR WWII.

If you don't believe it, then check out the front page of the June 3, 1980 *Stars and Stripes* (the so-called "Authorized Unofficial Publication for the U.S. Armed Forces"). The headline damn near declares war itself. And if you still haven't gotten the point, the article, reporting on a "discussion" with Rogers, the "Supreme Allied Commander Europe," contains among others the following quotes:

"Between deterrence and defending is an ability to go to war. And that's where my concerns are—in the ability to go to war and to fight, and to fight until we win," he said.

"Rogers said that NATO likely would be tested by the Soviets sometime in the early 1980s."

"The most probable scenario for a 'contingency' between NATO and the Warsaw Pact is not a sudden attack from the East bloc but a confrontation of superpowers outside of NATO, Rogers said. Then it might spill into Central Europe, where it would become a global confrontation, he said."

In other words there is no doubt in their minds that only a world war in which one or the other superpower emerges as the world's undisputed no. 1 slavemaster can solve the economic and political crisis they find themselves in. And it is very interesting to note that while our rulers usually go out of their way to paint themselves as "peace-loving" and their Russian rivals as "aggressors"—Rogers says only that a confrontation between the superpowers "might spill into Central Europe, where it could become a global confrontation." Or to put it another way, "If the shit gets heavy in the Persian Gulf (or somewhere else), we might just blow the lid off by invading their ass."

Not that it makes any difference which side actually fires the 1st shot (and of course each will claim the other started it)—because both sides will be fighting for the equally reactionary goal of expanding their international profit empires—a goal that the masses of people around the world have no stake in

whatsoever.

The point of this and similar articles is to prepare public opinion for war—especially among us the fools (whoops, we mean troops) that are supposed to go out and do the killing and dying. In particular, they want us to see that war is coming so that even if we don't buy all their patriotic "land of the free, home of the brave" bullshit—we will still look at it from the "better him than me" point of view and get behind their war preparations. What they are telling us is that it's time to stop all this lack of discipline, FTA and even downright rebellion and "start obeying orders because war is coming and your tail is on the line."

...As a reflection of this, in the last few years NATO's "Autumn Forge" and similar exercises by the Warsaw Pact troops (32 major maneuvers in 1978 alone) have taken on a scale unseen since the period before World War II. Massive exercises simulating combat conditions, testing combat readiness and the ability to coordinate multinational command structures have increasingly ravaged the European countryside from Norway to Turkey.

For instance, "Autumn Forge '78" witnessed a total of 323,000 NATO troops and sailors put into motion in such exercises as "Northern Wedding" where a large-scale invasion of Northern European coasts by 12,000 U.S. Marines was rehearsed. Or "Red Tornado" where "an Eastern thrust" into central Germany was "repulsed" by joint NATO troops and where many units were trained in nuclear battlefield conditions....

Last year, "Autumn Forge '79" was the largest area sized NATO maneuver to date. It included 26 coordinated exercises in all of NATO's regions (outside of the Hamburg to Hannover area)....

1979 was the first year that Autumn Forge was carried out under the direct coordination of the NATO command centers instead of the usual national command structures and various German, American, Belgian and Canadian

units were mixed into multi-national fighting brigades.

...A lot of noise is made about the squabbling between the U.S. and its "allies" (read—junior partners in crime), but as these maneuvers show when it comes time for the showdown with their Eastern rivals—they're ready to pull things together.

And to make sure that the big slaughter goes off without a hitch they are getting ready to stage "Autumn Forge '80." While the specific plans have not yet been revealed, some general points are known. Along with being the largest NATO maneuver in history:

1. The maneuver will include the largest re-deployment of U.S. Reserve Forces from North America to Europe yet.

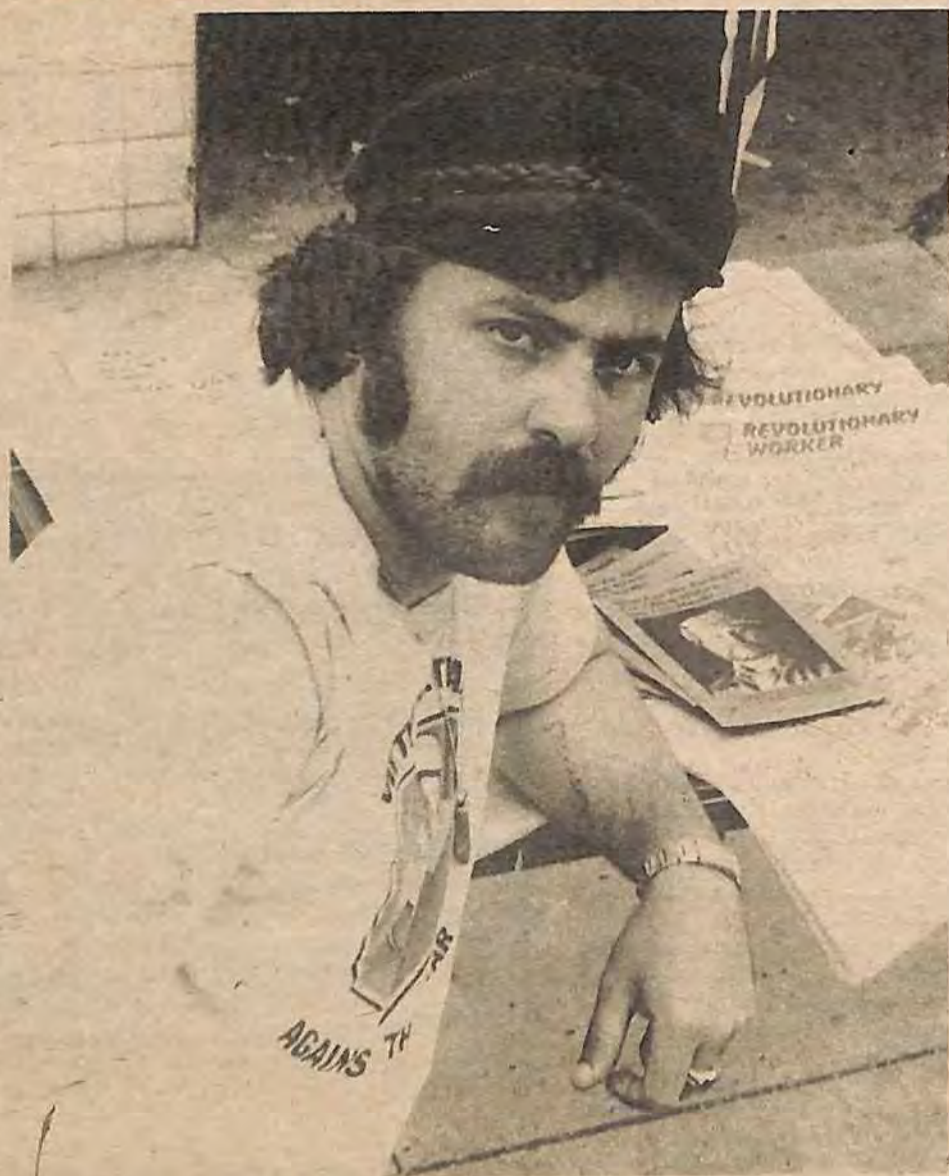
2. 30,000 British troops and their equipment will be moved to Germany in a practice invasion called "Crusader '80" (a total of 90,000 troops will take part in this exercise).

3. The central focus of the maneuvers will be the Northern plain region of Germany, which is considered by most NATO planners to be the most likely point of Soviet attack—or for that matter NATO attack—and is considered a "weak point" in the NATO defense/offense line.

...The "masters of war" on each side are drumming out the message that we have only one choice in this situation, to be cannonfodder for one set of bloodsuckers or the other. That is why it is so important to get out the message that there is another choice—international revolutionary working-class unity.

For this reason Fight Back, as the revolutionary voice of GIs in Europe, is putting out the call to all GIs to take a stand against war moves generally and in particular against "Autumn Forge '80." We are launching a campaign to expose and oppose these war preparations under the following general slogans:

TO HELL WITH AUTUMN FORGE '80—DRESS REHEARSAL FOR WWII
Continued on page 24



ON THE LEFT: Jessie, 10 years ago, serving U.S. imperialism as part of an invasion force that crossed over into Cambodia. This famous photo, taken by Mark Jury and printed in "The Vietnam Photo Book" was captioned—"This kid showed me the belt buckle he had taken off an NVA officer killed in the fire fight while they were trying to take a cache site."

ON THE RIGHT: A Revolutionary Worker photo of the same man in 1980, serving the cause of working class revolution. He had quit his steel mill job after 7 years to become part of the revolutionary May Day Brigades. With the draft gearing up, the thousands with the experience of Vietnam under their belts are a terrifying image to the bourgeoisie. Jessie concurs, "they made one mistake, letting us come back here alive."

Revolutionary Worker

Shah Lovers Flop in D.C.

As Pigs Attack Pro-Khomeini Students



A few of the slimey characters who showed up for the reactionary pro-Shah, pro-Bakhtiar, anti-Khomeini demonstration in Washington D.C.



Counter-Demonstration organized by the Committee of Anti-Imperialist Anti-Reactionary Iranian Students, one of two demos organized in response to mobilization of reactionaries.

Washington, D.C. The stench of coup and counterrevolution filled the air on July 27 as the supporters of the Shah of Iran made their first major public showing in the U.S. since their defeat in D.C.'s streets by thousands of progressive Iranian students in November of 1977.

While the U.S. has certainly not abandoned efforts to turn the present government (or elements within it) into a plaything for U.S. imperialism, neither has it abandoned efforts to rely in its continuing plotting on the very forces represented by the departed Shah and ex-Prime Minister Bakhtiar.

In an effort to both bring out of hiding the pro-Shah-Bakhtiar forces and to rally support for them—an "Iran Freedom Foundation" was established in Washington, headed by Ali Akbar Tabatabai. The IFF was hyped as a "democratic alternative" to the Shah for the purpose of broadening its appeal among anti-Khomeini Iranians in the U.S. Tabatabai was the press attache for the Shah's government in the U.S. and is openly allied with Bakhtiar. The "Foundation" had prepared for weeks to make its July 27 rally a major show of strength.

Tabatabai didn't make it to the demo. He was killed by gunmen a week prior to the demonstration, and Bakhtiar himself narrowly escaped a similar fate in France. Details surrounding these incidents remain unclear. What is clear, however, is the use the imperialists have made of Tabatabai's killing. It was seized on to promote the "Iran Freedom Foundation" as working for the "re-establishment of democracy in Iran," as against "terrorism." Fine words and deeds for an organization consisting of ex-SAVAK agents and aristocrats directly associated with the Shah's bloody rule!

Despite all its promotion, the IFF rally was a miserable flop. They had boasted that 10,000 would come, but less than 500 actually showed, despite people being flown in from as far away as California.

And try as they did to paint their rally as a "democratic" (and not simply pro-Shah) movement, the death of the Shah the night before made the crowd's affection for the "king of kings" plain for all to see. They were dressed in mourning and cried. Some even came with signs openly calling for a CIA-backed coup. Meanwhile, as openly pro-Shah memorials began to ooze from the speaker's platform, the few who had actually swallowed the publicity about the rally not being pro-Shah but simply anti-Khomeini became very upset, began yelling, and walked out.

What the IFF rally did mobilize

however, besides thousands of cops, was several thousand angry Iranians in two separate counter demonstrations who had come determined not to let the Shah and Bakhtiar's towering crimes become forgotten and the attempts at counter-revolution go unopposed. The police made clear long before the demonstrations began that they were out for blood (while, of course, piously posing to the press as only interested in keeping "warring Iranian factions apart").

One counter demonstration was called by the Committee of Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Reactionary Iranian Students (a coalition of supporters of five different revolutionary organizations in Iran) joined by Kurdish students and the RCP. As this coalition fought to get a march permit prior to the demonstration, the Assistant Chief of Police in D.C. held a press conference on the matter at his office. Displayed on his wall were momentos from past demonstrations: a paper face mask from the militant demonstrations of Iranian students during the Shah's visit to Carter in November 1977; a large placard of Mao Tsetung from the January 19, 1979 demonstration against Teng Hsiao-ping; and a symbol from the 1980 Revolutionary May Day demonstra-

tion. (Apparently, the chief was under the false impression that these actions ended in a political victory for the police.)

On the day of the "Iran Freedom Foundation" bogus rally, the action sponsored by this coalition was greeted by a massive show of police force. The police managed to keep these forces from getting anywhere near the pitiful pro-Shah display.

The other counter-demonstration was called by the Moslem Students Association (MSA). This organization supports Khomeini and opposes the Iranian revolutionary Left. Earlier, the D.C. police had carried out a dragnet of the Islam House (the center of the MSA) and of the organization's members—supposedly searching for Tabatabai's killers. People were harassed, houses broken into and the police later stated that for over a month pictures had been taken of everyone going in and out of Islam House.

When the MSA rallied their forces on July 27 against those of the "Iran

Freedom Foundation," chants of "Bakhtiar, Bakhtiar, Shah's Face in Disguise! Death to SAVAK! U.S. Imperialism Out of Iran!" swept the streets. It had become clear that the U.S.-backed reactionary elements were in trouble and the D.C. pigs attacked. They removed their badges and waded into the MSA demonstration. 170 were arrested, and many hospitalized.

The events of July 27 showed again that the U.S. is stepping up its maneuvering and plotting against the people of Iran. The D.C. cops were simply the instrument used to carry out this foreign policy on domestic ground. But even in a city which has one of the largest concentrations of reactionary Iranians in the U.S., still this thinly-veiled pro-Shah rally was a flop and the cops much like their reactionary counterparts in Iran in the past, were forced to beat a little "democracy" into the heads of the Iranian people. □

NEW PAMPHLET AVAILABLE

This pamphlet has been written to arm millions now awakening to political life with this science of revolution. It is a reprint of a series of articles which appeared recently in the pages of the *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper, a series which summed up and served as an introduction to an important new book to be published soon, *The Science of Revolution* (RCP Publications). This book will very sharply and thoroughly explain the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought and the line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA. This pamphlet serves as a very basic introduction to the profound lessons summed up in the book. As Lenin said, "Without revolutionary theory, there can be no revolutionary movement." The difference is that between fighting blindly or fighting consciously with your head up. The difference is that between random sparks of struggle or using a blowtorch to destroy the chains that bind us.

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The Science of Revolution



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Shah—god of gods—Croaks

U.S. Dangles Dead Puppet

Over the last week, the U.S. press has been full of sympathetic commentary about the dead ex-Shah. Even establishment "critics" find it in their hearts to say it's a shame this poor man had to die without a country. But in Iran itself, there was dancing in the streets, celebrating the death of "the American Shah."

In stark contrast to the scene in the streets of Tehran, the U.S. government issued a very short and bland statement sending its "condolences" to the ex-royal family (who may need more than condolences now that the spotlight has begun to shine on the more than \$20 billion they have that was plundered from the people of Iran). The official U.S. statement termed the Shah's death "the end of an era" and ended with the hope that "peace and stability" will soon come to Iran.

The government has clearly been trying to maintain a low profile. This, however, has not been out of any "concern" for the hostages in the captured U.S. embassy in Tehran. Instead, the whole way the coverage around the Shah's death is being slanted—with a well orchestrated outpouring of sympathy for this degenerate ex-dictator, who supposedly "attempted to bring his country into the 20th century"—has everything to do with the current state of the class struggle inside Iran and the U.S. imperialists' desperate need to crush the Iranian revolution and refasten their grip on Iran.

Over the last year and a half—and especially after the seizure of the U.S. embassy last November—the Shah's

bloody removal has become well known to millions here in the U.S. The torture and execution of tens of thousands of political prisoners by SAVAK, the use of billions of Iran's oil revenues on the most up-to-date U.S. weaponry and imported luxury goods, the growth of a parasitic class of multi-millionaires around the Shah and his royal family—it is a tribute to the revolutionary struggle of the Iranian people themselves that even this much has come out. But while the imperialists have been forced to admit a small part of what the Shah did, they have done so only to cover up the full extent of his crimes against the Iranian people—from the Abadan theater fire that burned alive 750 people to the army's massacres in dozens of cities that killed 60,000 people during 1978.

Further, what marks all the "exposure" that has appeared in the U.S. bourgeois media is that it all covers up the role of U.S. imperialism in Iran. While it has been nearly impossible to pretend that the Shah wasn't the U.S. man in Iran for all those years, the picture that has been created is that the Shah was really acting on his own in torturing his opponents and ruling as a fascist dictator, and that he was a megalomaniac who even began to turn on the U.S. The U.S., of course, was only trying to bring "modernization and progress" to a country that "lacked a democratic tradition."

This was precisely the position taken by CBS newsman Charles Collingwood during an hour-long TV special on the death of the Shah last week. To take one example, Collingwood shook his

finger at SAVAK's "brutality," but neglected to point out that SAVAK was actually founded, organized and trained in the latest methods of "interrogation" and supplied with modern torture equipment by the CIA and FBI since the mid-1950s. An oversight, perhaps?

Attempting to appear even-handed, Collingwood noted that the Shah, "for all his failings," had been "a force for progress and stability in the Middle East." He then went on to list the many reforms the Shah had brought about—new factories, housing and hospitals, increased literacy, a "whole new status" for women. This is simply a replay of the imperialists' claims—churned out all through 1978 as the Iranian revolution was becoming front-page news around the world—that the Iranian people were backward religious fanatics opposed to modernization.

While there were many forces involved in this vast movement, the focus of the revolutionary movement was on the imperialist plunder of Iran, carried out by the "American Shah." Where were the cries of "Mergaba Shah" ("Death to the Shah") coming from? From striking workers from these "new factories" owned by the Shah's cronies in league with Western business interests, where average wages were \$3-4 a day and strikes were punishable by death; from landless peasants driven out of the countryside and into vast "tin can cities" ringing Tehran and other cities, while shining new condominiums were being erected for the Iranian bourgeoisie and for the 40,000 U.S. managers and military advisors

that had descended on Iran; from the Kurds and other oppressed nationalities in the provinces where half the children still died before the age of 2 and who still cooked with animal manure in this oil-rich country; and from the women who were sickened by the spread of Western fashions, pornography and prostitution.

Even in economic terms, Iran was nowhere close to developing as a "modern" country—what developed in Iran was a distorted, twisted economy completely dependent on imperialism for its functioning. The results of this imperialist-style "development" were plain to see: fabulous riches for a handful of imperialists and the Iranian comprador bourgeoisie, and growing poverty and degradation for the vast majority of Iran's 35 million people.

As for why the U.S. lavished so much attention on Iran and the Shah's regime, the closest Collingwood came to explaining this was to note at one point that "our strategic interests coincided with the Shah's regional ambitions." Collingwood makes this sound like a "partnership," but in fact the Shah was placed on his throne and kept there in order to be U.S. imperialism's chief regional gendarme in the oil-rich Persian Gulf, especially after the U.S. defeat in Vietnam in the early '70s. The Shah basically provided the U.S. imperialists with a strategically located military base for use against their reactionary rivals in the USSR as well as genuine revolutionary movements in the area. It was these needs of U.S. im-

Continued on page 18

Scientists Probe Shah's Curious Malady

According to sources close to the deposed and now deceased Shah of Iran, the illness which caused the death of the former monarch was not the cancer and other ailments which are publicly blamed for his death, but rather a somewhat rare disease known among specialists as *Basileiapollusis* or, in laymen's terms, "Loss of Throne."

Insiders say the Shah's bizarre symptoms at first had his doctors stumped, until experts were called in. "He used to reach into the air above his head with both hands, as if he thought he was wearing a very heavy hat," an aide-de-camp related. "Or he would make stiff gestures in front of himself with one hand, as if he were waving a baton." The most common, and most potentially hazardous, of the former Shah's symptoms, however, was his habit of sitting down in thin air, as if he expected a chair to be there. Experts were finally able to diagnose these symptoms, explaining that the Shah was reaching above his head in search of the gold crown adorned with 3,380 diamonds which he used to wear, that his arm motions in front of his body were connected with the jewel-encrusted gold sceptre which he used to wave, and the strange "sittings" in empty space were vain attempts by the

shah to seat himself once again on the Peacock Throne.

By this point Washington had become heavily involved in the Shah's case. "When we saw the seriousness of his condition," a high official commented, "We felt we had a humanitarian duty to do everything in our power to cure it." The Shah was brought to New York—"one of the few cases," an observer remarked, "in which New York City air was thought to be part of a cure"—but the results were disappointing. In fact, the move seemed only to aggravate the disease.

Next it was thought that a change of soil, rather than a change of air, might cure the diseased monarch. And so another fruitless search was on, as Mexican, U.S., Panamanian and Egyptian soils were tried in succession, but without success. The Shah, of course, had brought his own casket of Iranian soil, in which he slept during daylight hours. It seemed that this was the only thing that could sustain him, and U.S. experts finally agreed that the only cure for his illness was to transplant him back to Iranian soil. On the other hand, however, it was recognized that any attempt to carry out this cure involved the virtual certainty that the Shah would contract the equally dangerous malady

of *cephaleapollusis* (or "loss of head").

Nonetheless, experts thought a partial cure might be possible. "If we couldn't put the Shah back on the throne, at least we might save the throne, and if not the throne, then at least a close substitute," explained one. "As medical scientists, we have to take a broad view, and not get too wrapped up in one particular patient."

Thus it was that a large team of medical experts, equipped with special surgical instruments and gas for anaesthesia flew to Iran itself on a mission of mercy. Unfortunately, as is widely known, the attempt resulted only in a costly and humiliating failure, as the humanitarian mission had to be aborted due to technical difficulties.

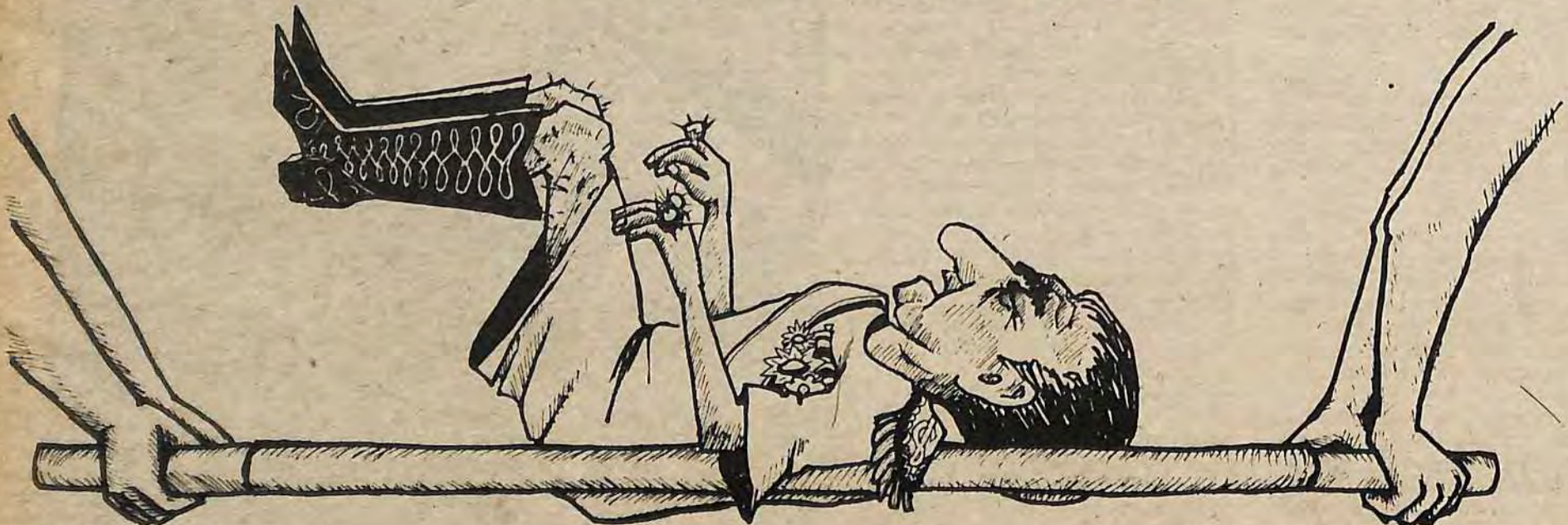
By this point, U.S. officials had arrived at the conclusion, as one expert put it, that "all of imperialism's guns and men couldn't put the Shah and his throne back together again." It was seen that, not only was this case a terminal one, but more importantly, the disease of *Basileiapollusis* had spread and was threatening to reach epidemic proportions.

"We have to recognize that Somoza (formerly of Nicaragua) is suffering from essentially the same disease," an expert commented, "even though some

of the symptoms and circumstances may differ (no actual throne as such, for instance)." Moreover, he went on to point out, many of the preliminary symptoms of the dread disease are observable in numerous parts of the globe. "El Salvador and Korea are only two of the most visible instances," the official continued. The virus has spread widely, and the truly frightening thing is that it may flare up anywhere, at any time."

What is also causing alarm and, yes, a good deal of fear among U.S. officials is that the current epidemic appears to involve a new and more virulent form of the disease. "Back in the '50s we had a cure," one high-ranking official mused grimly. "In fact the Shah was a prime beneficiary of it, in 1953. But now..."

The more certain it became that the Shah's case was terminal, the more his doctor's seemed to shun him. These most experienced doctors appeared to have a strong feeling that if they were to operate under these conditions, they might cut themselves in the process. Strange, these gentlemen whose hands are constantly covered with others' blood had a terrible, nauseated reaction at the thought of their own. □



It's the Snobs Using the Slobs Going After Jimmy Through Brother Bill

Jimmy Carter's chances of seeing another term in the White House seem to be rapidly fading as the "dump Carter" movement goes into full swing backed by broad and powerful forces in the ruling class. After temporarily suspending an anti-Carter campaign which began over a year ago (remember the jogging incident, the rabbit attack and the Hamilton Jordan affair) due to the political necessity of getting people to rally around the commander in chief and the red, white and blue after the "Iran crisis" and Afghanistan broke, the campaign is now again going full steam ahead. It is like the bourgeoisie (large sections of it, anyway) just turned on a faucet, and whoosh! Billygate was born. "Poor honest born-again" Jimmy in trouble again from his good ol' boy brother. Recent polls show Carter's popularity at all-time lows, even below that of Nixon, previously the most unpopular president. In a California poll Carter finished third behind Reagan and Anderson. It is being floated that it is even possible that he won't even get the Democratic nomination, even though he already has more than enough delegate votes to get the nod. All kinds of possible Democratic Party candidates are being proposed—Ted Kennedy, Henry "Scoop" Jackson, Muskie, Mondale, etc., etc. in the rush to replace Carter by declaring an "open convention" where already committed delegates would be able to vote for any candidate.

This little Billygate scandal is a typical and very transparent example of how the bourgeoisie goes about settling accounts within its own ranks and replacing politicians who have for whatever reason out-lived their usefulness. Unable to openly declare their real dictatorship over this society, the ruling class has to carry out such struggles within its ranks in a disguised way (even if sometimes the disguise is very thin indeed). They cannot simply come out and say, "Well, Jimmy was OK and really quite useful for a while but things have changed and we need

someone else to front for us, so we're replacing him with so-and-so." No, they have to hide what's really going on with a bunch of lies about the people choosing their own leaders through the electoral process, etc. Thus the "American political scene" is full of all kinds of maneuvering and behind-the-scenes intrigue and scheming, as various sections of the bourgeoisie and their politicians go at each other. Let's face it—you don't have to look very hard to find some dirt on any politician now in office in this country. They all are up to their necks in scandalous activities and innumerable forms of corruption. The fact that a ready-to-be-bribed Billy Carter seized on an opportunity to make a couple hundred thousand dollars from the Libyans for his services, whatever they could possibly be, really startles very few people. This type of thing is typical. It simply provided a convenient opportunity to get Carter.

And the way things are unfolding, it looks like he will come through this with his honest image, if nothing else, still intact (the ruling class does want to have people believe that there are honest politicians). The way things are being set up is that the sin Carter will be found guilty of is that he is ineffective and weak—"Why, he can't even keep his own brother in line." It is also interesting that the crime involved here is being an agent of a foreign government—an Arab government in particular. This is in keeping with the general patriotic and chauvinist crap being run out right and left in preparation for war. Here is the president's own brother accepting thousands from the "Arab terrorist" Qaddafi, the financier of the PLO, the "hard-liner of OPEC" and the "willing pawn of Moscow." It is indeed amusing that Carter, who has waged such a big chauvinist, anti-OPEC, anti-Arab campaign, is now being tied in to an "Arab plot."

This is quite a bit different from what went on around Watergate. The ouster of Nixon was carried out at a point

when the U.S. was forced to make tactical retreats both at home and abroad. The U.S. was defeated in Vietnam in a war that was widely opposed by the American people, and open opposition to the government was at a high point. A fall guy was needed, someone to pin all the crimes of the imperialists as a whole on. For many, Nixon, the dog that he was, symbolized the rottenness of the American ruling class. Hence, the exposures of Nixon (who had done absolutely nothing that every other president hadn't done) were given a progressive cosmetic appearance. Nixon was portrayed as a warmonger, a defiler of civil liberties and one who "abused the power of the presidency."

With Carter, the situation is somewhat the opposite. At a time when the bulk of the capitalists are demanding a "strong and effective" president to get serious about a showdown with the Soviet Union, Carter is widely portrayed as not being up to the task. For the ruling class, this is certainly no time to call into question the powers of the presidency. Hence, the campaign does not attack Carter as a grasping villain; rather, he is portrayed as vacillating, wishy-washy, or, to use their favorite term, "inept."

While Carter was carefully groomed out of obscurity—a "fresh face" and "down-home boy" from outside Washington, not associated with the Nixon era and supposedly not covered with the stench of the rottenness and filth that most established political leaders are known to wallow in, it seems that he has outlived his usefulness in the face of rapidly developing world events leading to world war. He is certainly not any less of a warmonger than Reagan, Kennedy or any other bourgeois politician, and he has taken the necessary steps to advance the bourgeoisie's war effort and tried his level best to blow the battle trumpet. But Jimmy's style and abilities are not best suited to the new necessities of the U.S. imperialists. The war call must be sounded and it must be firm and convincing. The economy is in an ever deepening crisis. The U.S. finds its position in the world steadily eroding as the Soviets intensify their challenge at every turn and on every front. Severe blows to the empire have been delivered in Iran and Nicaragua. The Soviets have made a move in Afghanistan. A president better suited for the situation

today is needed.

None other than Henry Kissinger put it this way at the Republican convention. As usual for the bourgeoisie, he portrayed their desires and necessities as the demands of the people:

"Even President Carter has admitted that we now face the gravest crisis since 1945. But the administration's response is symptomatic of what produced our peril in the first place. We hear not a call to action but explanations of what we cannot do. We are given not a vision of the future, but improvised—often cynical—expedients to get through the election. We are told endless alibis for doing nothing: that not every upheaval affects our interests, that disasters have complex socio-economic causes, that communist gains will prove temporary.

"The American people reject this proclamation of our paralysis. They are tired of a foreign policy that results only in retreat and the constant humiliation of the United States.

"They insist that we take charge of our future."

Thus, while Carter may still be able to hang on to the presidency, it seems quite possible that he will be defeated or by some chance maybe not even be nominated at the Democratic convention which begins on August 10. And whatever happens at the convention, the current Billygate scandal and the "dump Carter" movement will add some suspense and interest to the event which the ruling class no doubt hopes will suck more people into the election shell game than the Republican convention was able to do. But frankly, who gives a damn, and who *should* give a damn about which warmonger and vicious exploiter sits in the Oval Office? While the various tactical maneuvers of the bourgeoisie and who it chooses as its front men are interesting and should be studied and analyzed, it is pure poison for the masses of people to have even the slightest notion that it makes the least bit of difference which mouth-piece the imperialists are speaking through this year or this month. Carter, Reagan, Kennedy, Anderson, or whoever—to get sucked into their election game can only sidetrack the struggle to get rid of all these bloodthirsty dogs. The voices may vary, but the message will be the same and only one class will be served—the one that pulls the strings on these puppet politicians. □

PATRIOTS SLOBBER OVER SOVIET KID

"I don't want to move. I want to stay here. I have new friends, a nice school, a bicycle," complained 12-year-old Walter Polovchak to his father, just as probably a million other kids do every year when faced with the prospect of moving.

And a million times a year, the response comes back, "Shaddup, kid, and do what your pop says." What else do you expect?

How about the two federal guards to protect you from your parents, a media barrage that plasters your name on front pages across the nation and world, judges clucking over you and rich old ladies crying in front of cameras for your future, while foreign ambassadors threaten "far-reaching consequences," and the highest bureaucrats in America, probably including Jimmy Carter himself, intervene on your behalf to give you "asylum."

Sounds absurd? Not if you're talking about Walter Polovchak.

Because Walter's parents aren't just moving, they want to leave America. That's right, pack their bags and LEAVE the USA, even giving up their chance at U.S. citizenship in this "great land of the free." And as if that wasn't enough to make an America Firster's red blood boil, where do you think they want to move? Maybe France or England, or some other semi-respectable ally? Nope, right back to the arch-enemy of the U.S., its cut-throat rival, the imperialists who they are clashing with in

every corner of the globe, the Soviet Union.

So, Walter Polovchak has become the bourgeoisie's little darling, second only to Shirley Temple. Flashbulbs pop everytime Walter steps foot outside his house. Whenever he goes or comes from the court where the custody hearings are taking place, he leaves with immigration officials, Chicago porkers and lawyers. One car always tails his car.

When, on July 14, Walter's sister heard that their parents wanted to move back to the Soviet Union, she took him and ran away to a cousin's house. (Natalie, you'll notice, is of no political use to these hounds—she has her own passport and therefore is not bound to her parents, so you won't be seeing a lot of her.) By the time Walter's dad, Michael Polovchak, found him at a police station, a big-shot lawyer from Chicago's Ukrainian community had been notified. The State Department, with little coaxing, issued a temporary order "to keep the lad in the country until an appropriate judicial decision can be made." The case has been continued until August 4.

While the U.S. screams "terrorism" and "international law" over the American hostages in Iran, the political kidnapping of Walter Polovchak is lauded as a blow for democracy and a political coup against the Soviets. But you damn well know, if the shoe was on the other foot, F-4 Phantom jets would

be strafing the hell out of wherever Walter was being held. And oh, how the "genuine" concern for the boy just oozes out.

In the honeyed tones usually reserved for darlings like Amy Carter or Caroline Kennedy, newscasters and hack writers have gushed repeatedly over Walter's "freckled face" and breathlessly reported his love for America—its souped-up Corvettes, nice teachers, ice cream, stereo speakers and gadgets of every kind (especially the walkie-talkies his special guards use), and cartoons.


But just how concerned they are is illustrated by a story which did *not* make the headlines, though it happened at the same time. 14-year-old Dale Bragg was murdered by a Morrow City pig near Atlanta, Georgia, in 1976. It seems that

Dale and a few of his friends were playing in a vacant house one night. It was late. The cops showed up and drew their guns when they saw "shadowy figures" leaving the premises. Patrolman William yelled freeze and then his gun went off "accidentally"—the bullet smashing in Dale's forehead. It took four years for a federal jury to respond to the \$2 million damage suit. They ruled "gross negligence" on the part of the City of Morrow. But when it came to awarding damages they gave the Bragg family \$10!!

You see, Dale Bragg was mentally disabled, and he would not have had great earning power in his lifetime—he was only worth 10 stinking dollars.

So that's how much concern America

Continued on page 16



BARRICADES in BERLIN
Klaus Neukirch

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May Day 1929

Communist-led workers battle police in the streets of Berlin—police acting on the orders of the Social Democratic government. The relation of the working class to the German Social Democrats is a central theme in this novel, which tells a lively and stirring story based on actual events.

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KLAN GOES FREE—CHATTANOOGA BLOWS

The fires were still smouldering in Miami, the authorities still licking their wounds from the previous weeks' upsurge, when hundreds of Black youth poured into the streets of Chattanooga in 4 days of rebellion. The nightmares of the ruling class were coming true as the flames of the spreading struggle against national oppression flared up again.

People were bitterly angry over the outrageous verdict in the trial of 3 KKK members charged with the April 19th shooting of 5 elderly Black women. Two were acquitted (one a local Klan leader) and a third received a 9 to 20 month sentence on charges reduced from felonious assault with intent to commit first degree murder to simple assault and battery. They'd have gotten more time than that for running down the mayor's dog.

Chattanooga's unemployment rate of 9.4 per cent (estimates range as high as 80 per cent for Black youth), coupled with almost weekly news of more layoffs in some of the industrial town's large plants, along with many small plant shutdowns, has led to increased anger in recent months as people's existence goes from hardship to near desperation. Since March the NAACP has been frantically trying to keep a lid on the growing discontent, holding a much publicized meeting with the same local KKK members who later masterminded the downtown shooting spree. For over a month there had been almost daily confrontations between the city officials and a newly-formed citywide tenant's association about rapidly deteriorating conditions in the housing projects, where at least 8 people had died during the early July heatwave. While all the meetings and the pickets were dwarfed by the stark reality that the crisis has hit, Chattanooga's city fathers only recently blamed the conditions in the projects—and presumably conditions in general—on tenant "slovenliness."

Since the April 25th Grand Jury hearing where the Klansmen were indicted and 100 Black people demonstrated outside chanting, "Bring 'em out!", the trial had become a focal point for the building anger and frustration. A petition signed by 50 professors and students at the predominantly white University of Tennessee at Chattanooga in outrage at the shootings and the lack of anything done about them was attacked widely by the city officials, the priests and ministers. The stage was set for sharp struggle. The trial lasted a week and a half. People packed the courtroom, sometimes booing, sometimes laughing, more and more contemptuous of the "law."

Miami Police Successful in Weapons Search

Miami, July 16. With headlines blasting out slanderous stories of gangs of Black "hoodlums" attacking innocent whites in cars, hoards of riot police surrounded Liberty City. The second Miami rebellion erupted after 2 months of seething "calm." Five cops were downed by gunfire the first night. The national news coverage was filled with lies from the inception of the fighting. The cops' story is that they were trying to arrest 2 suspects in a burglary and people started firing at them. Sounds more than just a little fishy, especially now since the license plate of the robbed car has turned out to be bogus and no one has stepped forward to file a complaint.

Here's the real story. After weeks of conscious and unsuccessful ploys to get Black people in the area of the rebellion to turn in the over 1,000 guns stolen during the May rebellion, the ruling authorities decided to move in and take them by force. From 5:30 to 7 p.m. that evening riot cops with dogs went door to door in the projects searching for weapons. The police search bore fruit. They were looking for weapons—they found weapons, or more accurately, weapons found them.

Cops began falling left and right. One of the first hit is an infamous



Nighttime face-off on Chattanooga streets, Wednesday, July 23.

Klansmen testified that they were just good old boys who'd gotten a little too drunk. The Klansman "convicted" of the shooting claimed that he also was drunk—too drunk in fact to realize that he was shooting into a crowd of Black people! One Klan member even claimed that he never really realized the "creed" of the Klan was violent, he thought he'd joined a "Help the Community" organization. Klan members had spent the whole April 19th Saturday preparing for the conscious and pre-meditated armed assault. They'd gone to the woods to cut boards for two 8-foot crosses. Then they stopped to get their shotguns and boxes of ammunition and put cardboard over their license plates. After they had set up the crosses on a railroad trestle over a downtown strip and started burning them, they got back in the cars and drove down the street

pumping birdshot out of the windows. They messed up only when they got caught—but even then one car did not get caught, and of course, no word has been said about that by the authorities since the shooting. A member of the all-white jury summed up the verdict: "The State did not present to this jury enough evidence to put these men in jail."

When the verdict was announced, the local news media slobbered all over themselves trying to sympathize with "Black folks," but what mainly came through was (in one paper's own words) let's "get on with life." (!) This all too blatant call to lie down before increasing oppression and be "good slaves" was flatly rejected.

Enough! One angry Black woman yelled, "Nothing's going to be left standing but the bricks." Only several hours later firebombs, bricks, bottles, and bullets started flying. Groups of youth patrolled the streets hitting targets of their oppression. While a few small stores were burned or looted, the concentrations focused against companies like Chattanooga Glass (which is rumored to employ a nest of Klansmen). It was hit over and over for several days—once breaking into a shootout with the company guard.

The armed force of the state was brought in swiftly to control the so-called "race riot"—but not in the same way that the National Guard and cops had gone into the May Miami rebellion, with guns blasting leaving 18 dead and hundreds wounded. Perhaps they'd learned that those tactics had only added fuel to the fire. While 200 people were arrested in Chattanooga, the police relied more on the pattern used in the second Miami rebellion: cops cordoned off the center of the activity, set up a gestapo I.D. search, and imposed a dusk to dawn curfew, planning to contain it until it subsided.

The reason for all this lies partly, no doubt, in the fact that the first night of the curfew, sniper fire pinned cops in three parts of the city. In Alton Park 8 were shot with birdshot—the same ammunition used by the Klan on the 5 Black women 2 months earlier.

Mayor Pat Rose, who was only one block from the scene of the "ambush," rushed over to pick up a fallen cop's gun and symbolically put it in his belt. Editorials screamed for blood, "What-

ever force that is necessary should be applied to restore law and order."

It turned out, however, that the main thing applied "to restore law and order" was the Reverend Jesse Jackson who immediately flew to Chattanooga and was greeted by a massive propaganda blitz of clicking cameras and shaking hands all aimed at promoting his "leadership." It's just a "collapse of the judicial system," Jesse cried. "We must use effective methods because it is not enough to die for freedom, we must want to live for it." The fast-talking, fancy-sounding rhetoric went hand-in-hand with Jesse's plan—peace patrols. Move out the cops and move in the preachers. Since Chattanooga brags about having more churches and churchgoers than any other city its size, there were plenty of volunteers. So while the cops moved their roadblocks a little further away from the "main trouble" areas, all-night patrols of Black preachers were set up for several nights running. But even the willing "peace patrollers" weren't beyond the reach of discrimination and national oppression. On the first night out, 2 of these house slaves were *themselves* arrested by the cops for curfew violations.

Another element of Jesse's plan was also implemented. The federal government was called on to supposedly investigate the Klan as well as the local government which had excluded all Black people from the jury in the Klan trial. The Black assistant attorney general arrived with the huge fanfare about an FBI and Justice Department investigation. Few missed the fact that this announcement did not follow the outrageous verdict, but only followed the rebellion. With the FBI still clamoring about the widespread use of weapons by Black people during the Miami rebellion, just who and what will be investigated in Chattanooga is not too hard to deduce.

Meanwhile Bill Wilkinson, National KKK leader, moved into town. He held a press conference and a rally of 300 in nearby Alabama. Saturday night after the rally three Klukkers were arrested following a high speed chase starting in the Alton Park area—they were carrying hunting bows and arrows and had thrown blasting caps out their windows—a provocative threat to the Black people of the area. While the

Continued on page 18

Cell Blocks Go Up In Smoke In Idaho

There is no massive stone wall surrounding the Idaho State Penitentiary, only a couple of chain link fences. The oldest building was built in 1973 and the newest cell block was opened last June. Unlike the 100-year-old hellholes where many prison uprisings have erupted in the past, the Idaho State Pen is supposedly a progressive prison, a model correctional institution. But a modern prison is still a prison—and much to the embarrassment of Idaho correctional authorities, on the night of July 23 any illusions about the nature of their pet jailhouse went up in smoke along with their "enlightened" cellblocks.

Earlier that same day, the guards conducted one of their routine shake-downs of Cellblock 9 while the prisoners were at lunch. Ransacking the prisoners' cells, they stole blankets, books, shoes, guitars—in all, three laundry carts of "contraband." When the prisoners found out about this latest instance of harassment and humiliation, it was the straw that broke the

camel's back. All hell broke loose—the vicious routine of prison life was suddenly shattered as they stormed through the prison yard, smashing the hated buildings, seizing control of cellblocks 8 through 11 and taking two guards hostages.

The prisoners' fury sent the governor scurrying back from Washington, D.C. and the Lt. Governor rushing from the golf course to the state capital. An army of guards, local and state police were rushed to the prison with automatic weapons and shotguns. Meanwhile, prisoners used a Cadillac from the prison's auto body shop to smash their way into Cellblock 7, the maximum security building, freeing more prisoners who then joined them in seizing the newly constructed Cellblock A—an area that officials had thought was "secure." By nightfall, much of the prison had been reduced to a smoldering tinderbox, as the flames of revolt lit up the sky with an eerie orange glow.

Shortly after the rebellion began, a

committee of 15 prisoners confronted the acting warden at the fence with a list of their demands: An end to theft and harassment that routinely accompanies the "shakedown" of prisoners' cells; better medical treatment and establishment of a drug rehabilitation program; better vocational and educational programs; a review of the parole system that keeps prisoners behind bars for years at the whim of authorities; decent wages to replace the slave-labor wages currently paid those working in prison industries; and an end to harassment of visitors and the arbitrary denial of visits. These demands reflect the same outrages prisoners have to put up with from one end of the capitalist penal system to the other, including in their "model" prisons.

"All of these things we're talking about can be discussed," promised the warden. As the prisoners released one of the hostages in good faith, a citizens' committee of lawyers, clergy and press was brought in to "negotiate." It got nowhere thanks to the efforts of the governor's representatives, who taunted and insulted inmate leaders, making any discussion impossible. At 5:00 A.M. the next morning, the Idaho Board of Corrections Director Crowl unleashed a 17-man commando squad on the cellblock where the remaining guard was being held. After they came out with the hostages, the prisoners were ordered to surrender or else...

Back in control of the situation, the Idaho authorities revealed the depths of their commitment to prison reform. One state senator announced that Idaho should not rebuild "a country club house like we had out there before the riot." Maybe we ought to take television away and put them on bread and water for a while." The speaker of the State House of Representatives whined, "I can't get excited about hurrying up to restore some luxury facilities." The State Senate Majority Leader added, "The prisoners made the mess up there. They should live in it a while." The State Attorney General pompously declared: "Anyone who suggests that hot weather, prison conditions, the legislature, penitentiary administration or any other factor justifies any part of the senseless and unlawful activity is grossly misinformed about what prison conditions were in Idaho prior to the riot." The warden cooed that the prisoners should "realize they don't have it that bad."

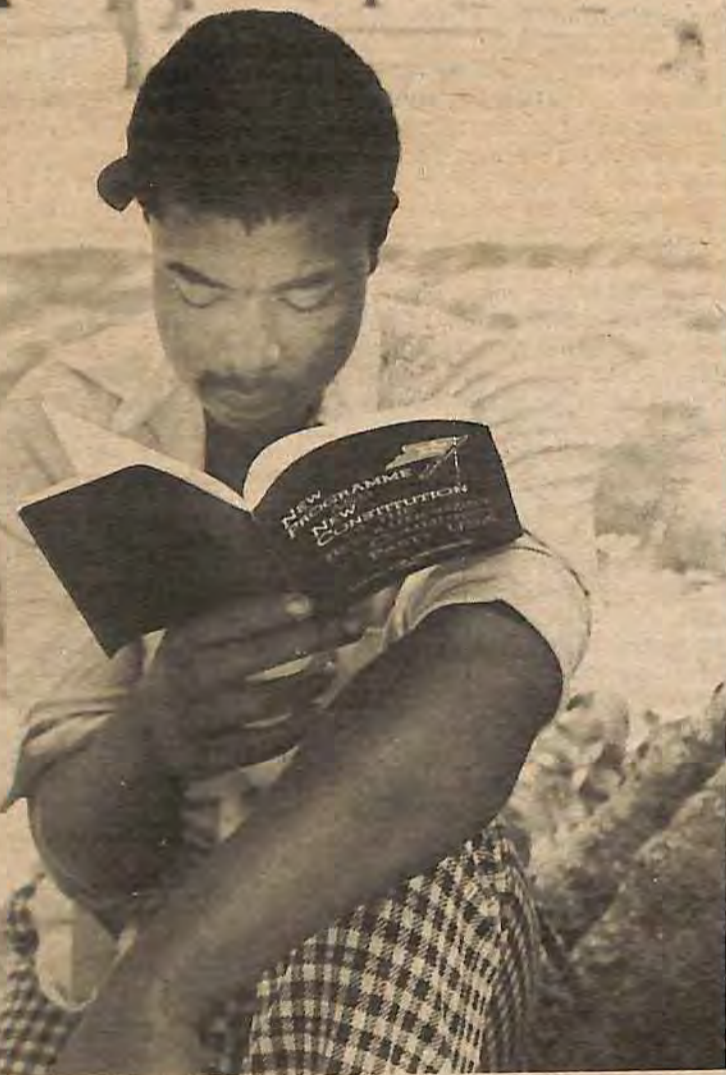
Meanwhile, in an effort to cover up exactly what kind of "luxurious country club" they are running, police raid-

ed the newsroom of KCBI-TV and seized video tapes made during the rebellion by reporter Bob Loy when he was allowed inside the prison after inmates demanded press coverage of their demands. The excuse for rifling through the station's files and reporters' desks for over an hour and a half was that the prosecution needs the information as evidence against those who participated in the rebellion. But while this is undoubtedly true, their main concern was obviously to get their hands on some powerful evidence against *them*—film of their handling of the rebellion and interviews with prisoners relating their bitter years of experience in clutches of Idaho correctional authorities. This gestapo raid was so blatant that no less than the *New York Times* was forced to raise a hue and cry on the front page about violations of the "constitutional right of the press." Of course, they barely mentioned the rebellion itself and there was nary a word of exposure about just what, in fact, the contents of the tapes were.

Since the rebellion, prison authorities have returned to business as usual, deep-sixing the citizens' committee and launching a campaign to terrorize the inmates back into submission. Prisoners were made to lie face down in the dirt surrounded by guards and police toting shotguns and automatic rifles, and then, forced to strip naked. Over 300 inmates were left on the prison baseball field to live, in makeshift tents under the blazing summer sun, subjected to the constant threats and provocations of the guards. The State Director of Corrections announced that future shakedowns of prisoners' cells would be conducted exactly like the shakedown that triggered the prison rebellion, despite the admission that no guns, drugs or other illegal items were among the three laundry carts full of materials seized by the guards.

But despite these tactics, the prisoners remained defiant. Those held on the prison's baseball field launched new revolts, setting fires and breaking up their cots. At one point, 300 inmates massed and charged the acting warden and nine guards. Only a fusillade of 200 rounds of automatic weapons fire over their heads stopped the prisoners' advances. Earlier, two dozen of the inmates being flown to Montana prison, escaped from their shackles and threatened to take over the plane. Sweating guards had to hold the prisoners at gunpoint for 40 minutes until it landed. □

DARE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE BATTLE PLAN FOR REVOLUTION



In a situation which is developing as rapidly as today's, the actions taken by the advanced section of the proletariat are of decisive importance. They will in no small part determine how far along we are and whether we are able to break through all the way when the conditions fully ripen and the opportunity for revolution is there to seize. These moments, particularly in a country such as this are rare in history and their outcome has a profound influence on history for years, even decades to come. Those who do understand what is going on and choose not to act are contributing to the prolonging of this destructive and decadent rule of imperialism. This programme is a declaration of war, and at the same time a call to action and a battle plan for

destroying the old and creating the new. It must be taken up.

Today the words of Mao Tsetung ring out with full force.

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Women in Chains

Recently it has come to light that women at the Sybil Brand Institute (the women's jail in L.A. County) have been literally *chained* to their beds during labor and while recovering from childbirth. According to the sheriff, women prisoners receiving medical care must be shackled around the ankles and tied to the bedposts with a 10 to 12 foot chain to "prevent them from escaping." As Sharon Larson, the prisoner who filed suit to have the chains removed, said, "It's prehistoric, you go through labor and then you have these big old chains on you...it's humiliating."

Humiliating yes, but perfectly legal as Judge Jerry Pacat proved when he

refused to issue a restraining order to stop the shackling because he didn't want to "shake up the operation of county facilities." However, after this outrage appeared in the media, the sheriff's department felt that it might be best to "modify the practice." Now, *most* women in jail for misdemeanors won't be shackled and no one will be shackled during labor. The pigs hastened to add though that this new policy is being done "on a test basis," or until the controversy cools out. And on July 15th, Judge Pacat again refused to issue an injunction, leaving it up to the sheriff to make further "modifications" later. □

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

Behind the U.S. Opposition to Bolivia's Latest Coup

On July 18, Bolivian military and paramilitary forces launched the country's 189th coup in the past 156 years; however, unlike most previous such operations, this one was apparently carried out without the prior approval of the U.S. government. In fact, the official residence of U.S. ambassador Marvin Weissman was attacked by the Bolivian generals' forces during the beginning stages of the coup. General Luis García Meza, commander of the Bolivian army, led the military takeover sending interim president Lidia Gueiler Tejada fleeing to the Vatican embassy about two weeks before she was to have been replaced, and initiating widespread terror against the Bolivian people. There are estimates that over 100 people have been killed in La Paz already by the military regime. The army conducted armed raids through the working class districts of La Paz, having to fight their way through barricades and sniper fire set up by the youth of the areas. It also launched a military siege, including bombing raids, of the 10 mining areas where the miners have been engaged in armed resistance to the coup, blocking all the major roads in the mountains. As we go to press, the miners are continuing their resistance despite the fact that the army has encircled the area and is preventing any food from reaching them; in addition, explosions and gunfire exchange in La Paz are still being reported by Latin American journalists.

The immediate purpose of the coup was to prevent the election of a so-called "center-left" government led by former Bolivian president, U.S. puppet Hernán Siles Zuazo, whose Unión Democrática y Popular (UDP) coalition is made up of various bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements and includes the pro-Soviet "Communist" Party and a number of social-democratic parties. Siles Zuazo defeated two other candidates who were themselves both former U.S. puppet Bolivian presidents, Víctor Paz Estenssoro and General Hugo Banzer Suarez, in yet another game of musical chairs, as the imperialists and their sycophants continue to stage their so-called "struggle for democracy" in Latin America. All three of these candidates have been placed, replaced, and placed again in their posts by the U.S. at different times in the past 30 years. This time, although Siles Zuazo won, he did not gain a clear majority of the votes; this meant that the Bolivian congress would have chosen the new president. When Paz Estenssoro, who had been the U.S.'s favorite—but by no means only—son, apparently made a deal to support the UDP candidate in exchange for inclusion in the new government, the generals decided to move.

Angered by this violation of its plan, the U.S. government responded quickly—just as it had last November when the last coup led to massive resistance by the Bolivians and fell after 16 days. The State Department immediately cut off military aid and withdrew the U.S. ambassador, accusing the new regime of "widespread, even savage violations of human rights." A week later, Secretary of State Muskie announced that all economic aid was being cut off to Bolivia. At this point, especially as the resistance of the miners continues, the U.S. is hoping to bring down the



Students in La Paz build barricades after coup.

military regime before the turmoil in the country becomes uncontrollable.

U.S. actions in regard to the situation in Bolivia highlight what has, of necessity, become its approach to attempting to maintain its domination over much of Latin America in its preparation for world war with its imperialist rival, the Soviet Union. Exposed to millions as the imperialist ruler of neo-colonies in the area, and faced with growing opposition from both the masses and the Soviets who are attempting to capitalize on that exposure, the U.S. has adopted a "democratic opening" strategy for many countries in Latin America, especially since the downfall of the Somoza regime in Nicaragua. In other words, it has started replacing some of the old, exposed military dictatorships it originally put in power and kept there with new politicians who chatter about a few cosmetic reforms while continuing to squeeze every possible drop of sweat and blood out of the people and unleash brutal repression against the masses whenever they stir. This shabby face-lifting is what Rosalyn Carter was trumpeting so loudly when she recently traveled to Peru to support the return to government of yet another Latin American politician made in the USA, replacing the military dictatorship of the same origin. In South America this policy has been earmarked for the Andean countries first (Ecuador, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia) with hopes that if it is successful, it could be spread to the southern cone area where Chile, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay are all under the thumb of infamous military dictatorships that are facing greater opposition not only internally but internationally as well.

Thus, we now see articles appearing in the U.S. press such as the recent one in the *Christian Science Monitor* complaining about the Bolivian coup possibly derailing the trend toward "civilian, constitutional governments now underway in South America." The point is made that in three of the Andean countries—"Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru—the military had by its own admission failed to solve the problems of government and its image was tarnished further by continuing its hold on power." In Bolivia's case, there was extra necessity for this policy, since the country is in the throes of a severe economic crisis. With a foreign debt now beginning to come due of \$3.5-4 billion and a massive trade deficit coupled with rampant inflation, U.S. and other imperialist bankers are demanding severe economic attacks on the masses in a country that already has the lowest standard of living in South America. The interim government of Lidia Gueiler had instituted some of these harsh measures but was forced to back down when the Bolivian people,

especially the workers and peasants, rose in sharp struggle against them. Apparently, the imperialists felt that a government with a more "left" image, such as the one Siles Zuazo would have brought in, would have been better able to get over with more of these same measures, helping to cool out the struggle of the masses of people against the government.

However, the carrying out of the "democratic opening" strategy in Latin America means that some forces that in the past have been maintained and supported by U.S. imperialism are now being asked to sacrifice some of their power for the "greater good," and they don't like it. In Bolivia, recent examples of the CIA cracking down on the cocaine trade that it previously supported, and spying on the generals and turning over the information to the civilian opposition, have been manifestations of their contradiction. Suddenly discovering how expendable they are when they can no longer serve U.S. imperialism's purposes so well, some of these elements are turning in other directions for help, especially to Argentina, which has been training Bolivian paramilitary forces for use in such ventures as the recent coup. In the past few years, elements of Argentina's ruling elite have become disenchanted with both the U.S.'s weakening position in Latin America and its "democratic opening" strategy to try to reverse the situation, and have done some shopping around for a new imperialist sugar daddy, opening up some areas of investment to Moscow as well as refusing to go along with the grain boycott of the Soviet Union.

At this point, it is not known whether the Soviet Union was involved in the Bolivian coup or not, although the Soviet ambassador to Bolivia has been conspicuously quiet about the takeover. It might seem strange to speculate on this question since the Soviet fifth column in Bolivia, the "C" P, was part of the opposition coalition; but the So-

viets' main concern in Latin America—increasing their influence at the expense of the U.S. while trying to share power with broader and broader pro-U.S. elements—takes many forms. Certainly they have been pleased with their growing influence in Argentina. In any case, it was no surprise when Argentina became the first country to recognize the new Bolivian military regime.

Meanwhile, the overthrown coalition continued to try to broaden its base with U.S. support. Its vice presidential candidate, social-democrat Jaime Paz Zamora, is drumming up international support for the opposition from a Washington, D.C. hospital bed. (Paz Zamora suffered massive burns on his body in a plane crash last month, an apparent assassination attempt by the Bolivian military; he was immediately flown to D.C. to recuperate). Deposed president-elect Siles Zuazo announced from his hideout in La Paz that he was forming a national political resistance front, and invited not only Paz Estenssoro but also General Banzer Suarez, both of whom participated in the last coup, to be part of it. With such extreme isolation of the new military regime, it would appear that it does not have a very good chance of surviving for any length of time.

However, the Bolivian military has a plan to try to improve its chances in the situation. Should it prove successful in drowning the struggle of the masses, particularly the miners, in blood, and after that prove able to stabilize the political situation in the country, it would undoubtedly find itself supported by a number of forces that are now opposed to it, including the U.S. After all, U.S. imperialism is not wedded to any particular set of tactics; its goal is to maintain its hold over the Latin American masses in preparation for the big blow-out with the Soviet Union. And as the Bolivian generals are undoubtedly aware, if they prove they are able to accomplish this goal, they will be backed to the hilt. □

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

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An Essay by Lu Hsun

“Fair Play” Should Be Put Off for the Time Being



I. Broaching the Subject

In Number 57 of *Yu Ssu (The Tatler)* Mr. Lin Yu-tang* refers to fair play, and remarks that since this spirit is extremely rare in China we should do our best to encourage it. He adds that “Don’t beat a dog in the water” supplements the meaning of fair play. Not knowing English, I do not understand the full connotation of this term; but if “Don’t beat a dog in the water” represents one aspect of the spirit of fair play, then I must beg to differ. In order not to offend the eye — not to “add false antlers to my head”;** I mean — I did not state this explicitly in my title. What I mean, anyway, is this: a dog in the water may — or rather should — be beaten.

II. On Three Kinds of Dogs in the Water Which Should Be Beaten

Modern critics often compare “beating a dead tiger” with “beating a dog in the water”, considering both as somewhat cowardly. I find those who pose as brave by beating dead tigers rather amusing. They may be cowards, but in an engaging way. Beating a dog in the water is not such a simple issue, however. You must first see what sort of dog it is and how it fell in. There are three chief reasons for a dog’s falling into the water:

1. It may fall in by accident.
2. It may be pushed in by someone.
3. It may be pushed in by you.

In the first two cases, of course, it is pointless if not cowardly to join in beating the dog. But if you are in a fight with a dog and have pushed it into the water yourself, even to go on belabouring it with a bamboo pole is not too much, for this is different from the two other cases.

They say that a brave prize-fighter never hits his opponent when he is down, and that this sets a fine example for us all. But I agree to this only on condition that the opponent is a brave pugilist too; for then once he is beaten he will be ashamed to come back, or will come back openly to take his revenge, either of which is all right. But this does not apply to dogs, who cannot be considered in the same class; for however wildly they may bark, they really have no sense of “propriety”. Besides, a dog can swim, and will certainly swim ashore. If you are not careful, it will shake itself, spattering water all over you, then run away with its tail between its legs. But next time it will do exactly the same. Simple souls may think that falling into the water is a kind of baptism, after which a dog will surely repent of its sins and never bite men again. They could hardly be more mistaken.

So I think all dogs that bite men should be beaten, whether they are on the land or in the water.

III. Pugs, in Particular, Must Be Pushed into the Water and Soundly Beaten

Pugs or pekes are called Western dogs in south China, but I understand this is a special Chinese breed. At international dog shows they often win gold medals, and a number of the photographs of dogs in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* are pictures of our Chinese pugs. This is also a national honour. Now dogs and cats are mortal enemies, but this pug, although a dog, looks very much like a cat, so eclectic, just, con-

*A reactionary writer of the comprador class who later died in the United States.

**Chen Yuan, a reactionary professor, wrote in an article: “Everyone likes flowers and hates the devil, but some people go so far as to put colour on flower petals and add false antlers to the devil’s head in order to please others. This seems to us not only pointless but quite nauseating.” By this, he was insinuating that Lu Hsun’s writings were popular merely because he was posing as a fighter. Here Lu Hsun exposes him in passing and hits back.

ciliatory and fair, its smug air seeming to proclaim: “Everyone else goes to extremes, but I practise the Doctrine of the Mean.” That is why it is such a favourite with influential persons, eunuchs, and the wives and daughters of rich men, why its line remains unbroken. It is kept by toffs because it looks so cute, with a tiny chain attached to its neck, and its function is to patter after Chinese or foreign ladies when they go shopping.

These dogs should be pushed into the water, then soundly beaten. If they fall into the water themselves, there is no harm in beating them either. Of course, if you are over-scrupulous, you need not beat them; but neither need you feel sorry for them. If you can forgive these dogs, there is no call for you to beat any other dogs; for though the others are also snobs they at least look something like wolves and are rather wild — not such fence-sitters as these pugs.

But this is just a digression, which may not have much bearing on the main subject.

IV. On the Harm Done to Posterity by Not Beating Dogs in the Water

So whether or not a dog in the water should be beaten depends first of all on its attitude after it crawls ashore.

The nature of a dog cannot be changed. Things may be different ten thousand years later, but we are talking about the present. If you regard those in the water as very pitiful, then there are many harmful creatures that look pitiful. Even cholera germs, though they breed quickly, seem simple in nature. But a physician definitely will not let them go.

Present-day officials and Chinese or foreign-style gentlemen call everything that does not suit them “Red” or “Bolshevik”. Before 1912 it was slightly different: first they referred to such people as Kang Yu-wei’s partisans,* then as members of the revolutionary party,** and even informed against them. They were trying, for one thing, to keep their dignity, but they may also have wanted “to stain their cap button red with human blood”***. But at last the revolution came, and those gentlemen with their high and mighty airs suddenly panicked like homeless curs and wound up their little queues**** on their heads. And the revolutionaries were very up-to-date, which was what these gentlemen used to detest. They were so very “civilized”. They said: “The revolution is for all. We will not beat a dog in the water. Let it crawl ashore.” This was just what the others did. They lay low till the second half of 1913 and the time of the Second Revolution,***** then suddenly came forward to help Yuan Shih-kai kill many revolutionaries, so that things became daily worse in China again. Thus now, besides the old die-hards, there are many young ones. This is thanks to those martyrs who were too kind to these snakes in the grass and allowed them to multiply. The young people who understand this will have to strive much harder and sacrifice many more lives to oppose the forces of darkness.

Continued on page 19

*Referring to those who participated in or supported the 1898 Reform Movement led by Kang Yu-wei at the end of Ching Dynasty (1644-1911).

**Referring to those who participated in or supported the revolution against the Ching government.

***In the Ching Dynasty, the mandarins’ ranks were distinguished by the colour of the beads on their caps. The first rank wore a coral bead. Some officials arrested or killed revolutionaries in order to gain promotion, hence this saying.

****Men wore queues in the Ching Dynasty.

*****The revolution of 1911 in China converted the Ching monarchy into a republic, of which Yuan Shih-kai was made the president. Shortly after, however, Yuan tried to suppress the revolutionaries and establish his personal dictatorship. In 1913 a campaign against him was launched in Kiangsi, Kiangsu, Anhwei, Hunan, Fukien and Kwangtung Provinces. It was known as the Second Revolution.

Applying a Dash of Make-up to South Africa's Ravaged Face

With the upsurge of struggle by the masses of people in South Africa—Azania, as it is rightfully called by the black majority—the U.S. press has been focusing a lot of attention on the apartheid regime. During the rebellions in June that marked the anniversary of the 1976 Soweto uprising, no less than the *New York Times* proclaimed in a June 20 editorial, headlined **SPEAK FORCEFULLY TO SOUTH AFRICA**: "Clearly the present pace of reform cannot prevent further bloodshed... Americans have an urgent interest in finding more effective ways to prod Pretoria's ruling whites to share their power... there is, in fact, a high American interest at stake in a peaceful evolution in South Africa." This "concern" for the plight of the black people in South Africa is a reflection of much more than the standard lip service that is occasionally paid to cover up the imperialist's long-time support of the white-ruled colonial dictatorship which has kept the black majority chained under some of the most hideous conditions known to man. It is a sign that the U.S. imperialists and the settler regime that runs South Africa are faced with intensifying contradictions that are threatening the future of their whole little exploitative set-up.

Despite the claims of South Africa's Minister of Police, Louis LeGrange, that the recent uprisings are "isolated incidents in localized areas," the fact is that the masses of people have been rising up with increasing determination. In the last few months, South Africa has been rocked by a series of school boycotts, labor strikes, protests by political and religious organizations, and violent confrontations with the authorities which have sent South African security police scurrying by the planeload from one end of the country to the other. The current upsurge began in April with a full-scale school boycott by colored students (Africans of mixed race) in Cape Town which spread to other parts of the country and sparked a sympathy strike of 1,000 teachers. Significantly, the boycott has also been supported by white school children and university students—at least 500 signed a petition in Johannesburg and another 200 from private schools in Cape Town catering to South Africa's ruling elite sent a letter to Prime Minister Botha supporting the demands of the colored students for an end to unequal education. Along with this, the month of June saw the beginning of a massive bus boycott over fare increases, originating in the Western Cape. Thousands stoned over 60 buses, smashing out the windows, in the Elsies River area where police fired into crowds, killing several youth.

Last weekend the rebellions continued in Cape Province as rioting broke out in Grahamstown after the funeral of a 16-year-old boy killed by police during the school boycott protests. Angry black masses, arming themselves with hatchets and clubs, stormed through the city's black townships burning shops, schools and private homes, clashing with police who killed two men and causing damage estimated in the millions.

In the meantime these widespread actions have merged with an unprecedented explosion among South Africa's black workers. In May, meat workers in the Western Cape went on strike demanding management recognition of an elected workers' committee and University of Cape Town students organized a meat boycott that continues to spread, backing it up in confrontations with local distributors. Bus drivers have repeatedly shut down the transportation system in Johannesburg over pay disputes. In the Port Elizabeth area, workers at Volkswagen's plant in Uitenhage—where police have also fired on protestors—have been on strike demanding a doubling of the current hourly subsistence wage of \$1.30.

An estimated 10,000 workers are involved in walkouts at some 16 major factories throughout the country like Goodyear and Colgate-Palmolive, and the strike wave is still spreading. Last week police attempted to disperse crowds of black workers armed with stones as an additional 10,000 black municipal employees in Johannesburg—including street sweepers, bus drivers and power plant operators—went on strike, smashing cars and blockading downtown traffic. When a black bus inspector and a white traffic official tried to prevent the strikers from stopping commuter buses, they were beaten and stabbed.

Empire Key to Imperialists' "Concern"

At the heart of the U.S. imperialists' pious "concern" about apartheid is the current political situation they are facing in Africa and their escalating contention with their equally imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union for world domination. As the two superpowers square off for World War 3, South Africa is a major source of precious resources that will be needed for the war effort of the U.S. imperialist bloc. It is also strategically located along the vital shipping lanes for Middle Eastern oil that will be needed to fuel the Western war machine. But more, for the U.S. rulers maintaining their grip on South Africa is the key to holding onto their crumbling African empire which is continually being threatened by Soviet inroads as well as by rising liberation struggles. As "U.S. enforcer in Southern Africa", the Pretoria government—with its professional mercenary army supplied with troop and supply transport vehicles by General Motors—has spearheaded U.S. efforts to keep those countries it already dominates in line—as well as launching forays into countries like Angola in attempts to destabilize them and pry them loose from the Soviet sphere by aiding U.S.-sponsored "liberation forces."

In addition to South Africa's formidable military might, its economic grip on the area is a decisive factor in keeping a number of southern African countries firmly within the U.S. sphere of influence. Xan Smith, writing for the current issue of the U.S. policy journal, *Foreign Affairs*, approvingly noted some of the highlights of this hegemony: "Rhodesia's (Zimbabwe—RW) utter reliance upon South Africa's economic support since 1965... Mozambique's transport system, its railways and harbors, is largely dependent on South African expertise... Of particular note is the export of primary and processed foods, which are often vital to the political health of such states as Zambia and Zaire, and machinery and spare parts for essential mining and industry... Of Zambia and Malawian trade, 30% and 35%, respectively, is with South Africa... Zambia has sometimes found itself entirely dependent on South African railways for its copper exports in the past year..."

But while the U.S. imperialists know these nations are mindful of what *Foreign Affairs* calls "the vital economic tasks that Pretoria gladly performs", they also know they are seeking ways to get out of the stranglehold the apartheid regime has on them. In his article, Smith reveals considerable concern about a meeting in Lusaka last April where representatives of the nine black southern African states gathered to discuss ways of ridding themselves of economic dependence on South Africa in opposition to Pretoria's concept of a "constellation" of southern African states centered around and dependent upon itself.

This challenge, along with the fact that the apartheid regime has become the source of considerable international embarrassment, is posing severe problems for the U.S. imperialists—even forcing the U.S. into the awkward posi-



Striking black municipal worker faces police and attack dogs in Johannesburg

tion of participating in "economic sanctions" (however bogus) against its own faithful puppets. Clearly, apartheid-rule has become a bane on U.S. attempts to woo African nations and keep them tightly within its imperialist fold, as well as greatly aiding Soviet organizing efforts since they have been able to make considerable hay over U.S. sponsorship of this flagrantly fascist regime. *Foreign Affairs* laid out the direction in which the U.S. imperialists are moving: "South Africa must increasingly realize that any formal acceptance, let alone encouragement, of South Africa's economic regional mastery is deeply abhorrent to black states, and any attempt to reconcile South Africa's white establishment with black Africa can only succeed through the total abolition of apartheid."

In this light, it is not surprising that the U.S. media has recently taken to spotlighting what is widely advertised as a power struggle between the so-called "liberal" wing of the ruling white Nationalist Party, led by Prime Minister P.W. Botha, and the "conservative" wing of Dr. Andries Treurnicht. While the conservatives are clinging to the traditional structure of the white-minority regime, Botha has recently been promising that the "hurtful aspects" of the system will soon be reformed and that his government will "improve the well-being of South Africa's blacks." But while there is surely a struggle going on within the ranks of these parasites, to the growing dismay of the imperialists so far it has only been a debate over how to apply a bit of make-up to the ravaged cheeks of apartheid. These few cosmetic changes

are being heralded by the racist Afrikaner regime as the dawn of a new era—the era of "neo-apartheid."

Apartheid's Ugly Face

Ever since the Afrikaners (white descendants of the original Dutch colonialists, so named to emphasize their ridiculous claim that they are the "true Africans") seized political power from the English-speaking settlers in 1948, they have ruled South Africa under the racist system whose name literally means "apart-hate." Requiring thousands of laws and a bureaucracy consisting of no less than 500,000 (one-sixth of the entire minority population) to administer, apartheid ruthlessly controls every aspect of life for the black people of South Africa through the notorious pass system—where they may live and travel, whether they may work, even where they may be buried. Physical separation into racial castes is rigidly enforced by the government's Race Classification Board, even to the point of breaking up members of the same family depending on how they are classified. Interracial marriage, sex and association are prohibited by a variety of laws like the Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts.

In short, the apartheid system has served as a vicious means of enforcing the national oppression of the black masses in order to maintain South Africa as a preserve for the plunder of the U.S., British and other imperialists. South Africa contains no less than half the world's gold, 80% of the chrome reserves, 30% of diamonds, and the fifth largest reserves of coal, as well as plentiful supplies of platinum,

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S. Africa

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manganese and copper—all vital resources for the Western capitalist technologies. Apartheid, however, has been particularly aimed at providing the imperialists with South Africa's most valuable resource—a constant supply of cheap black labor—out of which such U.S. multinational corporations as GM, Ford and Union Carbide extract their super-profits. As well as being an especially brutal mechanism for enforcing the political rule of a white colonial minority, apartheid is probably the most complex system in the world for the control, check and suppression of entire human populations and their subordination as wage-slaves in the service of imperialist capital.

One method of control has been the creation of a series of black "townships" (actually little more than concentration camps) near "white" areas for those who are legally employed by the capitalists and have valid passes. The sprawling ghetto of Soweto outside Johannesburg (the largest concentration of blacks in South Africa) is a prime example of the kind of privileges afforded those blacks lucky enough to work for a living. Built in the 1930s to house migrant blacks brought to work in the mines, Soweto was never intended for permanent settlement. With its dirt roads, no central electricity plants, inadequate water supplies and primitive drainage system, the only thing modern about it is the half a dozen well-equipped police stations, each one fenced and sandbagged against the grenades regularly lobbed at its walls by its appreciative citizens.

Outside the townships, the black masses are confined to the bantustans or tribal "homeland areas" where women, young children, the elderly, and the unemployed—openly referred to as "superfluous appendages" by the regime—are packed off to fend for themselves, scratching out a starvation existence on the most desolate and unproductive parcels of land. Anyone not legally registered for work is subject to being "endorsed out" to one of these wretched "group areas" (which the Afrikaners are fond of billing as "independent autonomous nations") within 72 hours by the Security Police, or imprisoned for violation of what is termed "influx control." In the past decade over \$ million blacks have been jailed for such violations. Under this bizarre system, a man from the Lebowa tribal area, for example, who treks to Johannesburg, works illegally for six months and then spends six months in jail for a pass offense, can raise his annual homeland living standard by 170%.

Apartheid Mired in Contradiction

But while the U.S. imperialists have never been concerned with the glaring barbarity of apartheid, in the last two decades vast changes have taken place in South Africa that are coming to a head and have been prompting them to reassess the efficiency of this form of rule. Originally, South Africa was exploited largely for its unskilled labor and raw materials, but the export of capital, massive penetration of a wide variety of imperialist industries and the integration of the ruling Afrikaners into a piece of the action as dependent capitalists (they now own some 30% of South Africa's gold mining capacity, for example) have resulted in an expanding economy, somewhat insulated from the world economic crisis by the soaring price of gold and other precious metals. This, in turn, has meant a growing demand for skilled and semi-skilled black labor and has facilitated the development of a large black industrial proletariat. In this situation, the outmoded mechanism of apartheid has increasingly stood out like a sore thumb. The growing discrepancy between the impoverished bantustans, which are kept in an enforced state of backwardness, and the industrial cities, where the fruits of black labor are ruthlessly expropriated by the imperialists and ruling whites, has only underscored for the black masses the necessity of carrying out a determined struggle for complete

national liberation to free their country from the grip of imperialism, thoroughly smash all relics of white colonial rule and transform South Africa's abundant human and material resources in the interests of its people.

For the imperialists, not only has apartheid hurt them internationally in a period when they are less and less able to get over with straight-out colonialism, but, given the industrialization of South Africa's economic base, its suffocating apartheid superstructure has more and more tended to act internally as a political, as well as economic, brake on the business of exploitation as usual. Traditionally, blacks were excluded from even the most rudimentary education, forced to work for appalling wages that kept them in a state of semi-starvation, denied any possibility of bargaining with their employers, and ruthlessly deported to the homeland areas at the barest sign of protest or resistance. This made for a highly unstable work force, devoid of even the most elementary rights and held in place only by the most open application of armed coercion—an increasing liability for the country's rulers. Thus, the government has increasingly found itself in the position of having to work around some of the more "inconvenient" aspects of the apartheid superstructure and make some concessions to blacks in hopes of stabilizing their political and economic rule.

In the '70s, minimal education for blacks was suddenly stepped up to meet growing black political demands as well as to provide a section of the population with the basic training requirements for exploitation as more than unskilled wage labor. During the same period, black wages were increased from a ridiculously low base (black mineworker earnings, for example, rose 390% between 1970 and 1978). This, of course, was not out of any concern for the plight of blacks, but rather to try and defuse the anger of a literally starving black work force and meet one of the basic requirements of capitalist exploitation as pointed out by Marx: the necessary minimum level of subsistence to ensure the existence and reproduction of the worker. Before curfew time, "white" cities like Johannesburg have come to resemble downtown Detroit or Atlanta (even with some integrated public facilities), as black workers from nearby townships are allowed in to be relieved of their meager wages by the thriving white businesses that sell the basic necessities of life and now depend on black spending for 70% of their retail turnover.

Last fall, the government also began to recognize the existence of black labor unions (since black workers were organizing them illegally anyway). Black unions were declared to be legal so long as they were "registered and approved"—an attempt to bring these organizations under the control of the government's parody of an "industrial bargaining system" in which most labor contracts are set by government decree. Many have refused to register, preferring to organize and strike illegally rather than be rendered impotent by government regulation and control. But interestingly enough, quite a few of these "illegal" unions have been organized and are led by none other than the U.S. imperialists' international labor hacks in the AFL-CIO in defiance of the apartheid government. (The unregistered black unions in South Africa's Ford, GM and VW plants, for example, are all under the auspices of the UAW.) This in itself is a powerful indication of the fact that the U.S. rulers are quite convinced that apartheid is doomed and that they are already infiltrating—in this case sending their AFL-CIA agents to cultivate their influence in the growing trade-union struggle (as they did in Chile and other countries)—to channel the liberation movement in a direction favorable to U.S. interests.

Despite the above-mentioned "concessions," however, the strains on apartheid have only increased. In the economic sphere, the rigid enforcement of pass laws has limited the imperialists' supply of skilled and semi-skilled black labor, and restrictions on the mobility of trained blacks continue to run counter to the establishment of a relatively stable pool of workers "free" to sell

their labor on the open market. While some black unions may be officially "recognized," any black dismissed for striking or breach of contract is still subject to immediate deportation to his "homeland area," and his skills and training are deported along with him—skills now desperately needed by the capitalists. In April of this year there were vacancies for 114,000 skilled workers and trainees, more than half of these officially designated for blacks. Due to the lack of construction workers, it is not uncommon to see work crews consisting of "illegal" blacks without valid passes building houses in Johannesburg while authorities wink at their white employers in return for a small consideration.

But what really freaks the apartheid rulers and their imperialist godfathers are the exploding political contradictions that are threatening to burst apartheid rule wide open. Many of the very concessions they have been forced to make to grease the skids for even greater exploitation have only heightened black demands for corresponding changes in the political sphere and fueled the aspirations of the South African people for national liberation. The introduction of some basic education for black people has, for example, turned into its opposite (for the imperialists) as slaves who learned to read began to study political (including Marxist) works to learn the cause of their oppression. Since the early '70s and the advent of the Black Consciousness Movement (which took its inspiration from the Black Power movement in the U.S.), black campuses have become centers of political resistance to the apartheid regime and student life has come to be characterized by boycotts, sit-ins and violent clashes with police as the students demand an end to the Afrikanized schooling aimed at training them to be slightly more efficient slaves. Rebellion in Soweto schools has become so widespread that the gates are locked every morning after the students arrive. The revolutionary ideas and actions of the students have had a tremendous political impact on the black workers.

Maneuvering To Outflank Liberation Struggle

In the face of all this, the white minority has come up with a few ridiculous proposals as they bicker among themselves about how to get apartheid working more efficiently, which only serves to further expose them, much to the annoyance of the U.S. imperialists. One such scheme was the recent idea of creating a president's "advisory council" composed of whites, coloreds and members of the Indian minority—but no blacks because, according to an embarrassing slip by a government minister, they "were not intelligent enough." *Foreign Affairs* acidly pointed out: "South African journals, even those like *Die Transvaler* and *Beeld*, which are close to the government, began increasingly to recognize that no black state could ever encourage any form of contact, let alone formal links, so long as apartheid remains."

Clearly, the U.S. imperialists recognize the risks in change. But they also see the great risks in today's situation, and they are much more farsighted than their Afrikaner henchmen, who are stubbornly resisting the reshaping of open colonial rule that will be necessary if they are to retain their hold not only on South Africa, but this whole area of the world. The *New York Times* editorial whined: "There is a powerful practical (emphasis ours—RW) as well as philosophical argument for racial justice and political equality..." The U.S. rulers are well aware that the recent "internal settlement" in Zimbabwe has had profound implications for their strategy in South Africa. On the one hand, the outward appearance of "change" in Zimbabwe has been a factor in fueling the new wave of South African unrest. As one Soweto journalist put it: "After the riots in 1976, there was a mood of despair in Soweto. Now that's been completely removed by Mugabe's victory." But what is significant about this to the imperialists is the fact that Mugabe's "victory" was a welcome development for them and a real setback for the struggle of the Zim-

babwean people. In exchange for a few black faces in the government, the Zimbabwean people have been disarmed and the entire white-Rhodesian military apparatus remains intact (with Mugabe's appointment of Lt. Gen. Peter Walls as Commander-in-Chief, the same man who murdered thousands of freedom fighters for the Smith government), as do the political power and economic interests of the U.S. and British imperialists and the ruling whites.

In fact, the Zimbabwe settlement has provided a kind of model for the type of neo-colonial rule the U.S. has in mind for South Africa, and they are only too delighted at the illusions it has sown about the "peaceful road to liberation." What the imperialists are counting on was expressed in the words of one black reformist in Soweto, who said: "If the African leaders of Zimbabwe could turn around and agree to talks, when their struggle was much further advanced, then ours could, too." No doubt the U.S. rulers have been feverishly whispering in Afrikaner ears that they had better get off the stick and start maneuvering for some form of "power sharing" similar to that engineered in Zimbabwe. And as the liberation struggle of the masses has picked up steam, they are surveying the forces out there in the field who are claiming the mantle of black leadership—many of whom are just the sort of reformists and capitulators on whom the imperialists have their future hopes pinned.

As condemnation of the government has mounted in church circles, for instance, Anglican Bishop Desmond Tutu of the South African Council of Churches has been thrust into the spotlight as "a leading spokesman for South Africa's 19 million blacks." In June he led 53 church leaders on a march to police headquarters in Johannesburg in defiance of the Riotous Assemblies Act to demand the release of other detained clergy. But Tutu's advocacy of passive resistance and his line of "change the hearts of those in power before there is more unrest" only make him a perfect candidate for chief collaborator with "neo-apartheid." In a recent interview, Tutu revealed that while he was for majority rule, it would not have to be "black majority rule" and that "we would not necessarily have to have a black prime minister"! It is little wonder that although the government withdrew Tutu's passport, they have not yet seen fit to place him under a routine banning order that would make it unlawful for him to speak at public gatherings.

Another variety of such "system blacks" are many of the bourgeois tribal leaders based in the "homeland areas" who play a straight-out reactionary role, like Chief Minister L.L. Sebe of the Ciskei tribe. After protesting students were baton-charged by Sebe's Ciskeian tribal police, he recently bragged that thanks to him the whites living in the border area "can now sleep soundly." But perhaps the most powerful tribal figure is Chief Buthelezi, head of the Zulu Inkatha movement, who has been widely touted as South Africa's future Muzorewa. Speaking of radical opposition to apartheid he recently declared: "It is only fools, both black and white, who would want to destroy something so extraordinary that we have built up together"! During the recent uprisings this "black leader" exposed his true colors by actually calling for the formation of black vigilante groups to "shoot to kill" anyone attacking government buildings or private property. It is not particularly surprising that he and other tribal chiefs have occasionally been the targets of firebombs, and not at the hands of the South African police!

There are also a number of guerrilla groups based outside the country, the most notable being the African National Congress (ANC). The driving force within ANC is the South African Communist Party which has a long history of revisionism and capitulation to imperialism going back to the 1930s when they put forward a watered down notion of "multi-racialism" and opposed the Comintern resolution which called for blacks to run South Africa. At that time they even supported strikes by

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Another Stroke in Greensboro Whitewash

Greensboro, North Carolina—Last week, another chapter was added here in the farcical but deadly attempts to vindicate six members of the Ku Klux Klan and Nazis in the murders of five anti-Klan demonstrators last November, members of the Communist Workers Party. A thin, very thin, stamp of unofficial approval from the authorities for this vile act has followed events right up to the present. The Klan and Nazi members are now on trial, charged with murder, and a procedure laughingly known as "jury selection" has recently drawn to a close. At the same time that Greensboro officials are working to whitewash the deeds of the murderers, they are also working to cover their own bloody tracks and complicity in the events of last November.

All along, in addition to a whole string of other unexplained contradictions, the City of Greensboro and the Police Department have had a difficult time explaining their lack of curiosity

about the Klan/Nazi car caravan which drove to Greensboro from nearby Winston-Salem on the day of the massacre. The caravan was not stopped or searched, despite the authorities' knowledge of it through an informant, and despite the fact that it was followed by a Greensboro detective.

In preparation for the trial, and with civil lawsuits filed against them, the Greensboro City Attorney, in collusion with the Greensboro Police Department, hired a consulting firm in Washington, D.C. to investigate this matter and come up with a private opinion—presumably for later admission as evidence on the part of the city in court. But unfortunately for the authorities, the firm's opinion was far from the "opinion" required. The consulting firm concluded that the police *should* have stopped and searched the caravan, and further, that in doing so could have probably prevented the murders.

Obviously, another "opinion" would

be needed. So, subsequently, the local authorities fired off a letter to the North Carolina Attorney General, requesting his impartial view of the matter. In the letter, the Greensboro authorities *admit* the presence of an informant in the Klan's midst, and more, admit that as a result of this informant's report, they were aware of a stockpile of weapons the Klan had assembled at a house right outside Greensboro. The dilemma for the Greensboro police, you see, was that they could not stop and search the Klan without violating the "civil rights" of these individuals, and in particular, their civil rights concerning unlawful search and seizure! Anticipating possible questions over this line of reasoning, the Greensboro letter hastened to include a point about their informant: "The informant did not provide a description of any individuals who may have weapons or any vehicles which might contain weapons. In fact, the informant did not state that the weapons would be brought to the parade."

The people of Greensboro will sleep better tonight when they learn of the city's ever mindful willingness to uphold the Fourth Amendment! But more, the

people will be further relieved to learn that this boundless concern for the letter of the law certainly doesn't stop at the city limits. Last week, the North Carolina Attorney General's Office concluded that the D.C. consultants were wrong, the Greensboro locals were right, and that no, the police indeed had no "legal right" to stop the Klan/Nazi caravan.

This little story is like a grain of sand on a beach: it is only one in a nine-month series of similar examples. Last week also saw the selection of alternate jurors. One prospective juror testified that she felt "the Communist Party is the greatest threat to this country," and another that "I do not think I could convict the defendants" because of her prejudice against communism. The prosecution found these two perfectly acceptable, and the defense didn't even bother to question them before they were seated as alternate jurors. And the last one to be chosen is a sergeant in the Greensboro Police Department!

This "trial" should really be something when it gets going this week.

WANTED: 100,000 CO-CONSPIRATORS

Continued from page 3

The class-conscious workers must grasp what Lenin says in *What Is To Be Done?*, that "we must *always* conduct our work and always be prepared for everything, because very frequently it is almost impossible to foresee when periods of outbreaks will give way to periods of calm.

"And the revolution itself must not by any means be regarded as a single act...but as a series of more or less powerful outbreaks rapidly alternating with periods of more or less intense calm. For that reason the principal content of the activity of our Party organization, the focus of this activity, should be work that is possible and necessary to the period of the most powerful outbreaks as well as in the periods of complete calm, namely, work of political agitation, linked up over the whole of Russia, illuminating all aspects of life and conducted among the broadest possible strata of the masses." Only the work around a revolutionary newspaper can at once be a weapon in creating revolutionary public opinion among the broad masses and the lifeline of the revolutionary organization which forms in its wake.

The *Revolutionary Worker* is not, as we said over a year ago, a newspaper for a relative handful of revolutionary agitators, it is for the broad masses. And the question today is certainly not are there 100,000 people who would read the *RW* in a sustained way. With people being pulled into political life by heightening world events, there is no question of this. Rather, the key question is the real urgency and possibility of mobilizing the advanced, including many of you who are now reading this paper, to take up this battle as your own, wage it with enthusiasm and understanding. This is both necessary and possible, as Marxist-Leninists understand—matter can indeed be transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter—it is people who transform the world, on the basis of grasping the laws of objective reality.

In this light it is also very important, among other things, to deepen our understanding of the analysis made about the advanced section of the proletariat in the talk given by Chairman Avakian before May Day, that is, the question of the "roads to the proletariat." "I think a lot of what the advanced section of the proletariat is now are people who for reasons other than simply being members of the proletariat are somewhat more politically advanced. People who went through the experience of the '60s in one way or another; people from the oppressed nationalities, people who were veterans of

the Vietnam war; women who don't accept being in their 'place,' some immigrants, especially those from countries where there's a relatively strong anti-imperialist struggle, and so on. And a crucial question for the Party is how to give all this a class conscious expression and help spread it to broader sections of the working class as well as exerting an influence on other forces in society, broader sections of the people..." And it is crucial for people themselves to grasp what role they can play, not as some contingency group but as a "big lever to move a class-conscious section forward and to influence much broader masses."

For example, there is the necessity for advanced forces to step forward and assist in translating the *RW* into more languages, not only to reach the foreign born workers but to assist them in influencing the broad masses of American born workers and bring their rich experiences of the imperialist system to bear to further expose the enemy and strengthen the revolutionary forces.

As Chairman Avakian pointed out in the May 23 statement, "What must come to increasingly mark this period is the broadening and deepening of the role and influence of the Party...and the impact of the revolutionary action of the advanced, class-conscious workers, rallying around the line of the Party, putting the revolutionary stamp of their class on major events in society, rallying forward broader ranks of the working class itself at the head of other sections of the oppressed masses to fight with greater clarity, unity and strength against the enemy—the imperialist system and its bourgeois dictatorship—in firm solidarity with and as a detachment of the international proletariat on a crucial battlefield (the U.S.)." The *RW* is central to this overall, and the battle for 100,000 distribution is also the key focus of this right now.

The class-conscious forces must take a leap in the broad distribution of the paper and the building of *RW* networks, spreading the revolutionary organization around the *RW* like tough roots in fertile soil—roots that go deep and broad enough that even if we suffer organizational setbacks we will be politically unconquerable. Further, in the fight to reach this new plateau in the class struggle, the *RW* must be further strengthened to fully play its role as a collective organizer in this battle and in an overall sense in the revolutionary struggle. This newspaper will be addressing in the period ahead the key questions that arise in this battle. But in order for this to happen, the class-

conscious forces have to not only step up distribution, but correspondence with the paper as well, to enable the Party and the masses not only to keep the pulse of events but to be in a position to quicken that pulse. Correspondence has to be developed around the battle for 100,000 and more broadly around every major political,

ideological and scientific question confronting the masses, and every major outbreak. Wanted: 100,000 co-conspirators in the battle to create public opinion, seize power. All class-conscious workers and revolutionary-minded people should answer the call without delay. □



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A key article from the Revolutionary Worker

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A Year,
A Decade
of
Historic
Importance

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

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| 4. March 27 (Button Day), L. A. | 8 x 10 | 11 x 14 |
| 5. May 1st, Detroit | 8 x 10 | 11 x 14 |
| 6. April 1980, L. A. (Comrade Damian Garcia, 2nd from right) | 8 x 10 | 11 x 14 |
| 7. May 1st, Bay Area, California | 8 x 10 | 11 x 14 |
| 8. April 1980, Salinas Valley, California | 8 x 10 | 11 x 14 |

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SOVIET KID

Continued from page 8

has for the "precious rights" they speak of so eloquently in the case of Walter Polovchak. Not one goddam bit. Unless, of course, a kid can be used to drum up some good old American chauvinism, that "land of the free" Yankee jingoism that really makes you want to puke.

Michael Polovchak wants to leave the U.S. because he found it's the same crap as in Russia—work your tail off and die poor and broken under the wheel of capitalism. In Russia, he is a bus driver. Here he is a janitor and his wife a cleaning lady. Michael is leaving

because in Russia it is just as bad as over here—except there it's more familiar. And he wants to leave with his family and his son Walter. But he can't.

However, the U.S. imperialists have run into a little problem in the case of Walter Polovchak vs. Mr. and Mrs. Polovchak. They're not getting over. It's just a little *too* outrageous, a little *too* nakedly manipulative to report that the father had been "brainwashed" by the Soviet Embassy. When it later came out that Mr. Polovchak had barely even talked to the Soviet Embassy, and that it seems likely that he just learned the hard way that America's more or less

the same shit as Russia, they backed off.

And the initial battle cry of such eminent national papers as the *Chicago Tribune* to "Give the Soviet Boy Asylum!" have now been moderated to "Let's hope the father decides to stay here in America, but if he doesn't, maybe it's best to just let him take his son with him."

The fact that the U.S. imperialists have stooped to such incredible lows, so openly naked and slimy, vividly demonstrates their desperation to whip

up patriotic fervor among the people in the U.S. The kind of two-bit con game they've pulled with Walter Polovchak is not the action of a ruling class comfortable with the allegiance of its people, but of a tiny handful of exploiters who are frantically seeking a way, any way at all, to convince the people to line up with them against their imperialist rivals.

(This is a slightly edited version of an article which appears in the current issue of Revolutionary Communist Youth.)



D.A. Attacks RCP Line—Loses

Political Trial in Oakland Backfires

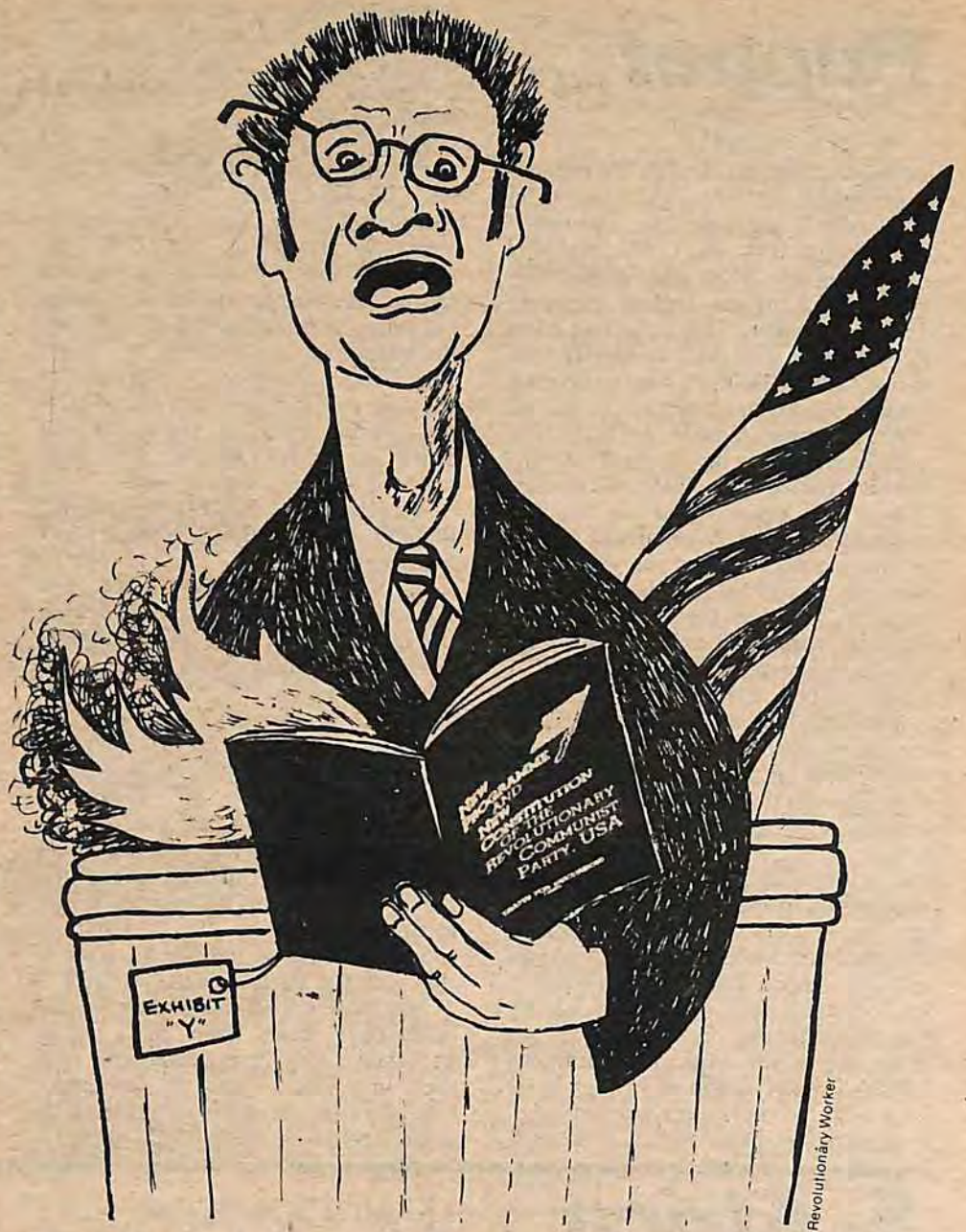
Was it possible that Forrest Smith, the District Attorney for the RCP-Melvyn Black trial, was suffering from acute amnesia? Could it be that his memory—so crammed full of statutes, codes, and ordinances—could not reach back four weeks ago to the opening statements he himself made to kick the trial off—"Evidence will show that the defendants are being prosecuted for crimes they committed and *not* for their political beliefs"? Here he was, after all the "evidence" was in, getting up to make his final argument with "Exhibit Y"—the *New Programme and New Constitution of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA* (Drafts for Discussion)—in hand. Turning quickly to the section on "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power," he read to the jury: "The main way that the Party influences the masses and the mass movement, the main way it works to build the leadership of the proletariat and prepare the working class and broad masses—and the Party itself—for revolution, is to systematically carry out revolutionary agitation and propaganda." Through the battle during the trial, the game plan the prosecution had chosen for its political attack on the RCP—that the Party is "racist and isolated"—had to be scrapped. They had been put in a position of laying out the politics of the Party and trying to get people, Blacks in particular, to pass a guilty verdict on this. They attempted to win politically, but instead, they *lost* politically.

In March, 1979, Melvyn Black, a 15-year-old Black youth, was murdered by the Oakland police. The trail of his

blood, winding for hundreds of feet through the ghetto housing project where he lived, told how he had been chased like a dog and shot at 14 times until he fell dead on the steps of his family's apartment. The police quickly tried to pull a story together to blame Melvyn. But the real story was already all over Oakland.

The day of Melvyn Black's funeral, the RCP and the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB) went to Oakland High School, calling on students to stand against this pig murder by breaking out of school and going to Melvyn's funeral. Police attacked the revolutionaries and arrested three, including RCP spokesman, George Casazza. Hundreds of students took armbands with the slogan, "Avenge the Murder of Melvyn Black," and over 30 left Oakland High and joined dozens of other high school students at the funeral. Instead of bowing their heads as the casket went by, fists were raised in the air, powerfully and defiantly. Afterwards, an NAACP official was sent running down to the police station where outside the students and others were protesting the arrests—in her own words, to "beg the students to go back to school." The reality of revolutionaries leading Black youth against this outrageous murder had stung the authorities and they moved to try to check the tide.

The defendants were dragged into court, but with public opinion running high over the murder, the best the prosecution could get was a hung jury. The case was declared a mistrial. Then, 15 months later, it was thrown back into



Department 11 with the number of charges doubled to a total of 21 counts: battery on an officer, interfering with an officer, resisting arrest, inciting to riot, loitering, contributing to the delinquency of minors, and, disruptive

presence on campus. Resurrecting this case was clearly in retaliation for the expanding influence of the RCP in the area, and in particular for Revolutionary May Day in Oakland in which

Continued on page 24

Observer Writes on RCP Trial

To the *Revolutionary Worker*:
Comrades:

Recently, I had the opportunity to watch the jury selection stage of the trial of RCP member George Casazza and two others in Oakland. Having also observed the first trial of the three (formerly called the Melvyn Black 3 because they were arrested while agitating to high school students about the police murder of Melvyn Black, a Black youth) some 14 months ago, I was struck by what the questioning of the jurors revealed about the mood of the masses and the influence of the RCP.

A year ago, almost none of the over 75 potential jurors had even heard of the Party. This year, at least three-fourths of the 90 people questioned had at least heard of the Party (mainly due to May Day). More than that, there were quite a number of people who had more than heard about the Party. For example, one young Black worker said that he read the *Revolutionary Worker* regularly and had gone to May Day but left early because of the "busloads" of police he had seen on his way to the park. When asked if he thought the government might be out to get the Party, he began to talk about the Alamo and Damian Garcia.

Another person, a young Black woman, had gone with a friend to check out May Day. Still another potential juror, an older Black woman, said in response to questions that she had talked to people from the Party and bought the *RW* on a number of occasions. She also said that she had heard a lot of people in the community talking about the Party.

Juror after juror, especially the Black ones (the majority of Oakland jury pools are Black) said they had no opinions as to the police in general or on the particulars of the 11 killings of Blacks by the pigs in the last year. At first, we thought that people had been brainwashed by the bourgeoisie's line that "you have to know the facts of each case." But, after talking with a number of people who got kicked off the jury anyway, it turned out that they

were consciously holding back on their real opinions so that they could stay on the jury and fight for the defendants. (Of course, there were still some who could not repress their hatred for the pigs, such as the older Black woman who broke down in tears because of something that had been done to her son.)

This conscious holding back marked a tremendous change from the time of the first trial, where person after person opened up about how outraged they were by the Melvyn Black killing or about details of how the pigs had beaten, harassed or arrested them, their friends, or their family members. At the time of the earlier trial, the more conscious people on the jury panel still believed enough in the legitimacy of the system (despite their hatred of the police) to tell the truth. This time, however, a significant number of people were conscious that they had a role to play in getting onto the jury and fighting for the revolutionaries. This was true both of people who knew more than a bit about the Party and of people who just hated the system, even though they didn't know much about the RCP.

Some people even did such a good job of hiding their views that they fooled the defendants and their lawyers. One Black man said he would have to look at all the facts of each incident of police terror before he could have an opinion. . . . After the defendants used a challenge to get him off the jury, he told one of them in the hallway, "You guys made a big mistake." He said that he and another woman (also excused by the defense) had decided to fight for the defendants all the way.

Several other jurors had had significant contacts with the Party. One, a white worker, had worked with the Party in Buffalo, where he used to live. He told the DA that he probably agreed with a lot of what the Party had to say, although he had not read the newspaper since moving out here. Asked point-blank if violent overthrow of the government was something he

agreed with, he said (with an obvious view toward security), "At some time in the future I think it might be right to overthrow it." This juror forced the District Attorney to use one of his limited challenges to get him off the jury (the juror avoided being kicked off by the judge by insisting he would follow the law, even though nobody in the courtroom believed it for a minute). When he later spoke with a defendant and a lawyer in the hallway during recess, he said he was interested in checking out the *Draft Programme* and criticized the lawyer for not using him more to educate the other jurors about imperialism. Another woman also forced the DA to use one of his challenges by insisting she would be impartial.

It was also significant that the DA used his challenges to kick off virtually any working-class person, Black or white, who showed any grain of class-consciousness, open-mindedness, or past contact with revolutionaries. Thus, several Black workers from General Motors who had worked with revolutionaries and said they had minds of their own, were kicked off even though they were not particularly revolutionary-minded. Similarly, a younger white woman worker was kicked off, apparently because she described herself as liberal, lived in a racially mixed neighborhood, and seemed to begin questioning her practice of never taking leaflets when struggled with by a defense attorney about the need to get information from sources other than the bourgeois media.

On the other hand, the DA left several younger white women from the petty bourgeoisie on the jury, despite the fact that they were clearly liberal and had even been participants in anti-war demonstrations in the Vietnam period. Usually, such people are kicked off juries by DA's, especially in political cases, even in Oakland, where District Attorneys face a difficult time because of the high concentration of Blacks. The fact that the DA left them on and kicked off

working-class people who were at least thinking about the world illustrates the extent to which the bourgeoisie sees the awakening working class as a threat, and it also reveals a weakness on the part of the government if the best that they can hope for is jurors who were part of the movement in the '60s.

The fact that this case is being retried 14 months after the original incident and in spite of the unfavorable conditions for the prosecution indicates the depth of the government's desire and necessity to go after the Party, and especially its leaders and spokespersons like George Casazza, whose picture is carried around in Oakland police cars.

Prior to the trial, some of the observers like myself, as well as some of the participants in the trial, held a political line which at least strongly doubted if not outright disagreed with the Party's summation of May Day and the possibilities for doing revolutionary work among the masses. But the responses of the jurors which have revealed the leap since last year's trial in the mood of the advanced and the deepening influence of the Party, especially as the result of May Day, have caused both me and some of the other participants to move off or at least question our lines. . . . I thought I would share the experience of the trial with readers of the *RW*.

Overall, the jury selection confirmed what Bob Avakian said in his statement after May Day: "What we must sum up clearly from all this is exactly how important all this has been—the seriousness of the situation our rulers are in, the great revolutionary opportunities that lie before us. We must learn this, apply it right now and thereby really take yet another leap forward from here."

DEFEND THE RCP!

In struggle,
An observer

Puppet

Continued from page 7

perialism—not the Shah's "irrational squandering of Iran's oil money on U.S. arms," as some have claimed—that accounted for the U.S. completely supporting the Shah and dominating every aspect of the Iranian economy and government. The U.S. flag even flew together with the Iranian flag over many military bases in Iran during the heyday of the Shah's reign.

At the now famous 1977-78 New Year's celebration in Tehran, President Carter toasted the Shah as a ruler "loved and respected by his people" and hailed Iran as "an island of stability in a troubled part of the world." It was not long before the U.S. imperialists' line on the Shah changed. Only months later, Iran was locked into a spiraling revolutionary upsurge that could not be contained.

The Shah himself has taken to claiming in his memoirs, soon to be published, that his regime fell because the U.S. prevailed on him to be "lenient" with the opposition. However, the truth is that the U.S. backed the Shah to the hilt, instructing him to carry out the dual tactics of making some token concessions to try to split the opposition on the one hand while supporting outright military suppression of the movement on the other. This was made clear by Carter's phoning his support to the Shah the night after the infamous "Black Friday" massacre in September 1978 of thousands of unarmed demonstrators in Tehran, as well as in the con-

tinuing attempts of the U.S. as late as January to stage a military coup, even sending the No. 2 U.S. general in Europe on an unsuccessful month-long mission to do so.

What finally forced the U.S. to cut the Shah loose was the millions of Iranians in the streets demanding the destruction of the fascist regime and increasingly targeting the U.S. imperialists themselves for attack, thereby raising the prospect of the U.S. losing not only the Shah but all of Iran. So, the imperialists packed him off to get "medical treatment" abroad in January and join the long list of puppets, dating back to Diem, Ky and Thieu in south Vietnam, who were removed by exile or execution.

With the establishment of the Islamic Republic in 1979, the U.S. imperialists faced a new necessity—to try to come to terms with the new government and support its efforts to clamp down on the continuing revolution by ferment inside the country, with the goal of bringing Iran back into the U.S. fold altogether. At the same time, the U.S. harbored and protected the Shah, arranging for his trips to a string of U.S. neo-colonies around the world (including bringing him to the U.S. in November) because they still had hopes that he could be a rallying point for the remaining pro-imperialist forces in Iran to stage a comeback. It is this that accounts for the two-sided U.S. relationship with the Shah over the last year.

Ever since the Shah's overthrow, the imperialists have been in a bind. Especially with the contention with their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union heating up and barreling towards a new world war, the U.S. has needed a

"stable" Iran more than ever to shore up its increasingly exposed position in the strategic, oil-rich Middle East. With the Islamic government falling into deeper crisis and the class struggle sharpening up throughout Iran, this is presenting the imperialists with greater opportunities for intervention—as well as greater dangers as the revolutionary forces in Iran grow stronger.

Thus, the main reason the U.S. is trying to keep a low profile around the Shah right now is that they've got bigger things in mind—namely, how to pull off a successful coup, how to mobilize and direct a reactionary social base inside and outside Iran that has a chance at overthrowing the Islamic government and then consolidating power.

Over the last year, it had become clear that the Shah himself was not going to be able to spearhead a counter-revolutionary movement—he was too exposed and hated among the masses, and unpopular among hard-core rightists to boot. Thus, the U.S. imperialists have been concentrating on various efforts to "destabilize" the country (economic blackmail, setting up "assassination teams" inside the country, etc.) and to attempt to unite various bourgeois forces in the Islamic government with the U.S.-trained officer corps and former functionaries of the Shah's regime in order to topple the present government using nationalist and even Islamic camouflage. Secondly, the U.S. has been trying to unite the counterrevolutionary forces among Iranian exiles abroad to bolster their allies inside Iran and to actually recruit an exile army (which is being set up in Iraq) to link up with the main pro-

imperialist military forces in an actual all-out coup attempt.

The continuing claims about the Shah's great contributions to bringing modernization and social progress to Iran are being dusted off again precisely in order to capitalize on the growing discontent inside Iran over the inability of the Islamic government to deal with the economic and political crisis in the country. The imperialists are very fond of using this as proof that "revolution doesn't work." In fact, the current situation in Iran demonstrates just the opposite—that *only a thoroughgoing revolution* led by the working class can build on the historic step that was taken by overthrowing the Shah's fascist regime and then proceed to uproot all aspects of imperialist domination and reaction in Iran. It is this that the imperialists are petrified of and which they are in a race against time to crush.

Today, the U.S. ruling class is paying homage to the self-styled "king of kings" who served them faithfully for nearly three decades. These were their best years, years when murdering dogs like the Shah were unleashed on hundreds of millions of people in dozens of "Free World outposts" in Asia, Africa and Latin America, to enable U.S. capital to reap fantastic profits. It is fitting that the U.S. government would refer to the Shah's death as "the end of an era," for it does highlight the rapid decline of the American empire through the 1970s. But while the Shah is dead, U.S. imperialism is not, and until it too is put in its grave, it will stop at nothing to regain its lost power in Iran and its former world position as a whole. □

S. Africa

Continued from page 14

white workers aimed at keeping blacks out of jobs, and since then they have consistently referred to the country as "South Africa", refusing to use the African word "Azania" which literally means "black man's land." Lately, since ANC has thrown in its lot with Soviet social-imperialism, it has become a cause for some concern among the U.S. imperialists since they have seen other African countries slip into the hands of Soviet-dominated guerrilla groups like the MPLA in Angola and since ANC leader Earnest Mandala—imprisoned for the last 16 years—is widely mentioned in reformist circles as a figure who might be able to "unify the country." But while a number of exiled students have been attracted to ANC's guerrilla camps based in Angola and Mozambique, their base among the South African people is small. ANC has been severely criticized by black activists for spending too much time sprucing up their international image and doing little to organize the masses inside South Africa. Their recent strategy has been mostly one of terrorism isolated from the mass struggle—last June they claimed credit for the bombing of the South African Coal, Oil and Gas Corp. (an American consortium known as SASOL) in Johannesburg.

In this vacuum of genuine revolutionary leadership that is capable of galvanizing the diverse forces and organizing a unified mass struggle, the movement in South Africa so far has been largely spontaneous in character—sporadic, yet more and more frequent outbreaks by different sections of the people in response to the outrages heaped upon them by the apartheid regime.

Along with this a number of black civic organizations, which have grown up as parallel forces in opposition to the sellout community councils that help the government run the black townships, have been playing a progressive role. The most well-known of these is the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization (PEBCO) which played an important part in organizing the massive Ford and General Tyre strikes in 1979 and is currently behind the scenes at Volkswagen. During the upheavals a few months ago, a crowd organized by the Makisane Organization, the Craddock counterpart of PEBCO, trapped five community council members in a

meeting hall demanding their resignations. After police opened fire on them they proceeded to burn down a beer hall and trapped four of the cops in their homes, threatening to put them to the torch. These civic organizations have often linked up with the struggles of black workers, organizing widespread and effective boycott activity in the townships to lend substantial muscle to the mushrooming strike actions.

But the real backbone of the struggle has definitely been the masses of youth and students increasingly joining forces with the black workers. Indicative of the government's fear of the influence of the campuses is the fact that out of 86 publications recently banned by the government, a great many were put out by student organizations. While there are many different forces involved (an analysis of which is not possible here), it is clear that among the ranks of youth and students there are many who are fed up with the futility of reformist schemes for a "non-violent solution" to apartheid that have plagued the movement and are moving to embrace the idea that real liberation will only be won through an armed revolutionary struggle. As Chief Buthelezi recently complained: "The idea that bloodshed is necessary before liberation can be achieved is now being infused into the minds of these school children." True enough—one of the first lessons a student in Soweto learns is how to make a Molotov cocktail.

Meanwhile, the government has definitely been stunned by the rising level of violent resistance to its security forces, however spontaneous its present level. In May when the Peacemakers, a white vigilante group, tried to force pupils at a Port Elizabeth high school to abandon their boycott, they were set upon by a crowd of 2,000 youth and their leader was stoned to death. This, combined with the spectre of a more and more rebellious black proletariat, is what has sent South Africa's ruling whites and the U.S. rulers rushing for their firehoses (both literally and figuratively)—fairly dripping with watery promises about how the time is near when apartheid will be "reformed." The shockwaves are still reverberating in Pretoria's ministerial offices from the rebellion in June by 4,500 black miners at the Stilfontein Gold Mine in Western Transvaal. After bringing production to a halt, they rampaged through the camp, setting fire to their sleeping quarters and two community centers, looting the canteen, setting up barricades to fight

off the police and refusing to even state their demands. The workers were only driven out after government helicopters laid down a massive barrage of tear gas.

What the upholders of apartheid fear is that these "brush fires," as they call them, are on the verge of exploding into a nationwide conflagration they will be hard-pressed to contain. As they run to

put out each successive blaze, they are praying they will be able to get their neo-colonial schemes organized before the more conscious revolutionary elements that certainly exist in embryonic form are able to gain leadership in the liberation struggle and transform it into a sharper knife that will impale them once and for all. □

CHATTANOOGA

Continued from page 9

chief of police had a chat with Wilkinson, convincing him to call off a Klan demonstration in support of the police slated for Sunday, peace patrols were kept in the streets for 2 more days just in case the resurging KKK activities set Black youth ablaze again.

While the rebellion in Chattanooga has at least temporarily cooled out, and praises have been sung to Jesse Jackson for his so-called single-handed role in preventing further bloodshed, the whole story is yet to be told.

Clearly, the reactionary influence of Jackson (or others like him) still has an effect among the masses and in spontaneous struggles like this. And in this particular explosion, he was more able to sidetrack it than any of the "national leaders of Black people" were during the Miami rebellion.

But as the struggle in Chattanooga peaked, the real heart of the role that Jackson is being groomed to play stood more exposed than ever. It was illustrated by a key point he made in a major speech—supposedly a "warn-

ing" to the government. In an obvious reference to the draft and upcoming war, Jackson said, "If we are ready to risk our lives for the federal government, then the federal government has a responsibility to protect our people." Jesse wants to fight a war—but he doesn't want to fight it in Chattanooga! And it's not hard to see that soon, Jackson will be calling for "national unity" in the midst of rebellions with the argument that the "war effort" is being hurt!

As the last few months have shown, this system is daily generating the material for outbursts and explosions like Chattanooga. The very youth that the U.S. government would put into uniform for a bloody worldwide "defense of democracy"—while still diverted by demagogues like Jackson—are beginning to express their own verdict on the "democracy" they are called on to defend. Jesse Jackson will likely be doing quite a bit of traveling in the next couple of years. □



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An Essay by Lu Hsun Continued from page 12

Chiu Chin* died at the hands of informers. Just after the revolution she was called a heroine, but this title is rarely heard now. When the revolution started, a general came to her district — what we would call a “warlord” today — and he was her comrade. His name was Wang Chin-fa.** He arrested the man*** responsible for her death and collected evidence to avenge her. But in the end he let the informer go because — so they say — the Republic had been founded and bygones should be bygones. When the Second Revolution was defeated, however, Wang was shot by Yuan Shih-kai’s stooge; and the man who brought about Chiu Chin’s death and whom Wang had set free had a great deal to do with this.

Since then this informer has died peacefully in bed. But because there are still many of his sort lording it in that district, Chiu Chin’s native place has remained unchanged from year to year and made no progress at all. From this point of view, Miss Yang Yin-yu**** and Professor Chen Yuan are really supremely fortunate to come from China’s “model district”.*****

V. Those Who Have Fallen from Power Are Not the Same as Dogs in the Water

“To be wronged but not to seek revenge” is forgiving. “An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth” is just. In China, however, most things are topsy-turvy: instead of beating dogs in the water, we let ourselves be bitten by them. This is no more, though, than what simple souls deserve.

“Kindness is another name for folly,” says the proverb. This may be going too far. Yet if you think carefully, this is not intended to lead men astray, but is the conclusion reached after many bitter experiences. Thus there may be two reasons for the reluctance to beat a dog in the water. It is either because we are not strong enough, or because we have made a false analogy. We need not go into the first possibility. As regards the second, we can find two serious flaws. First, we make the mistake of considering dogs in the water as the same as men who have fallen from power. Secondly, we make the mistake of considering all those who have fallen from power as alike, without drawing a distinction between the good and the bad. The result is that evil-doers go unpunished. At present, for instance, since the political situation is unstable, men rise and fall all the time. Relying on some short-lived authority, a bad man may commit any crime he pleases until one day he falls and has to beg for mercy. Then simple souls who have known him or suffered at his hands consider him a dog in the water, and instead of beating him feel sorry for him. They imagine justice has already been done and they may as well be magnanimous, unaware that the dog is not really in the water but has long since prepared its hide-out and laid in food in the foreign concessions. Sometimes it may look hurt, but this is put on: it pretends to limp to enlist sympathy, so that it can go into hiding comfortably. It will come out later and make a fresh start by biting simple souls, then go on to “throw stones at someone who has fallen into a well” and commit all manner of crimes. And the reason for this is partly that those simple souls would not beat a dog in the water. So, strictly speaking, they are digging their own graves, and they have no right to blame fate or other people.

VI. We Cannot Yet Afford to Be Too Fair

Humanitarians may ask: In that case, don’t we want fair play at all? I can answer this at once: Of course we do, but not yet. This is using their own argument. Though humanitarians may not be willing to use it, I can make out a case for it. Do not Chinese and foreign-style gentlemen often say that China’s special features make foreign ideas of liberty and equality unsuitable for us? I take this to include fair play. Otherwise, if a man is unfair to you but you are fair to him, you will suffer for it in the end: not only will you fail to get fair treatment, but it will be too late to be unfair yourself. So before being fair, you have to know your opponent. If he does not deserve fair treatment, you had better not be polite. Only when he is fair can you talk to him of fair play.

This sounds rather like a proposal for a dual morality, but I cannot help it; for without this China will never have a better future. The dual morality in China takes many forms: different standards for masters and for slaves, for men and for women. It would be going to extremes and premature simply to treat dogs in the water and men in the water as the same. This is the argument of those gentlemen who

*1875-1907. A woman revolutionary who was one of the leaders of the movement against the Ching monarchy. She was arrested in 1907 and killed in her home town Shaohsing, Chekiang Province.

**The commander in charge of Shaohsing Prefecture after the 1911 Revolution who was killed by Yuan Shih-kai’s stooge Chu Jui, a general in control of Chekiang Province.

***Referring to Chang Chieh-mei, a big landlord in Shaohsing.

****In 1924, Yang Yin-yu was appointed principal of the Peking Women’s Normal College. Relying on the feudal forces, she brutally oppressed the students. She was a representative of those who advocated a slavish feudal and colonialist education.

*****Wusih, Yang Yin-yu’s native county, described as “a model district” by Chen Yuan.

say that while freedom and equality are good, in China it is still too early for them. So if anyone wants indiscriminate fair play, I suggest we wait till those so-called “dogs in the water” are more human. Of course, this does not mean that fair play cannot be practised at all at present; the important thing, as I have just said, is first to know your opponent. And a certain discrimination is required. In other words, your fairness must depend on who your opponent is. Never mind how he has fallen into the water, if he is a man we should help him; if a dog, we should ignore him; if a bad dog, we should beat him. In brief, we should befriend our own kind and attack our enemies.

We need not trouble ourselves just now with the aphorisms of those gentlemen who have justice on their lips but self-interest in their hearts. Even the justice so loudly demanded by honest folk cannot help good people in China today, but may actually protect the bad instead. For when bad men are in power and ill-treat the good, however loudly someone calls for justice, they will certainly not listen to him. His cry is simply a cry, and the good continue to suffer. But if the good happen for once to come out on top while the bad fall into the water, those honest upholders of justice shout: “Don’t take vengeance! . . . Be magnanimous! . . . Don’t oppose evil with evil! . . .” And this time their outcry takes effect instead of going unheeded; for the good agree with them, and the bad are spared. After being spared, though, they simply congratulate themselves on their luck instead of repenting. Besides, they have prepared hide-outs in advance and are good at worming their way into favour; so in no time they become as powerful and as vicious as before. When this happens, the upholders of justice may raise another outcry, but this time it will not be heard.

Nevertheless it is true that when reformers are “being too harsh in hating evil” and over-zealous, like the scholars at the end of the Han Dynasty or those of the Ming Dynasty, they defeat their own ends. Indeed, this is the criticism usually levelled against them. But though the other side “hate good folk as if they were enemies”, nobody reproaches them for it. If there is no fight to the finish between darkness and light, and simple souls go on making the mistake of confusing mercy with giving rein to evil, and continue pardoning wicked men, then the present state of chaos will last for ever.

VII. On Dealing with Them as They Deal with Others

Some Chinese believe in traditional Chinese medicine, others in Western medicine, and both types of doctors can now be found in our larger towns so that patients may take their choice. I thoroughly approve of this. If this were applied more generally, I am sure there would be fewer complaints and perhaps we could even secure peace and prosperity. For instance, the usual form of greeting in the Republic is to bow; but if anyone disapproves of this he can kowtow instead. The new penal code has no punishment by bastinado; but if anyone approves of corporal punishment, when he breaks the law he can have his bottom specially spanked. Bowls, chopsticks and cooked food are the custom today; but if anyone hankers after ancient times he can eat raw meat. We can also build several thousand thatched huts and move all those fine gentlemen who so admire the age of Yao and Shun* out of their big houses to live there, while those who oppose material civilization should certainly not be compelled to travel in cars. When this is done there will be no more complaints, for everyone will be satisfied and we shall enjoy peace and quiet.

But the pity is that nobody will do this. Instead they judge others by themselves, and hence there is all this trouble in the world. Fair play is particularly liable to cause trouble, and may even be made use of by the forces of evil. For example, when Liu Pai-chao beat up and carried off students of the Women’s Normal College there was not so much as a squeak from *Modern Review*.** But when the buildings were recovered and Professor Chen Yuan encouraged the students of the Women’s University to stay on in the dormitories, the journal said: “Suppose they don’t want to go? Surely you aren’t going to carry off their things by force?” If they remained silent the first time when Liu Pai-chao beat up students and carried things away, how was it that this time they felt it would not do? It was because they felt there was fair play in the Women’s Normal College. But this fair play had become a bad thing, since it was utilized to protect the followers of Chang Shih-chao.

VIII. Conclusion

I may be accused of stirring up trouble by this argument between the old and the new or some other schools of thought, and of aggravating their enmity and sharpening the conflict between them. But I can state with certainty that those who oppose reform have never relaxed their efforts to injure reformers, and have always done their worst. It is only the reformers who are asleep and always suffer for it. That is why China has never had reforms. From now on we should modify our attitude and our tactics.

December 29, 1925

*Two legendary Chinese rulers of the earliest times, described in old books as living in thatched huts.

**A weekly edited by Chen Yuan and his clique.

On the Question of So-Called "National Nihilism"

YOU CAN'T BEAT YOU WHILE RAIN

Can revolution in the U.S. today come wrapped in the American flag? Can we "claim it as our own"? Should a revolutionary party be motivated by a desire to "save America... from her rulers and for her people"? Can a class-conscious revolutionary in the U.S. "have pride in the true history of this country"? These are questions which have posed themselves again and again in the development of the revolutionary movement in the U.S. and are doing so today. In fact, similar questions of national pride and patriotism have historically been very important in the advances—and setbacks—of the international communist movement.

Earl Browder, the naked revisionist former leader of the Communist Party, USA gave his infamous answer to these questions in the mid-1930s when he coined the phrase "Communism is 20th Century Americanism" and said that the CPUSA was carrying on the revolutionary tradition of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln and the like. Unfortunately, when all was said and done, Earl Browder was right about the CPUSA (though most certainly wrong about genuine communism) because the CP had completely taken up the program and outlook of bourgeois democracy. Such a stand may be American and definitely is bourgeois, but for a communist it is a thoroughly counter-revolutionary one, especially here in the imperialist USA in this, the era of proletarian revolution.

It would be nice to pretend that revisionism started and stopped with Earl Browder. But this "easy target" method of struggle leaves too much dirt in the old CP unwashed and, even more importantly, leaves untouched many of the roots of revisionism and decay that have damaged all and destroyed some of the international communist movement over the past 50 years.

Today the call to revolutionaries in the imperialist countries to "pick up the national flag" is heard from such diverse and mutually cuthroat revisionist quarters as the Chinese revisionists who overthrew Mao's line and from Enver Hoxha of Albania who is trying to appear most "revolutionary" in contrast. Even the Soviet-style revisionist parties inside the Western bloc countries are loyal to this "true patriots" creed—some even going so far as to say that, if they were in power they would favor remaining in the Western war bloc NATO for the "defense of the country". In less crude forms, this nationalism has become accepted fare even in the proletarian revolutionary ranks. Spontaneously, too, this line comes up among progressive-minded people who are drawn to the view, for example, that opposing the draft should be advertised as the "real patriotism". Some so-called "communists" say the same thing, and this amounts to a set-up to rally around the real flag wavers—the imperialist ruling class. Over the last 50 years bourgeois democracy, patriotism and communism have become so intermingled and mixed into one hulk, that it is necessary to begin summing up something deeply—and to do so quickly—in the face of the looming pitfalls and revolutionary opportunities posed by deepening crisis and war moves.

Dimitroff

Specifically it is necessary to look at the line of the Comintern (Communist International) which was systematically laid out by its General Secretary Georgi Dimitroff in its 7th World Congress in 1935. In his major address laying out the strategy of "United Front Against Fascism," Dimitroff made the following statement: "We Communists are the irreconcilable opponents, on principle, of bourgeois nationalism of every variety. But we are not supporters of national nihilism, and should never act

as such. The task of educating the workers and all toilers in the spirit of proletarian internationalism is one of the fundamental tasks of every Communist Party. But whoever thinks that this permits him, or even compels him, to sneer at the national sentiments of the broad toiling masses is far from genuine Bolshevism, and has understood nothing of the teaching of Lenin and Stalin on the national question." (New Century Publications, 1945, p. 78)

By "national nihilism" Dimitroff meant to imply some sort of view based on the idea of wrecking, destroying or denying the whole history of development of the nation; of course, since this is a bit difficult, to say the least, for a basic materialist (such a history exists, no matter what you say), this straw man phrase "national nihilism" was meant to characterize and attack any view that did not base itself, ideologically and politically, on patriotic sentiments.

In a recent talk the Chairman of our

Party's Central Committee, Bob Avakian, spoke directly against this view: "Basically my point is that there is no such thing as so-called 'national nihilism'; a communist does not talk about it. This concept was introduced in the most significant way during the whole Dimitroff United Front Against Fascism line; it's a fairly significant line in his report and basically it was a way of greasing the skids for the slide into 'defend the fatherland' during World War 2. . . . I don't believe that this 'national nihilism' was a deviation that had to be combatted in the sense that it was raised at that time and I think that something should be said about it because I think this is an important part

of combatting national chauvinism. I think we have correctly used the words 'patriotism' and 'national chauvinism' interchangeably when talking about this country, and I think it's correct to continue to do that. This theory for combatting national nihilism to me is a theory for social chauvinism.

"This came up around the Vietnam war, the idea that the reason we want to put a stop to the U.S. around the world is because we are ashamed about what a handful of phony patriots are doing in our name, the way they are misusing the American flag. No. They are properly using the American flag and they can have it. That is *not* why we oppose them being in Iran, for 'disgracing the



OUR ENEMY SING HIS FLAG

American nation.
 "I think this is going to be an important question. We might be able to unite with people who have these sentiments—in fact we should try to do so. But we should never blur over the two different lines here. In other words if somebody wants to get up and say, 'Let's stand with the Iranian revolution,' and they denounce these handful of imperialists (or whatever they might call them) dragging the American nation in the mud. Okay. But a friendly warning: we're not going to unite with that ideologically and we are going to struggle broadly against that kind of line. That's not why we oppose what the U.S. imperialists are doing in Iran.

Let's not let chauvinism in through the back door. The reason we oppose U.S. imperialism is not because it's 'our own' bourgeoisie, in the sense of there being something especially *American* about it—or us. The reason we especially oppose the U.S. bourgeoisie is because this is *where* we are and the U.S. bourgeoisie is the one that politically rules over us and that oppresses many other nations in the world and tries to get their working class here to identify with that, and we have a role to play in opposing that. And *that's* why we pay special attention to this, not because they are American and we are American."
 But this same attitude of "unity and

struggle" cannot be taken when it is a question of people who claim to be *communists* and who fight for this to be the leading line of revolution. Here are those who are supposed to be in the vanguard of the class struggle urging the workers to cast their eyes backward—to making a fetish out of what is ultimately a bourgeois thing, the nation, instead of pushing things forward, through stages, to the ultimate goal of communism, which means the elimination of classes on a world scale and the merging of all nations.

Nationalism and Internationalism

The results of communists burying their independent line and their ideo-

logy beneath the mantle of nationalism are disastrous. This stands out especially starkly in the imperialist countries. Even in the nations oppressed by imperialism where nationalism can play a progressive role in the struggle, if it is adopted as the ideology of the party of the leading class, this, too, will mean that any advances in the struggle will be turned soon enough into their opposite.

Comrade Avakian also said, "I do not believe that in a fundamental sense there is for a communist such a thing as national pride. Mao Tsetung posed the question, 'Can a communist, who is an internationalist, at the same time be a patriot?' Mao correctly and explicitly said that in the *colonial* countries that 'he not only can be but must be.' I think that is a question of practical political stand. *That* is correct. For example if a person in Iran was not patriotic in the sense of stressing the unity of the Iranian nation against U.S. imperialism it would be an error—a left error. We here would certainly be making an error if we obliterated that distinction between oppressor and oppressed nations—imperialist countries and their victims. But on the other hand, for all that, I do not believe that *ideologically* there is such a thing as national pride nor national nihilism.

"There is the necessity in the colonial countries to fight against the ideological expressions of colonial domination; attitudes of inferiority can even take hold among the victims themselves. There is a sentiment within the colonized nations that they are not capable of standing on their own two feet, managing their own affairs and forging their own destinies. This is even necessary well after you have established socialism. It was certainly very important in China in the struggle over whether to capitulate to the imperialists or not, and I think it was quite correct for that to be stressed. When the revolutionaries said, for example, about the Antonioni film on China (a film that pictured China as bleak and backward) that 'any Chinese who has a modicum of national pride would be disgusted by this film' I don't think they were wrong to make that point. They would have been wrong to make that the *main* point, but they weren't wrong to make it.

"A socialist country is an entity, a state, and you can make use of patriotic sentiments of the middle classes as long as you don't make that the main thing and you don't make it the principle you are basing yourself on. Lenin wrote an article about this which I think is helpful. In Volume 28 in his article 'Report on the Attitude of the Proletariat to Petty-Bourgeois Democrats,' he made the point that because of the Bolsheviks' stand of proletarian internationalism and opposing national defensism they lost large sections of the petty bourgeoisie during the period of building up to and during the October Revolution. But during the civil war that followed, when the enemy imperialists came in on the side of the reactionaries and in form a part of the struggle was that these imperialists were actually occupying part of Russia, some of the patriotic sentiments of the petty bourgeoisie swung over to the side of the Bolsheviks because they wanted these foreign imperialists out. And Lenin was very blunt and said that these people had never been socialists and never would be, so we have to figure out how to unite with them on the basis of where they are at without compromising our principles. I think that's correct, but that's not the same thing as 'opposing national nihilism.'

"In colonial countries it is correct for people to stress the struggle against the feelings of national inferiority and to build up a national pride of the people in the sense that they are not inferior as a nation. But that always has to be done—and here it gets to the basic point—not on the basis of nationalism but *internationalism*; not on the basis that the Chinese nation, or any nation, is *superior* to other nations, but that it is no less, not unequal, not inferior to them. So therefore what does national pride in a fundamental sense have to do with it? I don't believe it does. I think

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it's a question of internationalism and what concrete practical, political expression it takes under different conditions.”

Class Betrayal Under a National Banner

But nationalism became the ideological line and political programme of the Communist International for the imperialist countries in the years before World War 2. Most of the parties took up this line with a revisionist, capitulationist gusto—and the results were disastrous. For example, the French party in the '30s proudly wore the mantle of nationalism with the slogan “Long live free, strong and happy France, faithful to its mission of progress, liberty and peace.” Here is a so-called communist party sounding for all the world like Voltaire or Rousseau—ideologues of the French bourgeois revolution a century and a half earlier. As Marx and Engels stated so clearly in the *Communist Manifesto*, Voltaire's ideal kingdom of liberty turned out to be the very real kingdom of the bourgeoisie on earth. And, to put the French CP in its proper—and historically backward—place as compared to the bourgeois Voltaire, French capitalism was no longer progressive, rising capitalism, as in Voltaire's time, but decadent imperialism—death-bound and seeking world domination, like all imperialism. This fact was not lost on France's overseas colonies. But under the guidance of this line, it was lost on the so-called communist upholders of “happy France”: in his report to the 1939 Congress of the French CP, its leader mentioned French colonies only once—and then only to point out that their residents did not enjoy the rights of French citizens—as if that, not national liberation, was the goal of their struggle. In another example, in the pre-World War 2 Spanish Civil War—fought by the Spanish Republic (with the Communist Party) versus the fascist General Franco—Franco's army included many soldiers from the Spanish colony of Morocco. But the progressive forces never came out for the independence of Morocco or any other Spanish colony—an act which could have even played a significant role in disintegrating Franco's army and making victory over the fascists more possible.

These, together with Browder's statements about communism being Americanism, and his later dissolving of the Communist Party USA itself, were just some of the more blatant effects of substituting nationalism for internationalism as the basic outlook of the communist parties. The effects of this line ran far deeper than just these crass manifestations.

Communist Manifesto

The basic attitude of communists toward nationalism during the 1930s grossly departed from the stand spelled out long ago in the *Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels: “The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality. The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got.” Clearly, if Dimitroff had been searching for the source of the so-called “error” of “national nihilism” he could have found it in the *Manifesto*. Of course socialist countries, when established, must be defended and, beyond that, communists have recognized that national sentiments and patriotism play a progressive, even revolutionary role in the countries of the world oppressed by imperialism—where the stage of the struggle is national liberation, as one step toward the proletarian dictatorship. But even there, as the *Manifesto* also said, “In the national struggles of the proletarians of different countries, they (the communists—*RW*) point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independent of all nationality.” It is the internationalist, not nationalist, outlook that must be brought to the fore, even when the stage of the struggle requires a program of national liberation.

Contrast the above statement from Marx and Engels with the following one from Dimitroff's report to the 7th Congress: “Proletarian internationalism not only does not contradict this struggle of the toilers of the individual countries for national, social and cultural freedom but, thanks to international proletarian solidarity and fighting unity, provides the support which is necessary for the victory in this struggle.” (p. 81) This formulation reverses the correct—and Marxist—relation between national struggle and internationalism. Proletarian internationalism is reduced to support (Dimitroff's emphasis) for the national struggle (and remember Dimitroff was speaking of all countries here, including the imperialist ones). This reduces the proletariat to a supporter of the bourgeoisie.

Criticizing so-called “national nihilism” meant you had to criticize Marx, so the Comintern began to do so—behind only the tiniest of fig leaves. In a November 1938 article in *The Communist International*, for example, the following not-too-subtle attack on Marx appears: “For a long time the working class lived on the edge of the nation. It was more or less excluded from the national community of culture. In old German the word ‘misery’ was an expression for ‘foreign’; and for the working class the fatherland was merely misery and foreignness. ‘The proletariat has no country’ was a profound and bitter conviction.” (Note the *past tense* in the above paragraph, but lo!...)

“Through the class struggle the workers gradually won a place in the nation for themselves. By achieving democratic rights, by the shortening of working hours, by the right of combination and social legislation the beast of burden was transformed into a citizen. Through its parties, trade unions and other organizations the working class began to take an ever-increasing part in the life of the nation and the great national community of culture. . . . The working class began to revise its relationship with the nation.” (“The Working Class and the Nation,” reprinted in “Clarity,” published by the N.Y. State Communist Party Education Department, No. 1, p. 9)

Here it was, the perfect marriage between nationalism and reformism—both gutting the revolutionary and internationalist heart out of Marxism. Reforms now meant that the workers had a fatherland. Marx, of course, had seen more than a few reform struggles in his day, but somehow this didn't change his opinion that the workers had no country.

More recently than Marx, and after many more of these miraculous reform struggles the Comintern article spoke of had taken place, Lenin, truly unimpressed with these “miracles,” wrote the following:

“The national ideology created by that epoch (of struggles against feudalism to form nation-states—*RW*) left a deep impression on the mass of the petit bourgeoisie and a section of the proletariat. This is now being utilized in a totally different and imperialist epoch by the bourgeoisie, and by the traitors to socialism who are following in their wake, so as to split the workers, and divert them from their class aims and from the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie.

“The words in the *Communist Manifesto* that ‘the workingmen have no country’ are today truer than ever before. Only the proletariat's international struggle against the bourgeoisie can preserve what it has won, and open to the oppressed masses the road to a better future.” (Lenin, “The Conference of the R.S.D.L.P. Groups Abroad,” Vol. 21, p. 160)

Attacking Leninism

Leninism stands for fierce opposition to national chauvinism and, in particular, to any attempt to camouflage imperialist reaction with talk about “the nation” and “defending the fatherland” in the imperialist countries. So the Comintern, taking off from this

line of opposing so-called national nihilism, took an increasingly anti-Leninist position as well. For example, a different article in the same collection quoted above extends the Comintern's not-too-subtle polemics to oppose Leninism, too: “In connection with the first imperialist world war, masses of the workers came to abominate bourgeois nationalism and its despicable product, social patriotism. Many revolutionary workers identified the national idea with the reactionary chauvinism of the bourgeoisie, and to the social-patriotism of the Second International they opposed the complete negation of the nation. In this, however, they overlooked the fact that, although the nation is indeed ruled by the bourgeoisie, it is not identical with the bourgeoisie. The Communist International, in its manifesto on the occasion of the twenty-first anniversary of the great socialist revolution, characterized the nation as follows:

“The nation is not the gang of fascists, reactionary financiers and industrial magnates who rob and betray the people. The nation is the many millions of workers, peasants and working people generally—the people that is devoted to its country, cherishes its liberty and defends its independence.” (From “Changes in Bourgeois Nationalism,” *The Communist International*, June 1939)

And their conclusion, of course, amounted to the same socialist masquerade for imperialist rule and domination that Lenin had bitterly polemicized against. “It has become the great task of the working class in all countries to save the nation.” (From the first article, p. 9, emphasis added) Lenin had already exposed this as the “socialist” cover for the imperialist debacle of sending worker to fight worker for “the nation.” Here what is being said by the Comintern is not at all the Leninist position that it is the task of the working class in the colonized countries to lead the national liberation struggle against imperialism, while it is the task of the working class of the imperialist countries to support this struggle and generally oppose their own bourgeoisie and prepare to overthrow it guided by internationalism. Here, the communists of all countries were being led to become promoters and “saviors” of the nation, promoters of nationalism and thus, ultimately, tails on the bourgeois dog. In case anyone would think we are guilty here of exaggeration, then read the following passage, also from *The Communist International* (again from “The Working Class and The Nation”), which takes Dimitroff's quote on “national nihilism” as its authority:

“In the struggle against fascist imperialism and its reactionary accomplices the working class and its Communist Party are the only consistent defenders of national independence. The modern nations were born in the process of the bourgeois revolution.

The reactionary bourgeoisie is betraying the national interests together with the whole heritage of the bourgeois revolution. It is the working class and its Communist Party which take over the legacies of the bourgeois revolution, maintain them against the traitors and develop them to a richer, fuller life.” (p. 3) So, Earl Browder was not alone, nor original in his thesis that “Communism is 20th Century Americanism,” and communists are told not to be revolutionaries whose final goal is radically different from all previous revolutions—the abolition of all class distinctions worldwide. Instead they are called on to be the further “developers” of the bourgeois revolution.

National Chauvinism in World War 2

This analysis by the Comintern on nationalism went hand in hand with their analysis of the world situation and the tasks of the working class in the period leading up to World War 2. While the world had changed greatly since World War 1, including the fact that there was now a socialist state, the USSR, which was a product of and potential base area for the struggles of the international proletariat, still, the basic era of imperialism had not changed in these twenty years. But in the Comintern, including in Dimitroff's report, there were strong tendencies to depart from the basic Leninist analysis of this era and the tasks of the proletariat in it. One area this showed itself in was the Comintern's line on the nation. There was a strong tendency to believe that with the advent of fascism in several countries, the whole role of the nation, of nationalism, and of the bourgeoisie in relation to it had changed. For example, in July of 1939 the Comintern said straight out, “Today there are states... whose imperialism is not simply a continuation of 1914...”

Dimitroff, too, in his report to the 7th Congress, put forward the slogan “fascism is war.” Fascism is certainly not peace, but this was taken to mean something markedly different and more “up to date” than Lenin's analysis that imperialism—capitalism in its highest and final, moribund stage—meant war. It meant that only certain imperialists—the fascists—were the source of war, not the imperialist system. Imperialist countries were classified into “aggressor” (i.e., fascist) and “non-aggressor” (bourgeois-democratic imperialist) states. In the first category, the fascist bourgeoisie was accused of being “destroyers of the nation” and upholders of “barbarism” (something different from capitalism). In the second “non-aggressor” camp, the bourgeoisie was (at least for a while in the 1930s) also accused of betraying the nation, but here the charge was that it was doing so by giving in, appeasing, surrendering to the fascist aggressors. In common between both these analyses

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Slogan decorates Communist Party headquarters in New York City, 1937. “. . . for a communist (this stand) is a thoroughly reactionary one, especially here in the imperialist USA in this, the era of proletarian revolution.”

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was the idea that the proletariat should "oppose" the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries on the basis of being the "true defenders of the nation." Increasingly, and especially after the Soviet Union was attacked, the mask of "opposing" was thrown aside and the open line taken up of uniting with the bourgeoisie—not *tactically* in those countries where this was necessary for a time to help defend the socialist Soviet Union—but increasingly under the bourgeois and chauvinist banner of defending the (imperialist) nation.

In Dimitroff's report, he lays the basis for this in concluding the section on national pride. He says that "opposing national nihilism," basing oneself on national sentiments, "... is unquestionably an essential preliminary condition for a successful struggle against chauvinism—this main instrument of ideological influence of the fascists upon the masses." (p. 82, Dimitroff's emphasis) In other words, the only basis to "oppose" chauvinism is with nationalism, not internationalism. Far from opposing chauvinism in the imperialist countries, this is a recipe, as Comrade Avakian has put it, for letting it in through the back door.

In a report to the 1978 Central Committee meeting of our Party, Bob Avakian hit just this sort of thinking: "The workers in this country can never make revolution by 'claiming the American flag as their own'—it is *not*—but only by learning to *hate* the American flag and all it stands for; and to take up the red flag... the proletariat cannot make its revolution as the leader of the 'nation' but against the actual leader of its nation—the bourgeoisie."

Twisted Logic

In the 1930s, reality was twisted wildly in an attempt to squeeze it to fit this analysis. For example, in June 1939, an article in *The Communist International* said, "The bourgeoisie—once national-revolutionary, then cosmopolitan, then reactionary and chauvinistic—has now become the destroyer of nations, just as capitalism has changed from a constructive to a destructive force. The bourgeoisie, which once entered upon its domination at the head of, and with the help of, the nation, now trembles lest it lose its domination through a great national movement." And then, extending this twisted logic to the level of the ludicrous, the article goes on: "It is not by chance that the German fascists are coming more and more to use such imperialist terms as 'Reich,' 'greater German Reich,' and so on, instead of the word 'nation.'... It is the will of the fascist dictators that the Germans shall not feel themselves to be a nation but 'followers of the Führer.' It is well known that the fascist bourgeoisie also fears that the tide of a genuinely national movement may sweep over it." ("Changes in Bourgeois Nationalism.") Now they were out to "out-nationalist" the Nazis. They flopped.

They went totally bananas to "prove" their point: "The destruction of the community of culture extends even to the language; the barbarous, confused and savage gangster slang of the German fascist is becoming more and more incomprehensible to those who learned to speak the *German* of Luther, Lessing and Goethe. A young Austrian Socialist who was imprisoned in the custody of German fascist turnkeys wrote to a friend: 'The worst was that I could not understand a word they said. What these brutes spoke was certainly not German.'" Not content with taking up the banner of the bourgeoisie, this line recommends that communists sound like aristocratic defenders of "the King's English."

Lenin's Imperialism Rejected

In all this, there was a great departure from, one could even say burying of, Lenin's great work *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism*, a work that must be taken up again as a foundation for thoroughly routing the influences of nationalism that still linger in the communist movement of today. In *Imperialism* Lenin saw and analyzed all the essential decadent and reac-

tionary tendencies of the imperialist countries, and showed why they were due to the features common to all capitalism in its highest stage—and to nothing else. He analyzed why imperialism tends toward repression and violations of bourgeois democracy, and why it aggressively seeks world domination and redivision of the world through war. He even noted that, leading up to World War I, Germany was the openly lusting, up-and-coming imperialist which had been largely cut out from the imperialist feast, so it was the more openly aggressive. But all this didn't lead him to talk about "aggressor" and "non-aggressor" states or to take sides. Even then, England was far more "democratic" and Germany more militarist and repressive, but Lenin's position (quoting Kautsky from when he was a Marxist) was: "In a war between Germany and England the issue is not democracy, but world domination, i.e., exploitation of the world. That is not an issue on which Social-Democrats (communists—*RW*) can side with the exploiters of their nation!" (Vol. 23, p. 35) As Lenin explained in the prefaces to *Imperialism*, this book proved through analysis of "the fundamental economic question" that "the war of 1914-18 was imperialist (that is, an annexationist, predatory, war of plunder) on the part of both sides..." (Vol. 22, pp. 188-89)

Lenin duly noted all the basic facts cited by the Comintern, but it didn't drive him over the edge into concocting special theories about communists continuing and developing the bourgeois-democratic revolution or being the true saviors of the capitalist nation. Lenin was clear, and it is necessary to be clear again today, that modern capitalist so-

it often is in the oppressed nations, but has the banner of the nation firmly clutched in its hand. In these countries, the proletarian revolution will be against patriotism and for something far more lofty and earth-shaking—our part in the international revolution.

In analyzing imperialism, Lenin, too, made the sharp distinction between oppressor and oppressed nations: "What do we mean when we say that national states have become fetters, etc.? We have in mind the advanced capitalist countries, above all Germany, France, England, whose participation in the present war has been the chief factor in making it an imperialist war. In these countries, which hitherto have been in the van of mankind, particularly in 1789-1871, the process of forming national states has been consummated. In these countries the national movement is a thing of an irrevocable past, and it would be an absurd reactionary utopia to try to revive it." ("A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism," Vol. 23, p. 38) And as Lenin also pointed out, the aim of socialism is not only to bring nations closer together, but to merge them.

In all countries, and especially the imperialist ones, this means, when looking at the past, stressing the radical differences between the bourgeois revolutions, such as the American revolution in 1776, and the coming proletarian revolution. It means stressing that while such previous revolutions were necessary and progressive *at that time*, their time is past and now it is the turn of the proletariat. Washington, Jefferson and the rest cannot be spoken of as "our forefathers," for the child their revolution begat was capitalism (deformed at that time by slavery) and it could only grow and develop into the ugly monster of imperialism, which we must overthrow. This materialist view is different, indeed, from Dimitroff's call

The workers in this country can never make revolution by "claiming the American flag as their own"—it is *not*—but only by learning to *hate* the American flag and all it stands for, and to take up the red flag... The proletariat cannot make its revolution as the leader of the "nation" but against the actual leader of its nation—the bourgeoisie.

ciety is not a horror because it's something *other* than capitalism; America is not monstrous because it's practicing something other than "Americanism"; it's monstrous precisely because it is Americanism, it is imperialism. And this is capitalism in its highest stage, and, most importantly, capitalism in transition to something else. And that something else is neither barbarism, nor a new stage of bourgeois democracy, this time led by communists; it is socialism, proletarian revolution, itself a transition to communism.

Revolutionaries Should Look Forward

It is *not* the business of communists, nor anyone who wants liberation, to put their shoulder to the wheel of history and push backwards. This means that communists are internationalists, and not nationalists.

Even in the countries oppressed by imperialism, where the stage of the struggle to be fought is national liberation, the goal of the struggle is not to try to repeat the process of the bourgeois-democratic revolution that went on in Europe, but to develop the struggle for national liberation as a step in the continuous process of a revolution whose goal is the proletarian dictatorship. In China, Mao stressed during the years of war for liberation that China's revolution was *new-democratic*, not bourgeois-democratic, that it could only be a transition to socialist revolution, and that the bourgeoisie could not lead any stage of this struggle. To accomplish this, and to develop the struggles in these countries as part of the world proletarian revolution, requires uniting with patriotic sentiments, to be sure, but most of all it requires that the ideology of the leading class be internationalism and not nationalism.

In the imperialist countries the effect of this nationalism stands out all the more sharply and immediately. Here, the bourgeoisie is not capitulationist as

in the 7th Congress to "link up their (the working class's—*RW*) present struggle with its revolutionary traditions and past." (p. 78)

National Pride or Internationalism

And what of other, related aspects of national pride, which Dimitroff raised in the 7th Congress as a necessary part of the outlook of communists. In the talk referred to above, Comrade Avakian addressed this question, as well:

"Let us take the question: have the people of the U.S. made contributions to the world in the sense of science, culture and the arts? Yes. And so have the Chinese, the Iranians or any nation you can name, and that's exactly the point. So with our outlook and our scientific understanding what is so special about the fact that it happens to be in America that this or that invention was made? What is there particularly about this or that cultural expression that we would want to uphold as "American?" I don't think that has anything to do with it. It just happens to be the masses of people in different countries, including the petty bourgeoisie and even other classes which were previously progressive, like the bourgeoisie, made contributions to the cause of humanity. What difference does it make to us and why should we make a big deal out of it that they were from America or France or whatever? Now, if someone wants to make an argument—and the imperialists do—that the 'the people of Africa are inferior', then, yes, we have to say, 'Look, it's important that they were *African* people who did this' as a refutation of that line. But we should not say the important thing is that it was people from this or that nation in Africa or Asia or the U.S. or Canada or what have you.

"That's internationalism, and if you practice it then you're accused of national nihilism, of wanting to just wreck

and destroy and deny any positive aspects to the history and contributions of different people of your nation. It was correct, for example in China, for them to preserve those historical relics that they found. What the revolutionaries used them for was to educate people about the old society and class struggle and the role of the masses. That's why it's good for us to save these things. There are some things that are generally of historical value, historical relics. It's not that their value is monetary, but that it is historical, to educate the masses.

"I do not, however, believe in the classless theory that this is a 'classic piece of art and should be preserved.' I do not happen to believe in that and I think this can be analyzed with historical materialism: If they had an important role in history then they are important to preserve because the masses should understand history.

"Why should a communist of any particular nation make anything about the fact that this came from their nation. They should not, other than in the colonial countries to combat feelings of national inferiority, which is an ideological expression of imperialism. And even there the point should not be, 'and therefore we're such a great nation.' That is the revisionist and nationalist line of Hua Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping about 'What a great nation the Chinese nation is.'

"No, we're not going to go around after taking state power in this country smashing everything ever produced by any other members of the other class or during any historic epoch previous to the one of proletarian revolution. But neither should we go around elevating these things to prove how great the American nation is. I think we should draw a *class* analysis of these things, analyzing them according to historical materialism and put that in the context of the whole development of mankind historically and educate the masses here in that. And we ought to put more attention on showing how people in Africa developed things than we should on the 'great contributions of the American nation' because we're coming from an imperialist nation, not a colonized situation."

Class Capitulation in the Face of War

Especially as the threat of world war mounts, the temptation to make communism more "acceptable" by dressing it up in the national flag mounts. But in the imperialist countries, to do so ultimately means being acceptable to the imperialist bourgeoisie. It means assisting them in throwing dust in the eyes of the workers, who in such times more than ever need to have their eyes firmly fixed on the red flag, on their internationalist *class* interests, on the revolutionary way forward.

Leninism stands opposed to all such capitulation, no matter how refined or well-intended. In "The Junius Pamphlet", written in 1916 in reply to a pamphlet by the German revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg (whose alias was Junius), Lenin takes on the line of opposing imperialism by being "true defenders" of the nation. While overall applauding Luxemburg's stand against the social-chauvinists (socialists in word, national chauvinists in fact), Lenin takes on her mistakes including especially her efforts to hold onto the national banner:

"Junius, however, while brilliantly exposing the imperialist character of the present war as distinct from a national war, makes the very strange mistake of trying to drag a national programme into the *present, non-national, war...*" (Vol. 22, p. 313)

Junius wanted to oppose Germany's part in the war on the basis of the true interests and "best traditions" of Germany. It was precisely an attempt to make internationalism more acceptable by trying to reconcile it with nationalism. Lenin raked this tailism as "a plan 'to outwit history'" and said that instead, the communists should have opposed the imperialist war of plunder with the war for socialism by the workers of all the fighting countries.

In imperialist countries the banner of the nation must be exposed, not idealized and upheld. "Defending the coun-

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"National Nihilism"

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try" must be shown to be imperialist talk for defending their exploitation and expansion, instead of looking for a "better" "more just" way to defend it. "Opposing national nihilism" became a recipe for straight up national chauvinism. A case in point was Dimitroff's line in this same report on the tasks of the German communists in response to the Versailles Treaty which imposed "loser's conditions" on Germany after the end of World War I. The Nazis blasted this treaty and used opposition to it to build up national chauvinism. Dimitroff argues that the German communists' approach should have been to beat the Nazis to the punch. He states "Our comrades in Germany for a long time failed to

reckon with the wounded national sentiments and indignation of the masses at the Versailles Treaty;... they were late in drawing up their program of social and national emancipation..." (p. 21) Instead of arguing for exposing this treaty as an imperialist peace which would itself again give rise to an imperialist war, and for concentrating on exposing your "own" bourgeoisie, Dimitroff argues that the German communists should take up the national fight of Germany to retrieve her "sacred lands", etc. Here, chauvinism has gone from the backdoor right up to the front door. Contrast this to Lenin's attitude toward another, different treaty (the Brest-Litovsk Peace) which the Bolsheviks concluded to get out of

World War I—and gave up large amounts of land to do so. Lenin said, "At the time of Brest-Litovsk peace we had to go against patriotism. We said that if you are a socialist you must sacrifice all your patriotic feelings to the international revolution, which is inevitable, and although it is not here yet you must believe in it if you are an internationalist." ("Report on the Attitude of the Proletariat to Petty-Bourgeois Democrats," Vol. 28, p. 206) One attitude is an attitude that will train people in a revolutionary spirit, the other in imperialist gangster logic.

When all is said and done "national nihilism" is a straw man; the real danger has historically been shown to be falling into siding with one's own bourgeoisie, especially when war approaches. In the imperialist countries, the banner of the nation can lead you there and nowhere else, no matter if, on the surface, this flag is raised in competition with the imperialists.

Summing up these departures from Marxism by the communist movement historically is an important part of preparing for the future. To successfully navigate the rocks and shoals that lie ahead, and to come out fighting for the class interests of the proletariat will require nothing less than Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. To seize the opportunities that lie ahead means we need more of the attitude described here by Lenin:

"The German workers would do it even more successfully if they began a revolution *disregarding* national sacrifices (that alone is internationalism), if they said (and backed their word by *actions*) that they prize the interests of the world workers' revolution *higher* than the integrity, security and peace of any national state, *and of their own in particular.*" ("Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," Vol. 28, p. 113). □

Trial Backfires

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hundreds of Black people participated. The prosecution brought back many of the same witnesses from the previous mistrial; the same grovelling pigs, school administrators, and others. They all sang the same basic tune. The RCP was a "white group," were terrorists, who hated Blacks and tried to incite the youth to "kill the pigs" and "burn the school down." In an hysterical attempt to whip up and use national divisions against the revolutionaries they claimed that if it wasn't for the timely arrival of the cops, the students would've beaten the revolutionaries to the ground! The D.A. wouldn't dare recount the actual facts of the day in question.

But even bringing up the scene at the school that day meant walking into quicksand for the prosecution—and they were knee-deep in their own foul lies before the defense even began its case. The D.A.'s star witness, vice-principal Randolph of Oakland High whined that, "the main concern was to protect the students." When he was jammed about just what that meant, since all the prosecution's witnesses swore that it was the revolutionaries that were in danger, his testimony crumbled. "One of the things that made me want to protect the students was the whole thing of 'Avenge the Murder of Melvyn Black,'" he squirmed. "One of the things I thought about was developing a plan to prevent kids from going to the funeral... what would've happened if 2000 kids, or even one, left to go to the funeral?" Randolph even admitted that he sat down with the Oakland police to "develop his plan."

As more of the truth leaked out, the defense took the ball and ran. In his opening remarks to the jury the defense attorney said: "Part of our case will be to show that there is a pattern, policy, and practice of the Oakland Police Department to harass, arrest, and spy on members and supporters of the RCP and RCYB." Two top pigs from the Oakland Police Department's intelligence unit were put on the stand: Sergeant Mace, head of intelligence and responsible only to the Chief of Police, and Officer Malone, in charge of "RCP investigation". They admitted to having "confidential" information and discussions, which they would not release to the jury. Judge Schwartz was forced to present a "finding of fact" to the jury concerning regular Thursday afternoon meetings of Bay Area law enforcement agencies on "organized crime, narcotics, and terrorism." Out of a total of 411 subjects discussed between January 1978 and June 1980, 55 were related to the RCP—and only two of those were in 1978. More evidence of increasing surveillance of the RCP were the hundreds of covert photos of May Day, as well as a 2-inch thick personal file of day-to-day tailing, photographing, and spying on supposed RCP and RCYB members, painstakingly put together by one Officer Drinkard. Several times during the trial, the jury had to be dismissed because just five floors down in front of the courthouse doors, the sounds could be heard of police beating and arresting revolutionaries, harassing supporters, and threatening to confiscate a photo display that included pictures of high school students at the funeral. The D.A.'s portrayal of the RCP-Melvyn Black trial as "not political" was being clearly exposed.

As the defense witnesses spoke, the picture got even sharper. Five minutes

after their first student witness took the stand, the prosecution's fantasy about the events at Oakland High was blown away. This young Black woman from the Oakland ghetto laid it out: "they weren't hurting anyone or the cops, they were just talking to us. All of a sudden the cops were everywhere, beating the communists. Everyone was saying, 'it's cold, it's cold.' We have to sit in their assemblies for hours, but they won't let us listen to the revolutionaries. The message was that we don't have to live with conditions the way they are—we have to stand together to change things." By the time George Casazza took the stand, stating that they had gone to Oakland High to create public opinion to prepare for armed revolution, things were totally out of hand for the prosecution.

This is what led the D.A., practically choking on his words, to tell the jury in his final argument: "The RCP has some very good ideas. They have some real complaints... we're all concerned with the possible murder of Melvyn Black. We are all upset with the killings of Blacks in Oakland. We *should* think about it—no one is telling you not to care... but Melvyn Black's tragic and unfortunate death was *used* by these people, minority issues are *used*, poor people are *used*, to advance the interests of the Party and prepare for that day when armed revolution will be appropriate."

A highly political argument, is it not Mr. Prosecutor? The D.A. talked time and again about the Houston Rebellion, about Miami, and about Oakland High. He kept referring to armed revolution and when he quoted from the part of the RCP Programme concerning the suppression by the armed masses of counter revolutionaries after the revolution, he appeared to take a highly personal in-

terest in seeing that something like this would never happen.

The defense opened its final argument with this quote from Bob Avakian, Chairman of the RCP: "Nobody is going to come down from Krypton or Massachusetts or anywhere else and give us our salvation. The real strength that we have—the strength that has been shown in actuality, and much more than that, the potential strength that they can recognize, that struck fear in them, that they have to back up from and try to tactically maneuver—was the strength of the masses of people becoming aroused and conscious and guided and struggling behind a correct political and ideological line and understanding. That's what they're afraid of. And they've got goddamn reason to be afraid of it, because that's the one thing that will be invincible and guarantee our victory—the masses of people becoming politically aroused."

After over four days of deliberations, the jury returned their verdict—first defendant; not guilty on inciting to riot, George Casazza; not guilty on assault on a police officer and a hung jury in favor of acquittal on the other charges. After tens of thousands of dollars were spent to railroad the defendants, after numerous front-page newspaper stories and TV reports slandering and distorting the trial and the events surrounding it, the authorities had only succeeded in raising the stakes—and losing even more. It was later learned that some jurors used the part of the section the D.A. quoted from the Party Programme on "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power" to try to win over the jury to acquit on all charges. And one juror noted after the trial, "I'm so excited to be inspired by politics again." □

Oppose World War 3 Dress Rehearsal

Continued from page 5

WORLD WAR III!
DOWN WITH NATO!
DOWN WITH U.S./SOVIET AND
ALL IMPERIALIST WAR MOVES!

We know that only revolution in the U.S., U.S.S.R. or both can stop the coming war. But we also know that by exposing and opposing these war preparations and showing clearly that we have no interest in killing our fellow slaves from other countries that the possibility of revolution will be that much greater—either before war breaks out or during it.

Furthermore we know that the impact of GI's—the very people called upon to fight—in standing up against these war plans and pointing out who the real enemy is will be tremendous. There is no doubt that the Brass knows this as well and that is why they will go to any lengths to stop this campaign. Spying, threats, intimidation, Article 15's will all be part of their attempts to suppress us. On top of that they will run around like crazy trying to brand anyone who takes this up as "Russian agents." "These people don't want the

U.S. to win WWII," they will say, "so they must be working for the Russians, because if we don't win the Russians will."

Bullshit. We don't want any of the imperialists "to win." We wish every disaster to the Russian ruling class right along with our own. But we don't live in Russia and we aren't in their army. We're in the U.S. Army so it is the U.S. ruling class that we have to deal with directly while at the same time uniting with and supporting the Russian (and every other) people in dealing with their rulers.

That is why we don't intend to carry out this campaign against "Autumn Forge '80" alone. We are going out to unite with groups all over Europe and the U.S. who are opposed to the coming war. In particular we are going to take this message out to the troops of as many of the NATO countries as we can (and even the Warsaw Pact if possible)...

(Fight Back can be contacted by writing: Fight Back, Ingramstr. 28, 6900 Heidelberg, West Germany.)

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