



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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

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Sección en Español

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## Imperialist Gangster Logic

# U.S. Protection Racket in Iraq/Iran War

Over the past week, the imperialist rulers of the U.S. have set a new record for "neutrality" in the Iraq/Iran war. They have continued to fuel the Iraqi war machine through Jordan, Saudi Arabia and other U.S. client-states in the Middle East. The "protection" of the AWACS has been extended to Saudi Arabia and other Gulf states who "believe they may be attacked by

Iran." The U.S.S. *Leahy*, a sophisticated guided missile cruiser, has taken up position inside the Persian Gulf, as if this were one of the "Great Lakes." And a virtual armada of 60 U.S. British, French and Australian warships has been assembled in the Indian Ocean just outside the Gulf, with the U.S. and British ships scheduled to begin joint maneuvers in the coming

weeks.

But at the same time as the U.S. ruling class has directly orchestrated Iraq's vicious war of aggression against Iran, they have been making some major—though still as of press time, mainly behind the scenes—moves towards "reaching an understanding" with pro-Western elements in the Iranian government. Various government officials, in-

cluding President Carter himself, have come out publicly against any "dis-memberment" of Iran. And of even greater significance and a sign of things to come, as we go to press, is the now open secret that President Bani-Sadr and the Iranian government are seriously negotiating the release of the 52 U.S. hostages in exchange for the unfreezing of Iran's substantial financial assets, which the U.S. imperialists hold ransom, and shipments of military equipment including spare parts from the U.S. For the imperialists "the hostage question" has never been a question of "lives" but symbolic of Iranian resistance—or capitulation—to im-

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## Call for Ballots, Demonstrations on Election Day

### Spit On The Imperialists' Con Game

1980. We cannot sit out these elections. And we don't mean "you should vote." Exactly the opposite. It's time to put a different stamp on the "political process"—not the stamp of approval that the oppressed are graciously granted the right to put on the system that oppresses them. But the stamp—REJECTED! And we don't mean

like "damaged goods," as though this system's democratic process isn't working like it should. No, it's working the way it's supposed to work—delivering the people of this country, together with hundreds of millions around the world, into the jaws of world war, and using every kind of lying trick,

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### BALLOT



- DEMOCRATIC PARTY
- REPUBLICAN PARTY
- INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES & OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS



THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID, I DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF ITS CANDIDATES!

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ DATE \_\_\_\_\_ OCCUPATION \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL THIS COPY OF THE 1980 ELECTION BALLOT TO THE REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY, P.O. BOX 3486 MERCHANDISE MART, CHICAGO, IL. 60654

### BALLOT



- DEMOCRATIC PARTY
- REPUBLICAN PARTY
- INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES & OTHER ASSORTED SAVIORS



THIS WHOLE SYSTEM IS PUTRID, I DON'T BELIEVE IN ANY OF ITS CANDIDATES!

KEEP THIS ONE AND DO SOMETHING CREATIVE WITH IT YOURSELF ON ELECTION DAY.

Send one of these ballots to the Revolutionary Communist Party and we will find something dramatic to do with all of them together at election time. Keep the other one and think of something creative to do with it yourself on election day.

## Cincy News Station Takeover

# The System Pulled The Trigger

"Mysterious... it was as bizarre as it was unexpected." Channel 9's chief newscaster Al Schottelkotte frowned as he scanned across the deserted WCPO-TV parking lot to the station itself. There along the walls were six SWAT teams, high-powered rifles pointing at the windows. They were accompanied by two armored trucks, Canine Units, and enough tear gas canisters to smoke out downtown. They were directed from a temporary command post by Cincinnati's Chief of Police himself.

Several hours earlier Jim Hoskins, a 41-year-old artist, born and raised in Cincinnati's inner-city section of Over-the-Rhine, had taken two Channel 9 reporters hostage at gun point in the parking lot and proceeded to take over the entire station, demanding that the station broadcast a videotaped interview with him because, as he said, "All the media does is print lies and bullshit." After the interview was made, he released the seven station employees he had held unharmed. But he was going to stay. "I'm going to find a place. Tell the police where I am. We're going to shoot it out... I killed my girlfriend last night and I have to go with her," he said.

As the morning and day wore on, the eyes of the city and much of the country were directed to the TV station. The statements by Hoskins were framed by hours of commentary by the ruling class. Hoskins talked about the "growing kind of thing around the country meant to keep Black and white at each other's throats to keep the rich on top of this discrimination." He said he saw "People, waiting out their lives, nothing to look forward to; they're displacing people, they tear the buildings down so that when rich people come in to conventions and new hotels they don't have to look at the poor people, who are kicking each other, fighting and killing over nickels and dimes 'cause they're desperate."

"Two o'clock, and it's all over," the news commentator sighed, as Hoskins' draped body was lifted into a police ambulance. Jim Hoskins was dead. He had shot himself some hours earlier, but Police Chief Leistler held his SWAT team back until a trained bomb-sniffing dog could be obtained to go in first. But in another sense, it was far from over. Though this system killed him, it wasn't

finished picking over his body, and with the utmost hypocrisy expressed its "shock" and "concern" over how this all happened.

The system drove Jim Hoskins to this desperate act, to turning his anger and hatred inward and killing himself and another. Yet it was the part of reality that Hoskins saw and was reflected in the statements he made about this country that the bourgeoisie was quick to jump on and label "the delusions of a strongly disturbed mind." They talked about how bizarre and strange this whole thing was. They wondered aloud about what, what was it that could have driven a talented artist into such a "terrorist and senseless act"? They talked philosophically, for a time, about how such things recall the "tragedy of a wasted life." With phony piousness they discussed the "mystery of why"—when this supposed "mystery" was flowing out of every pore of society. "Perhaps it was drugs, or too much booze... did he come from a broken home?" they wondered. The screen was filled with head-shaking, somber talking public figures, trying to "figure it out" in a country where the 6th largest cause of death comes from suicide and murder.

But they were concerned. Not, of course, because of the deaths of these two people, but because of what this victim had to say about them and their system. He was then falsely painted as a "revolutionary." It was proclaimed that the taking of the TV station was part of some "master plan." Speculation and rumor grew. A small army of cops moved on his apartment, guns drawn, and his dogs were maced. One official said, "Since the man admitted to being a radical in the '60s; we assumed there would be explosives in his apartment and also that the body (Melanie Finlay, his girlfriend) might be boobytrapped, wired." No. They may not have finished with Jim Hoskins yet.

The death of Jim Hoskins—this too is the product of an imperialist system in decline. And it is one that the rulers of this country do not hesitate to spread. In Indiana, a man holds his wife and child at gunpoint for hours, while he talks of being without work and without hope. In Detroit, two days after a local TV station does a half-hour special on the economic crisis and the

growing suicide rate, and speculates about how many more people living in ravaged Michigan will commit suicide that month, a laid-off steelworker paints slogans about world war on his basement walls, shoots someone who's walking down the street and then takes his own life. Hopelessness and despair are not sentiments that the bourgeoisie shies away from spreading.

Jim Hoskins was a victim of the madness of this criminal system and the outlook they try to spread. To the working class and others whom they oppress, twist and try to crush, who inevitably attempt to resist and strike back, they push an outlook of despair and hopelessness in the face of the very intolerable conditions their rule creates. "Yes, things are bad but that's the way they are, there's nothing you can do about it," they say, except learn to live with it or try one of the futile, acceptable methods of changing things that they offer.

Lenin described the outlook of a person like this, one who "... sees and feels that he is heading for ruin, that life is becoming more difficult, that the struggle for existence is ever more ruthless, and that his position and that of his family are becoming more and more hopeless." And more importantly, he went on to add:

"... the class conscious worker is far from holding this point of view. He will

not allow his consciousness to be dulled by such cries no matter how sincere and heartfelt they may be. Yes, we workers and the mass of small proprietors lead a life that is filled with unbearable oppression and suffering. Things are harder for our generation than they were for our fathers. But in one respect we are luckier than our fathers. We have begun to learn and are rapidly learning to fight—and to fight not as individuals, as the best of our fathers fought....

"The working class is not perishing, it is growing, becoming stronger, gaining courage, consolidating itself, educating itself and becoming steeled in battle. We are pessimists as far as serfdom, capitalism and petty production are concerned, but we are ardent optimists in what concerns the working class movement and its aims. We are already laying the foundation of a new edifice and our children will complete its construction." ("The Working Class and Neomalthusianism," *Collected Works*, Vol. 13, pp. 236-37)

Jim Hoskins was another of their victims. The bourgeoisie calls him crazy for calling all this shit for the madness that it is. Yes, they drive people crazy daily. But the problem here is not so much what Jim Hoskins saw but what he didn't see. Yes, there's no question that the madness, violence, discrimination, oppression and exploitation he saw and commented on exist and are intensifying. But what also exists, and what is also in fact growing today, is the basis to end all of this. This is what's on the rise. And this is precisely what the tens and hundreds of millions of those oppressed must be made aware of—of the real revolutionary possibilities ahead. □



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# EXPLOSION BLOWS LID OFF "MODEL" CITY LIE

## DEPTH OF VICIOUS NATIONAL OPPRESSION REVEALED IN ATLANTA



A powerful explosion blew apart the Gate City Day Care Center, above, setting off a wave of struggle in Atlanta.



Atlanta, Ga., Monday, Oct. 13, 10:15 a.m.—A massive explosion, equal to 50 pounds of dynamite, described by an expert as being as powerful as a huge fragmentation grenade, ripped apart the Gate City Day Care Center in Bowen Homes, an all-Black housing project, killing 4 children and one teacher, injuring dozens more. Two children are still in critical condition. Everyone in the area was jolted alert on this first chilly morning of the year, as buildings shook and windows shattered in the aftershock of the deafening blast. A metal door from the Center was blown completely over the top of the apartment complex, landing 500 feet away; a car parked in a nearby lot was knocked up off the ground, hanging up on a door. The Center itself was literally blown inside out.

People raced from their homes, some ducking debris still falling from the blast, toward the gutted Center, which housed 82 preschool children and 8 teachers. Community residents rushed in to pull the injured and dead out from under the rubble, and Vietnam vets and others immediately began applying First Aid and comfort to the young victims.

Others weren't so eager to reach the scene. The police showed up a full half hour later, claiming that they'd been tied up answering all the bomb threat calls they were getting right after the explosion. Since then it has been released

that 12 threats were made that day to other all-Black schools, and there have been many more since. Grady Hospital officials sent 7 ambulances with interns and nurses to treat the injured. They proceeded to release to the parents children whose bandaged hands hid blown-off fingers, and many children in shock—only taking 7 back to the hospital. This act alone infuriated many people at the project and it was only more testimony to the vicious oppression that Black people face.

The explosion here has set off a storm of controversy which is literally shaking the foundations of this "showcase city" of progress for Black people—a city where most of the public power structure is Black, the mayor, the chief of police, public safety commissioner, director of the housing authority, city councilmen, etc., etc. While rebellions have rocked many other southern cities this year, Atlanta has been heralded as a model for racial harmony. So much so that the trial of one of the Miami policemen who is charged in connection with the murder of Black businessman McDuffie—the incident which ignited the Miami rebellions—was recently announced to have been moved to Atlanta. Now these same city officials are scrambling to save face. For the class content of such "harmony" has been more clearly revealed by the explosion, the response of different forces to it and all the events surround-

ing it. And what the officials of this model city are both scurrying to cover up and at the same time more systematically enforce is that such harmony is based on keeping the masses of Black people quietly oppressed and exploited.

The clear question in people's minds here is, were these children the victims of a premeditated racist bombing? While the Black city officials scream "there's absolutely no evidence of foul play" and try to point the finger of blame down to the workers who fired up the large steam boiler only 45 minutes before the explosion, the white city officials are chirping about how could anyone think that all these Black officials are not concerned about and doing the best possible job to solve the cases of these murdered children. But they're all walking on very shaky ground.

For the past year, Atlantans have watched with deep anger the continuing disappearance and murder of Black

youth—the total is now up to 15, none of which have been solved. With the recent development of community groups which directly call out the cops for this (many believe some cops are directly involved in these murders and many more think that there *must* be a racial motivation since none of the youth have been sexually assaulted), an outpouring of outrage is growing as each passing week only turns up more deaths and no suspects. It is in the context of these developments that the Day Care Center killings have ignited and enraged people. People simply do not believe the officials; too much evidence points the other way.

In Atlanta that very weekend there was an international meeting of neo-fascists called together by J.B. Stoner—himself a convicted murderer in the 1964 Birmingham church bombing which killed 4 Black children. The paramilitary Klan training school so

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# The Roots of the Pontiac Prison Rebellion

Chicago. As the process of jury selection continues for the fifth week in the trial of the Pontiac 16, the din of voices crying that the 1978 prison rebellion was the product of a "gang conspiracy" to murder guards is growing louder and louder. Sixteen Black Pontiac prisoners are charged with the murder of three white guards and three of the brothers also face additional charges of conspiracy to commit murder. As reported in last week's *RW*, the "gang plot" theory was suddenly concocted three months after the rebellion. Its purpose is to lay the cause of the rebellion on the supposed dark psychology of the criminal mind, to turn all eyes away from the brutal conditions that existed and still exist at Pontiac, and to grease the skids for the conviction—and execution—of the Pontiac 16.

Why did the rebellion happen? We asked the Pontiac Brothers themselves. "Because the only thing you are in prison is a slave. Prison is a slave

camp," said X, one of the Pontiac 16, who spent five years incarcerated there. "The main thing they want to do is destroy your mind. The guards tell you when to do this and that. You go into the cafeteria. Food is cold. Never know a hot meal. We complain, complain. A man might step out of line to pick something up, or go and get a second helping of food—he'll get a ticket. He'll get 40 or 50 days in segregation. Your family comes so far to visit you, but if you're in segregation you only get a 15 minute visit and you're all shackled up. Some studs won't even come out to see their families, 'cause they don't want them to see them like that, shackled up like an animal. What they want to do is put a person back on the streets like a mechanical robot so they won't do nothing except what they (the man) commands. And anytime you get strong and go out to let the people know about this mad system they send someone to try to kill you. The man gonna deal with the

strong to try to make them break because the strong will bring the weak along, so the Man wants to break them."

At the Pontiac Correctional Center, lockdowns as a means to prevent rebellions, are common. Shakedown, searches for contraband by the guards, are frequent. Guards would rampage through the cells, sometimes just stealing what was there and carting it home. One older white prisoner, Joe (not his real name), had \$400 worth of electrical equipment stolen—equipment his family had bought him for a correspondence course. "You might have spent \$200-\$300 for commissary items," said X, "then during the shakedown they'd take your TV or radio and throw it on the floor." A nail found in the cell could be cause enough to get thrown into the hole—segregation, or to have good time (time subtracted off the sentence for good behavior) taken away. "Cold, unfair, unliving," is how X described the hole. "The food was always late. Sometimes there'd be no food left over. 'Hey, you ate!' the guard would say. 'No, I didn't!' 'Yes, you did!' They would feed you three times a day, but the food was so nasty it might have bugs, spit, or urine from the guards. If it don't smell right, you throw it away. Then you don't eat."

Brutal beatings are an everyday part

of the prison routine, especially in segregation. "They have a goon squad of eight men, I believe they call it 'security control,' that would put on riot gear," said an ex-prisoner we interviewed. If one inmate was giving them trouble they would spray the man with mace while he was locked in his cell. Then they would handcuff him and drag him down in front of the other residents... so in other words they were saying, 'This is what you're gonna get' if you give them any trouble. I've seen them drag a man with his hands cuffed behind him. They take him by the feet and drag him down the stairs that way so his head hits every stair. You've got to consider all these instances of brutality on a daily basis..."

85% of the prisoners at Pontiac are Black and 10% Latin. 90% of the guards at Pontiac are whites from rural, southern Illinois. There is constant racist harassment of Black and Latino prisoners which, of course, meets with hearty approval from the administration. "They are the ones who end up causing trouble, like the police in my neighborhood," said Y. "They don't get promoted for being nice." The prison authorities also fan racial antagonisms by giving white prisoners better treatment. "Many times they would pit white against Black just to keep up tensions. Being white, I was in the minority," said

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## U.S. Junta One Year Old

# Imperialists in Tight Squeeze in El Salvador

October 15 marks the one year anniversary of the rule of the "democratic" military-civilian junta that replaced the military dictatorship of General Carlos Romero in El Salvador. It also marks one full year of the continuation and escalation of the former regime's repression and attacks on the masses of people who have continually risen up against the junta. In the face of widespread political exposure the junta has announced some supposed reforms, in hopes of cooling things out a little, as part of its anniversary resolutions. Elections will supposedly be held in El Salvador in 1982 and 1983. And the regime declared an amnesty would be granted to "all young people who abandon political violence and demonstrate a desire to in-

corporate themselves into the peaceful revolutionary process." In other words, lay down all arms and come like lambs to the slaughter. Meanwhile the contradictions in El Salvador are sharpening.

On October 3, in protest of the continued repression by the junta, the National Association of Teachers (ANDES), in alliance with various student organizations, closed the doors of the nation's schools. On October 7, after holding the offices of the Organization of American States (OAS) and its staff for 10 days, forces opposed to the military-civilian junta in El Salvador released their captives. After the government refused their demands for an end to the repression that has been unleashed by the junta, in the name of "democracy and

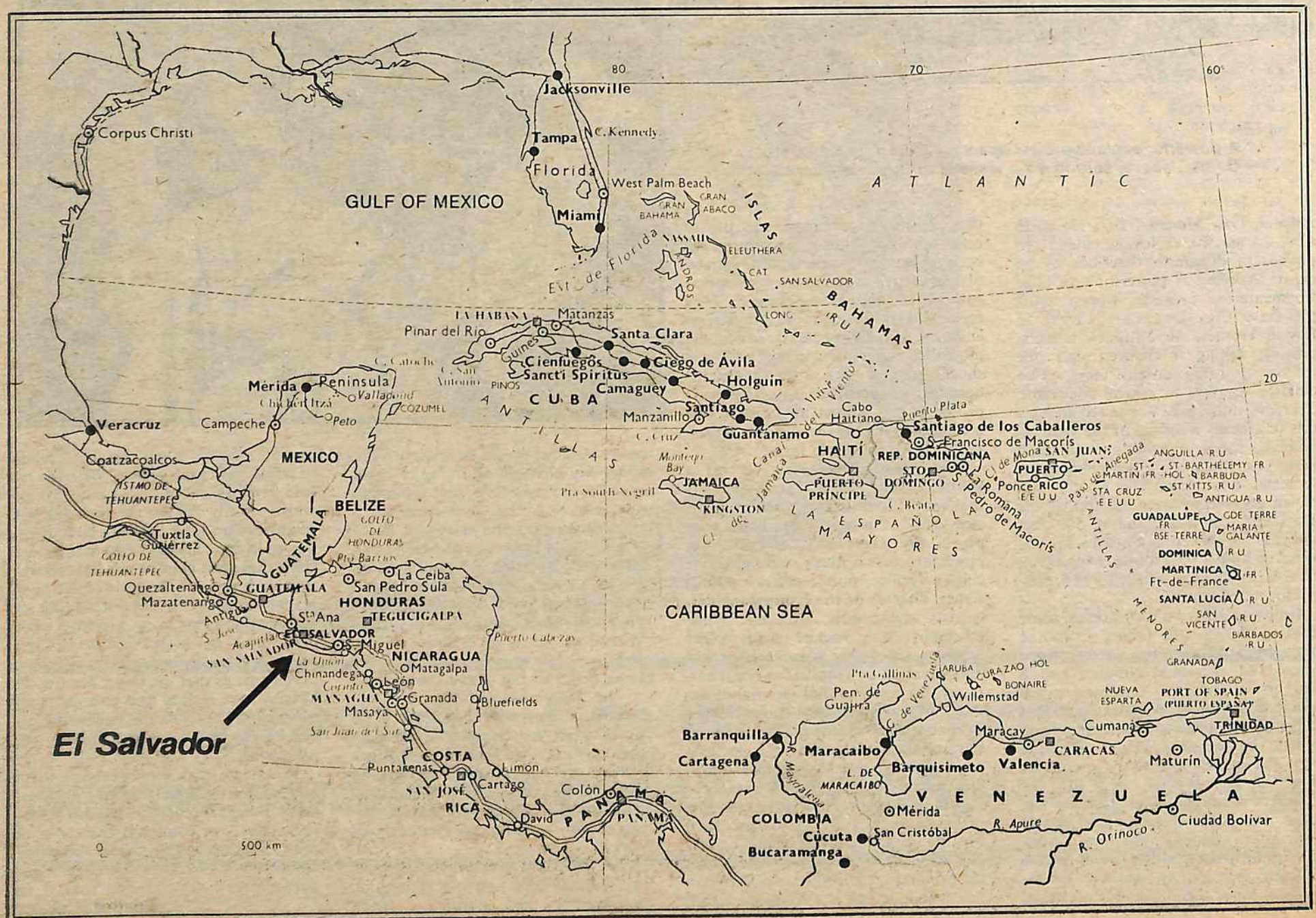
moderation", they escaped from the OAS offices in San Salvador, the capital city. Since January 1980, paramilitary organizations and the junta's National Guard, which have overlapping memberships, have committed over 4,000 political murders and assassinations. A campaign of terror is being conducted in the countryside under the auspices of "land reform"—and under the watchful eyes of over 100 U.S. "advisers".

On September 16, in the city of San Salvador, the U.S. Embassy was struck three times by bazooka fire. The rockets caused extensive damage but no injuries. U.S. Ambassador Robert White was not in his office at the time, embassy officials reported immediately after the attack. As the U.S.-backed

junta is more and more being exposed for the butchering regime that it is, the scenario of some form of U.S. intervention—direct or indirect—becomes a very real possibility.

At a press conference held in Panama on September 4, graphic testimony was given to substantiate one of the possible avenues that U.S. intervention could take. The press conference, as well as other news on the situation in El Salvador, was not reported in the U.S. Elias Barahona y Barahona presented evidence about possible use of Guatemalan troops to bolster the faltering junta in El Salvador, obtained by his infiltrating the Guatemalan government and becoming the press aide to the Interior Minister Donaldo Alvarez. He

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## Debate on 100,000 Campaign

# LET 100 FLOWERS BLOSSOM: LET 100 SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND

It is not true that "a reader" whose letter was the third one in *RW* No. 74 sees the leap to 100,000 as "necessary and desirable—but possible?" He has a different plan for revolution than the Party's, a plan in which the *RW*, and class consciousness generally, is not "necessary" either, and that's why he thinks that the leap can't be made. In order to unite and make the leap the political line in this letter has to be criticized and the suffocating effects of it cleared away. I want to speak to a few, not all, of the things wrong with this letter.

To begin with, there is no sense throughout the letter of the masses being drawn into political life. He sees crisis as "the masses being put through the wringer"—i.e. starvation and suffering—and the world war as bringing "chaos and turmoil." Imperialist war is not viewed as the concentration of all the contradictions of this system; the developing crisis does not reveal the system's true nature, awaken people to search out their true interests, or raise political questions among the masses. The only time political consciousness is mentioned in this letter it's to refer to the ideological and political influence of the bourgeoisie on the working class. The world war, in this view, will strengthen this influence. We are not lagging behind the political awakening of the masses and the prospects for revolution, but the quickly approaching world war. When war breaks out the conscious forces will all be rounded up and that will be that.

What is the comrade's plan, and for what, that leads to this bleak conclusion? His plan is to build a big mass movement, before the war, to stave it off. The comrade says at the beginning of his letter that his main point is around "what kind of influence does a party need in order to successfully lead an armed revolution and around the political mood of the masses and the possibility to develop the kind of revolutionary force necessary to lead the masses in seizing power." But how does he see this influence? He denies that matter can be transformed into consciousness, and consciousness into matter. The influence we need and can develop is the influence of the Party's line, spread broadly and deeply among the masses, so that people can consciously act in the interests of the international proletariat to forge the future. But throughout the letter "a reader" completely ignores political line and influence, doesn't speak to it at all, and reduces everything down to quantity in a way that would be funny if it weren't so serious. Everything is numbers—he looks at the 100,000 and calculates, this will take 1000 sustained networks—but such a tiny force can't lead a revolution. The influence he wants to see is calculated simply in terms of how many people will follow you. And even worse, he tries to use the Bolsheviks against the RCP to prove his point.

He sees that the Bolsheviks, in the period right before the war, had broad and deep ties among the masses, a strong political organization, and there was a lot of "political life and motion" going on in Russia before 1914. In the articles cited from Lenin, to go into the last aspect first ("Revolutionary Strikes and Street Demonstrations," Vol. 18, and "Revolutionary May Day," Vol. 19), Lenin sums up, and analyzes why, Russia at that time was entering into a revolutionary situation. Lenin speaks to the political significance of May Day demonstrations and strikes. To quote a little, Lenin says, "the working class draws into revolutionary action the masses of the working and exploited people, who are deprived of basic rights and given to despair. The working class teaches them revolutionary struggle, trains them for revolutionary action, and explains to them where to find the way out and how to attain salvation." He goes on to argue against a view similar to this comrade's, that perhaps "two or three hundred workers," the flower of the St. Petersburg proletariat, may have printed and distributed underground leaflets calling for this demonstration. "And suddenly, a miracle occurred! In accordance with a decision drawn up by half a dozen members of the Executive Commission of the St. Petersburg Committee—a leaflet printed and circulated by 'two or three hundred,' two hundred and fifty thousand people rise as one man in St. Petersburg. . . . These

appeals for revolution go to the hearts of all toiling and oppressed sections of the people."

How can "such a small force lead a revolution"? Chairman Avakian spoke to this deeply in "Crucial Questions in Coming From Behind" and if you have eyes to see, the same answers and the same orientation is in these very articles of Lenin that the comrade refers to. But this comrade doesn't see the hearts to speak to, now or later as the situation develops. Isn't it in the interests of the working class and the broad masses of people to move beyond this rotten system? Won't such miracles occur here? But what did "a reader" learn from these articles? Percentages. One hundred thousand will take 100 networks, 250,000 workers struck in the city of 2 million. And, he says, the workers were exhausting themselves in these strikes, so the Bolsheviks had to lead in developing a means to "coordinate the political strikes." Why pick this aspect as key? Were the Bolsheviks something similar to a trade union organizing committee? If you read these particular articles, or any, and look at the masses with the eyes of a business agent totaling up the dues-paying members, you won't see any battle for public opinion or learn the political lessons of the Russian revolution.

"A reader" sees everything in terms of numbers, and motion; he rips the motion completely away from the development of the objective situation and leaves out the role of consciousness entirely, so there's no need for a newspaper. There will be conscious activism to accelerate developments toward revolution but it won't be led by a line that views the masses as blind sheep and just wants them to move. That is nothing but reformism and can only be led by the red, white and blue banner of imperialism.

His view of the Stolypin reaction is equally wrong and flows from the same line and outlook. The comrade says that political activity subsided in Russia after the 1905 uprising primarily due to political repression, evidently without any political and ideological strengthening of the influence of the bourgeoisie. There was no battle, according to him, for public opinion being waged at that time in Russia; since people had risen up in an attempt to seize power they had apparently learned all they needed to know—if anything—and they just stayed in a deep freeze intact until they moved again.

If this were the case, why did Lenin write *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism* in opposition to a wave of god-building, why was there tremendous political struggle over whether to maintain an underground party, over how to do political work in relation to the Duma (parliament)? And why does Bobrovska report in her book, *20 Years in Underground Russia* (see *RW* No. 58), that she visited a worker after the defeat of 1905 who had been a heroic fighter on the barricades who was now busy smearing freckle cream on his face and told her she should try it too, he didn't believe in all that revolution stuff any more?

When the comrade toward the end of his letter says that 100,000 *RW*'s would have "an impact far beyond that as the paper is passed from hand to hand," it's not unfair to say that hand to hand is as far as he thinks it's going to go, he doesn't think anybody is going to read it, learn from it and spread that understanding far and wide among the masses. It's not surprising that he thinks the leap can't be made, since he's clinging to an economist line that's been disproven by history. But please don't use the Bolsheviks to try and support it.

The view that the leap to 100,000 "is necessary but not possible" covers not only a different analysis of the objective situation than the Party's, but a fundamental disagreement with "create public opinion, seize power." We can't continue to try and reconcile opposing lines. In the process of learning and struggling to create a revolutionary new thing, the conspiracy, old suffocating outlooks must be criticized so that we can breathe and go forward.

G.T.

RW:

What is the path to revolution? Why is this newspaper the main weapon and our most concrete and pressing task? Can the advanced grasp the situation (and the communists as well) and move on transforming the situation thru revolutionary work in this non-revolutionary yet intensifying situation? And finally what is the relationship of revolutionary theory to "coming from behind"? These are some of the questions that every communist and revolutionary minded person must come to grips with and answer correctly to make the leap being called for. To the best of my understanding *how* these questions are answered has all to do with whether a revolutionary conspiracy is being built that can steer a correct course and seize the time when a revolutionary situation arises. To answer these questions incorrectly will mean that reformism will replace the revolutionary road, and that revolutionary defeatism will rapidly be replaced by capitulation; what is at stake now is not only the road to revolution—but whether or not this party will stay red—whether it will be able to lead now and when the time is ripe to actually storm the heavens.

For myself and I believe for the majority in our area—these questions have been answered incorrectly. They have been answered spontaneously and spontaneously equals incorrectly as M-L-M-T-T is not a spontaneous thing. In trying to come to grips with a situation where paper sales have been and remain low and where the advanced have been held back (and not trained in science, but rather in pedagogy)—I'll try to lay out my understanding and disagreements—this is being done with great difficulty as it's difficult to come to grips with stuff when you have been mired in economism.

As for the situation facing us—I don't believe that the parallel the Chairman has made to the situation in Russia is the same as our situation in terms of the advanced and the masses. In Russia while only a small minority hewed to the line of the Bolsheviks there was a much higher level of consciousness overall and people's oppression (the oppression of the masses) stood out much more sharply—You can't compare the life of the peasantry in Russia to the life of farmers or the petty bourgeoisie in the U.S. You can't compare the suffering and exploitation of the working masses to the situation here in a top dog imperialist country that has been top dog for 25-30 years. Even the oppressed nationalities then and now—(while here the closer comparison can be drawn) is a vastly different situation it seems to me. The masses hadn't been drugged with crumbs for so long and the ruling class's mask wasn't nearly as intact. It seems to me that there were many more advanced in Russia at the time (after 1900 and especially after 1905) and that the question of the quality of people's lives were vastly different. It seems to me that the masses and the advanced because of the objective situation then were forced much more into political life and there were many more demanding of the Bolsheviks "how to live and how to die."

In trying to get down more on this stuff I re-studied the Lenin article on confounding pedagogy with politics. I realized that I have been doing just that for a long period of time. When I try to answer why that has been the case I guess I'm left with feeling that given our situation and the conditions of the masses that the advanced there are not as many as the party says there are, and that people (the advanced and communists) have an extremely hard time grasping and applying Marxism.

My thinking has been undergoing some changes and I sense that there's a lot of static and undialectical thinking. But I guess I have a lot of trouble seeing how the advanced can be armed to make a leap away from spontaneity and toward taking up Marxism. To me it would be great if we won the battle for 100,000 sustained readers. To do this I know will require a sharp break with paying lip service to revolutionary theory and the Marxist method—I believe that has been a lot of the problem. Only seeing things in a very surface and superficial kind of way.

Continued on page 8

# EXPLOSION BLOWS LID OFF "MODEL" CITY LIE

Continued from page 3

well publicized in national coverage recently is only a few hours away. And a widely acclaimed local TV news series, "The Klansmen," was to begin the night of the explosion—and of course, it did go on the air as planned.

As soon as city officials reached the scene of the explosion, the phone threats were dismissed as sick cranksters and the official line became that this was a "tragic accident." Meanwhile, police surrounded the Center and prevented anyone else from going in to investigate for themselves. Even before the "official" investigation had been done, the officials started yapping about the "furnace" that exploded, spreading lies about the "smell of gas" in the air. No one else smelled any "gas" and the furnace turned out to be a steam boiler. The first press conference by the mayor was booted and disrupted by the crowd of 1,000 that had gathered. Several men from the project stepped forward to say that they'd seen 3 white men at the doors of the Center at 4:00 a.m. that very morning—a highly suspicious act. Vietnam veterans shouted that they'd seen enough bombs to know one when they saw it. People demanded to know where was the fire, where were the burns, where was the steam? And probably one of the most damning leaks in the whole coverup came when one of the people brought in to sift through the rubble found a safety device on the boiler that had been wired so that it wouldn't work. The real possibility that someone might have tampered with the boiler so that it would become a fragmentation bomb was ringing deep in people's minds.

A mass meeting of 300 people the evening of the explosion erupted into a political debate about the cause of the oppression of Black people and the solution. Even the best of the Uncle Toms sent to cool out the anger could not do it. One by one, these officials were hounded by the audience. Person after person stood up to denounce the officials, especially the police and housing authority director. Some were furious that they were being portrayed in the press as terrified parents concerned only about their own children, and many demanded to know just how many were going to die before this was stopped. More people pointed to the recent brutal killings of Black men in Buffalo, New York, the unsolved murders of Black youth in Atlanta, the activities of the KKK and the general decline in America. No one cheered when a city councilman pleaded with people to "pull our torn nation together in these troubled times."

An agitator from the *Revolutionary Worker* set the tone for the debate early on. "Whether this was the work of the KKK or the boiler blew up, the blood of those babies is on the hands of this system. Did you see on TV where they ran that show about the Klan? The Klan don't own the TV!" When he went on to talk about the imperialist plans to send us off to be incinerated in world war 3 and began to point to the solution, a woman across the room shouted "Revolution!" He held up the *Revolutionary Worker*, announcing the call for 100,000 co-conspirators, and many people cheered when he ended, "They can't stand the slave who uses his head!" Immediately a Vietnam vet jumped up to denounce this system with a passionate call for struggle and debate; an older woman leapt to her feet to put forward her beliefs that god would take care of everything. The room became an arena for struggle over these different lines, with Pan Africanists, reformists, revolutionary nationalists, and communists putting forward their lines in debate. But the chairpeople seized on this debate to sidetrack the political struggle by getting the mike and demanding that all the news media leave—using the excuse that all the press will print is "the divisions among us." They also used this ploy to try to kick out the *RW* sellers and reporter, especially the white revolutionaries. Many of the masses didn't fall for this trick, and the leaders of the meeting

were not able to fully implement their reactionary scheme, as Black workers struggled with their neighbors, "These people are with the revolution. They're on our side."

But even this disruption didn't change the course of the meeting. Another man stood up to call on people to move beyond emotion to analysis, rational understanding of what had happened, but he was interrupted. Soon Hosea Williams stepped in to take the helm (when he emerged from a private meeting of the officials) and challenged the people to take action, in his words, to stop this "analysis paralysis." This call to "action" was plainly a ruse to bust up the meeting and defuse the anger of the masses into a peaceful walk around the block. He stooped so low he could have starred in "Beulah Land" when he tried to brow-beat people there with his threat, "Anyone with a backbone will march out of here right now." Only 30 people did. The rest wanted to continue slamming the officials and debating the issue, to reach unity before they acted. But the officials ended the meeting soon afterwards; however, not before they were forced to allow some community representatives the right to go into the guarded Center themselves to investigate. Over 20 veterans volunteered to do it. And meetings like that one have not been called since.

While most city officials this week have tried in vain to get people to believe their "tragic" accident line, the Atlanta Housing Authority Director (AHA) has continued to put out that it is possible that something else happened. As he said in a press conference, "Why should I focus on the malfeasance of the furnace and not consider all the alternatives. What if someone had tampered with the furnace?" This man, head of the fifth largest housing authority in the country, head of the biggest slum landlords in Atlanta, clearly has an interest in not falling in step with his cohorts. He is most directly responsible for the hellholes that the projects remain. A private contractor told the AHA in 1978 that the boiler in Bowen Homes needed to be replaced—it was then 14 years old. The AHA decided that would be too costly and instead did a few repairs. That decision may indeed have been much more costly than the AHA ever imagined.

The AHA director is now close to the top of the people's "most wanted" list and was raked over the coals at the Monday night meeting. When he coolly announced that his men had checked that heater before they turned it on, the crowd went into an uproar. The fool yelled, "I don't think you heard me, I said we had checked the boiler just that morning." A woman bellowed back at him, "I don't think you hear what you're saying," while another turned to her friend and said, "I've lived in public housing 17 years and we know they don't check these things before they turn on the heat."

The AHA director also closed all 19 other housing authority day care centers and hired private contractors to check their heating systems, saying that AHA lacked the credibility to do it itself. All this to the tremendous dislocation and inconvenience to the parents and children who have yet to be provided any alternatives.

The cynical argument between the AHA and the other city officials about whether it was an accident or a planned bombing only further reveals the class nature of these guys. The slumlords don't want to say it was an accident because that only reveals the increasingly miserable conditions that Black people are subjected to as the crisis of imperialism deepens. And the mayor and other politicians don't want to say it was a bombing because that only shows that their model city politics is just a shuck and that national oppression runs rampant in Atlanta the same as any other ghetto, Black politicians notwithstanding. And if all their finger-pointing and crocodile tears only reveal more clearly the systematic oppression spawned by the capitalist system, and

their own inability to do anything but perpetuate it, that goes double for their proposed solution to this crisis.

The repression against the people (especially Black people) had been shifted into high gear. Under a cover of announcing that the city is duty-bound to solve these murders and find the cause of the explosion, Mayor Maynard Jackson cried his usual crocodile tears for the dead children, sporting his black armband of mourning, and then came down with his proposal—a dusk-to-dawn curfew for anyone under 15, and a door-to-door "canvas" search by police in the neighborhoods to find "somebody who knows something about this..." This blatant attack was directly aimed at the building anger among the people, who are tired of all this oppression and ready to move. Hardly anyone has been fooled to think any of this comes from a desire to find the solutions to these crimes—none of the 15 murdered youth was kidnapped at night, that all happened during the day, and no door-to-door "canvas" has been even considered by these lying dogs in the whole year that these murders have taken place.

The real reason for all this is (to quote the *Atlanta Constitution*): "State juvenile laws permit curfews in the event of disturbances by 'unruly juveniles,' Mayor Jackson said. And state laws shall allow curfews in this case." Apparently the mayor considers the 15 Black youth who were murdered in cold blood and the children blown up at the Day Care Center to be "disturbances by 'unruly juveniles'!" What the authorities find really disturbing is not that these youths were murdered, but that the Black masses are aroused by these outrages. Clearly the Atlanta authorities are out to stop any possible rebellion and aren't too afraid of blowing part of their cover of "freedom and equality."

There is a strong desire on the part of the masses to get to the source of the problems and seek beyond their immediate situation for a way out.

When *RW* agitators went to the projects again on the day after the explosion and opened the bullhorn for debate, several people took it up, even though the cops were swarming in the neighborhood. One middle-aged woman stepped forward to tell the fifty people listening about how her brother had been killed in Vietnam and how that was not "our war." She went on to agitate about how the coming world war isn't our war either. And a Black youth started talking about the history of oppression of Black people, that "they may have taken the chains off our ankles, but we're still slaves." And when he was telling his neighbors about what he saw as the reason for this, he said it's the "whites." He stopped and thought a minute, and then added, "the rich whites," stopped again, then added again, "that class of rich whites."

While the State prepares to wield its repressive apparatus against the masses, the newspapers are filled with racist editorials and reactionary columns screaming against "retaliation" by Black people. An *Atlanta Constitution* columnist writes, "But something that could be even worse is happening here. The ugly head of revenge, in case you haven't noticed it, is looking for something to bite." He goes on, "...there are the inevitable fears that racial violence is a distinct possibility if that smell continues to lurk over the city... I suppose that means burn a few buildings, kill a few whites, settle the score." This column goes on to foment racism with a supposed quote from a quaking white person, surely the author himself, "I never go downtown anymore, I'm afraid to. Nothing downtown but Blacks"; it shows exactly where he and his kind are coming from in the first place.

All this is being spewed forth coupled with news stories of Black men buying guns, learning karate and, as every front-page article said, wanting to be taught "how to take a man out with bare hands in just a few blows." But

behind all this reactionary bellowing, there is a method. In typical reactionary fashion, the press is serving as mouthpiece for the bourgeoisie to unleash further attacks on the Black masses and threaten the people that if they persist in standing up, there will be more to come. (This in turn sets the stage for the various condescending reformist saviors to play their part in trying to cool out the anger of the masses, by whining about the danger of "backlash" and other nonsense.)

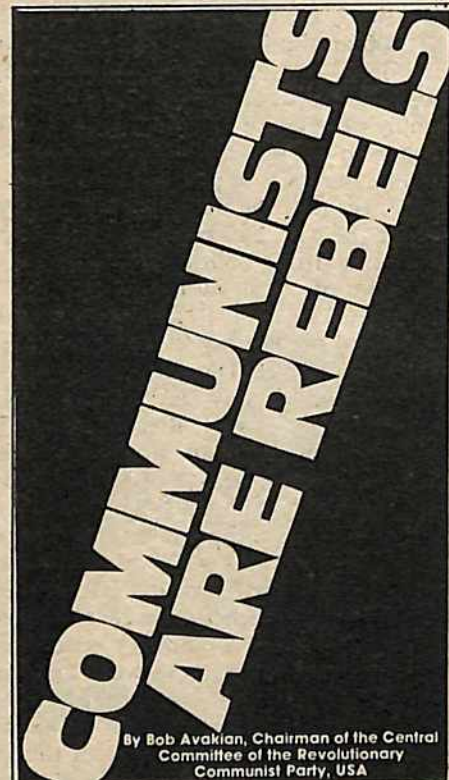
All of this should not deter the masses, who have been jolted into political life by this murderous explosion, from persisting, and with the assistance of the class-conscious revolutionaries raising their sights not only to grasp the root cause of this outrage, but to take up all the major political questions of the day and the need and possibilities to concretely work toward the day when such "model cities" will be a thing of the past. □

## Spit On The Imperialists' Con Game

Continued from page 1

false promise and filthy bribe to divert the people from the path of revolutionary struggle to rid the world of the imperialist system that produces all this degrading stuff in the first place.

Their politics are enlightening but not in the way they intend. For all their emptiness they reveal something of their desperate situation and what they have in store. But far from finding a lesser evil in this morass of electoral politics, there is only a trap to ensnare us in the future the enemy has planned. Ignoring this trap in disgust will not make it disappear, but exposing it and confronting it will be a real step toward eliminating it and toward a different future altogether. It's for this reason that the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA is issuing a call to transform widespread sentiment into united action. On election day we are calling for broad forces to unite in demonstrations in the San Francisco Bay Area and Detroit, Michigan, and we are calling on many, many people to cast this ballot, "This Whole System Is Putrid, I Don't Believe In Any of Its Candidates!" To initiate all this in a big way this week, one million leaflets are being distributed across the country to further the exposure of this imperialist con-game and spread the word of these actions. □



A Letter from RCP Chairman  
Bob Avakian to His Parents  
On Philosophy, Religion, Morals,  
and Continuous Revolution

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U.S. Counter-Insurgency  
Documents  
**A  
Look  
Beneath  
the  
Velvet  
Glove**

We recently received an anonymously sent package in the mail containing a number of documents from classes that were held during the early and mid-'70s at the California Specialized Training Institute, located at Camp San Luis Obispo, California. These classes, probably delivered to members of the military, were held on various aspects under the general heading of "counter-insurgency" training. These views of the San Luis Obispo commanders are also substantiated in other published material, like the handbook entitled "Disorders and Terrorism," put out by the National Advisory Committee on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals in 1976. The topic mentioned below, "Martial Rule," is taken from one of these courses that delved into "the means available to control people during civil disorder." It graphically illustrates what Lenin says in his work, *The State and Revolution*: "According to Marx, the state is an organ of class rule, an organ for the oppression of one class by another; it is the creation of 'order,' which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression..." And also what Lenin says in *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*: "There is not a single state, however democratic, which has no loopholes or reservations in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case of a 'violation of public order', and actually in case the exploited class 'violates' its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner."

The course opens with an explanation of "The Law of Martial Rule." Section II-A, paragraph 1, defines this: "Perhaps the most misunderstood concept in the area of civil disorders is that of Martial Rule. It is commonly called Martial Law which is itself a misnomer. The invocation of Martial Rule is the result of the absence of law and its concomitant 'order' and is purely and simply rule by the military. It comes into existence when civil government can no longer maintain law and order, even with the assistance of the military." And paragraph 3 goes on to explain: "What must be remembered is that the common law tradition that a society may avail itself of what means are at hand, and this at the moment of complete chaos and anarchy is usually only military forces, to preserve itself is the basis for Martial Rule." (emphasis in the original—RW)

Translating this from the bourgeois legalese and breaking it off from the sanctimonious claim that it speaks in the name of "society" as opposed to speaking in the name and in the interests of the ruling class in society against "the mob," we find the basics of the class struggle here. The im-

perialists will use everything in their power to preserve and defend their rule over the working class and the masses of oppressed people. Legislatures, judges dispensing "due process"—when push comes to shove it all stands out for exactly what it is—merely jiggling puppets and marionettes on thin strings, dangled by the capitalist class standing on its real pillar of power—its army. As Mao put it, "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." And paragraph 3 points out precisely that this resort to "rule by the military" is brought about by threats to the interests and position of the capitalists, and is unfettered and unrestricted by any laws. "No constitution, statute or ordinance can authorize Martial Rule. It is there and recognized by the courts as a final resort when all else has failed."

This point about no legal boundaries is extremely important in understanding that within the shell of "democracy" dwells the rotting heart of dictatorship by the capitalist class. In Lenin's polemic against the renegade Kautsky, he takes Kautsky to task for trying to gut the revolutionary essence out of Karl Marx's formulation, the dictatorship of the proletariat. "Let us examine Kautsky's next sentence: '... But of course, taken literally, this word (dictatorship—RW) also means the undivided rule of a single person unrestricted by any laws.' Like a blind puppy casually sniffing first in one direction and then in another, Kautsky accidentally stumbled upon one true idea (namely, that dictatorship is rule unrestricted by any laws), nevertheless, he failed to give a definition of dictatorship, and moreover, he gave vent to an obvious historical falsehood, viz., that dictatorship means the rule of a single person. This is even grammatically incorrect, since dictatorship may also be exercised by a handful of persons, or by an oligarchy, or by a class, etc." Lenin goes on with his definition: "Dictatorship is rule based directly upon force and unrestricted by any laws." (RW's emphasis)

The course goes on to explain the mechanics of invoking Martial Rule: "Martial Rule occurs upon a determination by the highest military commander in the jurisdiction that civil government has ceased to exist and must be replaced with force necessary to restore its existence... it requires no proclamation, though one is usually made, and it exists so long as it is necessary to restore conditions to where civil government can again function with or without the aid of the military." Before we go further into this "counter-insurgency" course and examine the other uses of the military short of Martial Rule, we should clear up one thing—the invocation of Martial Rule is not a military coup against the capitalist ruling class. On the contrary, it is the

open use of the armed might of the state by the ruling class to preserve its rule! And even this is hinted at in the section on Martial Rule: "Martial Rule need not replace all civil governmental functions but may leave some functioning under military control either completely or partially. Thus, the courts may be closed and military tribunals put in their place, or they may remain open if there are personnel and facilities available." It's all just different aspects of the state, which totally serves the imperialist ruling class, no matter what its form.

The document details the chain of command and the responsibilities in the use of the regular Army or the National Guard. California state law (and we assume that most states have some similar provisions) provides for the creation of an Office of Emergency Service within the Governor's office. This is stipulated under the auspices of the California Emergency Services Act, composed of Sections 8550-8668 of the Government Code. The point made here is that short of Martial Rule, the general direction of the troops remains under the command of the Governor, or the civil authorities, and that the specific direction of the troops (the tactical deployment and the use of fire power) remains in the hands of the commanding officer. Here again is an example showing that the use of the military is not some aberration opposed to the "democratic traditions," but is in fact the use of the military to preserve the civil authorities.

They go on to quote Section 366 of the Military and Veterans Code that exempts the commanding officer from any liability if he uses "his discretion with respect to the propriety of attacking or firing upon any mob or unlawful assembly... His honest and reasonable judgment in the exercise of his duty shall be full protection, civilly and criminally, for an act or acts done while on duty." And to reinforce the fact that anything goes in dealing with rebellious slaves, Section 367 of the Code is quoted one paragraph later: "No officer who is called out to sustain the civil authorities shall, under any pretense, or in compliance with any order, fire blank cartridges upon any mob or unlawful assemblage, under penalty of being dismissed." (No blanks, boys—shoot 'em dead!) (emphasis ours—RW)

Towards the end of the course there is a delineation of the use of deadly force by the Army or the National Guard. It begins by citing the laws that provide for the use of deadly force by a civilian to protect his/her property in preventing a felony, and spends the bulk of the time explaining examples when the police, or "peace officers" as they are referred to in the course, are justified in using deadly force—which is

anytime a felony is being committed, and nearly every time a Black person or other minority nationality is the target. The point here is that during a "riot" a member of the military "is statutorily authorized the powers of a peace officer..."

"California Penal Code Section 197(4) permits a broader privilege in the use of deadly force by allowing justifiable homicide 'when committed by any person... when necessarily committed in attempting by lawful ways and means, to apprehend any person for any felony committed, or in lawfully suppressing any riot...' (emphasis in original—RW) But "legally," participation in a "riot" is only a misdemeanor. So? So a point made in another section, dealing with "mass arrests" but summing up the spirit of "whatever force necessary" should dispel any lingering belief that the question of felony or misdemeanor really matters; "The emergency will justify necessary police action up to a point. At what point constitutional rights are infringed is not only difficult to determine, in most cases it will probably be academic."

And a number of legal opinions are cited to back this up. "There is no doubt, however, of the legal justification on the part of the peace officer (sic) who shoots a rioter on the spot if in so doing he is 'suppressing' a riot." (Hinsaw, "Justifiable Homicide," 43 S.B. JI. 541:1968.) Or another opinion: "That the general sanctioning of the use of deadly force in a riot situation indicates the legislature feels (emphasis ours—RW) that the necessity of suppressing a riot is enough in itself to justify the use of deadly force." And finally the conclusion of the advisors at Camp San Luis Obispo, and the California Penal Code: "Homicide is justifiable when committed in defense of property against one who manifestly intends or endeavors, by violence or surprise, to commit a felony."

Any pious claim of "protecting lives" might get over with some in the National Guard or the Armed Forces, but it only hides the truth that the use of the armed power of the state is fundamentally designed to protect the lives and the private property of the rulers. And this fact is also spoken to in the "Summary" of the course. "The determination of what property should be preserved by deadly force is an important and delicate question that should be made by proper authorities, not by a National Guardsman on the spur of the moment." In other words, "Your job is defending Chase Manhattan and the Bank of America—or the Rockefeller estate—the White House," or any other piece of property they deem valuable to them.

Probably the best example of the cri-

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# 100 FLOWERS

Continued from page 5

Lenin put a tremendous premium on that minority of class conscious workers—I have trouble seeing how that tiny handful can move millions down a revolutionary road.

Like I said earlier—these questions are basic and I'm studying to come to grips with them because I can't go any farther with just my gut hatred for imperialism. I also am beginning to see that this perceptual stuff (seeing things only perceptually) has held me back. A lot of it has been this incredible narrowness and refusing to learn from the experience of the party as a whole—and that society produces advanced *separate* from us because proletarian revolution isn't a good idea, but on history's agenda.

B.Y.

Dear Revolutionary Worker,

I am writing you this letter to let you know how much this paper has helped me to understand the world more clearly. I am 59 years old. I have always had struggles all through life. I am also a revolutionary worker, selling papers with other workers. I could always see how things were happening to me, as to no success in what I had hoped for, like accomplishing things I had wanted in life. I was the wife of two husbands and have been divorced for quite some time. But I could not understand why I could not succeed. Everything seemed to always end up in failure, my back was always against the wall.

After I started reading the revolutionary newspaper, I learned through the paper that it is the system. This paper has changed my way of life and showed me a more clear view of what I have been facing all of my life in many, many ways: how false this world is, yet it is said in many, many ways that it is true and just. I didn't know the enemy. I didn't know about how I have been used on the jobs I have worked from time to time until I started to read the paper. It is the greatest thing that has ever happened to me.

I do need more understanding in my agitation to talk to and teach others. It is a part of my work I have known about for a long time. I like selling the paper, but I do want to understand more clearly in reading each issue so as to explain to others. I do want to become a great worker in selling the *Revolutionary Worker* paper so that I may continue to serve and help change the world. I am thankful to become a co-conspirator and to the day I started reading the paper.

Thank you kindly,

A reader

*Introductory note from RW: This letter is not mainly on the subject of the campaign for 100,000 sustained sales of the RW in November, or on our Party's line that this newspaper is the main weapon today in our battle plan for revolution. Thus, it is not really on the specific subject being debated in the 100,000 campaign. Nonetheless, we feel that some of the views expressed in the letter do relate, indirectly at least, to these questions. Therefore we decided to print it.*

A fellow worker said to me last week, "Why do I need to read the *Revolutionary Worker*? When I read it before May Day, it taught me how to analyze the news. Now when I watch TV I know how to read between the lines—I KNOW that now. So why do I need the *RW*?"

And when *RW* No. 73 came out with "U.S. Unleashes Iraq Against Iran," politically advanced workers said, "so what's new, we figured the U.S. is behind it."

And I agree with them.

When the article came out, "Who Lost Iran?" my attitude was: the bourgeoisie is the bourgeoisie no matter what their tactical differences might be so we know it was their class that "lost Iran." And I didn't finish the article (By the way, why are each of these articles split up on 4 pages spaced all through the paper—is someone trying to test our determination by putting us through an obstacle course? or try to make a long article look shorter if it's in pieces? it's an unnecessary obstacle when I don't get the point of the article anyway). From p. 4 to p. 6 to p. 26 and it finally gets to one really important question I've had for a while—why the Iranian revolution broke out when it did within this overall spiral of imperialism. And it touched on, or taught me something about how national liberation struggles fit into the overall period, but I want to know much more about how the principal contradiction U.S.-Soviet, the fundamental contradiction of the proletariat-bourgeoisie, and the once-principal ('60s) contradiction of imperialism-oppressed nations—how they all relate to each other. Anyway... on Iran, why do I have to plod through the stuff I think I already know or know generally to get to what I DON'T know. I don't think that's aiming for the advanced and our questions. (Another thing on "style"—I think a lot of headlines are bourgeois journalism. A sub-head "Brzezinski's line" doesn't say anything! Why don't you sum up the main

political point that the section is going to make from the proletariat's point of view?)

So what is it that we need and want to know?

In particular about Iran. People say, "Yeah we know war's coming so what's new? Yes, I know the U.S. is behind Iran, but the rest of these people don't. And besides, what can you do about it anyway?"

What I want to know is more around the relationship between crises like this and the WW2/WW3 spiral of imperialism. How is this crisis different than the embassy takeover? How does this crisis heighten the contradictions leading to war (without being Chicken Little)—or, is world war really that close? At first I thought the articles were too general, but now I think they're wrong. What difference will it make if the U.S. accomplishes its 3 objectives: 1) toppling the Iranian government and crushing the Iranian revolution; 2) consolidating Iraq; 3) expanding direct military presence in the Persian Gulf, which are related to *Fundamental* objective, positioning itself in the Persian Gulf for confrontation with the Soviet Union. When the article says it's a *signal* and a *dry run* I think that is just too vague. One class or another is gonna come out of this crisis stronger, and it better be the proletariat—but we have work to do! What will it mean if the U.S. and Iraq could beat back Iran and CRUSH THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION? An inspiration to millions around the world that we have an obligation to defend. What difference will it make if the U.S. does or doesn't accomplish any/all of these objectives?

Lenin said, and the RCP has popularized this a lot, that crisis breaks and crushes some people, but *more significantly* it steels and tempers many more. I think the articles are at best eclectic (and therefore wrong) on the strength of the masses. A couple people commented off the first article that "looks like Iran is gonna lose, that's what the *RW* says." Were we thinking well, Iran's gonna lose anyway so what the fuck? (I mean I never heard anybody say that, but I'm gonna check into it.) Then the second article, which was better, still concludes with there's no guarantee that the Iranian revolution won't suffer a setback and there's no guarantee that it will... Again, the concluding paragraph poses the contradiction between imperialist war and revolution—and leaves us hanging.

Now, to back up for a sec, I can answer a part of the question from the guy who said that other people don't know the U.S. is behind Iraq and besides what can we do? Broad public opinion fits right in—getting the *RW* into the hands of those who don't see the "bloody hand" and also creating public opinion with statements of support for the Iranian revolution.

On the relation between U.S. and Iraq—No. 73 says that the U.S. "set in motion this 'local war'" and a little later on that it's not a question of Iraq "taking orders from the U.S." Locally it came up that Iraq was taking orders—but then my question is where will you end up ultimately if you've got a wrong line on the relationship between U.S. and Iraq, what's the outcome of that line?

Last point—when we fail to create public opinion around this war objectively, regardless of our intentions, we oppose proletarian internationalism and promote national chauvinism. The big question these days is "what difference does it make—preparatory revolutionary work," and the same question applies to the particular battlefronts. Around proletarian internationalism I don't think we did so hot when Glenn Gan of the UN 2 came to town either. I think some of the roots lie with the embassy takeover, that the incorrect line is stronger now, but there's also the basis and necessity to make a radical rupture on this front. (Wish I had more to contribute on this right now, but I don't yet).

I hope this helps on 3 questions: the "I already know it" line; lagging behind; and Iran-Iraq crisis.

A.Z.

Comrades,

Off of reading the article, "Let a Hundred Flowers Blossom..." and others laying bare the necessity to write to the *RW*, I was compelled to do so.

As was stated in the battle for a 100,000 co-conspirators, part and parcel to making revolution, there is much work to do. The particular points I want to speak to is who is going to wage this battle and why.

One way I want to speak to this is by negative example through my experience, in acting on a metaphysical, undialectical outlook (by not wielding Marxism and the line of the RCP).

One way this manifested itself was in thinking that we can accomplish this campaign of a 100,000 co-conspirators if we just got a whole bunch of people to sell 5 or 10 *RW*'s, after all, added up across the whole country that would come to a total of 100,000. But does this reflect the urgency of the situation, does this say the masses can take up, grasp, and master the science and change the world? And does that say that they will take up this battle today as their own? (Who else's battle is this if not theirs.) No, the idea of a few each does not say this, the idea of a few each says, none each. This says

that none will take up this battle, it rejects the fundamental law that people act on their understanding, and this conscious action acts on and changes or directs the objective situation, reality.

I agree fully with the article calling for the 100 Flowers Campaign where it says, "A handful of people increasing their own efforts won't do it. The key is a correct political line grasped by the masses... 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." This is the science of Marxism applied, the masses making revolution under the leadership of the Party.

When one raises that people will not take this up, that we can not make this leap and make the required goal, I feel this is applying the undialectical view that people do not act on the way they see the world and further can not understand the world, what the fundamental and underlying laws that are at work and knowing that, how to change them.

We are lagging behind the ability to meet the needs and thereby lead the advanced, realizing this there are 2 choices: to continue to lag behind and therefore pull at the rear of the developing situation, to reject the challenge and capitulate, to refuse to accept that it is on our shoulders to wage this historic battle; or to, "Take History into our Hands" and set out to do the work that must be done, the only work that can be called Communist work, "being tribunes of the people, conducting Communist agitation and propaganda, and by doing this Communists can give much fuller and deeply systematic expression to the deeply felt desires to the advanced workers to enter into and influence these struggles (spontaneous struggles on the part of many other classes and strata as well as the working class), and influence them in a revolutionary way, and undertake the task of raising the level of the mass of workers toward the class-conscious position." The main weapon we have to do this is the *RW*.

I have heard many times and raised myself, "I see the urgency, but what about the possibility?" This question in and of itself points out an undialectical understanding of the matter. Seeing the urgency is related to seeing the possibility, you can't agree with one without agreeing with the other. This view is tantamount to thinking Revolution is a good idea, even necessary, but not possible. Understanding the urgency is interdependent on and necessary to understanding the possibility. For what is not possible is not urgent. Further, is Bob Avakian's analysis of the "roads to the proletariat," the analysis of *America in Decline*, off the wall?! Was Revolutionary May Day a figment of our imagination? I think not, but whether or not one wishes to (or fears) to face reality, the proletariat in this country has mounted the political stage. It is on our shoulders to continue to give leadership to, and through this strengthen and swell the class-conscious force, as our task to the international working class, I believe this is where the heart of this campaign lies. Through the distribution and penetration of the *RW* we will not only train and steel these forces but by them and new ones coming forward wielding this paper, acting on what they have learned and understood, influencing society as a whole.

Still yet another way this incorrect political line manifested itself in my work was a stagist view that first one has to be fully won over to the line of the Party before they would take up and distribute the paper. A view that says we do not learn about the world through changing the world. This came out in practice by struggling for people to see the urgency, to see what the analysis of the *RW* is and the plan, and then asking them to take a paper and check it out or at best, take five and, "get them out to their friends." Not only does this contradict and go up in the face of this battle, but most certainly reflected my line on the urgency of this battle, that there isn't any. But more to the point, does this not reflect the view that none will take this up, a view that rejects as I said in the beginning, that people will act on their understanding, the way they see the world. And does this not go straight up against reality, the analysis of the RCP.

Seeing this it is no wonder it surprised me, when a person I was struggling with to take up the 100,000 battle said to me, "I am concerned that you may take the point in the 'Coming From Behind' pamphlet about being small to justify complacency for the situation today." This person indeed had a real basis and justified concern for that is just the line I was practicing. And what does this say about the advanced wielding the science and the line of the Party. (Oh yes, woe is those who are nicely nested in their nest of "making revolution" for the line of the Party wielded by the masses will uncover your cozy little nest!)

There is a lot of work to do in order to make this leap required by the development of the situation today. This leap to even more profoundly lead and thereby influence the revolutionary movement, to "Come From Behind." In order to do this we must make a leap in obliterating these economist metaphysical lines. This is only going to be done in the process of more firmly grounding ourselves in the science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, and its most thorough application to the situation today, the line and analysis of the RCP; we

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# Tampon Manufacturers Scramble to Profit from Toxic Shock Outrage

Beginning October 6, Proctor & Gamble began another advertising campaign. This one is a little different from the one that used to end with the woman saying, "Remember, they called it Rely." This is one explaining why P&G has withdrawn the "super-tampon" Rely from the market.

The reason, of course, is related to the fact that Rely was found to be particularly closely associated with an illness described as Toxic Shock Syndrome (TSS), an illness which can be fatal and which has caused at least 30 some deaths (these are just the documented cases) this year. (See "Murder By Tampon: Toxic Shock Syndrome," *RW* No. 74, 10/3/80.) But actually that's not the reason. It's not exactly that P&G is out to prevent TSS. It's rather that the company did a study and determined that the cost of the projected lawsuits if they continued to market Rely would be greater than the loss they'd sustain by taking the product off the market (for the moment).

The *Advertising Age* was quick to heap praise upon the company, editorializing, "Under similar circumstances in the past, some companies have attempted to stonewall... The result was to create the impression that they were more interested in profit than in safety... By acting promptly and forcefully, P&G minimizes the danger to itself and the public."

Procter & Gamble also insists upon the voluntary, noble and disinterested character of its actions. "We voluntarily withdrew the product from the market," a company spokesman explained. "It was not a recall. A recall, in essence, means that there was a violation of law, and there has been nothing found wrong with Rely."

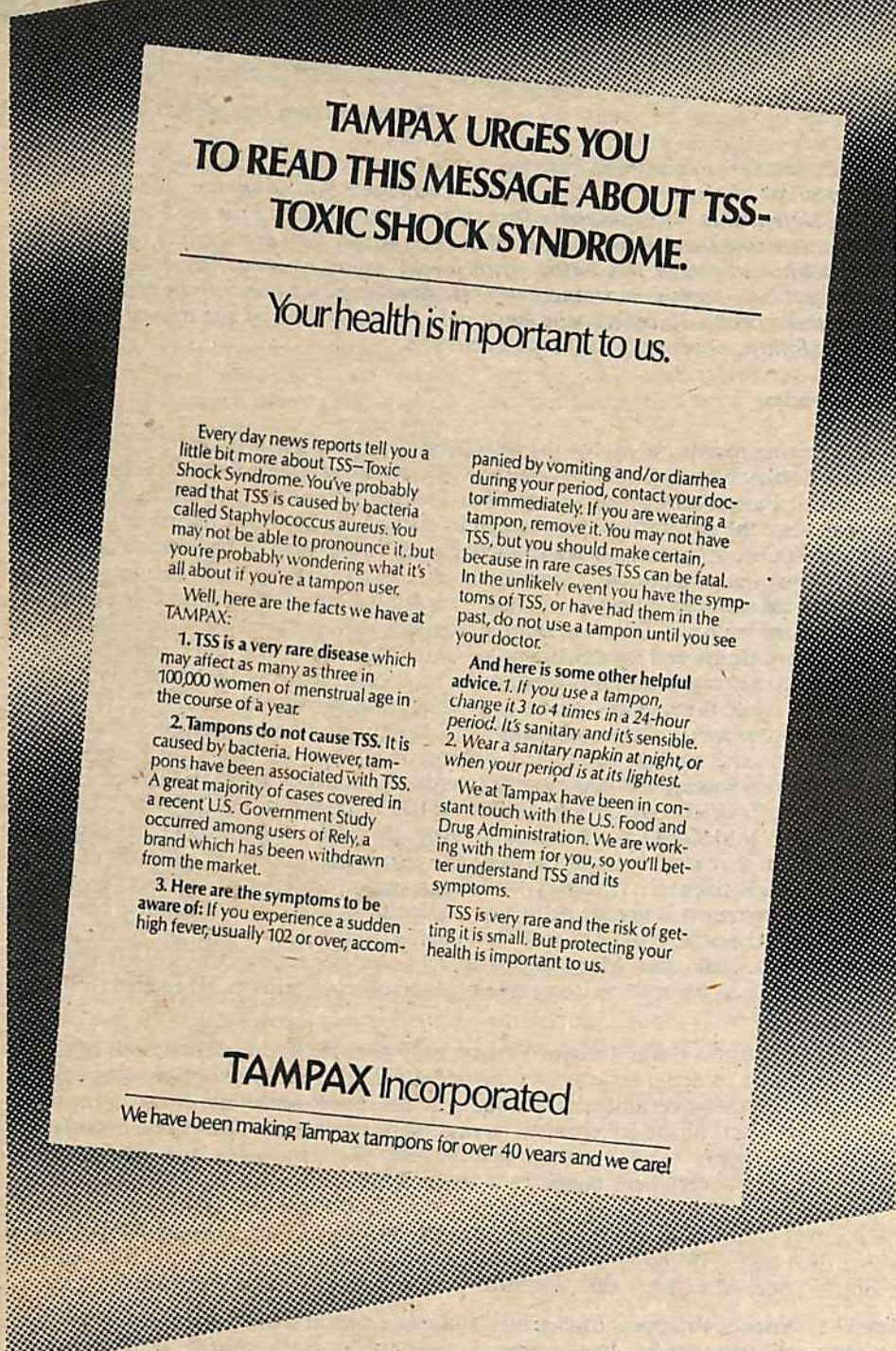
In fact P&G is very worried about its image because it has increasingly been using its name and reputation to sell medical-type products. So getting a "stain" on this reputation, getting the image of putting "profits before people" would be bad for business; it would hurt profits. So Procter & Gamble has now commissioned a "pre-study" of public opinion by the Burke Market Research Co. in Pittsburgh to investigate the company image. Later, after the current ad campaign, there will be a follow-up study to see how it all went down.

Meanwhile, as always in the world of

corporations, one capitalist's loss is another one's gain. After the disclosure of the link between tampons and TSS, shares of Tampax jumped upward on the stock market. The reasoning was that with Rely being especially associated with TSS, Tampax tampons could move in on Rely's territory, which had amounted to 18% of the \$340 million U.S. tampon market. A real stroke of luck for Tampax which, once overwhelmingly dominant in this market, had been staggering under the impact of the inroads by Playtex, Kimberly-Clark, Purex, and Johnson & Johnson, but especially from those of Procter & Gamble! Isn't capitalism wonderful? Where else could the clouds of disease and death have such a silver lining?

But Tampax has to protect its image too. So this company has also been running ads about TSS, with the slogans at top and bottom, "Your health is very important to us" and "We have been making Tampax tampons for over 40 years and we care!" In between they inform us that "TSS is a very rare disease" and that "Tampons do not cause TSS." (Of course not—"It is caused by bacteria," says Tampax, Inc. Just like the stabbing victim's death is not caused by the guy with the knife, but by loss of blood!) And even the assertion that it's an extremely rare disease (affecting about "three in 100,000 women of menstrual age in the course of a year," according to this ad) is not true. As was pointed out in our previous article, the Food and Drug Administration arbitrarily separated off the milder cases of the disease and made it so that only the quite severe cases were considered to be occurrences of the disease at all. According to one of the few scientists in the U.S. to have extensively studied it, the real figure for occurrences is closer to one woman in 2500—making it over 13 times more common than the FDA pretends. Maybe this is what is really meant when the same ad says: "We at Tampax have been in constant touch with the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. We are working with them for you, so you'll better understand TSS and its symptoms."

At any rate, Tampax is very anxious to acquaint everyone with at least some of the key facts disclosed by government research—like the fact that (to quote again from the same ad) "a great majority of cases covered in a recent U.S.



Government Study occurred among users of Rely, a brand which has been withdrawn from the market."

Meanwhile, as Tampax was gaining ground and Procter & Gamble was try-

ing to cut its losses and protect its image, women in Morristown, Tennessee, in Montevideo, Minnesota, and in Rock Hill, South Carolina, died last week of TSS. □

## Velvet Glove

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teria of "whatever force necessary" being determined by class interests and unbridled by any "legal" considerations (although it is of some significance that they have to feign adherence to bourgeois legality in the face of outrage and protests by sections of the people) is the example of Plainfield, New Jersey in 1967. During the Newark rebellion it seems that 46 carbines had been liberated and were being used by the people against the authorities. The National Guard forcibly searched over 300 homes for the guns, kicking in doors, pressing bayonets against the residents and ransacking the apartments and homes. The "counter-insurgency" instructors explain: "In the absence of Martial Rule, the Plainfield (mass-*RW*) search was potentially illegal under the provisions of Article IV of the Constitution." They lament the fact that meeting the provisions of the Constitution under riot conditions would be nearly impossible. But other court decisions, specifically regarding the mass search of homes and businesses by health officials to restrict the spread of disease, have ruled that warrants are still needed but the areas to be searched are general in nature—in other words, free ransacking.

"The analogy between spread of disease by noncompliance with health laws and the spread of death and destruction by riot becomes clear upon reflection," they gleefully conclude. "... it is probable that the balancing test between public and private interest

would now be applied." Frankly it is an extremely appropriate analogy. For the bourgeois, revolution, once "on the loose," is exactly like the spread of a disease (and Marx referred to it as "the contagion")—highly spreadable and affecting growing millions of workers and others—and diagnosed as terminal for the imperialists!

All this plain bourgeois talk contained in this course has a message that should be heard and heeded by those who "feel this system needs to be changed." That message, in the words of Mao Tsetung, is to "cast away illusions, prepare for struggle." For nothing short of the armed overthrow of the imperialists and their state, replacing it with the armed authority of the oppressed led by the working class over the overthrown exploiters, will beat this enemy.

Seen in this light, the unconscious humor running through these documents can also be seen. For these are documents written to evaluate what will be the legal consequences "after the fact," that is, after Martial Rule is ended and replaced by the more normal form of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. These blind and smug rulers cannot and will not see that there is another judgment that may await them: For once a situation goes "up for grabs" in the way that requires Martial Rule, then there is no guarantee of how it may come down. It may not be the courts of the bourgeoisie that endure to "judge" the actions of their class brothers in shooting down the workers. It may well be the organs of the victorious revolutionary masses—the armed proletarian dictatorship over this entire class—that takes up the question and delivers a verdict that will be shocking indeed. □

## "Rely Absorbs Your Worries"!!!

Oct. 7, 1980

*RW,*

The story you put out to people about the rich man's tampons, got across to a lot of women. It got across to me, I know that and I'm mad as hell. Because when they put it on the news they said two or three women had died from Rely tampons. Then one week later on ch. 7 news a woman newscaster said 29 were dead and there's more since that. How long was it going to take them to tell women that 29 people had died, before another 29 or 40 of us died off by unknown diseases. Before they put it on the market they knew what they were doing.

They don't give a damn how many of us die as long as they profit from it. That's what Carter and the rest of those bastards are about. I was reading on the back of the Rely box, it said it even absorbs your worries. What they were trying to say is that it absorbs your life—signed, Carter, with a handful of peanuts, and the rest of his imperialist masters.

Signed,  
Off and on reader  
High School Student

# New Developments in Bob Avakian Railroad

(Repeated from last week's RW in the interest of further spreading the word...)

In the last few weeks there have been some significant developments relating to the appeal of the charges against Party Chairman Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. The national office of the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants wrote the following letter about this which they are sending to their list of those who supported this battle when it was raging at an earlier date. We are reprinting it here because awareness of these developments needs to be spread even beyond these people to others who have only since the time of the appeal come to know of, follow, or support the Party's activities.

Dear Friends;

We are writing to inform you of the developments in the government's attempts to railroad Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and 16 other Mao Tsetung Defendants. It has been almost one year since the government was forced to dismiss the 25-count felony indictment on the grounds of "prosecutorial vindictiveness" in the face of thousands taking a stand against the government's vicious attacks. Just to refresh your memory about the history of this frame-up, the charges stem from a police assault on a demonstration called for by the RCP during Deng Xiaoping's visit, protesting the dismantling of revolutionary China and the enlistment of China in the U.S. war bloc. Initially, over 80 people were charged with misdemeanors. New indictments reduced the number of defendants while the charges on each defendant mushroomed from 6 to 12 to 25 felonies—241 years! Following the dismissal, the government prosecutors wasted no time (even at the expense of their Christmas holidays) in filing their appeal in January, which was argued two months later in the Court of Appeals in Washington D.C. NOW, THERE ARE NEW INDICATIONS THAT A DECISION COULD COME DOWN SHORTLY. The Court of Appeals in Washington D.C. has just ruled in favor of a government appeal in a case also dismissed on the grounds of prosecutorial vindictiveness. This may well be an important part of the legal groundwork the government is preparing in a new attempt to stoke up the Railroad of Bob Avakian and the other Mao Tsetung Defendants. In the past month or so, the main U.S. Attorney in the case, Mary Ellen Albrecht, and her fellow prosecutor have appeared in D.C. courtrooms at least three times to observe other trials related to RCP activities.

The original dismissal was a major victory, only possible because thousands of people contributed in different ways to the defense effort, making it extremely costly politically for the government to pursue this attack. Nonetheless, it was a tactical retreat on the part of the government as they maneuvered to set the stage, in and out of the courtroom, for launching new attacks. By dismissing the charges last November, the government hoped to take the steam out of the defense; to confuse people that maybe the government wasn't really serious about trying to crush the RCP's revolutionary leadership after all; and even to recoup some of the political losses they had suffered as a result of this case being taken to literally millions of people—"See, when all is said and done, there is some justice after all!"

The U.S. Attorney's appeal of the dismissal made crystal clear the real nature of the government's maneuvers. In the appeal, the government admitted what they had been denying all along, that they were prosecuting the case on the basis of political conspiracy, "By presence and knowing participation, each defendant aided and abetted each assault which took place as part of the mass attack on January 29, 1979." Far from confirming that the government could not be serious about prosecuting a patent frame-up with such absurd "evidence", it proved exactly the opposite, how deadly serious it is in its attacks on the RCP and its Chairman in particular. This was underscored by a coast-to-coast Secret Service investigation of Bob Avakian that was launched after the charges were dismissed.

The government has not been simply marking time, hoping people will forget while the appeal is tied up in court, as the attacks on the RCP and supporters increased 100-fold around the country, particularly the 800+ arrests during the campaign to build May 1st, 1980. The majority of arrests centered around the "crime" of selling the *Revolutionary Worker*, the newspaper of the RCP. These attacks further intensified with the political murder of RCP member Damian Garcia in Los Angeles a month after he raised the Red Flag over the Alamo while building for May Day. And most recently in Atlanta, 2 RCP supporters were charged with felony "advocating the overthrow of the government" for putting up a *Revolutionary Worker* poster.

## El Salvador

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reported: "The government of General Romeo Lucas Garcia (Guatemala) fears that if revolution triumphs in El Salvador a civil war will break out in Guatemala. In that event, the armed forces of Guatemala will intervene militarily in El Salvador with material, logistical, and economic aid from the United States." He went on to detail: meetings between the Guatemalan government and the junta in El Salvador to guarantee support; that 100 counter-insurgency officers were permanently stationed on the El Salvador border to aid in capturing revolutionaries; and that further, 1000 soldiers are also stationed along the border. The U.S. government, so as not to besmirch its "human rights" record, sends the Guatemalan regime arms and training through Israel, Chile and Argentina. And a computerized communications center, staffed by U.S. personnel, has been set up at the National Palace in Guatemala City.

Military aid to Honduras, also bordering El Salvador, has been stepped up and it was reported in the Mexico City newspaper, *Uno más Uno*, that a total of 50 U.S. advisers had been sent

into Honduras along with teams of U.S. pilots. And in late May, generals from the Central American countries gathered in Honduras to discuss the current situation. As the U.S.'s claim that the junta is a "democratic and moderate" alternative shatters, the imperialists are struggling to find a way to maintain control.

Both of these countries are familiar with the role of U.S. assistance in the region. In a joint operation during the Romero regime in El Salvador, Honduras troops helped slaughter 600 peasants in a maneuver called "Pinzas de Hierro" (Iron Pincers). And it was Guatemalan planes that dropped supplies and bombed Sandinista positions in the waning days of the Somoza regime in Nicaragua. And, as was stated at the press conference, the resistance in El Salvador is making the Guatemalan rulers squirm—the popular slogan among the Salvadoran resistance is, "El Salvador in 1980, Guatemala in 1981". And inside Guatemala the government is taking a battering of its own as for the first time substantial numbers of the Indian population are taking up arms against the regime. The Guatemalan government could easily and willingly be used by the U.S. to attack El Salvador under the convenient guise of "protecting

The prosecution cited a quote from Bob Avakian on the poster in this indictment. (In this last case, as with many others, the role of the federal government through the FBI has been documented.) Our rulers' message in these attacks is the same as a Houston, Texas Nazi dial-a-message after Damian's murder—"This is what will happen to you if you follow Bob Avakian and the RCP's leadership." The government has its sights trained not just on the RCP but on millions who long for a way out of the madness this system breeds, especially those who are seriously considering joining the ranks of the revolutionary movement. The government's strategy contains a fatal flaw—the premise that everyone will swallow (or if not swallow, at least choke down with the "help" of their guns and jails) their reactionary and ridiculous view that even as they move to unleash world war, that things could be worse, you could be mixed up with those revolutionaries.

At the same time, the rulers of this country, the biggest international criminals and terrorists, actively have been trying (in typical COINTELPRO fashion) to paint the RCP as terrorists through the media, in various trials, and through other avenues. Using techniques they've used before in the 1960's, the government hopes to isolate the RCP, drive a wedge between the Party and many who are opposed to the government's vicious repression, as well as create the broad public opinion necessary to minimize their political losses in carrying out these attacks. (To anyone who takes the time to investigate the RCP's strategy for mass armed revolution, the "terrorist" label is as ridiculous as it is obvious what the government is up to in using it.)

These vicious and calculated attacks reveal even more profoundly exactly how precarious our rulers' position is in trying to hang on to their far-flung empire through the looming upheavals of the next decade. They are also part and parcel of their attempts to lay the groundwork to come back around with their lifetime of charges against Bob Avakian and the other Mao defendants.

Part of the reason the government was forced to back down in the first place was because the RCP and the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants did not adopt a "wait and see" attitude—"wait and see if they bring it to trial, or appeal it or reinstate the charges." It has only been by actively and publicly taking this case and the questions involved to the people broadly and by people like yourself making contributions to various aspects of the defense effort. It was the concerted efforts of hundreds and hundreds of people, involving thousands more that transformed this case into a tremendous political liability to the government. During the hearings in March, a half-page ad protesting the government's appeal appeared in the *Washington Post*, signed by several thousand people. The ad was one reflection of the broadening and deepening support that had been mobilized against these attacks as indicated by such signers as Daniel and Phillip Berrigan, Mike Farrell (actor), 47 workers at the Ford Rouge plant, Dearborn, Michigan, 172 residents of an Atlanta housing project, etc. Inside the courtroom, an amicus brief prepared by Daniel Sheehan, (the attorney in the Karen Silkwood anti-nuclear case) was filed jointly by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, the National Conference of Black Lawyers and the National Lawyers Guild. And in Paris, over 300 people, including representatives from 11 revolutionary organizations from 8 countries, attended a meeting addressed by a Mao Tsetung defendant, passing a strong condemnation of the persecution of the RCP and these Defendants, as well as discussing the political views of the RCP itself. International statements of support have come from organizations and parties around the world, including from revolutionary organizations and parties in Iran, Chile, Turkey, and Europe.

We are asking you now to contribute urgently needed funds, so that the Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants can widely publicize the case, the new developments and the widespread opposition to these attacks. Please take the word of this case to others and urge them to contribute as well. The *Revolutionary Worker* newspaper will be following the case closely in its pages, and we will try to keep you informed as well.

**DEFEAT THE APPEAL!  
DROP ALL THE CHARGES ONCE AND FOR ALL!  
KEEP BOB AVAKIAN AND THE MAO DEFENDANTS FREE!**

*The Committee to Free the Mao Tsetung Defendants*

their borders" or stopping the "totalitarian left".

Since the revolution in Nicaragua, the whole of Central America has been growing increasingly unstable for the U.S. imperialists and their puppet governments. The military-civilian junta that replaced dictator Carlos Romero was seen by the U.S. as a much needed "reform" that would enable them to keep their talons in the country without the continued embarrassment of supporting a dictator. This was in October 1979. But by January 1980 things for the U.S. had only changed for the worse—continued government repression and a bogus "land reform" program were bringing on greater political as well as armed opposition. Thus in January a split in the junta occurred, with the majority joining the opposition to the junta, leaving Jose Duarte as the head representative of the pro-U.S. Christian-Democrats on the junta. The majority of the Christian-Democrats led by pro-U.S. forces bolted and formed the Social Christian Movement and joined the opposition as well—graphically showing the extent of the exposure surrounding the "moderate and democratic" junta!

Another original supporter of the junta was the pro-Soviet Communist Party of El Salvador (PCES). The

PCES had lost considerable influence over the last five years because of its consistent preaching of the "peaceful road" to socialism through elections, while the struggle of the people was being drowned in blood. But as soon as it became clear that the masses of people in El Salvador weren't accepting the junta, the PCES slipped chameleon-like over to the opposition, deserting the junta in January. And now the former "peaceful roaders" have "endorsed" armed struggle, after their attempts to capitulate for a share of power failed in the face of the masses' rejection of the junta. They and their mentors in Moscow hope to secure as big a hold as they can in the country, riding on the backs of the masses of people.

Political demonstrations and armed clashes escalated in the opening months of 1980, erupting in a general strike in March. A "state of siege" has existed in El Salvador since March, with the authorities being given powers to restrict people's movement, question and detain people, open the mails, impose censorship, etc.—clearly "moderation and democracy" at work. But the masses of Salvadorans have refused to knuckle under. There have been three nationwide general strikes carried out since the "state of siege"

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# Jamaica Murder: CIA Plots In High Gear

With only 16 days left until the scheduled election date, the Caribbean island of Jamaica has seen more than 450 deaths this year in politically connected violence. The latest victim was the Assistant National Security Minister, Roy McGann, a member of the ruling People's National Party (PNP). McGann was shot by the Jamaican police force after what they described as a clash with supporters of the U.S.-backed Jamaican Labor Party.

McGann's assassination, coming only a week after an attempt to assassinate the Prime Minister, Michael Manley, is the latest act in the U.S.-sponsored and CIA-directed destabilization campaign in Jamaica. This island country has become a battleground for U.S.-Soviet contention. Since 1972, under the government of Michael Manley, a "democratic socialist" who represents by and large the national bourgeoisie, Jamaica has become a pawn in the contention of the U.S. and USSR, bouncing from one side to the other in the face of threats and inducements from each. But now, as Manley has tried this year once again to move toward the Soviet side in response to the tightening of the screws by the U.S.-controlled International Monetary Fund, the U.S. imperialists have decided that the time for games is past. (For more on this, see the detailed article in *RW* No. 66, 8/8/80, "The U.S. 'Destabilization' of Jamaica.") The U.S. offensive has ranged from economic strangulation to murdering elderly women in the Ewantide Nursing Home fire, to using every means available (particularly the *Daily Gleaner*, a native Jamaican newspaper which has essen-

tially been taken over by the CIA) to create widespread public opinion against Manley and his government.

However, McGann's murder also sheds light on still another aspect of this destabilization campaign, a crucial aspect as far as U.S. interests are concerned. While the U.S./CIA campaign has continued to terrorize and harass the masses of Jamaican people in general, it

has had little success in winning a significant amount of popular support away from Manley and redirecting it to their man in Jamaica—Jamaican Labor Party leader, Edward Seaga (popularly known as Edward CIAga). In order to carry out their plans, the U.S. imperialists and their Jamaican lackeys are counting on the support of the Jamaican Army and security forces. In addition to numerous

meetings between U.S. Embassy officials (including CIA agents) and Jamaican military officers and police officials, Seaga himself has spent extra energy on winning the support of these forces. In a May speech to the Police Federation Seaga called on the military and the police to refuse any order from the Manley government concerning a state of emergency, a tactic used by Manley to curtail JLP-instituted violence during the 1976 election, and accused the Manley government of "running down the security forces." The *Daily Gleaner*, in turn, has called on the police and military to "...disobey any instructions, by whomever given, which are improper, illegal, and which inhibit their intelligence and effectiveness." Seaga and the *Daily Gleaner* also launched a heavy mid-summer campaign to unseat the Minister of National Security, Dudley Thompson, a People's National Party member. Temporarily successful in unseating Thompson, the *Gleaner*, Seaga and the Jamaican police turned their attention to discrediting and framing Roy McGann, the temporary replacement for Thompson, who has now been killed by the police.

As the October 30 election date draws near, the U.S. will definitely step up its efforts to place its man, Seaga, in power, and draw Jamaica tightly into the U.S. orbit—by any means necessary. As contention with their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union grows sharper every day, the U.S. is determined to see that the Jamaican elections are decided in its favor. The October 13 murder of Roy McGann is a vivid indication that the U.S. maneuvers have moved into high gear. □



Graffiti in Kingston in 1976

## Company Business—Spying Abroad and at Home

International Telephone & Telegraph Company (ITT) is a multi-talented and widely diversified capitalist entity. Not only does it produce telecommunications equipment and install it in countries all over the world; it also helps install fascist dictatorships, like Augusto Pinochet's in Chile. And recent revelations show that ITT also has infiltrated and spied on various groups that have exposed and opposed its role in the military coup to overthrow Salvador Allende that brought Pinochet to power in 1973.

Documents detailing the extent of ITT spying were uncovered last week by a Chicago attorney in files that he was using in a case against police spying. The documents, including photographs and an account of a 1975 conference of Chilean solidarity groups held at Concordia College in Illinois, were part of other papers impounded from the Chicago "Red Squad" on March 28, 1975. It is revealed in a handwritten note that served as a cover letter for the 10-page report that not only did the ITT Co. have an infiltrator inside the Chilean support groups, but ITT and the FBI were jointly brainstorming on exactly how to deal with the growing exposures and various boycott activities that were being used against the company at the time. The note is basically a description of the report and was written by New

York FBI agent James Vermeersch. It is addressed to a Chicago FBI agent, Kirk Klossner, and asks Klossner for "any suggestions on our handling of this."

But the fact that ITT and the FBI and the CIA work closely together comes as no surprise. It is well documented that, among other things, ITT funneled money through the CIA to various right-wing groups like the "Fatherland and Liberty" organization, which formed a nucleus of anti-Allende plotters. They also played a key part in the economic disruptions that hampered the Allende government. While the Senate hearings were used to slap the wrists of the ITT Co. for its blatancy, and used to promise the public that all this covert stuff would be halted, one only has to look at the covert moves the U.S. imperialists have been making in Iran since the fall of the Shah to know what's what.

The fact that ITT also taps the phones that it makes and engages in spying on domestic groups, shows only too clearly that this class of imperialists know no bounds in their efforts to exploit and oppress the people of the whole world. And far from ITT being an "exception," or overstepping the "democratic traditions" of the U.S., it is only a graphic symbol that in order to stop this kind of outrage, this whole system will have to have its wires ripped from the wall. □

## Gandhi Regime Imposes "Emergency Measures"

Faced with a new and powerful upsurge in India, the regime of Indira Gandhi has once again been forced to resort to a whole range of fascistic "emergency measures" aimed at crushing the resurgent mass movement. The new decrees, promulgated on September 23, institute a policy of "preventive detention" without trial; the state and central governments are empowered to "jail for as long as twelve months citizens and foreigners who they feel pose a threat to India's security or public order." The "national security ordinance" also provides for press censorship and the arrest of anyone who publishes material "judged to create communal ill will" (a hypocritical reference to fighting between nationalities and religions which the government and police have caused or actually fabricated to cover up attacks on tribal and minority peoples).

This latest attempt at all-out suppression by the Gandhi regime, comparable to the "maintenance of internal security act" (MISA) through which Gandhi and her Congress Party carried out a fascist dictatorship in 1976 and 1977 (until they were temporarily overthrown by a rival faction of the Indian ruling class) is clearly an act of desperation at the inability of the government to check widespread mass unrest and revolutionary agitation. In some regions, particularly the northeastern state of Assam, government authority is almost nil. The oppressed Assamese people, over the past year, have been waging a huge mass struggle against the regime—the largest national movement in India since formal independence from British colonial rule in 1947.

Similar turmoil rages throughout India, including movements by oppressed minority nationalities in Tripura, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Kashmir, which while in many cases suffering from the dominance of narrow and reactionary leadership, are more and more taking shape as armed battles against the regime. Political strikes and mass movements against stiff and arbitrary government decreed increases in the prices of basic necessities often spiral into riots and extended confronta-

tions.

The Indian ruling class is kept afloat by the support of both U.S. and Soviet imperialism. The two superpowers are locked in a sharp battle for influence, with the Soviets dominating the state apparatus, while the Western imperialists led by the U.S. enjoy broad support in the private sector. Overall, the Soviets hold the upper hand. The Carter administration has been aggressively pursuing a course designed to strengthen the foothold of U.S. imperialism. It has offered the Gandhi regime various economic and military "plums," including a recent announcement that the U.S. will help in building nuclear reactors. Both the pro-U.S. and the pro-Soviet wings, however, are united in striving to crush the developing revolutionary struggle of the masses. This was reflected in the nature of the new emergency decrees, which are being painted in the Western press as "not so bad" as Gandhi's 1977 emergency rule.

In 1977, Gandhi used her powers to jail hundreds of her bourgeois political opponents—which included many forces friendly to U.S. and British imperialism. (Gandhi herself is the leader of the generally pro-Soviet comprador group in the state apparatus.) *The Economist*, a leading voice of the British ruling class, observed on September 27 that "...opposition parties fear that the new law would be misused for political purposes. But this has not happened. There is no present threat to Mrs. Gandhi's supremacy... and if she did want to crack down on political opponents, the existing laws are sufficient." In other words, the national security ordinance is not aimed at Gandhi's bourgeois opposition, but at suppression of the mass movements, a goal which both superpowers and all factions within the Indian ruling class heartily applaud. This attempt by the Indian ruling class, otherwise deeply split, to close ranks in the face of the "internal threat"—despite the verbal opposition to the new security laws in some opposition quarters is another indication of just how serious the political crisis has become. □

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## Pontiac

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Joe., who was paroled about 10 weeks after the rebellion. "The administration would constantly find a white person and give him a special detail or job so there would be constant racial prejudice. There would be a hundred instances like this so they could divide and conquer." By 1977 the feds were so uptight over the explosive situation in Illinois prisons that the Justice Dept. filed an unprecedented lawsuit charging that the Dept. of Corrections had "denied equal utilization of prison facilities and programs" to Black prisoners.

The situation at Pontiac went from bad to worse. Right before the rebellion went down a 1976 study done for the government by the National Clearinghouse for Criminal Justice Planning

Institutions urged that the crumbling, 106-year-old dungeon be torn down because it was "so old and obsolete." Starting in late 1976 the institution, originally built as a reformatory for 600 boys, was becoming unbearably overcrowded, along with prisons across the nation. When Pontiac went up in smoke on July 22, 1978, it was cramm-

ed way beyond capacity with 1,982 inmates. Gov. Thompson's "law and order" campaign pushed for in his 1977 election was at least partially responsible for this. "Class X" legislation was passed, abolishing the parole board and determinate sentences for prisoners. The new system meant that instead of parole, inmates get "good time"; that is, one

day off his sentence for every day of "good behavior." Who will get good time and why was left completely in the hands of the guards—leaving the prisoners totally at their mercy. Class X also contributed to overcrowding by setting longer pre-determined sentences for certain crimes. Both before and after the rebellion the guard's judgment in issuing tickets and loss of good time credit and parole was one of the major grievances of prisoners.

Overcrowding put a tremendous strain on the prisoners and on the ancient facilities at Pontiac. Men were doubled up two to a cell 5 1/2 x 9 feet with no ventilation and in a space so narrow that one would have to turn sideways to let the other pass by. Some of the new men coming in had nowhere to lie but on the floor underneath a double bunk that already had two men in it. Under these

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## El Salvador

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was declared; one in March, another in June, and the last one beginning on August 13 and ending on August 15.

This latest one the junta tried to intimidate into submission before it even began—but failed. Despite the killing of some trade union leaders; radio demands, coupled with martial music, to go to work; threats that government workers would lose their jobs if they missed two days work (it was a three day strike that was called); and visits to the homes of transit workers the night before the scheduled strike, to make sure the buses ran; despite this, over 60% of the industrial workforce in San Salvador remained at home. Simultaneously with the strike, various military attacks were launched by guerrilla forces—in the cities and in the countryside. The towns of Plan de Pito and Ayutustepegue, in the northern part of the country, were reported controlled by forces under the DRU. The Trinidad Bridge on the Pan American Highway was destroyed. By the second day of the strike fighting had virtually engulfed the capital, and with resistance stiffening, the junta ordered its air force to strafe and bomb certain areas—one factory was targeted. Over 20 buses were set afire and soldiers continued to be ambushed, prompting the junta and its para-military groups to open fire on anyone who was on the streets. By the end of the three day strike, reports estimated that 150 people and 400 soldiers had been killed in the fighting.

On August 23, in response to the arrests and firings during the general strike, the workers at Rio Lempa

hydroelectric facility went on strike. For 20 hours the country was blacked out—the water supply was cut off, the radios silenced, the newspapers halted, etc. It was a tremendous financial blow as well as a demonstration of continued resistance to the junta. The military responded by seizing the facility, arresting eight leaders of the strike, and placing the electricity, water supply, telecommunications, ports, and airports under direct control of the armed forces—a state of martial law that continues today. That same day, opposition forces reported killing 5 U.S. marines in battles in the countryside of Morazan and Cabañas. And as of September 19, 16 of the workers arrested in the wake of the electrical workers' shutdown have joined with 17 other prisoners on an indefinite hunger strike demanding that all political prisoners be freed. There are also reports from the opposition forces that 400 square kilometers in the northern province of Chalatenango and areas of Morazan province have been liberated by guerrilla forces. The junta has unleashed napalm attacks in the countryside in response. And there is talk among the resistance organizations that a "final offensive" will topple the junta within the next few months.

It is no wonder that the U.S. is contemplating some form of intervention in El Salvador. There are eight U.S. warships, including an aircraft carrier on the Pacific side of Central America, and a Caribbean Rapid Deployment Force sits in Key West Florida—just in case. On the island of Manguera, in the Gulf of Fonesca between El Salvador, Nicaragua and Honduras, the U.S. has built four helicopter bases, a naval station, and counter-insurgency training

facilities. And military aid is being stepped up from the U.S. to the junta. The 1981 budget has appropriated \$5 million in Foreign Military Sales credits—and an additional \$498,000 from the International Military Education and Training Funds. Clearly the U.S. imperialists have no intention of losing El Salvador to popular revolution.

The linchpin of the junta's "moderate and democratic" character was supposed to have been the land reform program. But what we find in the countryside of El Salvador is stepped up murder and torture of peasants by the National Guard and para-military organizations, while the peasants are drenched in rabid anti-communism by the reactionary Union Comunal Salvadorena (UCS)—a peasants' trade union, organized, funded and controlled by the AFL-CIA's American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)—(see *RW* No. 62, July 4, 1980, p. 5). The "land reform" is nothing more than an attempt by the U.S. to break up the unprofitable land system in El Salvador and get the big landowners to reinvest their 100% compensation into other sectors of the economy, while giving the junta a cosmetic face-lift. All except the incredibly profitable coffee plantations that is. That's why only the land holdings of farms over 500 hectares are being "taken". Those under that, which means the coffee plantations which average 50-150 hectares, are being left alone. In reality nothing is really being taken or reformed. One, the land is being rented ala tenant farmer, and is not going into the hands of the peasants; two, the tenants are carefully chosen, the government selecting only those who have been trained by the

AIFLD and members of the UCS; and three, any peasant who gets uppity is dealt with by ORDEN, the paramilitary organization "officially" disbanded by the junta as part of the land reform program but reconstituted as the Nationalist Democratic Front (FDN) and headed up by its founder, General "Chele" Medrano.

Land reform in El Salvador has almost identical similarities to the "Land to the Tiller" program used in Vietnam—even to the fact that Dr. Roy Prosterman of the University of Washington, is the architect of both. And in El Salvador, like in Vietnam, the land reform is solely designed to weed out and kill as many political activists and revolutionaries in the countryside as possible. Some 15-40,000 people were murdered in Vietnam under "Operation Phoenix"—like stated earlier, over 4,000 have been slain by the junta and its related military arms since January.

Clearly things in the whole region of Central America, focused right now in El Salvador, are going more and more up for grabs as far as the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys are concerned. It is a situation that is pushing the U.S. toward some form of intervention while at the same time it is giving rise to increased struggle within the ranks of the revolutionary and progressive forces over the road forward to liberation. However the U.S. chooses to intervene, it can only mean even more widespread exposure of the junta and the imperialists. Already, in the eyes of millions in Latin America, the bare ass of imperialism hangs out from beneath its raggedy red, white and blue coat-tails—nothing connected with the U.S. is "moderate and democratic".

## Carefully Scored Klan Trial Approaches Finale

The defense rested its case last week in the trial of six Klansmen and Nazis who murdered five anti-Klan demonstrators last November 3rd in Greensboro, North Carolina. As reported in the *Revolutionary Worker* last week, the judge refused to allow in the trial a tape of a speech given by Jerry Carl Smith, the Klansman defendant whose .357 magnum has been proven positively to have killed one of the demonstrators. Smith's defense of "automatism" (that he was not in control of his actions and doesn't remember what happened) rests on his claim that he was struck on the head on November 3. However, in his speech at a Klan support rally on September 13, he not only "remembered" the massacre, but called on other "big ol' robust white boys" to do the same. "We fought for your freedom in the streets of Greensboro against communism... the Klan did it in 1865, we can do it again in the 1980s." The judge ruled that this speech was "too remote" from November 3 to prove Smith's "state of mind," and besides, and more to the point, it might inflame the jury against all the defendants.

This same concern, however, did not apply to inflaming the jury against the victims. The final witness for the defense was a retired army lifer who

had worked with Jim Waller, a member of the Communist Workers Party and one of those killed on November 3. This witness for the Klan claimed that Waller had complained of the difficulties the CWP had encountered in organizing mill workers and that Waller had said that the CWP "would probably have to use violence." This witness further stated that Waller told him, "That's what we need—a martyr," and "We have guns and we know how to use them."

This testimony was music to the ears of all the participants in the sham Klan trial. Even though the witness admitted

that he never discussed the November 3 anti-Klan rally with Waller, and didn't even know about it until afterwards, nevertheless his testimony was admitted as "evidence" of the state of mind of the victim. The defense argued that, "There is ample evidence that the CWP were the aggressors," and that this testimony was "more direct" than the speeches given by the murderers last month.

Despite the apparent "legal" contradiction between these two rulings, the political purpose behind them and in fact the whole "trial" is starkly revealed in them. Not only is the concern to

not inflame the jury against the Klan, but in fact to promote and unleash reaction against communists (despite the bogus "communism" of the CWP), and beyond that to terrorize anyone who dares to stand up against the Klan and the red, white and blue they defend. Instead, from the standpoint of the authorities, it is indeed the communists who are the "aggressors" against this "great system that gives them the right to demonstrate out there in the streets," as the defense argued with great—though not unexpected—success.

In fact, the defense is so confident of their blatantly reactionary political case that they didn't even bother to present any medical evidence to back up Smith's claim of "automatism." Their confidence was no doubt further bolstered by some jurors' response to their final witness. When the lifer testified that he offered to pay Waller's airplane fare "back to Russia," juror No. 7 applauded. This is the juror who, in jury selection, said that when he looked at the defendants, he saw himself—and was approved by the prosecution. Although the trial continues with the prosecution's rebuttal, the outcome is even less in doubt. □

## Pontiac

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conditions communicable diseases like tuberculosis, the poor man's illness, could spread like wildfire, but the medical care was reserved for those perhaps minutes away from death. The overcrowding strained the ancient plumbing. Sinks and toilets were constantly broken, overflowing, contributing to the filth and stench of the cell blocks. There were not enough clothes from the laundry or food from the cafeteria, and showers were maybe once a week.

The operation of the clothing room and laundry was typical of the daily aggravation that was endured. If clothes became worn or torn, prisoners charged you had to "clown like a fool" to get a replacement. Six months before the uprising, the laundry facilities at Pontiac were closed to inmates use and were utilized only for the care of guard uniforms. Inmates were left to wash their clothes in a tiny, 12 inch sink. And those whose sinks didn't work had no other choice but to wash in the toilet. Nobody was surprised when the laundry and clothing rooms burned to the ground during the rebellion.

Prison authorities claim that at the time of the rebellion only 500-600 inmates out of nearly 2,000 were without a job or some kind of program. According to prisoners, though, the proportion was just the reverse, with about two-thirds of the inmates having nothing to do but sit in their cells 20-21 hours a day. Tensions were high with more fights breaking out between prisoners. But as the situation deteriorated rapidly, petty differences and gang rivalries were put aside more and more. "Inside the walls," said an ex-prisoner, "it's the prisoners against the administration. Everyday you're getting beaten, gassed and harassed together, so you reach an understanding."

Before the rebellion jumped off, the prisoners tried many ways to improve their situation. Many wrote letters to the warden telling him to come down and look at what was going on. This, of course, was an exercise in futility even if Warden Pinckney had responded—which he didn't—since the problems went much deeper than this one flunkey. Warden Pinckney, described as an alcoholic with "eyes redder than a firecracker," was a typical bureaucrat, as degenerate as the prison system he ruled over. He was a worthy successor to his predecessor Warden James Fike, praised by the press as "a real disciplinarian." Warden Fike's career ended in 1975 after he shot his wife in the leg during a domestic quarrel. But Warden Pinckney, a man with 30 years in the military, had some definite ideas about running the joint with precise discipline. At one point he wanted all inmates to dress in khaki fatigues and combat boots until someone pointed out

that if the National Guard had to be called in at Pontiac, they might shoot the wrong folks.

Numerous lawsuits were filed, bringing down even more vicious harassment on the complainants. "If you try and go in there and change any of the oppressive conditions they have their own mysterious ways of dealing with you," said an inmate who belonged to a small legal club. "In my own case the assistant warden sent a lieutenant to my cell to try and get a copy of the federal lawsuit I filed and told him if he didn't destroy it, he was gonna be looking for a job."

There have been two smaller-scale rebellions at Pontiac in 1972 and 1974. In 1976 it was the intolerable food that sparked an organized protest. Will, a prisoner paroled 10 weeks after the rebellion described the food as not only cold and nasty but there was the ever-present danger of food poisoning from spoiled goods, like the ravioli that made every man who ate it sick to his stomach. After that it was the spoiled meat. "People came into the cafeteria and sat down but refused to eat for four or five days," he said. "They upped the number of guards in the cafeteria from five to 30 right away." This tiny spark of rebellion, the refusal to eat, threw prison authorities into a panic. The TAC squad was readied with riot helmets and sticks and the inmates were punished by being locked up in their cells for two weeks.

Not only was there increasing resistance to the conditions at Pontiac—Will estimates that one petition a week was being drawn up before the rebellion—there was also growing interest in what was going on outside the walls. Many were influenced by the currents of revolutionary Black nationalism circulating in the prison system. This positive influence was described by Joe: "I spent the last 23 years in prison, all except nine months. Over the last 20 years the prisons have changed racially... there are a vast majority of Black people in Illinois prisons. The American Black people are becoming more politically minded. Since they've been more oppressed than the white people, they would naturally take a more objective view of our system and have a tendency to look for a better way. Men in prison are living with reality. They have time to sit back and say, 'why am I here? How can I be free in this society?' You have to begin to question a system that was designed and built on the bones of our forefathers. You have to begin to question the validity of a system where you have to trample people to get to the top..."

A month before the rebellion another food strike was held. Prisoners simply sat in the cafeteria and refused to eat. Again they were punished with a three-week deadlock. The tension in the air was so thick you could cut it with a knife—the tension of men who have had hot coals of anger burning in their guts

for a long time. A week later, on July 22, 1978, Pontiac exploded.

By 9:30 a.m. on the morning of July 22, the heat in the airless cell blocks was already soaring past 100 degrees. The order came for men from the north cell house to line up and return from the prison yard to the building. But then, in a mix up that is not supposed to happen, 600 more men from the south cell house who had been watching a movie were released into the yard at the same time, and that's when the rebellion jumped off. About 200 inmates began setting fire to the cold storage building with its vile food, the laundry and the clothing building which hadn't issued clean clothes for months and the commissary with its exorbitant prices. Over 1000 prisoners poured into the yard at the height of the uprising to join in the destruction of dilapidated buildings that should have been condemned and leveled years ago. The rebellion raged for five hours before it was quelled by a force of 300 state troopers clad in riot helmets and gas masks and armed with clubs, shotguns, and tear gas. When the smoke had cleared, three guards were found dead and an estimate \$4 million worth of property damage was done. Prisoners were forced to assemble in the yard and strip completely. The troopers began to march them in groups of 10 or 20 back to their cells but first each had to run through a gauntlet of baton-wielding cops that beat the men until they reached the front of the line. Residents of the town of Pontiac massed around the gates to watch the whole thing, many coming armed. Prisoners had to hand over personal property like eye glasses, watches and jewelry which was never returned to most people.

Sixteen men now face the death penalty for the crime of rebelling against degradation and oppression. In retaliation the state clamped down with what may be the longest deadlock in history, a deadlock which lasted nearly eight months. The deadlock—keeping men caged in their cells 24 hours a day—turned Pontiac into a living hell to punish the "uppity" slaves who had dared to revolt against inhuman treatment. As the deadlock dragged on month after month the state justified it by saying that a "secure" atmosphere was necessary in order to conduct the investigation to determine who should be indicted for the murder of the guards. But anyone who thinks that the deadlock and the resulting indictments were motivated by the state's concern over the killing of three guards should pause to reflect on the outcome of the Attica Rebellion for a moment. Nelson Rockefeller, then governor of New York state, ordered the historic rebellion crushed at any cost. It was drowned in blood in a hail of bullets fired by state troopers who left 34 prisoners and 9 guards dead. To cover Rockefeller's bloody tracks, initial reports claimed that the hostage guards

had had their throats slit by the prisoners. But the subsequent investigation showed that all had been murdered by the troopers. The state was certainly not about to let the slaughter of some guards interfere with their objective of putting down this slave revolt. And today, the state is no less viciously seeking to carry out the same repression against the Pontiac rebellion, and in doing so to clamp down on prisoners in particular while strengthening its repressive apparatus overall. But rather than baring the iron fist as they did so nakedly during the Attica massacre—an act which remains as a burning exposure of the capitalist dictatorship over society—they are trying to put the stamp of "legality" and "due process of law" on their lynching of the Pontiac brothers.

The state's argument for the deadlock—that a "secure atmosphere" was needed for their "investigation"—was a thin cover for instituting a reign of terror designed to make prisoners vulnerable to the pressure of interrogation by the Illinois Dept. of Law Enforcement (IDLE), the state version of the FBI. Despite the bribery and intimidation of witnesses against the Pontiac brothers that has come to light, including threatening those who don't co-operate with the electric chair, Judge Ben Miller during the pre-trial hearings found absolutely nothing wrong with this. He refused to grant a motion by the defense to dismiss the charges against the 16 based on investigative misconduct.

The conditions of the deadlock were meant to push a man to the breaking point in order to coerce him into supplying needed testimony. For starters, prisoners were deprived of basic necessities such as soap, toothpaste, toilet paper. Showers, clean clothes, clean sheets and cigarettes were also banned. Only the IDLE investigators were allowed to have cartons of cigarettes stacked by their interrogation room as an inducement to loosen the tongue. Because all the inmates were locked up, guards had to perform all the work normally done by the prisoners as well as their own. The inmates were totally dependent on guards for the simplest things such as getting a drink of water if the sink didn't work, getting a pencil sharpened, etc.

During the first five months of the lockup there was almost no movement outside the cells at all. Guards had to bring food to the cells of the prisoners. The unappetizing, water, stuff was trundled out onto the gallery in large uncovered containers and by the time it arrived at the cell was cold and sprinkled with cigarette ashes and butts, insects and droppings from the birds who share the galleries with the inmates. The nasty, cold stuff was ladled onto a paper plate that was folded and shoved between the rusty bars, inevitably dripping on the floor and providing plenty

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## N.Y. Newspaper Aids With October 30th Appeal Hearing

# Gov't. Desperate to Uphold UN 2 Conviction

On October 30th the Federal Court in New York will again be the focus of the battle to free the UN 2. It will mark the appeal hearing of the conviction of Steve Yip and Glenn Gan on felony assault and conspiracy charges. Only days after the date was announced, the *New York Post* ran a lead article, "The Growing Face of Terrorism in New York" naming the UN 2 among a list of terrorists (See box this page). This article represents a serious escalation in the bourgeoisie's attacks on the UN 2—again on what they have relied on as their main political weapon, the attempt to paint Yip and Gan as "isolated terrorists."

This by no coincidence has also been a central legal argument in their efforts to railroad the 2. The main charge leveled at Yip and Gan in court (Title 18 U.S.C. 112a) was specifically revised in Congress in 1972 to address "terrorist acts," in the wake of the Munich Olympics. Before and during the trial, Judge Robert Ward and the U.S. attorneys set about to painstakingly weave a web of conspiratorial intrigue with the jury in such a way as to make "terrorism" a given fact in this trial. As William vanden Heuvel was being questioned by the defense, Ward interrupted, "Besides April 30th have you ever witnessed any acts of terrorism." This line was carefully promoted by the media, especially in New York itself. CBS national news UN correspondent Richard C. Hottelet closed his coverage of the events at the UN with, "We met vanden Heuvel in the hall on the way out. He and everyone else knew that the two men could have carried guns or grenades..." This latest attack in the *Post* coming two weeks before the appeal makes it clear that the bourgeoisie does not see the case of the UN 2 as "closed" and sees an increased necessity to try to create conditions favorable to deny this appeal.

It is also significant that this article came out at the same time the ruling class has made new motions toward gearing up the railroad of Bob Avakian and the Mao Tsetung Defendants. Yip and Gan are both supporters of the RCP and were members of the Revolutionary May Day Brigade. At the conviction on June 25th, they were told by James Rather, an assistant prosecuting attorney, that "the RCP has raised the stakes by the UN action and reached

new levels of terrorism."

The bourgeoisie is certainly capable of distinguishing between "grenades" and the political exposure of the UN 2. In entering the United Nations on April 30th, tossing red paint on the U.S. and Soviet representatives and shouting, "Our flag is red, not red, white and blue—Down with U.S.-Soviet war moves, On to May Day 1980!" while raising red flags, it was the UN 2 who exposed the two superpowers as the real terrorists, international gangsters preparing for war. Confronted with this, the U.S. government's cry of "terrorists" is like a robber crying thief, and it is still further exposure of the contradictory situation they find themselves in as they gear up for war. They must prepare both militarily and politically but even these preparations breed turmoil and resistance in society. Witness the fact that literally tens of thousands of youth have refused to register for the draft. They can see in the events of today that the American people will not necessarily be blind sheep singing "God Bless America" through the tremendous upheaval of world war and are moving to try to crush all opposition to that. The case of the Berrigan Brothers and the Atlantic Life Community members jailed on multiple federal charges and held on \$125,000 bail each for their action at the MX missile plant in Pennsylvania is another stark example of just how serious the imperialists are taking this.

What is particularly "terrorizing" to the imperialists about the acts of the UN 2 was spoken to by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party in "A Talk With Bob Avakian on the Current World Scene" (*RW* No. 40—Feb. 8, 1980) where he says, "If the people understand that this war is exactly the outcome of the fact that the U.S. does its Vietnams and other things and the Soviets do Afghanistan and other things, and that both of them are responsible for propelling things in the direction of war; if people understand that the character of war stems out of all of that, then people's attitude towards it will be qualitatively different."

In targeting both superpowers and in raising the red banner of the international working class and in challenging others to step forward on the eve of May Day 1980, the UN 2 created favorable

their cells for their first shower three months after the rebellion, some had to take it in a freezing room with windows broken.

The punishment unit, segregation, became a worse hellhole than ever. A *Tribune* reporter who worked there undercover as a guard in October described it like this: "The cellblock was filled with trash, excrement, and spoiled food, all of it soaked with water that collected in puddles. The air reeked of tear gas, mace and smoke." For many prisoners whose toilets didn't work, throwing feces on the floor was one of the many forms of protest during the deadlock. According to a source inside the prison, seg was where many prisoners ended up if they made it crystal clear they were not going to participate in the state's witch hunt. Prisoners here were routinely beaten and gassed in their cells. If this still did not subdue the man, the "tomb," one step worse than seg, was reserved for him. These torture cells, equipped with steel doors instead of bars so that no light was let in, often did not even contain a bed. The prisoner had to lie on the floor with the rats, roaches and spiders, many times for longer than the prescribed 72-hour limit.

On top of these physical hardships, all telephone calls and visits from family and friends were totally banned for

On Monday, October 13 the *New York Post* ran a page 2 article entitled "The Growing Face of Terror in New York." Purporting to be an informational listing of recent terrorist attacks on foreign missions to the UN this non-to-clever little piece is in fact a rather blatant guilt-by-association ploy designed to brand the UN 2 and their actions at the UN Security Council as "terrorist." Below is the text of the article:

### The Growing Face of Terror in New York

New York has been rocked by increasingly frequent terrorist attacks in recent months aimed at foreign missions to the U.N. These include:

- \* Anti-Castro-terrorists killed an attaché to the Cuban mission as he drove in Queens, September 11.
- \* The same group, Omega 7, had placed another bomb under a car outside the attachés residence, but a sanitation department crew found it before it exploded.
- \* An Omega 7 bomb demolished the delivery entrance of the Cuban mission at 315 Lexington Avenue.
- \* The Soviet Mission to the U.N. was bombed by the same group last December 11. The explosion injured four police officers.
- \* A bullet was fired through a window of the Russian mission into a room where a woman and child were sleeping February 21st. No one was injured.
- \* A Yugoslavian bank on the 30th floor of 500 5th Avenue was bombed last March 17th by the Croatian Freedom

Fighters.

\* Two Maoist revolutionaries ambushed a Russian delegate and an American diplomat at the U.N. April 30th throwing paint over them.

\* The Croatian terrorists also claim responsibility for the bomb that ripped through a museum housed in the base of the Statue of Liberty, June 3.

Now really, bourgeoisie, don't you think that this is just a little too obvious of a ruse. Here among a list of bombings and shootings by the right-wing groups Omega 7 (reactionary anti-Castro Cubans) and reactionary Croatian terrorists we find sandwiched in an "ambush" by two Maoist revolutionaries. The *Post* would have us believe that the two were lurking in a back alley somewhere with bombs and guns and "ambushed" the Russian and U.S. envoys to the UN. Come, come now boys, aren't we departing from the realm of lies here into the realm of pure fantasy? After all, what really happened only involved red paint (water-based at that) and took place right in the middle of the UN Security Council chambers while it was in session and was photographed and covered by a number of members of the press ("ambush", indeed!). Certainly, an interesting little "list," isn't it? And in the finest tradition of the "objective reporting" of the bourgeois press too. Can there be any doubt what the purpose of this little ploy is? □

conditions for people to see the nature of the impending imperialist war and to act upon their understanding of it. Amidst the explosive conditions of a rapidly escalating world situation, NATO and Warsaw Pact war maneuvers, and the U.S.-backed Iraqi invasion of Iran, the actions of the UN 2 have proved to be even more significant in raising and advancing an internationalist road. This was sharply brought home during the UN 2's recently completed national speaking tour. It is in this light that the recent attack in the *New York Post* is both very serious and revealing. Given the events of the world and particularly the powerful impact of the national tour in marshalling more forces into action around the UN 2, the ruling class realizes that it cannot "stand pat" as the appeal approaches. They are finding themselves in the same "damned if they do and damned if they don't" situation that they faced around the original trial. They have a real necessity to uphold the original conviction and continue the railroad, but at the same time, doing so will serve as a deep exposure of how desperate they are to suppress any opposition to their war moves and will lay

the basis for even more forces to join the battle in opposition to this outrage and their criminal rule.

This contradiction will get sharper for them in the coming weeks. The Committee to Free the UN 2 will be filing an "Amicus Curiae (friend of the court)" brief exposing the political nature of the railroad of the 2 and demanding the charges be dropped. This brief signed by lawyers from all over the country will have a powerful impact both in and out of the court in further exposing the lies the bourgeoisie has used to grease the skids of this railroad. The Committee has also called for a mass demonstration in front of the courthouse, Thursday morning, October 30th. In addition plans are underway for telegrams from around the country to be sent to the court in the days preceding the appeal. The Committee has also called for more statements of support and contributions to the legal defense fund to be sent to its office in New York.

**Send donations and statements to:  
Committee to Free the UN 2  
16 E. 18th Street  
New York City, New York 10003** □

under a suit to end the deadlock reveal the nature of the IDLE's "investigation." Prisoners were told, "You'll make parole if you say xxx beat officer A." Or "We will help you if you'll just testify that xxx is the leader of a gang, and that he gave the orders." And if the man still refused to co-operate he was threatened with, "We're gonna fry you in the electric chair by June." During the initial investigation lawyers were not allowed into the prison, and in fact had to file a lawsuit just to get access to their clients. Even then an IDLE investigator would be present during the discussion between lawyer and inmate. All Black prisoners were escorted to their interviews by white guards and all the investigators questioning Blacks were white.

Most of the Pontiac brothers had relatively brief interviews with the IDLE since they refused to co-operate. Said Pontiac brother Y, "I said I wanted an attorney and that I had nothing to say. They asked me how much time I'm doing and I said, 'you know because you've got my file.' They kept me for an hour and then they let me go." Pontiac brother Z said, "I was only talked to once. They ask you what gang you are in, who you are associated with, and threaten you with the electric chair... I was scared but that wouldn't

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## Pontiac

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for the rats and vermin to feast on. In protest angry prisoners sometimes threw garbage or liquid back through the bars, and this became the pretext for practically eliminating any kind of beverages in the diet.

As the cold weather approached with no sign of letting up the deadlock in sight, dozens of men still had no clothes except their underwear shorts. All of their clothes, including shoes, had been taken from them when they were stripped before re-entering the cell house. Many men said later that the guards had confiscated any additional garments in their cells, saying that all clothing had to be re-distributed because so much was destroyed. No one was surprised, though, that the clothing room had burned because, as one prisoner said, "they had stuff piled to the ceiling and they wouldn't give it to us when we needed it." The Department of Corrections refused to repair the windows broken during the rebellion, so by November temperatures in the cells dropped as low as 38 degrees while many had very little clothes to wear. They were forced to set fires on the galleries to keep warm. When the men finally were let out of

# Letters on the Draft Programme and Draft Constitution of the RCP, USA

"Dare to Grapple with the Battle Plan for Revolution," was the call issued by the Revolutionary Communist Party some time ago. This was a call to take up, discuss and criticize drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution of the RCP, USA which were published in early March.

The drafts of the New Programme and New Constitution are truly profound and pathbreaking documents. They are a battle plan for proletarian revolution and the establishment of socialism—the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat—in this country. The documents are drafts, weapons in preparation. They represent a concentration of the science of revolution—Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought—and the application of this science to the specific conditions we face in this country. The real possibility for revolution in the next decade demands that those who burn with the desire for such change seriously throw themselves into the struggle over the draft New Programme and New Constitution.

We have solicited comments, questions, agreements and disagreements over the new documents, and encourage the submitting of letters for publication in the Revolutionary Worker. Groups and individuals are urged to contact the Party with their ideas and to set up discussions.

Any topic covered in the drafts will be open to discussion. The publication of letters does not indicate that the Party necessarily agrees with the position stated in them. Others are free to respond to the points raised in any letter. The Revolutionary Worker will on occasion respond directly to points raised, but as a rule we will not. This is because this process is not a series of questions and answers, but a process of discussion, struggle and sharpening of the drafts which will culminate in the final version of these documents. This process will last for a couple of months and will conclude with an even higher concentration of a correct proletarian revolutionary line by the leadership of the RCP. The final New Programme and New Constitution will be published shortly thereafter. The result of this process directly involving thousands will not only be deeper unity over the political line of the Revolutionary Communist Party, but a deepening of the line itself. And the proletariat will have an even sharper weapon in its revolutionary struggle for political power.

To the RW:

As he was leaving the American Constitutional Convention in 1787, Ben Franklin was asked what form of government had been decided upon for the new nation. "A republic," he answered, "if you can keep it."

If Bob Avakian is asked the same question after the revolution, he might answer, "A socialist state on the road to communism—if you can keep it."

Keeping it will not be easy. No nation's workers have yet been able to keep it. Every socialist state so far—including Russia and China—has been done in by its own Communist Party leaders, who took advantage of their powerful positions to hand over control of the State to the newly created, privileged class of government bureaucrats and Party cadre.

To its credit, your draft "Programme" recognizes this problem. "The experience of the proletarian revolution and socialist society," it says on page 16, has shown "that the heart of the new bourgeoisie engendered in socialist society lies within the party of the proletariat itself, especially at its leading levels." Socialism is inevitably endangered "by leading party officials who have betrayed the (workers) and turned their position of leadership into private capital but continue to claim the mantle of Marxism and communism."

How can this—one of the most vexing problems of socialism—be dealt with? Your Programme proposes basically only one answer: mass struggle. The predictable power grab can be avoided "only" by "developing the forms of mass struggle and mass organization," to involve the workers in running society, while immersing Party leaders in the life, work and political struggles of everyday people. (p. 16)

Mass struggle is no doubt essential. But it is not enough. It failed to prevent the power grab in China, and, by itself, may fail here too. Other ways of protecting the people from wayward leaders *must* be looked for.

Fortunately, history suggests some answers. For example, power at the Party and State centers can be divided among various bodies, to ensure that no single small clique can too easily abuse or embezzle *all* institutionalized power.

Careful attention should also be paid to the question of *who* can be locked up as a "counter-revolutionary," or as "agents" or "allies" of the bourgeoisie. Communist Party leaders in power have shown talent for finding ways to label their political opponents—whoever they may be—as "counter-revolutionaries." To prevent this, no one, no matter how wrong or offensive his views, should be punishable as a "counter-revolutionary" merely for expressing them. Only *criminal acts*, such as bribery, sabotage, assassination, or actually plotting to take over State power, as evidenced by concrete acts such as purchase of weapons, should be enough to arrest or imprison an alleged "counter-revolutionary."

Still, power-grabbers, or even a corrupt individual in an otherwise socialist state, might arrest honest people secretly or on false charges. To help prevent this, arrested persons should have basic procedural rights: such as, to be informed of the specific criminal charges against them, to appear promptly before a people's judge, to bail or other release pending trial, to a lawyer or other representative, and to a trial before a judge who cannot be punished by the same corrupt party leaders who wrongfully arrested the innocent person.

There should also be a way of removing errant party leaders. Mass political struggles is one way, but it often fails in the short run. Revolution is another way, but it may take decades to succeed, and in the meantime the workers can be made miserable. Another way, not mentioned in the Programme, is to hold contested elections at required intervals. Why not try them?

Of course, it is too soon to specify precise procedures and institutions, which must develop in the course of concrete experience and conditions. (See Programme, p. 41.) However, it is not too soon to set forth—much more than this draft Programme does—general guidelines for developing ways to protect the working class from abuses and take-overs of power by party leaders or their bureaucrat class.

Some will say that the rights I propose are reactionary hang-overs from phony bourgeois democracy. Why try them under socialism?

The answer is that fair trials and free elections do, in fact, work—for the *ruling class*. Today, they may be hypocritical frauds for most people, but not for the ruling class. If you don't believe it, ask John Connally, the former Nixon Treasury Secretary found not guilty in his bribery trial. Or Ronald Reagan. Like Connally, he is despised by powerful elements in the ruling class, yet he may soon be President. For such members of the ruling class, their "democratic rights" protect them from abuses of power by *other* members of their class.

After a socialist revolution, similar democratic rights can remain useful for the ruling class—only the ruling class will be the working class. Checks and balances, free speech and fair trial guarantees, and contested elections may help workers and their allies to keep their socialist state, by curbing abuses of power by Party leaders.

There is one more reason why it is extremely important to revise the draft Programme to lay much heavier stress on freedom and democracy and the institutional forms needed to safeguard them. Even though "bourgeois democracy" does not practice what it preaches, its values are nonetheless sacred to many Americans. This includes many progressive Americans, including almost everyone I know who is otherwise sympathetic to your Programme. Your hope is to win them over. But they will never be won over—in fact, they will fight you to the death—unless your Programme shows that you care deeply about their

political freedoms under socialism, and that you will treat with respect the basic forms of freedom—free speech, fair trials, etc.—which they hold dear.

In other words, these freedoms may not only help *keep* your socialism, they may also be essential for you to *get* your socialism.

In friendship,  
A lawyer

## Response No. 1 to the Draft Programme's Section on Women

In RW No. 71—a criticism and re-write of the D.P. section on Women appeared. It criticized the D.P. for failing to clearly point out the material basis of the oppression of women in historically having been chained to domestic slavery and excluded from social production. While the D.P. does mention the need to "break out of the confines of the home" and "the narrow confines of household work," these come in the course of specifying the proletariat's policies towards encouraging birth control and socializing household and childrearing tasks. I agree with the re-write to the extent that I also think that the D.P. needs to deal more directly with the specific material basis for women's oppression. But that is where my agreement with the re-write ends because the re-write makes its criticism from a thoroughly economist point of view.

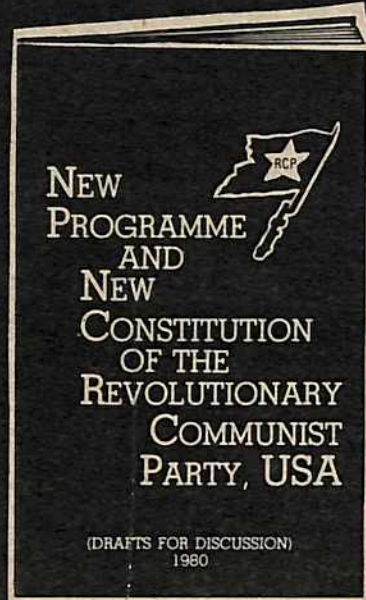
The re-write states: "The most important task of the proletariat in building the new society is to unleash the productive forces from the fetters of capitalism, and this includes bringing women forward into production as well as political life on a massive—and equal—basis." This is wrong. The goal of the proletariat in power is to abolish all class distinctions and all social and ideological buttresses that engender and sustain such divisions and inequality. Our aim is to liberate mankind to master the laws of society and nature and to transform them in our common interest. Unleashing the productive forces and breaking down the oppressive and exploitative division of labor inherited from centuries of class rule and particularly from capitalism is a critical aspect of this; especially in relation to ending the oppression of women. Full liberation of women cannot be accomplished without involving women in a full and equal way in all aspects and at all levels of production. In its own twisted and brutal way, capitalism has made certain contributions to this process as in its parasitic imperialist stage it has dragged more and more women into the workforce, although in the lowest paying, least desirable jobs. While this in no way ends the oppression of women, it does multiply capitalism's grave-diggers many fold by shattering the isolation of domestic drudgery for a majority of women and bringing them into political and economic life. Under the rule of the working class the process of involving women in production must be greatly accelerated, and all forms of discrimination against women must be smashed. In this way, ending the oppression of women is a vital part of unleashing the productive forces, and forward progress on this front will be an important reflection of the battle to end all forms of inequality that will rage throughout the entire period of socialist transition to communism.

However, for women, just as for all the working class, the goal of our class rule cannot be *limited* to changes in the economic base. What about women's role in the superstructure—in administering society and struggling over the affairs of state, in transforming culture and education in the interest of the proletariat? Women must be liberated to play a full and equal role in these areas which occupy a crucial, and at times decisive, role in the class struggle. This point is not even mentioned in the re-write, but I also feel the D.P. needs to be strengthened on this. The D.P. does end its section on women by stating that the legacy of women's oppression must be a "source of ongoing struggle in order to ensure the full participation of women in the socialist society and the ongoing proletarian revolution and thereby immensely strengthen that revolution." But women's involvement in the superstructure is never mentioned in any of its particulars. This leaves the door open for an incorrect view of the class struggle during the socialist transition to communism—especially in an advanced capitalist country like the U.S.

Because of the high level of development of the productive forces that will be inherited by the revolutionary proletariat in power in the U.S., the question of socialist economic construction will be *relatively* easy as compared to the challenges faced by the proletariat in countries like Russia and China. Already half of the women in the U.S. have been dragged into production, for example. I make this point not to downplay the critical and protracted nature of the class struggle in this arena, but rather to emphasize more the importance of battles that must be waged in the superstructure to accomplish the political and ideological transformations necessary to make the leap to communism. This is also dialectically related to transforming the economic base because of the extremely important "initiating" role the superstructure plays in the class struggle to break down the inherited capitalist division of labor and restrict bourgeois right (witness the tremendous impact of the Cultural Revolution in China in changing the relations of production to unleash the productive forces to make big leaps in production). Even within the bowels of decaying imperialism we can see what a huge role the superstructure has come to play in people's lives. Who

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# DARE TO GRAPPLE WITH THE BATTLE PLAN FOR REVOLUTION



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## Letters on the Draft Programme

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is untouched by the one thousand and one ways the bourgeoisie uses art, culture, advertising, education, politics and its massive bureaucracy to try to confuse, demoralize and suppress us and keep us forever chained to their reactionary rule? After the proletariat has seized power and we are struggling towards communism, when we all are "workers in the morning and poets in the afternoon," imagine how much more central and decisive (although for an entirely different class purpose) the superstructure will become. Throwing off the shackles of women's oppression must take just as real a form in the superstructure as in the economic base.

H.S.

Reply No. 2

Dear Friends,

I'm writing about the section in the draft Programme about women. I was glad that someone wrote and criticized its weaknesses, but I feel that their re-write was suffering from economism too. I don't understand the question well enough to submit something but I'd like to just tell you a couple of things.

The real challenging thing to me is that we are going to build towards a classless society—socialism is a transition to communism—how does the woman question fit in. You have to paint a picture of what we're shooting for; not just a shopping list of reforms (which is narrow and unchallenging). More around how that struggle's gonna look—not just for men to take up either. The first time I heard about freeing women up from childbirth and conquering nature I freaked out. You have to explain why this stuff should and will happen for total equality to be achieved. I also think you were trying to not step on toes around the question of the family and how it came to be and what needs to happen there as far as reaching communism. Remember, socialism is just a transition. Yes there will be reforms and protective laws for us and mass political struggle to get these—but you didn't even put out to get *where* very clearly. The bourgeoisie says Marxists want to destroy the family to freak people out. You must explain

this stuff. On the one hand you don't encourage people's families breaking up but yet if socialism is a transition, please explain how we deal with that. It can't just evolve, right? And even though it could take *YEARS* to get to communism—don't we want to try and prepare *consciously*. I hope you or another reader will continue to deepen this question in the pages of the paper.

I.R.  
An RCP supporter

### Organs of Political Power

A few notes on the section "Organs of Political Power," in particular, "the armed forces of the proletarian revolution."

The revolutionary armed forces "will be developed out of the masses' organizations in struggle" and the political struggle "among the troops... to continually raise the consciousness as to the objective and the character of the war" is a correct political orientation for achieving victory in the building of the revolutionary army, for laying the basis for victory in the armed struggle, the civil war.

It is important to stress that wielding the gun must never be raised above politics, or thought to stand outside politics, but be used for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution, and basing the army on "political education and struggle" will indeed take politics and weld it to the trigger of the gun. As stated in the DP, this political orientation goes smack up against the dictatorial "structure and command" of the bourgeois army, but I believe it should also be made clear that the revolutionary army will have an iron discipline based on this orientation, which is a form of democracy, in which plans, policies and tactics will all, once determined, be subject to the order. The DP leaves open a crack, an interpretation that there will be some form of "grand" democracy, a social-democratic structure ruling in the army. Also, in this section, it would be a good point to add, "the rank and file soldiers will have a role, an important voice, in the appointment and removal of their officers, officers who should represent to the rank and file soldiers, a determination, a discipline—conscious voluntary discipline—and heroism' that arouses and instills in them the same stand."

These armed forces "will be closely linked with and rely on the masses of people for support." Mao Tsetung stated about the relationship between the people and the troops, "The former may be likened to water and the latter to the fish who inhabit it. How may it be said that these two cannot exist together? It is only undisciplined troops who make the people their enemies and who, like the fish

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# "Moral Majority" Caught With Its Pants Down

"We are in grave danger of losing our freedoms and liberties... forces have infiltrated the highest levels of our representative government, forcing their philosophies and ideas on you and me. They can be directly blamed for such things as: abortion on demand, open display of pornography, open display of homosexuality, obscene books in the classroom, and no prayer in the public schools," rants "Moral Majority" kingpin, Rev. Jerry Falwell, in a letter entitled, "I Love America Club" and being circulated nationwide through the mails.

"Moral Majority was founded in 1979, as a moral political organization designed to return our government to basic moral standards," is the way the Illinois State Chairman of "Moral Majority," Rev. George Zarris describes it.

"It's time for God's people to come out of the closet and the churches—and change America," booms t.v. preacher James Robison, from Ft. Worth, Texas.

"I do in fact suffer from homosexual tendencies," Representative Robert C. Bauman of Maryland and "Moral Majority's" main man-up on Capitol Hill, told the country on national news October 8, as if in response to Rev. Robison's call to "come out." Say what?

Yes, just four weeks before election day Rep. Bauman was arrested and charged with "soliciting" and "engaging in oral sex with a minor." The pious lawmaker issued a press statement prior to his televised appearance, claiming that all his problems were the result of acute alcoholism and that he was on the road to rehabilitation now that he joined Alcoholics Anonymous. He concluded his statement, straightening his bent halo, with, "I have confessed my sins, as my religion requires, and I am in a state of grace"—no doubt still reeling from his previous sensual experience with a 16-year-old boy!

That's right, "Mr. Family," "Mr.

Rights-Of-The-Unborn," Mr. Robert Bauman was caught with his pants down engaging in oral sex with a 16-year-old boy. Well, there's one more empty seat at the Thomas Road Baptist Church in Lynchburg, Virginia. And the Rev. Jerry Falwell no doubt gazes unsteadily down at it from high on his pulpit. The stunning hypocrisy of these "moralists" who claim blessed purity. Bauman was the chief Bible-thumper up on "The Hill", and the leader of the Reagan campaign in his home state of Maryland. He was also the chairman of the American Conservative Union and was well known around Washington, D.C. for his bombastic tirades extolling the virtues of morality and the family. He was the co-sponsor of the "Family Protection Act" written and designed to "promote the values of family life." Bult his crowning glory came, though, when he was anointed by the patron saint of "Moral Majority" himself, Jerry Falwell, for voting in favor of a recent amendment prohibiting federally funded legal services from, "promoting, defending or protecting homosexuality." Obviously, when Bauman cast his vote, he was cocksure that he would never be needing such legal services.

This type of sordid goings-on emanating from the halls of Congress, where resides that collection of drunken, whoring, bribe-taking and bribe-giving degenerates, have long been a measure of the decay of moribund capitalist society. It's an open secret that files are kept on all members of Congress—their selective exposure being one of the main ways the bourgeoisie settles accounts and takes revenge within its own ranks—as Representative Bauman suddenly found out.

As it turns out, the FBI has been tailing Bauman for months as he hopped from one homosexual bar to the next, carrying out the Christian mission of laying on of hands. This particular offense (which FBI sources are quoted as

saying "is one of many"), and which Bauman is being charged with happened last May 22, 1980. Anticipating the possibility of raised eyebrows at the timing of all this, U.S. Attorney Charles Ruff stated: "This whole matter was pursued in a wholly professional manner and was brought to foritition (sic) at the normal time in the normal manner." It just happens that the normal time is right before election day. The public exposure of Bauman is actually a move by the Carter (also a very "moral" person like Bauman) Administration to gain some political advantage in their bid for re-election. Bauman's arrest was highlighted by a series of public statements by Administration officials decrying Reagan's embracing of the "religious right" with Cabinet member Patricia Harris delivering a 23-page speech against the Christian "new right" and their attempt to muscle in and snatch away Carter's base in the South. One can only imagine the scene up on Capitol Hill, as Congressmen make doubly sure from now on that the FBI agents that have followed them to their favorite all-male hangout, are there for the same reasons they are.

As might be expected from such a devoted and intimate friend of youth, Congressman Bauman is an avid "right-to-lifer", and in fact is credited by Rep. Hyde for suggesting what has become infamously known as the Hyde Amendment—the cretin inspired attack on women (especially those who are poor), which recently cut off all federal funds for abortions. (See RW No. 62, July 4) We have all heard these zealots defend the so-called "rights of the unborn" (the already born, however, especially young boys, are fair game in Bauman's case) and we've heard the bourgeois judges pass sentence on women in the name of this "right". As the Supreme Court put it, "The financial constraints that restrict the indigent (destitute—RW) woman's ability to enjoy the full range of constitutionally protected freedom of choice are the product not of government restrictions on her access to abortions but rather her indigency." In other words, women still have the "right" to abortions on paper (another crusade the "moralists" are zeroing in on), but if you're poor and pregnant it's your fault—you can go straight to hell—or to the closet for a coathanger!

And as also might be expected, Bauman is certainly not alone among his

fellow lawmakers in his degeneracy (both homosexual and heterosexual), he is only the tip of the iceberg. For example, Mississippi Representative John Hinson recently disclosed his fondness for sexual degeneracy or rather "disclosed" it before it was revealed. It seems that Hinson had been frequenting an all-male porno movie theater (which, before it burned to the ground, had a discreet private membership of D.C. clientele). His patronage of the theater came out in a lawsuit that he filed for damages during the fire, when he stated that he had gone there "seven or eight times before." At his coming out, Hinson also admitted that he had been arrested in 1979, at the Iwo Jima Monument in the Arlington National Cemetery—a well-known meeting place for homosexuals—and charged with "committing an obscene act." It must be quite inspirational to these heads of state to get it on beneath the towering statue of soldiers, their bodies pressed close together, raiding "Old Glory" on the rocks of Iwo Jima—gosh, what a combination! No wonder the armed forces are always referred to in these politicians' speeches as "our boys." As can be expected, Hinson never came to trial. He paid a \$100 fine instead.

But not everyone has turned their backs on Bauman (we wouldn't risk it). Columnist William Buckley stated in an article that, "Robert Bauman is still welcome in my house." And Gerald Meyer, Chairman of the Maryland Right To Life Organization, voiced that group's political endorsement for Bauman in the upcoming election; "His is a record that leaves little room for us not to endorse him." And the GOP National Chairman said that he still supports him and is ready to aid Bauman's campaign financially. Bauman himself has gone into virtual seclusion, but there is little doubt that he will once again emerge to continue molesting children—the Justice Department has already announced that all the charges against him will be dropped as soon as he finishes his alcohol rehabilitation program. Perhaps the root cause of all of Bauman's problems can be traced back to the words of Rev. Jerry Falwell himself, "The moralists in America have had enough. (We) are joining hands together for the changing, the rejuvenating of a nation." Clearly in Bauman's case, enough was not had and there is a lot more than hands being joined together by America's "moralists." □

## Pontiac

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justify me to tell a lie on someone. A lot of people made statements against us because they were threatened themselves. They didn't do it to be good samaritans."

The fantastic amount of bribery of the witnesses that has occurred in this case has leaked out in a number of ways. Several witnesses of their own accord have recanted their testimony to defense attorneys, such as Darnell Nickey Black who made out an affidavit as to why he had made untrue statements to the IDLE. Another state's witness, Charles Media, said, "I was willing to do anything to get out of Pontiac, and this was the opportunity." He later retracted this statement. This is not very surprising, given that the state was offering a

whole array of goodies to reward those willing to give the right kind of testimony.

The IDLE, in an itemized account of its expenses, has revealed that at least \$35,000 has been spent thus far to grease the palms of the witnesses. Assistant state's attorney Thomas Breen, the prosecutor, testified that this is all "quite ordinary" procedure. A few samples of payment for services rendered thus far: \$1,800 for the traveling expenses for the family of Randy Hill moved to the federal pen in Springfield, Missouri; \$4,109 over an 8 month period to witness Greogry Smith for living expenses after parole. Besides this, of the 49 witnesses the state plans to introduce at the trial, 43 were immediately given 90 days good time just for agreeing to talk; 33 got another 90 days off; half were released from deadlock and sent to other prisons; half have been paroled; and one was

granted executive clemency by Gov. Thompson and a commuted sentence. The state, in short, used everything in its power to build a case against the Pontiac brothers.

On the heels of the big shakedown of mid-October, 29 prisoners were singled out for transfer to Stateville Penitentiary and placed in segregation. These, plus three more men, were the ones indicted for charges later on. Without any type of hearing, each of these men were sentenced to one year's loss of good time and one year in segregation. Eventually 39 more prisoners would receive the same treatment as punishment for participation in the rebellion. Throughout this entire eight-month period, a legal battle was waged by prisoners and their attorneys to lift the deadlock. Despite Federal Judge Crowley's frequent orders to the DOC to end the deadlock, this effort succeeded mainly in exposing the fact that the courts are an instrument of the ruling class, and lawsuits concerning prison conditions are so many scraps of paper to be ignored. As early as August 31 prisoners filed suit demanding an end to the deadlock and exposing that its purpose was to frameup selected prisoners. But in spite of Judge Crowley's dramatic threats in January to hold the Dept. of Corrections in contempt of court if it did not ease the deadlock, it was not lifted until March, just after the murder indictments for the Pontiac brothers were announced.

Just nine days before these indictments were handed down, on February 24, 1979, a massive publicity stunt called "taking back Stateville Prison from the gangs" was produced and directed by Gov. Thompson and Co. It was loudly declared that "the gangs run the prisons" and to "retake control of them" would require nothing less than an invasion by the combined forces of

the riot squad and state troopers with National Guard helicopters hovering nearby. The operation was carefully orchestrated for the media, which broadcast the story from coast to coast. During the so-called takeover, the tactical unit, dressed in orange SWAT Team-style suits, marched through the galleries to the Death Row unit where the 31 Pontiac prisoners were locked up, hurled racist insults at them and pointed to the electric chair bellowing like neanderthals "let me pull the switch." The inmates were poked in the back with the long metal rods and then beaten by the TAC squad thugs. During the shakedown, prison officials stripped the cells of everything—including the sheets, blankets, toilet paper, pens, as well as all the legal materials for their defense. With this vicious, gestapo-style assault the state attempted not only to set the stage for the railroad of the Pontiac brothers but to break them. Both before and after this "takeover" the brothers were beaten both inside their cells and just outside the courtroom leading to some serious injuries, in a vicious effort to bring them to their knees.

On March 5, 1979 the grand jury returned indictments against the 31 prisoners. 17 Black prisoners are charged with 15 counts of murdering the guards, and three men are charged with conspiracy to commit murder. (One of the Pontiac 17 has agreed to turn state's witness and will plead guilty to a lesser charge.) 14 Black and Latin prisoners were charged with lesser offenses stemming out of the rebellion, including attempted murder, arson, assault and mob action. The trials of 13 of these 14 men have already taken place. Five men were convicted and sentenced to a total of 27 years, and eight men have been acquitted. State's attorney David Vogel

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## Letters on the Draft Programme

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out of its native element, cannot live." Here I believe that the statement in the DP is one-sided. The revolutionary army will be fighting to destroy the enemy, and it should take up important political tasks, agitation and propaganda, among the masses. "With the gun in one hand and the Programme in the other." In the main the revolutionary army will rely materially on the people, but it should never be a burden, or act like a street gang, lumpen.

One other note. It is likely that GI's will be stretched all around the world. It states later in the DP, "All U.S. forces will be withdrawn from foreign soil and from the territorial waters of other countries and all the U.S. military bases in other countries will be dismantled." I believe that some reference should be made to this important point in the section. These GI's will be a significant element, to be won over, if not already won, re-educated and integrated into the revolutionary forces. They will be straining to comprehend what is "up for grabs" here. And they will have a role to play in educating the people here about the nature of imperialism and their part in turning the bourgeois army inside out.

# 100 FLOWERS

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must wield our main weapon the *Revolutionary Worker*, and through this unleash others to take up this battle against the ruling class in the interests of our class, the working class around the world. For it is only by applying the science of Marxism to the battle against the enemy that we are able to win.

A co-conspirator  
C.X.

To the *RW* and the "100 Flowers" Campaign:

Why is the raising of the class consciousness of the masses—with the understanding and actions of the advanced playing a pivotal role in this—key today in preparing for revolution, and why is the *RW* our main weapon for doing this?

One of the clearest presentations of 2 opposing lines on the role of consciousness in making revolution that I have seen was in the article "The CWP—The Not So Great Impostor of Marxism," in the *RW*, Aug. 29, 1980. The CWP's line is that the masses don't need to be politically conscious to make revolution: "They make revolution out of necessity, out of desperation."

The *RW* rips this apart: "The CWP line is anti-scientific and anti-Marxist. It's true that people come into motion out of necessity. But the direction of motion, the way they come into motion, when and how they act, are guided by ideas. And whether they are guided by ideas and a consciousness which really grasps the dynamic of the situation and the underlying laws can determine success or failure, or momentary vs. long-term success. This is why agitation and propaganda are the crucial link in the pre-revolutionary period."

I think these 2 views crystallize the difference between Marxists and all sorts of revisionists and opportunists on the role of the consciousness of the masses in making revolution. Like the article says: "Marxism (is) a science through which the world, history and society can be understood, and on the basis of that scientific understanding, changed." In other words, when correct ideas are grasped by the masses, they become a tremendous material force for transforming the world.

This was the understanding which led Mao to launch the Cultural Revolution. This view of the conscious, dynamic role of the masses represents the most complete, radical rupture with all bourgeois ideology (really with the ideology of all ruling classes throughout the history of class society), including in Marxist masks, which sees the masses as blind, passion driven animals that can only do something significant historically if some superior beings (human or divine) are leading them around by the nose.

Isn't making our central task "Create Public Opinion, Seize Power" and the call for both the 100,000 co-conspirators and this campaign to "Let 100 Flowers Blossom, Let 100 Schools of Thought Contend," based on this Marxist understanding of the conscious, dynamic role of man? Here will be 100,000 people "guided by the ideas and a consciousness which really grasps the dynamic of the situation and the underlying laws..." in other words, 1000's and 1000's of people being trained with a Marxist-Leninist understanding of the world and being brought together to act on that common understanding. For those who try to oppose arming the masses with Marxism-Leninism to the call for 100,000 co-conspirators, what is the *Revolutionary Worker* but Marxism-Leninism being applied to the concrete conditions and the important questions arising from them in the world today? One thing to me that really argues for the crucialness of a Marxist-Leninist weekly, and when possible, a daily newspaper, is that reality is constantly changing. If we aren't able to analyze events in the world as they're actually changing, in their motion and development, as the *RW* does, especially when it's read every week, then we're out of touch with reality and how can we change anything, much less make revolution?

To the extent that our readers don't see political consciousness as key to making revolution, what do they think is key? If the masses can't be motivated to make revolution by anything but hunger and desperation, what accounts for the Iranian oilworkers, who by and large were not starving, to coolly shove a 100% wage increase back in the face of the Shah and demand his complete overthrow?

How does the bourgeoisie look at why and how the masses make revolution? The Chinese masses were starving and the Communists promised them rice in every pot. The Iranians were a bunch of religious zealots opposed to the 20th century and the Ayatollah whipped them into a frenzy.

I know it's not conscious on most of our parts, but to the extent that we don't grasp and implement the need to raise the political consciousness of the masses, aren't we following the same line?

A Detroit reader

Dear *RW*,

A friend of mine recently got out of jail and we just had some pretty heated struggle about the way forward for revolution in this country that I want to

relate. The reason that I'm relating it instead of him is that he has developed his own program for revolution in this country—a program which says that the main task for revolutionaries today is to develop an underground organization to carry out military assaults against the ruling class. This struggle, which is still ongoing, helped to clarify my thinking on the RCP's line and why it is the only way to go.

But before getting into this I would like to say a few words about the background of my comrade and where he is coming from. He is a Latino brother with a deep hatred for the oppression of his people and of the other oppressed nationalities. He is the type of person who would never tolerate racial insults from the concentration camp lieutenants or try to humble himself for favors. For this militant resistance he received a lot of beatings and other forms of constant harassment. When he first started reading the *Revolutionary Worker* a year ago it opened his eyes to where this oppression was coming from and he became a co-conspirator spreading the paper to other prisoners.

Once he awakened to the need for revolution he was unstoppable. He wants to get down right now with the *real* weapons, and not the paper weapon of the *RW*, he says. The way he puts it is that military actions will inspire people across the country to take action themselves. He says that the only reason the Miami rebellion didn't spread to other cities is that the people were not prepared with weapons, and that the RCP is wasting precious time with "just talk" about revolution. When I asked him what kind of plan he has on building up the new society on the ashes of the old after it has been overthrown, he carried his line of reasoning to its logical conclusion. "I can't wait a couple of years for revolution," he said. "I've got to do something right now. I can't worry about changing society right now—there isn't time. A lot of people are ready to overthrow the system now."

While I can definitely unite with this comrade's desire to get down right now, his response reminded me of what Bob Avakian said about the type of revolutions that in reality are nothing more than palace coups—a changing of the guard from an old set of exploiters to new ones. This has happened even where the rulers, such as Fidel Castro for example, started out with good and sincere intentions of liberating their people from the clutches of imperialism but could not achieve this goal because they lacked the guidance of the revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. His response that "we can't worry about changing society right now"—emphasized to me the vital importance of popularizing the RCP's *Draft Programme* for making revolution and transforming society under the dictatorship of the proletariat. We have the responsibility to raise the sights of the advanced like my comrade to the necessity for the masses of people, led by the working class and its Party, to step-by-step gain mastery over society and eliminate exploitation and oppression under socialism and finally communism.

Whether or not we understand the actual possibility of this has everything to do with how we see waging the struggle today. Are we out to just round up some angry people for revenge, or are we out to wage the struggle today using the *RW* as the main weapon to raise consciousness over the rottenness of every aspect of capitalist society, to unite the many rivulets of protest and rebellion into a torrent of struggle aimed at the common enemy. The interesting thing about my comrade is that in his impatience to deal with the Man right now, he has negated the process of struggle and education that he went through in his own mind to understand the need for revolution. The *Revolutionary Worker* played no small part in this. When I asked him didn't he see the need for the masses to raise their consciousness about revolution he said, "No. That was okay for me because I was in jail and had plenty of time to read. But people don't have time for that."

Also, while my comrade stresses that reality demands taking strong action right now, in fact he is the one who is out of touch with reality. His outlook denies that there are laws of class struggle, and that revolution takes place when deep crisis in society means that the masses can no longer live in the old way and the rulers can no longer rule in the old way and there is a communist party to lead the masses. The Party has a deep analysis of the real possibility of revolution in this country based on the rapidly changing situation, and this analysis must be brought to and struggle over with people like my comrade who at this point are mired in idealism—"revolution can happen now because I and others are ready for it."

This struggle will continue and it is a very positive thing. The fact that there are millions in this country like this comrade who burn with desire to get rid of this shit shows the vast revolutionary potential that exists. It is up to us, the class-conscious forces, to temper their hatred with a scientific understanding by grasping and applying the Party's line.

E.V.

Comrades:

Recent advances in my understanding of the role of the advanced, particularly of the cruciality of arming them with the Party's line through the *RW*,

and of deeply answering their questions through propaganda, both in the *RW* and with other Marxist literature and verbally, have led to exciting new developments in my workplace which I feel I should share with other comrades.

Until recently my line on *RW* sales was to spend as much time as possible personally selling the paper, putting in every possible minute doing this, and trying to get other people to take more *RW*'s to distribute by struggling with them about their "responsibility to the masses" and "if they liked the paper, didn't they think other people should read it too?" and even "how can people understand what's going on in the world when all they get are the TV and media lies—the *RW* is the only paper that can show people what is really going on," etc. The results of this approach seemed to be alright—when I worked in a factory, I used to sell 60 *RW*'s a week; when I was laid-off and selling on the street, I usually could sell 50 papers and get a couple of people to take 5 or 10 papers during a day. I was actually quite proud of myself and fancied myself a "good example" for others to follow for *RW* sales, and I would constantly criticize other comrades for "not trying hard enough," "not really taking the Party's central task seriously," "not really uniting with the central role of the *RW*," etc., if they didn't measure up to my quantitative "results."

Occasionally I wondered why none of the people I sold bundles of papers to ever really came forward to become activists in distributing and contributing to the newspaper, but usually I just wrote this off as "fuck-ups" on the part of those who were supposed to follow-up on these potential networks. Somehow it was always someone else's fault that things didn't move forward, there was nothing wrong with *my* practice.

Through the course of some rather painful struggle, struggle which has been tugging away at some very deep and long-held revisionist roots in my thinking, I have come to repudiate this line as a pragmatist line that can lead nowhere but into the well-worn rut of revisionism. It is essentially the same Menshevik line our Party struggled against after the revisionist coup in China. *Revolution and Counter-Revolution* goes into how the working class must subject production to conscious control (under socialism) by grasping and applying the economic laws of society, in order to move toward eliminating all class distinctions. But this is only possible by sweeping away bourgeois ideology, force of habit, which are obstacles to understanding and transforming the world on the basis of the interests of the working class. The whole struggle between the revolutionaries and the revisionists in China over production was not a struggle over whether or not to develop the economy, but over *how* to develop it, on a capitalist or socialist basis. While in the very short run such capitalist methods as monetary incentives, bonuses, foreign technology, etc. seemed to develop the economy "faster," actually they led only to the old capitalist anarchy of production and dependence on imperialism, and are producing devastating "results" in the economy of China. This is contrasted to another example from *revolutionary* China, where by raising the political understanding of the workers in Shanghai was it possible to do what everyone had said was impossible, and would have been impossible using their methods, the building of a 10,000 ton freighter in a 3,000 ton drydock.

The parallel is this—my line on *RW* sales was the same as Teng's line of "anything that gave production a boost was acceptable—nothing should interfere with production," or plain old American pragmatism, "if it seems to work, do it, never mind the reasons." Is this what the 100,000 campaign is calling for? Just get out there, work harder, and do it? No, it is not, because such an approach (1) cannot achieve the goal of 100,000 which is based on the need to make a leap forward in forging together, expanding and deepening the understanding of the class-conscious section of the proletariat right now, and (2) even if it were possible for a few comrades to personally sell 100,000 *RW*'s a week—for what? How would that alone put us (the proletariat in the U.S.) in a better position to make revolution should the possibility arise in the next few years, and how could it possibly sustain a revolution? We need a *conscious* revolution, led by those among our class who not only have a deep desire to free all humanity from exploitation and oppression, but who are armed politically and ideologically to make that desire into a reality, to not only unleash and lead forward the enthusiasm of the broad masses to overthrow the bourgeoisie, but to be in a position to actually transform society and recognize the bourgeoisie as it arises in the Party under socialism, to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Now that I have begun to root out this pragmatic line and struggle to implement the line of the RCP (which, by the way, has been a *continuing* struggle, requiring continuing study and summation of my practice and thinking, so strong is the pull to the right), I have begun to see the fruits of the Party's line on the advanced and the need to arm them and rely on them—and what a difference! No, I am not yet selling 60 *RW*'s a week in my new job, but by seeking out the advanced and going deeply into their questions, *they* have begun to take up the Party's

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# U.S. Protection Racket In Iraq/Iran War

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perialism. In this situation it is all the more crucial for class-conscious people worldwide to step up their active support for the revolutionary struggles of the Iranian masses.

While the U.S. government continues their lying talk of "neutrality," all these frantic maneuvers only further reveal their imperialist gangster logic in action, of which the latest moves toward Iran could best be described as: The International Protection Racket. In the context of fierce contention with their godfather act-alikes in the Soviet Union, the U.S. unleashed Iraq like a small-time hood to "bust up the place" in Iran (all the while claiming that Iraq was really a solid member in the Soviet gang); now the U.S. godfathers are making the Iranian government "an offer they can't refuse"—protection against Iraq! And in typical gangster fashion, this offer of "protection" is based on threats, that if the Iranian government does not get down on their knees and capitulate, they will be hit even harder. While this type of imperialist blackmail will only fuel the determination of the millions of Iranian people—especially the workers, peasants and other oppressed strata—who are determined never again to accept the yoke of imperialist domination, important sections of the Iranian national bourgeoisie are beginning to cave in under the pressure, joining openly reactionary forces in Iran who've been pro-U.S. imperialist (and even pro-Shah) all along.

In fact, as we pointed out in the September 26th *RW*, one of the main objectives of the U.S.-backed invasion of Iran has been to either overthrow the Khomeini government outright or to force the bourgeois forces in the government to "come to their senses" and "realize that they are isolated from the international community"—in other words capitulate. In the view of the U.S. imperialists this would be a big first step towards dragging Iran back into the Western bloc and towards preparing to crush the continuing revolutionary struggle in Iran once and for all. And this is but one important part of the U.S. imperialists' overall strategic objectives of qualitatively strengthening their military and political domination of the vital oil-rich Persian Gulf region in preparation for war against their imperialist rivals in the Soviet Union.

Throughout the last four weeks of fighting between Iraq and Iran, the U.S. imperialists have consistently approached the war from the standpoint of these broader strategic objectives. Even while they gambled by setting off the war to begin with and then by steadily escalating it, when their first cards didn't pay off due to the fierce resistance of the Iranian people to the Iraqi invasion, the U.S. imperialists have also attempted to keep control of events in the service of their own long-range interests.

In the first phase of the war, U.S. military analysts confidently predicted that Iraq's armed forces would score a lightning victory. Iran would be dealt a crippling military blow; lack of spare parts and maintenance capabilities for the U.S.-made military equipment which was captured when the Shah fell would be revealed; the country would

suffer extensive economic destruction, and possibly be cut off from the source of its oil supplies with an Iraqi occupation of Khuzestan Province, site of the major Iranian oil fields and refineries. Though they clearly had hopes of triggering a right-wing coup in Tehran, the U.S./Iraqi military strategy was increasingly aimed at forcing the hand of the vacillating bourgeois forces in the Iranian government—including Bani-Sadr, the religious leaders of the Islamic Republic Party, and even Khomeini himself. These forces are vacillators, but are already in fundamental agreement that the country is a mess, that it is suicidal to continue to clash with the U.S. imperialists when the economy and military are in a bad shape, and that the continuing revolutionary struggle among the masses has got to come to an end. And what better way to "convince" them that it's time to mend their fences with the Western imperialists than to exhaust Iran's regular armed forces, destroy most of its oil industry and threaten the Iranian government with an even longer war—and then in true gangster style, turn around and offer to "help" resupply their army and rebuild the economy!

At the same time, the U.S. has had to guard against the possibility that the Soviets would beat them to the punch, take advantage of the situation to play their hand at imperialist "protector" instead, through striking their own deal with the Iranian bourgeoisie if and when the opportunity arose.

## Iranian Resistance

The initial Iraqi thrust failed to deal Iran the sort of decisive military defeat the imperialists had anticipated. Especially in the cities of Khorramshar and Abadan which were main targets of the Iraqi attack, fierce resistance by the masses, and elements of the army and the revolutionary guards, including bitter block by block fighting has prevented the capture of these cities. The "experts" were astounded and appalled at this truly heroic resistance and blamed it on the "fanaticism" of the defenders.

At this point the war entered a new stage. In order to shore up Iraq for another major military buildup and the prospect of a longer, tougher and more costly battle, the U.S. began to orchestrate a massive "show of support" for Iraq in the Arab world, to ensure it of the arms, equipment and logistical support necessary to cover its losses and continue their attempt to "teach Iran a lesson." King Hussein of Jordan, the "Hashamite Harlot" as he is known for his many years spent in the imperialists' bed, mobilized his army and proclaimed that his 60,000-man force was at Iraq's "complete disposal," and the Jordanian port of Aqaba opened to trans-shipment of supplies to Iraq. However, King Hussein stopped short of actually committing any troops to the fighting—no doubt awaiting further orders from the U.S.

Iraq's military operations in the last couple of weeks also tend to reveal the mentality of a thug assigned to go in and "work over" Iran until it's government is "willing to come to its senses" and strike a deal. The Iraqi offensive has been slow, cautious and methodical. Despite the countless Iraqi claims of the capture of Khorramshar and other ma-

ajor urban targets, Iraq has consistently avoided committing itself to an all-out ground assault necessary to take over the major towns. This is due in part to their fear of the massive casualties that such an offensive would produce—with possible deep repercussions inside Iraq itself; it is also testimony to the heroism of the tens of thousands of Iranian volunteers and regulars—including many conscious anti-imperialist fighters among them—who have held the fort in Khorramshar and Abadan in the face of brutal artillery and air barrages. But it also indicates the U.S./Iraqi strategy of slowly "tightening the noose" by surrounding the major cities, cutting the roads and oil pipelines connecting Khuzestan Province and Tehran and holding the occupied areas "hostage" in order to force Iran to come to terms.

The military analyst for the *New York Times* who gets his "copy" from U.S. military and intelligence officials, wrote on October 14th that "...in the ground war, the Iraqi command has consistently refused to throw its infantry and tanks into frontal attacks on well-placed Iranian positions, analysts noted. This may be a reluctance to sustain the high casualties resulting from such assaults, or it may arise from the belief that once Iraqi forces reach open country they will be able to surround the target cities and cut the oil pipelines and highways... Such tactics, one analyst said, would not provide propaganda victories comparable to the storming of a major city. But they would give the invaders a strong bargaining position in any negotiations with Iran."

While the current Iraqi buildup around Abadan steadily grows, much of Iraq's air force (including most of its bombers) are being stored in neighbor-

ing "friendly countries"—protected by the "defensive" U.S. AWACS and military forces that have been rushed in, in recent weeks. Clearly, they are being readied for use when the Iranian air force has run out of spare parts and fuel. Meanwhile the U.S. starts to "negotiate" with the bourgeois forces in the Iranian government—while Iraq, under the U.S. protective umbrella, keeps its gun pointed at their heads.

## Butter Wouldn't Melt in Their Mouth

This naked blackmail is strikingly illustrated by an editorial in the Sunday, October 12 *New York Times* which appeared under the byline of James Reston. Reston, the head of the *Times*' Washington Bureau, has long served as a mouthpiece for statements and signals from the higher echelons of the U.S. ruling class. In his editorial called, "Carter's Trump Cards" he runs out the cynical calculations which form the essence of the U.S. imperialist strategy for "humbling Iran."

"...On the diplomatic front, outside events are also working in Mr. Carter's favor. Iran has decided to appeal to the United Nations against the invasion of its country by the military forces of Iraq. It has a good case. It is the victim of open aggression and defiance of the principles of the UN."

"Iran faces the prospect of a war of attrition. It is surrounded by its enemies. It is relying on armed forces equipped by the U.S. and is in need of spare parts and credit from a world that opposed and continues to oppose its capture of the American hostages. Accordingly, Iran cannot hope to cite the principles of the United Nations in its struggle with Iraq when it is defying those principles by continuing to hold

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## Pontiac

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reiterated his position that, "If we are able to obtain convictions, we will seek the death penalty."

"The Pontiac brothers are charged with committing rebellion and fighting back against conditions," said defense attorney Chokwe Lumumba. "There's no way to connect them with the stabbings. They were the strong men in the prison not intimidated by the guards. They refused to co-operate and give testimony." The Pontiac 16 have refused to apologize for the rebellion, to make excuses for it or to back down in the face of the death penalty. "We are definitely being used as an example to show everybody else that you're gonna have to put up with these conditions," said Pontiac brother Y. "But I feel that anytime people are subjected to inhuman treatment they're gonna rebel until that condition has been corrected." He went on to talk about the effect of the state's repression against the Pontiac brothers on him. "A long time ago nobody could talk to me about politics because I wasn't aware of it. Bein' down at Stateville on death row had a big effect on me, but not the effect the state wanted. They put us right where we could see the electric chair. You ask yourself a lot of questions about life, about people—and come up with answers. I found out about communism, socialism, nationalism. I came up with the fact that we're all human beings. The government doesn't just look at color. You see people suffering all around the world."

The process of jury selection in the Pontiac trial opened September 18 and is continuing. On October 9, the media broadcast another story in a long string

of lies and slanders against the brothers when ABC News implied that the defendants on trial were responsible for the shooting injury of a state's witness out on bail. "And so the Pontiac riot which ended in the murder of three guards, has now led to another shooting," said the newscaster, finding the Pontiac brothers guilty of this crime. This incident is almost a carbon copy of a distorted news item reported last August. When Frank Frizell, one of the Pontiac 14 who had already been tried and acquitted of the charges against him, was found beaten to death, the media immediately concluded that the Pontiac 16 were behind it. This fabricated lie was reported despite the fact that Frizell had made no statements against any other Pontiac brother and that his death followed a dispute unrelated to the case and known only to his family. Judge Miller, approaching the world's record for the denial of defense motions, also refused to consider the ABC news story as grounds for a mistrial.

For the one millionth time the sham of "equality before the law" has been exposed in this courtroom, in this country. Behind the well-modulated "justice-for-all" tones of Judge Miller's voice stands the vicious threats, bribery and coercion of captive prisoners. Behind the dignity and decorum of the courtroom stand the pigs' beatings and macings of the Pontiac brothers and other prisoners. Behind the scales of justice stands the electric chair, to be used to bludgeon the Pontiac brothers and the other struggling masses into submission. In the face of this attack the working class and oppressed people who burn with desire to get out from under the whip must stand with and support the Pontiac brothers and expose the criminal class responsible for this railroad. □

## 100 FLOWERS

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central task of "Create Public Opinion—Seize Power," including one person who initially opposed this central task as not being "concrete" enough. After 2 weeks of discussions after work and a couple of propaganda sessions, this class-conscious worker has begun to himself take extra *RWs* to sell, was instrumental in circulating a letter in the plant in support of the Iranian people in their struggle against the latest U.S. maneuvers with the Iraqi invasion, brought forward one other worker to attend a propaganda session on the Iraq-Iran war, is now study-

ing the *Draft Programme*, "Coming From Behind to Make Revolution," "Science of Revolution," and *What Is To Be Done?*, and is struggling to pull together a worker's circle around the *RW* in the plant. He himself had not understood the seriousness of the Iraq-Iran war, how it was a major step in the world war preparations of the U.S. imperialists, but once he saw this, in the course of discussion and struggle in a Party propaganda meeting, he immediately saw the need for him to take out the *RW* to bring this understanding to others, to prepare them to act in the interests of the international proletariat. Two others from this plant have also attended propaganda sessions on the Iraq-Iran war. Is this enough? No, it is not. It is only the tip of the

iceberg, but it is a clear affirmation of the Party's line on the advanced, and of the possibility of winning this decisive battle for 100,000 sustained weekly distribution of the *RW*, if only we Party members will struggle to recognize the influence of pragmatism and economism in our thinking and use the Party's line and Marxism to dig it out to make room for the fresh flowers of a revolutionary line which can truly bring forward and arm the advanced and expand and deepen the class-conscious force which was forged through May Day. In this way, and only in this way, can we win the battle for 100,000 *RWs*, and be further prepared for the revolutionary storms which are coming. □

# U.S. Protection Racket In Iraq/Iran War

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the hostages. (There is no evidence so far that the spokesman for Iran at the United Nations understands this American policy. He has even suggested that Carter has not only tried to sabotage the Iranian revolution, but is somehow behind the Iraqi invasion of Iran.)

"Carter is handling this diplomatic problem at the UN and also the military problems very cautiously. He is leaving it to the allies to persuade the Tehran government that the United Nations is willing to help Iran in its defense against Iraq's invasion. He is basing his policy on the UN Charter, but making clear that the principles of the Charter require the liberation of the hostages as well as the defense of Iran against invasion...

"The United States wants nothing from Iran except the release of the hostages. Washington's interest in Iran is that country's unity and independence. If it is defeated by Iraq,

which is getting its arms from Moscow, or is dismembered in the struggle, nobody will gain but the Soviet Union, whose growing influence in the Persian Gulf is precisely what Washington is determined to oppose.

"Already Moscow has made considerable progress during this war. It has achieved a treaty of friendship with Syria. It has provided military aid to Iraq and even offered help to Iran, which has been rejected, but Moscow is still benefiting from the chaos in the area..."

Translation? We'll see to it that "the boys" in Iraq lay off. "Yeah, hey, Iraq is committing aggression. Terrible, terrible thing. Let's talk things over, I'm sure we can resolve this little problem." Reston's arrogant parenthetical remark that the Iranian representative at the UN has dared to suggest that the U.S.—"is somehow behind the Iraqi invasion of Iran" is nothing but a sneering confirmation of this obvious fact, couched in "gangland humor."

The basic elements of Reston's

"message" are clear, especially with the new rumored moves on the part of the Iranian government to break out of its "international isolation" and to send back the hostages. The question of the hostages in Iran has all along been a measure of what extent the government has been prepared to stand up to U.S. imperialism's unrelenting attempts to bring Iran back into its clutches; and in the middle of this war, it is even more a sign of what direction the Iranian bourgeoisie is headed. On the part of the U.S. imperialists, the "release of the hostages" has never been their main goal, as Mr. Reston well knows. Instead the U.S. is using them to do some gangster-style "negotiating"; these 52 warm bodies are at present part of a much larger deal concerning future relations between the U.S. and the Iranian bourgeoisie than an initial five plane-loads of spare parts to Iran. And, of course, if the U.S. imperialists don't get the kind of major concessions they want from the Iranian government right now, then these "ne-

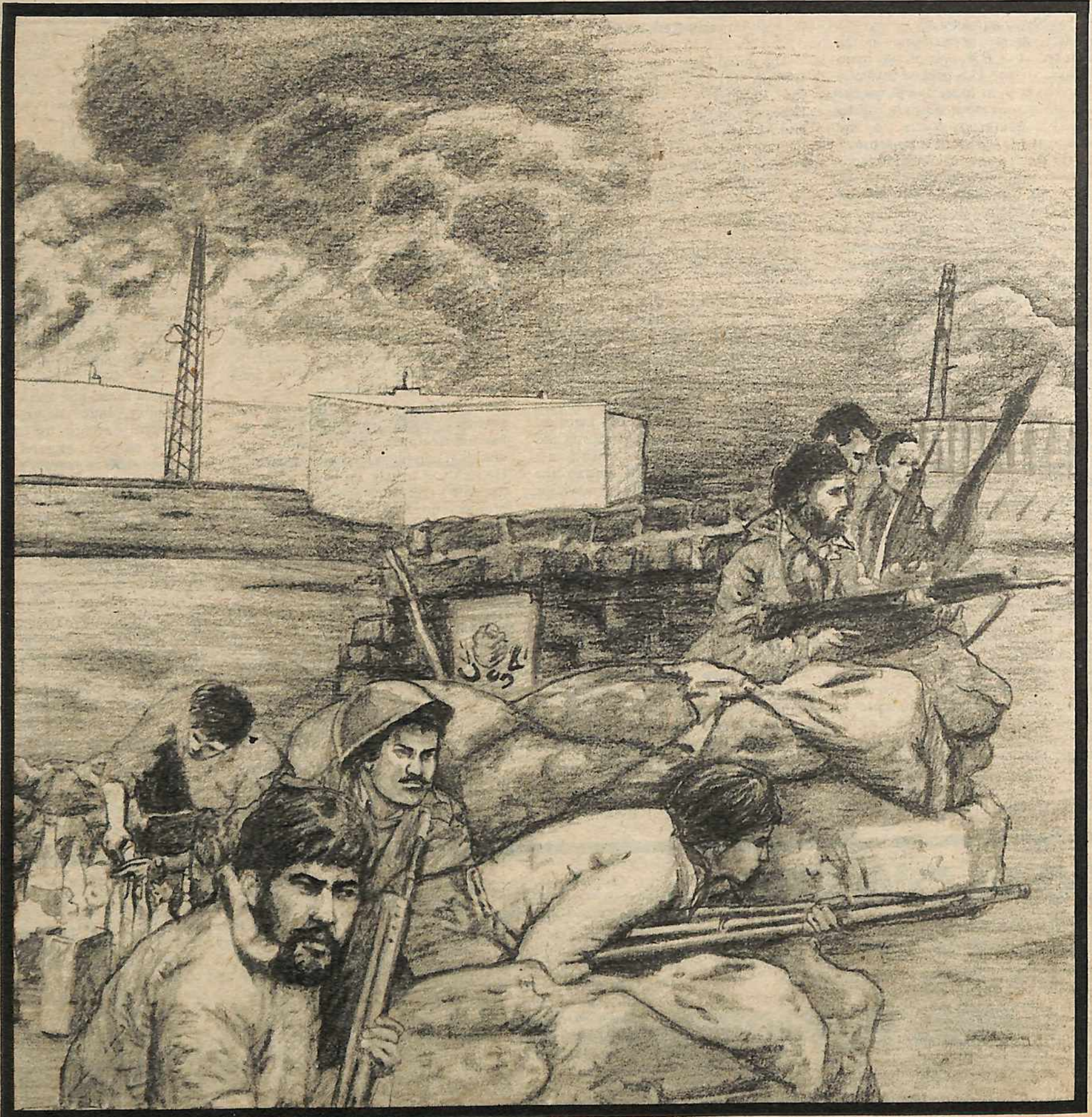
gotiations" may break off and the U.S./Iraqi assault will escalate.

### Capitulation vs. Resistance to Imperialism

Exactly because of these stepped up efforts of the U.S. imperialists to "put the squeeze" on Iran, the initial surge of national unity against the Iraqi invasion has not been able to contain the struggle between the classes in Iran and keep it from breaking out in various forms. The longer the war goes on, the more clearly will emerge the opposed outlooks of the bourgeoisie and proletariat on how to wage the war, and what is the road forward for the Iranian revolution in the struggle to defeat imperialism and its reactionary internal allies.

During the war so far, the position of President Bani-Sadr—who represents a section of the national bourgeoisie in Iran that has for some time been anxious for a "reconciliation" with the Western imperialists—has been greatly

*Drawing depicting the defense of Khōrramshar, in which thousands of volunteers from all parts of Iran have joined the local population in driving back repeated Iraqi assaults on the city.*



strengthened. As commander-in-chief of the armed forces he has been able to take credit for the heroic resistance of the fighters at the front. Further, he recently received Ayatollah Khomeini's backing in setting up a Supreme Defense Council with exclusive powers for the conduct of the war that further strengthens his position against his rivals in the Islamic Republic Party whose power base is in the Parliament. Even though the IRP has continued to attack Bani-Sadr in its press, referring to him as a "West-leaning liberal", the true stripes of the leading figures in the IRP such as Ayatollah Beheshti were widely exposed recently when he said that Iran should not only drive Iraq's forces out of Iran, but invade Iraq and capture Baghdad. This obviously plays right into the hands of the U.S. imperialists in their efforts to paint Iran as equally aggressive and responsible for the outbreak of the war, and it also serves to undermine the efforts of the Iranian people to develop ties and a common revolutionary struggle with the Iraqi masses.

Bani-Sadr has not hesitated to use his present powerful position to build up and enhance the prestige of the regular armed forces, including the powerful pro-U.S. commanders within it. Early in the war, he secured the release of hundreds of jailed officers and air force pilots who had been imprisoned for their role in this summer's coup plots against the government. One such officer boldly told the press upon his release, "It is Iran that I am fighting for, not Khomeini. I am an Iranian and my country is being attacked." The release of hundreds of "patriotic" officers such as this who make no pretense of having "repented" for supporting counterrevolution can only strengthen the hand of U.S. imperialism's hardcore supporters (and there are still more than a few of them) within Iran today.

Bani-Sadr has also taken advantage of his position to make a number of highly publicized statements decrying Iran's "total international isolation." "If we are isolated, then it is partly our own fault. We can now see that our slogans satisfy nobody but ourselves," Bani-Sadr recently stated. In addition to being his way of saying to the U.S., "let's make a deal," this is a but a thinly veiled attack on the Iranian people's revolutionary struggle and aspirations.

Statements such as this go hand in hand with the Iranian government's increasing moves to make use of the "war emergency" to silence and suppress opposition, especially against the anti-imperialist forces and the revolutionary Left. In Tehran, a special task force has been formed under the Ayatollah Khomeini, a reactionary figure in the Islamic Republic Party, whose aim is supposedly to uncover "pro-U.S. agents" but predictably has been concentrating its attacks on the revolutionary forces. In northern Iran, where the Mojahadeen are particularly strong, they have recently come under increasing attack by reactionary Islamic forces tied to the government.

Last week in Kurdistan, the government announced that it had crushed a "rebellion" in three towns supposedly led by the Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP). The KDP is a bourgeois nationalist political party that has openly supported the Iraqi invasion of Iran in the hopes that this will enable it to achieve its own opportunist goals. On the other hand, the government has a long history of branding the just struggle of the Kurdish people for autonomy and democratic rights "counterrevolutionary rebellion" and very often labeling everything "KDP-inspired." And this news was suspiciously released to the Western press before it was announced in Iran. What is known is that there has been some low-level fighting between the government and Kurdish forces since the beginning of the war

with Iraq—and that this can be directly traced to the reactionary war of suppression that the Iranian government has waged against the Kurdish people over the last year and a half. This is yet another powerful reason why the Iranian government, due to its class character and to the reactionary policies it has employed internally, cannot lead the Iranian masses in fighting against and defeating imperialism.

The government's conduct of the war itself is also increasingly reflecting the inability and unwillingness of Iran's national bourgeoisie to thoroughly mobilize the people of Iran for a long and protracted struggle against the attempts of imperialism to subjugate the country. There has been a tremendous outpouring of mass initiative to rise to the struggle against the Iraqi invasion and in defense of the revolution, and in the first stages of the war, the government was to some extent forced to allow the forming of various types of mass defense organizations, neighborhood committees and irregular militias. On the front, these "irregular" formations have played a crucial role in stemming the Iraqi advance.

There still has not been a full nationwide mobilization called for by the government; nor is there any sign of the type of massive mobilization, organization and arming of the masses necessary for an effective counterattack that could deal major blows to the already stretched out Iraqi forces in Khuzestan. It is also abundantly clear that the government is holding back many of its heavy weapons—including tanks, artillery and planes—for the negotiations it clearly envisions in the near future. Why else are Iranian jets still being sent to hit Baghdad when they could be breaking up the concentrations of Iraqi armor around Abadan?

Even more than this, the Iranian government is stepping up its efforts to bring firmly under its control any independent military or political organization among the masses that threatens to break beyond and challenge their conservative strategy. In the midst of the heavy fighting that raged in and around the key port city of Khorramshar last week, units of the government's "revolutionary guards", or Pasdaran, attacked the forces of the Union of Iranian Communists (UIC) and the Mojahadeen, both of whom have actively mobilized people from around the country to go to the front. A UIC "tent"—serving as a logistics and supply center—was raided in broad daylight by right-wing Pasdaran, who confiscated the weapons of all the revolutionary fighters they could. These Pasdaran also arrested 150 members of the Mojahadeen's militia in Khorramshar and actually forced them to leave the city. While the government continues to have the power to carry out such suppressive measures even in the midst of the fighting, this could turn around on them very rapidly.

A powerful reason for the government's refusal to fully arm and mobilize the masses in preparation for an all-out battle—apart from the fear of the bourgeois forces of what might happen in an unpredictable situation when the masses are armed—is that Bani-Sadr and the class forces he represents do not believe that Iran can successfully resist—or even wage an effective counter-offensive in the short run—without an army dependent on weapons and spare parts which only the imperialists themselves can provide, and without the fuel supplies which Iraq has already succeeded in largely cutting off. According to this bourgeois view, unless Iran can strike a deal with either the Western imperialists or the Soviet Union for military support, the war cannot be won. The bogey of "spare parts and resupply" is a key lever that both the United States and the Soviet Union (which has been actively looking for an opening in Iran,

and made an early offer to Iran for military help) are counting on to force Iran to knuckle under.

Last week, the Soviet Union and Syria signed a 20 year "friendship pact" including the new military agreement; simultaneously, Syria announced its support of Iran, along with Libya. These moves by "third countries" friendly to the Soviets clearly represent a signal by the Soviet Union to Iran that "the offer still stands," and a way to show that Soviet "sympathy" lies with Iran, even while they continue to ship small quantities of military supplies to Iraq.

The U.S. press in recent days has U.S. produced weapons and planes which form the bulk of Iran's arsenal have stood up against Iraq's mainly Soviet weaponry, how the Iranian pilots "trained by the U.S." have outperformed the Iraqis, etc. All this preposterous "analysis" is designed to say, "There's more where that came from"—if Iran is willing to "be reasonable" and crawl back into the U.S. nest.

The capitulationist logic which flows from this view that "weapons decide everything" is only inevitable from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie. However much the national bourgeoisie in Iran may desire to be "independent" and resent the idea of bowing down to imperialism, they are still unwilling to "lose what they have"—their dominant position on top of the Iranian people. Thus, as a class they can only recoil in fear at the prospect of a prolonged people's war against armed imperialist intervention, which would require shifting away from reliance on conventional methods of warfare. They understand very well that this would weaken their grip on the masses of people and possibly jeopardize their rule altogether. In addition, in the wake of the massive destruction of Iran's oil industry and other industries during the fighting, this class increasingly sees no alternative but to go to the imperialists (or to their "third world outlets") for "aid" in rebuilding. It is exactly for these reasons that as the U.S.-backed military and economic pressure on Iran grows more and more intense, there is a growing likelihood that the national bourgeoisie—or at least a large section of it—will compromise and possibly even capitulate altogether to the imperialists, regardless of what their abstract desires for "independence" might be.

That this should be happening today should come as no surprise. It has been proven again and again historically that the national bourgeoisie in a country such as Iran cannot lead the revolution to victory; in fact if it remains in leadership, it eventually betrays the revolution altogether or is crushed by the imperialists and the open forces of the counterrevolution. Describing China in the 1920's and '30's—which has many similarities to present-day Iran—Mao Tsetung wrote:

"Being a bourgeoisie in a colonial and semi-colonial country and oppressed by imperialism, the Chinese national bourgeoisie retains a certain revolutionary quality at certain periods and to a certain degree. . . . At the same time, however, being a bourgeois class in a colonial and semi-colonial country and so being extremely flabby economically and politically, the Chinese national bourgeoisie also has another quality, namely, a proneness to conciliation with the enemies of the revolution. . . . thus it is neither willing nor able to overthrow imperialism, and much less the feudal forces, in a thorough way. . . . History has proved that the Chinese bourgeoisie cannot fulfill this responsibility, which inevitably falls upon the shoulders of the proletariat." ("On New Democracy")

In Iran today, the government

represents a variety of class forces from such a "flabby" national bourgeoisie to feudal elements and outright pro-U.S. reactionaries. This emphasizes all the more why the current government cannot be relied on to wage the war, and in particular, it cannot be relied on to do so in such a way as to weaken—not strengthen—the forces supporting imperialism inside Iran. Insofar as these national bourgeois forces in the government continue to resist and fight against the imperialists, they must be united with; but exactly because of these growing pressures on the exploiting classes in Iran to cave in to imperialism, it is more urgent than ever that the Iranian proletariat join the fighting under its own banner and spread its independent revolutionary line and organization among the masses.

What stands out about the present situation in Iran—especially as the war goes on longer and as the lines of demarcation between those forces who want to capitulate to imperialism and those who want to fight the imperialists to the finish and thoroughly uproot the imperialist domination of Iran become sharper to millions of Iranians—is the increasing opportunity for the proletariat in unity with the peasants and other popular strata to advance the revolution. As the development of workers councils (shoras) and fighting groups that are independent of the government in Tehran, in Khorramshar and Abadan and elsewhere in the country indicate, these opportunities are beginning to be seized by the Iranian masses—especially where they are being led by Marxist-Leninist organizations such as the UIC. And when these moves towards compromise and capitulation to the U.S. are actually consummated, qualitatively greater opportunities to expose the class nature of the government and conduct independent revolutionary work could well open up.

Whether this war with Iraq ends up a "win," "draw" or "loss" for the Iranian government, the key question for the proletariat and its revolutionary communist vanguard is whether it has spread its influence and sunk deeper roots among the broad masses and is in a more favorable position to lead millions in defeating imperialism and advancing the revolution in the period ahead. If the hostages are surrendered, this will not signal a mere "deal for spare parts", but a whole tilt by the ruling bourgeoisie in Iran toward imperialism, toward once again bringing Iran into the ever-tightening imperialist orbit of loans and "aid" in reconstruction—all accompanied by increasing exploitation and enslavement of the masses of Iranian people and suppression directed against their independent, and especially revolutionary organization. This will lead to a further sharpening of class and national struggles inside Iran.

An important lesson that can be drawn from the increasingly aggressive posture of the U.S. imperialists in trying to force Iran to submit to their domination once more—as well as their attempts to keep their other "allies" in line—is that the gangster-like methods they use have a fundamentally different effect on the reactionary ruling classes of these countries—and even on the vacillating bourgeois rulers of Iran today—than they have on the masses of people, who increasingly are drawn—even compelled—into revolutionary struggle against all this. The Soviet imperialists are certainly finding out the same thing in neighboring Afghanistan. And as these two rival superpowers, the biggest gangsters the world has ever seen, seek to tighten up—and expand—their "turf" in preparation for World War 3, their moves not only reveal their viciousness, but more importantly they reveal their desperation and set into motion the one force that can upset all their plans—the revolutionary masses of every country. □