



# REVOLUTIONARY WORKER

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## Laying Siege to the Peacekeepers

Monday, March 22—Major General Jack Watkins, commander of the 1st Strategic Aerospace Division at Vandenberg Air Force Base, stands before a room packed with news media explaining the tactics of government security forces in defending his base against invasion. As he talks he points to a map of the base, zeroing in on a large area designated "PEACEKEEPER AREA" a.k.a. the site for the first test launchings of the newest addition to the U.S. "arsenal of democracy" — the 10 nuke warhead MX missile. Even as he speaks, the invaders — hundreds of militant anti-nukers — are continuing what will be several days of civil disobedience actions at and on the Vandenberg base in sharp opposition to the MX and U.S. nuclear war preparations and in solidarity with the people of the Marshall Islands (the target of the MX tests) and the people of the world. The general and the government are uptight. He explains to the press that "it would take us two military divisions to patrol the entire base"—two military divisions that he doesn't have on hand. He assures them, however, that the combined forces of airmen, regular base security, California Highway Patrol, and Santa Barbara



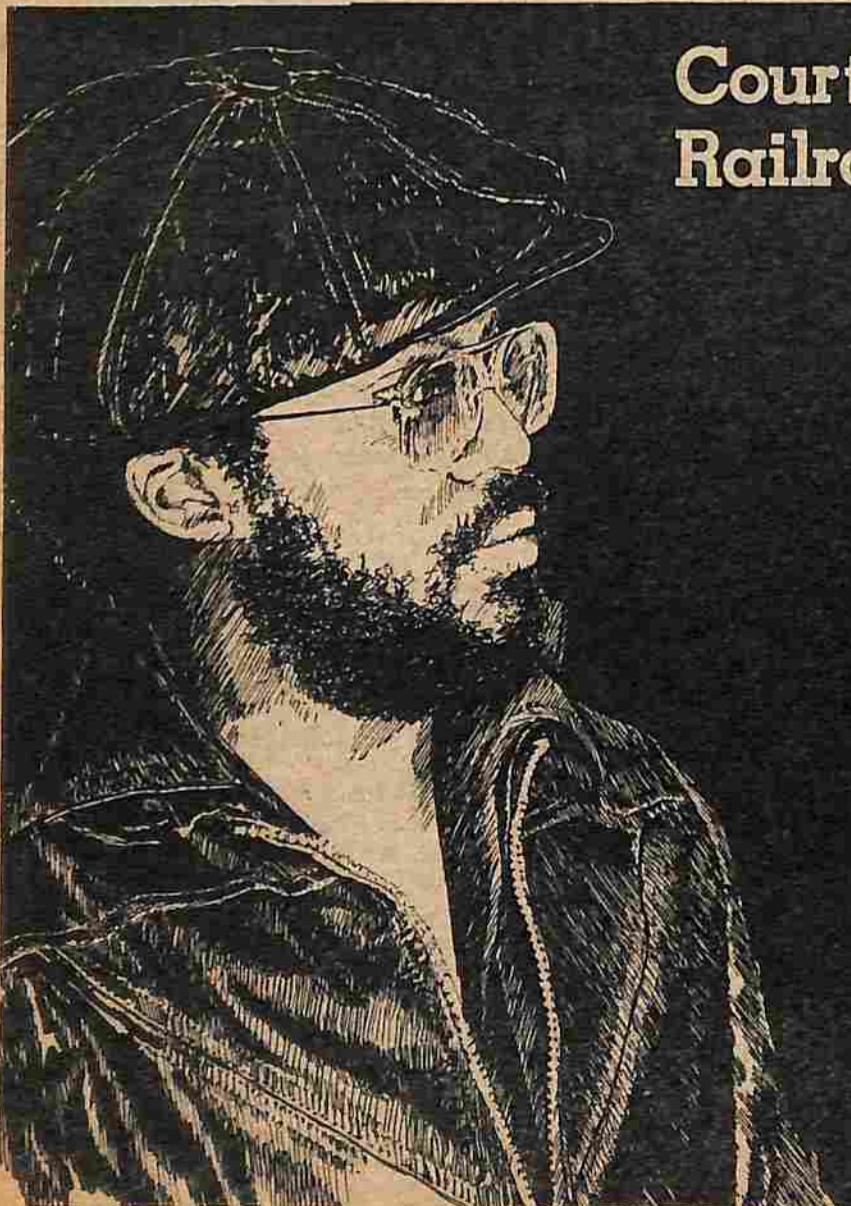
County Sheriffs numbering several hundred with many more in reserve along with Coast Guard helicopters should be enough to prevent the disruption of the all-important missile launch schedules at the base. Yet Watkins is forced to painfully note that the demonstrators had thoroughly disrupted the normal routine of the base and that the lives of base per-

sonnel "have been significantly disrupted" by the demonstrations.

This marked the second time in two months that the Vandenberg base had been hit by blockades and "back-country occupations" by defiant crowds determined to make a powerful statement against imperialist nuclear war preparations. The latest series of actions

represented yet a further step forward from the first actions at the end of January in which several hundred took part in a "rolling blockade" at the base gates as personnel arrived for work, backing up traffic and thoroughly disrupting business as usual before being arrested. (See *RW* No. 191) In addition,

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## Court Moves Full Steam Ahead in Railroad of Darnell Summers

Denied, denied, denied, denied — so declared Judge Joseph D. Sullivan of Wayne County Circuit Court, Detroit in opinions recently issued on four important pre-trial motions in the first degree murder prosecution of Darnell Summers. The blanket denial of these motions (coming on the heels of earlier denials of motions to dismiss for violations of Darnell's "right" to due process and a speedy trial and because of his illegal extradition) makes crystal clear the court's intended message. The state is deadly serious about carrying out the political punishment of Darnell Summers. But a look at the judge's opinion reveals more. They are feeling the pain of the exposure of their raggedy railroad, and fear the furor that this railroad is fueling.

*Motion for disclosure of electronic surveillance:* crucial to further uncover the political purpose of this legal prosecution and provide the defense with more evidence to expose this right in the court. However, Judge Sullivan feels that, "there is no evidence at this point of any electronic surveillance concerning the murder of State Police Officer Robert Gonser..." Is that so, Judge? In 1968, according to

discovery documents, the Michigan State Police Special Intelligence Unit (Red Squad) only conducted physical surveillance of the Malcolm X Cultural Center, of which Darnell was a leader. They only broke into the center the day after Gonser's death and ransacked it for political literature, tore posters off the wall, and stole telephone bills and membership lists. They only taped conversations of Darnell's friends, unbeknownst to them. In the 1970s, according to military intelligence documents received through the Freedom of Information Act, they infiltrated meetings of *FightBack*, a revolutionary organization of GIs in Europe, which Darnell participated in, and sent BKA (German FBI) agents snooping around his house, grilling his landlady for information. When he returned to the United States in 1973, the FBI immediately showed up at his parents house to ask about his political activities. In the 1980s, U.S. government personnel in Germany merely threatened Darnell to his face that they could have him thrown out of the country. An army major backed up by military intelligence types also called on the carpet a GI promoter of a concert of

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It was the kind of incident which causes people to lash out in fury at the very foundations of things. An act of cold brutality but more, something right at home in the everyday workings of American society — in fact by the time you finish reading this article it will happen again.

"I'm tired of writing about this, of thinking about this, of living like this," wrote one woman columnist in a Boston paper. "Legislative initiatives, social services for victims, deeply felt editorials, and public outrage won't do. I want the relationships of sexual power to change beyond recognition. Beyond my wildest dreams. A line of polemical poetry keeps coming to me: 'I want a revolution like a lover . . .'"

On a Sunday evening a couple of days before International Women's Day, a young woman entered Big Dan's tavern in New Bedford, Massachusetts to buy some cigarettes and chat with a friend who waitresses at the bar. Half an hour later, her waitress friend having just left, this woman was taunted and then grabbed by men in the bar, and then gang-raped for over 2-1/2 hours, while a dozen other men in the bar watched and even shouted "Go For It!" and in other ways encouraged the vicious attack.

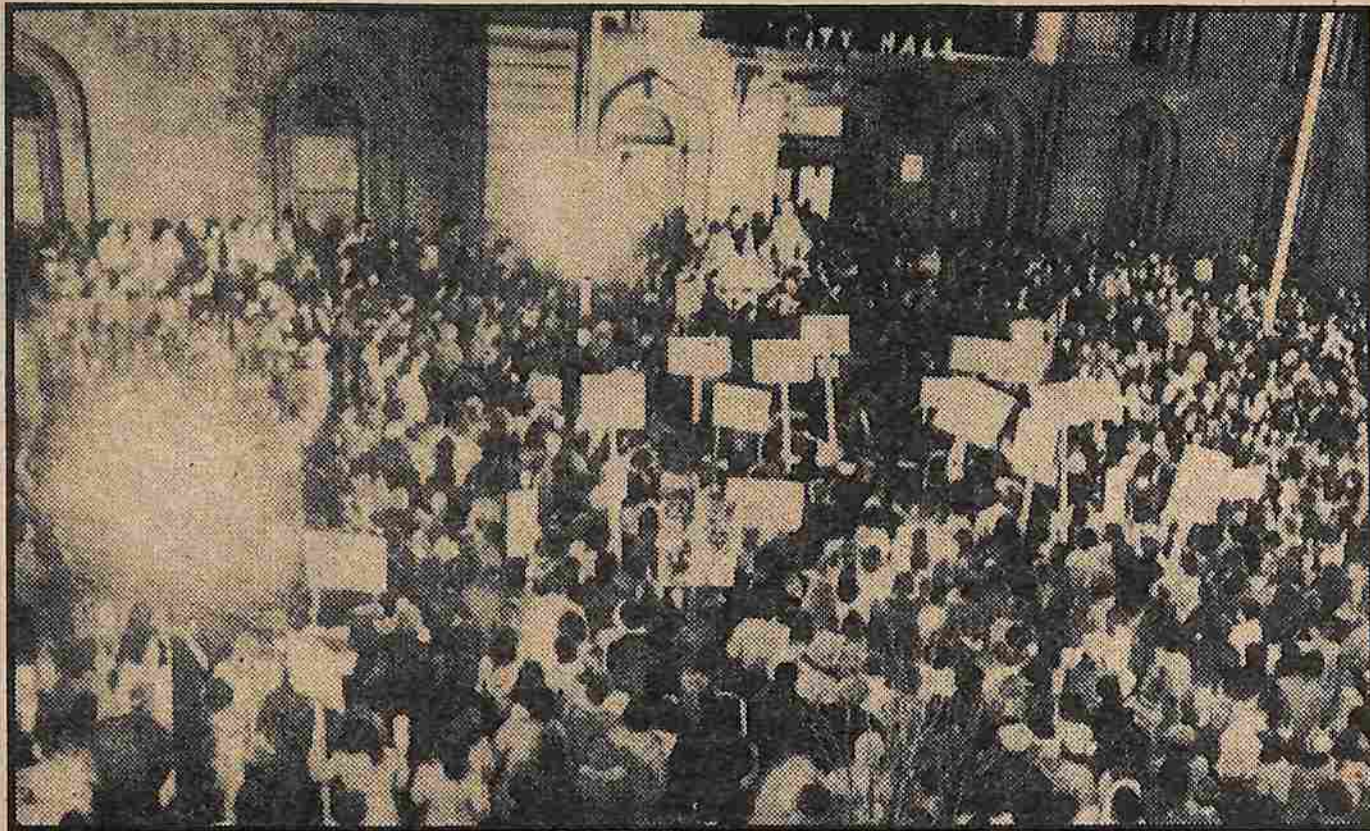
From this very minute, the normal, routine wheels of women's oppression ground into motion. At 12:30 in the early morning, the young woman broke away from her attackers and ran out into the night, where a passing driver called the police. But the pigs, instead of taking her right to a hospital, drove her back to the bar, a trip which could only have further panicked and humiliated her . . . there, four men were arrested on charges of simple rape, taken downtown . . . and released on \$1000 cash bail.

The police continued this blasé attitude the next day when a reporter for the local paper called in to the station for a police log report and was told that there was "nothing unusual"! (And one must grant the New Bedford pigs here a profound truth!) It wasn't until a local reporter checked the police log himself on the day following that the story jumped out at him and was printed in the local papers.

Since then, the story has received national coverage in the media, of course, but even this did not come about as a result of some outraged "exposure" on the part of major media, but instead the publicity was originally given when a sensationalist major daily, the *Boston Herald*, decided to run a lurid, front-page story further exploiting and degrading the matter: "Bar Crowd Cheers As Woman Is Raped," the *Herald* shouted.

It was then that the lid blew off, as the outrage of women and others began to be concentrated on this twisted incident.

New Bedford tends to look, in the recent media coverage, like an exceptional, embarrassing "blot on the American character" or some such rot. In actual fact,



### Gang Rape in New Bedford

# Fury Rears Her Head

New Bedford is in many ways typical of the dozens of medium-sized factory towns throughout New England, a pressure-cooker of unemployment and heightened oppression for tens of thousands of proletarians, dangerous potential for the bourgeoisie. Though unemployment is significantly lower than the national average around the Boston area, in towns like these, outside the Boston belt, depressed conditions are widespread; over 60% of New Bedford is Portuguese people, hard hit by the closure of mills, factories and especially here by lack of work in the big fishing fleets. In these conditions, the "normal" oppressive relations between men and women, in which the man acts the bourgeois to "his" wife in the household, are aggravated and heightened. It's not surprising that the small Women's Center in town, connected to a college, contains a busy project aiding battered women in New Bedford.

As coverage of the gang rape widened, the incident began to focus the outrage of people across the East and the country. The Women's Center and YWCA were flooded with phone calls, more than a hundred a day at the Center, long after the story broke. The two groups formed a Coalition Against Sexist Violence, which in turn pulled together a public meeting of over a hundred and fifty people from groups all over the region. A protest was called for the following evening, demanding of the city government; among other things, the opening and funding of a fully-staffed Rape Crisis Center, a Spe-

cial Commission on the Status of Women in the city, a speedy trial of the rapists and "accountability" for those who had watched and egged on the attack in the bar.

Now came scenes which must have been unknown in this town for a good long while. From Boston, New York, Rhode Island and throughout southeastern Massachusetts poured people — mainly women but also numbers of men — and telegrams arrived from Texas, Arizona, California and Washington. Many mothers and daughters came together — mothers in their sixties with daughters in their thirties, and mothers in their thirties with daughters in their teens. Everywhere signs of outrage: "Castration Without Anesthesia," one placard read. A picture of a man with a noose around his neck: "Rapists Beware — Maximum Sentence." In all, 3500 people engulfed the town streets, the majority from out of town.

But these thousands from the women's movement also helped propel something else into motion: along the streets were numbers of the curious from the masses of New Bedford, and into the march itself streamed an important section of proletarians, largely women, and largely youth, many of them teenagers. When supporters of the RCP went into the demonstration carrying a red banner that read "Break the Chains — Unleash the Fury of Women As A Mighty Force for Revolution," women and men greeted the contingent with raised fists. Others asked

to buy T-shirts (with the same slogan), and the youth in particular gathered around the banner to check out who this group was and what they meant by revolution.

The *RW* spoke to a good number of the proletarian women who had come to show their outrage. Several of these said they hadn't gone to demonstrations before; others said their husbands had opposed their coming to the demonstration and that they were anticipating taking the *RW* home to carry on the struggle against women's oppression. Some teenaged Portuguese women came over and took the RCP banner and held it high, even though one girl's father, clearly very angry, came and pulled her away from the banner — the father turned out to be a local pig. All over people were debating how to stop rape and violence against women and what gives rise to it.

In the face of all this, the authorities could not but make a certain retreat. On March 11-12, all four men were re-arrested and as of Monday, March 14 were being held on \$50,000 surety bond, while one man, who had earlier tried to leave the country, was held on a \$200,000 "double-surety" bond. On the 15th, a grand jury was convened and it upgraded the original charge of simple rape, carrying only a 20-year sentence, to one of "aggravated rape," carrying life; in addition, two other men at the bar, who shouted encouragement, were also indicted as "accessories before the fact." Ear-

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More Reflections & Sketches

# Down on The Word

# LADY

## (To Say Nothing of



by Bob Avakian

*During the latter part of last year, the Revolutionary Worker ran a series of articles, Reflections and Sketches, edited from a tape by Bob Avakian, Chairman of the Central Committee of the RCP, USA. We are currently printing a new series of articles, More Reflections and Sketches, by Bob Avakian.*

The word "bitch" as applied to women plays the same social role as the word "nigger" applied to Black people.

As for the word "lady," its social role is in general not much better. Oh, it may sometimes seem more sophisticated — as in "disco lady, sophisticated mama" or "she's my lady" or "she's a real lady" — and it may supposedly indicate "class" ("a lady does not do things like that") but it is not too hard to see which class all this serves. It is all part of that bourgeois "style" or pretension that is supposed to be "cool" these days — part of the cynicism, hedonism (pleasure-seeking) and narcissism (self-love) that is such an easy and ridiculous cop-out. And most particularly, it is part of the oppression and degradation of women and their relegation to an inferior status and role. In short, in its general social usage, it is part of the arsenal of the enemy. □

**Next Week: We Want In—We Want Out—Two Opposite Views on Discrimination and Degradation.**

## Breaking the Chains

One day, I was on the way to the welfare building and all of a sudden a woman came to me and offered me your paper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, and while she was telling me about the paper I noticed the T-shirt she was wearing. I was touched and amazed because I felt like a part of it. I right away asked her where she got her T-shirt and she offered me one for \$6. I don't mind paying for it, it's worth the money. Ever since then I wore the T-shirt proudly.

I remembered my first year here in the United States. I was in New York City, Lower East Side, Manhattan, with my ex-husband and baby girl. I had no idea what the USA was all about. Being from the Philippines, everything was new to me. I was born in Tondo, Manila, the Philippines and grew up in the Province (countryside). As I was growing up, I learned that men were superior. Women were dominated by men, and that's why most military men came to my country and got married, thinking we were brain-washed and we would do everything for our husbands. My ex-husband kept me hidden for a year and a half for the fact that he didn't want me to learn about the USA or New York City. He wouldn't let me talk to other people. I could only

socialize with his friends and family. He barely took me around Manhattan. At first I thought he meant well, but as I got older I guess, and wiser I realized he was holding me back. He constantly told me I had to speak clear English for the rest to understand me. For awhile that was stuck in my head, scared to talk, thinking people wouldn't understand me or laugh. That time I did everything for my ex-husband an ex-Marine and New York City cop: kept the children healthy, the house spotlessly clean, food was hot by the time he came home from nowhere. I didn't ask questions where he had been, etc. I was so scared that I would do anything for him so he wouldn't get mad. As the time went by, I realized I was left in the shadows until I decided to learn on my own. I started riding on the bus and going all over Manhattan, after that I learned about the subway. It took me a year to learn the way in and out of Manhattan, then I found out about the course "English As A Second Language." I right away registered for the program. My ex-husband was very upset about it, but I didn't mind it at all. I began to feel I was a human being, and I had the right to learn and experience about the USA. I

educated myself and started to mingle with different kinds of people. Now I am on my own and doing the best I know for myself.

I once became a housemaid back in the Philippines for an American military officer who had a Filipino wife. She knew my mother and asked my mother if I could work for her as a maid; at that time I was 12 years old and I was getting paid \$10 a month which is 60 pesos in our money. I thought that I had to do that so I could go to school and get some kind of an education, because my family was poor and couldn't afford to send three children to school at one time.

For the time I've been here in the United States, I learned that the military men, especially those who had been stationed in my country, liked Oriental women that they saw here in the USA. I knew, because it happened to me a lot of times. They right away try to get closer and try to get them as "their woman." They also said that Oriental women are good to their men and they work hard. But once they have an Oriental woman, they started to act funny. They abused and used some of us, for show to their friends. When I told them

what I want with a man I want to be with, they looked at me like they have seen a ghost. I only said, "If the man wants to be with me, he has to respect my right, treat me like a human being, like me the way I am, not because I'm Oriental, most of all I would like a good partner in life," and I kept on talking, "This is one Oriental that they can't push around."

I sat and wondered a lot of times why people are trying to manipulate their own kind, it's not just here in the USA, it's everywhere. I think it stinks. Why can't we all be equal and love, understand each other, instead of bullshitting one another. I hope this letter of mine can teach every woman that is still hidden and doing backward things.

It is time for us women to get out there and show them that we are equal and have feelings too.

So, why don't we just open all of our doors to the REVOLUTION and all hold hands so we can "Unleash the Fury of Women as a Mighty Force for Revolution."

A Filipino Woman

# The Circuitous Route of the Little Engine That Could...

It was noon on Tuesday, March 22, in Bangor, Washington. A swarm of helicopters buzzed overhead. Below, on the railway tracks leading into the Naval Submarine Base at Bangor, stood practically the entire Kitsap County Sheriff's Department, 15 deputies and Sheriff Pat Jones himself to command the operation. Alongside the track stood over 200 demonstrators, housewives with small children, businessmen, nuns, priests and ministers, a few punks — waiting.

The train came around the bend. Two engines, 12 plain white freight cars, and at the end two "security cars" with turrets and small slits for guns to stick out. Its cargo: 100 hydrogen bombs, the nuclear warheads to be loaded onto the Trident missiles, which in turn will be loaded aboard Trident submarines. When a handful of demonstrators headed toward the tracks to block the train, the police quickly grabbed them. One, however, broke away and ran towards the track the train was on, only to be tackled and have two cops stay on top of him until the train passed. Six were arrested and charged with blocking a railway track, a misdemeanor, and one of the six was charged with resisting arrest as well.

The demonstration in Bangor was the largest of perhaps a dozen demonstrations that marked the 1700-mile journey of this train from the U.S. government's bomb-making factory in Amarillo, Texas to the Trident submarine base at Bangor. The train first began to attract nationwide attention with protests that saw ten arrested in two demonstrations in Denver and Fort Collins, Colorado. The government was clearly upset at the attention its bomb-toting train was getting, and at least two times the route was switched so the train would not pass through cities where the government thought demonstrations were likely to occur. But, when the train traveled on a northern route in order to avoid Missoula and Bozeman, Montana, it encountered a demonstration in Whitefish, Montana, and another, reportedly with over 100 participants, in Sandpoint, Idaho. Likewise, when the train went along the Columbia River, along the Oregon-Washington border (a route which circles around Seattle and Tacoma), it met protests in Vancouver, Elma and Shelton, Washington.

The widespread character of the protests undoubtedly annoyed many opinion makers — especially since they had just finished gloating over the relatively sparse protests which greeted the arrival of the second Trident submarine, the *USS Michigan*, as compared to the blockade against the arrival of the first Trident last summer. (This is interesting in its own right — a U.S. warship entering a U.S. naval port unhindered is great

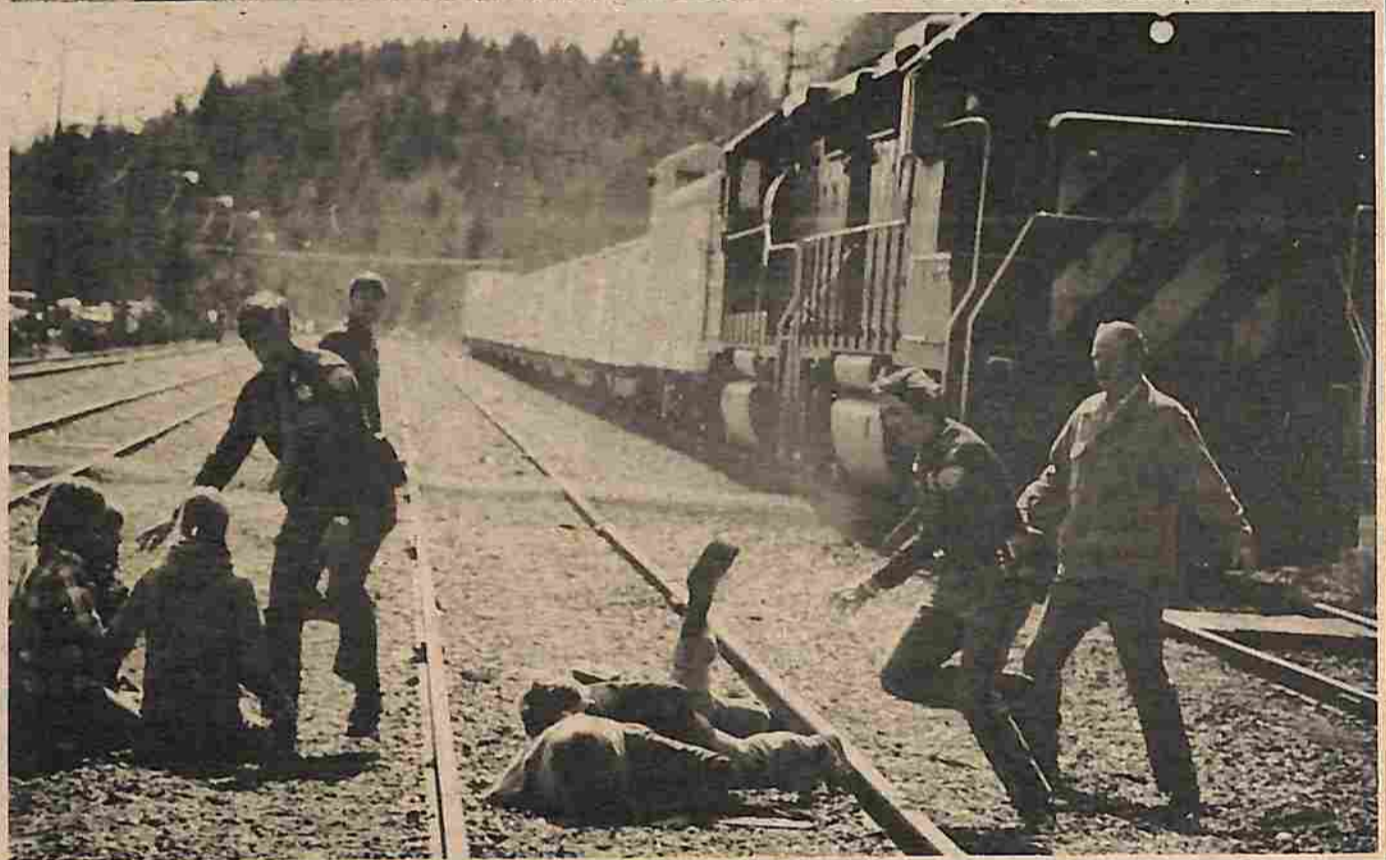
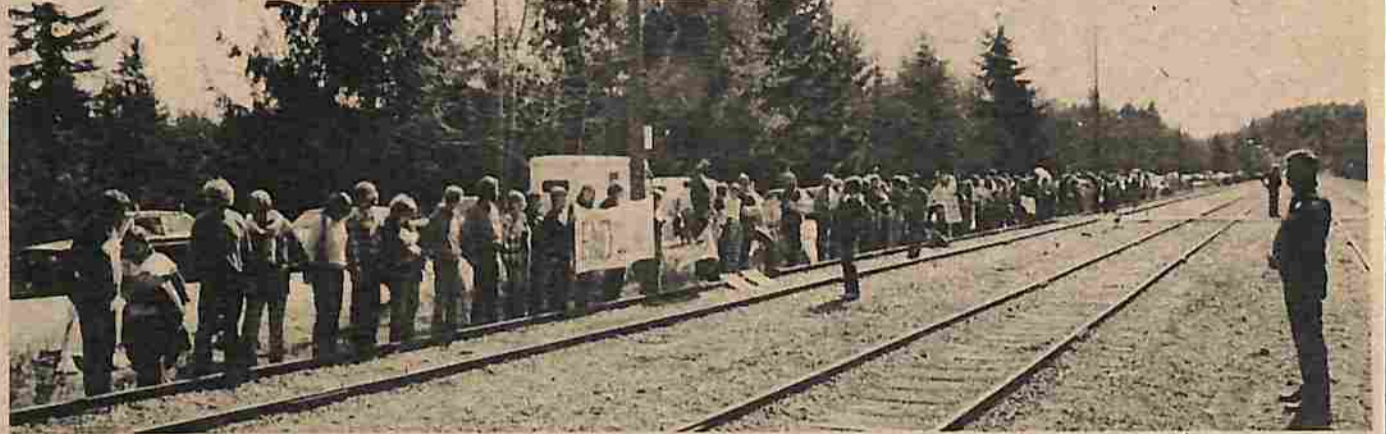
cause for celebration!) And now, they tried to kill the actions against the train "with kindness." The demonstrations were branded as futile, insignificant, politically innocuous. Following the arrests at Bangor, the Kitsap County Sheriff remarked, "If any of them get a jail sentence, I'll be surprised. In fact, if any of them get a jail term, I'll serve it with them." No sir... no problem here!

But it is unlikely that such smug self-

## Blow Your Ass Away

assurances were even all *that* self-assuring. A national news report stated that the train had orders "not to stop under any conditions." And the train, after all, hardly traveled "as the crow flies" from Amarillo to Bangor. □

Bangor, Washington.



# May First Message From Haitian Youth

I'm a member of the RCYB chapter in New York City. Just a note on May 1st 1983. May 1st, 1983 — International Worker's Day. May 1st is approaching. The day when the oppressed throughout the world take the streets of the imperial rule and liberate them sometimes for hours, sometimes for days, while seeking a way to the future, searching and trying to celebrate in unity. They themselves have demanded this holiday. It was in the 1800s when this day was originally celebrated in rebellion in now one of the bastions of imperialism. What a relief it is to celebrate this day in its truly historic meaning. Throughout history, which has been the history of class struggle, the bourgeoisie as they tried with history overall, has tried to distort this holiday, declare it as "Law and Order Day." Well, to an extent they have distorted this holiday — but more importantly history. But it is for the simple reason that they temporarily hold state power. But as we know history is not static and as the Party Programme puts it: "There are moments rare in history that may only come once in a decade but when they do..." May First — the history of this holiday and its character constitute favorable soil to train and prepare ourselves for these great moments in history. So as a revolutionary communist who happened to be born in Haiti, in unity with the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA this is a call, a call not just to Haitians, but to them and all those who have the desire and who feel it's right to rebel, a call to all those who've been oppressed by imperialism and dare to stand up, a call to people from all nations and who belong to none, a call from the oppressed all around the world from El Salvador, Nicaragua, Chile, Africa, Afghanistan, Gdansk,

Palestine to pick up the red flag on May First 1983.

Why? In Nicaragua the revisionists demand of the masses of the people to build up the economy of the country while literally disarming them as if their highest aspiration was to get a better meal from day to day after the revolution. Same thing in Cuba where the revisionists are almost at the point of putting up signs saying "Join the Cuban army and see the world." Angola is part of the world, secured by Cuban angels sweating and dying for imperialism. It is nothing different from what we see in the Western bloc, just different tactics. The same scene, but different actors. In spring '81, 33 Haitians died on the high seas; the so-called boat people. In summer of the next year mass deportation of the so-called illegals. Summer 1982, mass murder of Palestinian people, babies shelled, men and women murdered by rains of U.S. bombs and bullets. 1982 mass murder of Black kids in Atlanta. In 1983 still martial law reigns in Turkey and Chile. At the same time that we understand that today's pig is tomorrow's bacon, our goal and aspiration is and should be higher than petty reforms in Angola, higher than producing sugar for imperialist reasons and above all higher than hoping for reforms from the spears of U.S. imperialism. So on May First 1983 that's got to be revealed to the imperialists of all assortments and their lackeys that our aspiration is in fact higher than this gutter they call the land of the free and bastion of democracy and everything else. Indeed, very significant for those of us who live in the belly of the beast to help worsen their wound. What a contribution to the oppressed around the world, beating down this monster which will ac-

tually liberate millions here and hundreds of millions all around the world. So let May Day reveal that dream, that dream all slaves dream of and hope to come true.

But is a dream related to objective reality? Yes. Fight for that dream in reality and in practice and prepare, and May First is definitely part of this preparation. And to finally do the dog, even to prepare the correct way, is going to take the unity of the oppressed throughout the world. The unity of the working class, proletarian internationalism, nothing less is going to break all the chains that hold us to a world system of oppression, subjugation and plunder. Nothing less is going to lead us to free all of humanity, nothing less is going to move society to that new stage, nothing less — unless we were to stop half way, get off the bus and collude ourselves with the Soviet Union and form our own clique. Our party, the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA, the vanguard of this detachment of the international proletariat here in this country, stands straight up in opposition to this kind of logic of country by country, which will ultimately sell out the struggle of the oppressed not just in this country but anywhere in the world where it's carried through, and history has proven it in practice.

You're not at home? Like Lenin said, "How can you take something away from the workers which they don't have." Well, we've got no damn country — if we did, what the fuck are we doing here in the first fuckin' place. The point is that we've been driven here by capitalism which is at its highest stage, imperialism, which does not just control the economy, the way of life, the status quo and exploit the labor of the workers in their own bor-

ders, but on a world scale. For example, in Haiti — where the masses of the people cannot even afford to consume bananas — you have a U.S. company called Standard Fruit which exports tons of bananas to the U.S. every week, month. But more than that, they seize the slaves in areas where the bananas grow — the peasant, deprived of the lands, comes to the capital. Therefore, you have rural exodus. To try to seek a way out of it — as a result of the overall situation over there — you've got the "boat people," who risk their lives in trying to make it here and who find it the same and sometimes worse. And it's the same throughout the world with their Angolan coffee, with the Cuban sugar. Throughout the world it's the same whatever these dogs may call themselves. So if our dream must come true, we've got to fight for it wherever we are and unite with our sisters and brothers wherever they are. With the oppressed throughout the world — we've got to fight with them and unite with them wherever they are and wherever we are.

On May First the bourgeoisie has declared "Law and Order Day." But together on May First we are going to be breaking out of schools, liberating street corners, housing projects and factories. Like the Chairman of the Revolutionary Communist Party puts it himself, "Let the youth be in the forefront and let the old people not be far behind." So let May Day 1983 reveal the willingness of the proletariat to accomplish our historic mission. Let May First 1983 reveal in actual practice and on a small scale as Mao said, the tortuousness of the road and the beauty of the future. But above all let May First 1983 reveal the reality of the slogan: "Revolution in the '80s, Go For It!" □

# Son of PDID Rises In City of Angels

A transition team of top-level LAPD officials has produced a report calling for a new, more modern and efficient — and less exposed — spy unit to replace its Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID). "There is a clear need for an aggressive professional, legal, moral, and ethical criminal intelligence enterprise for the Los Angeles Police Department," reads the report. *Aggressive* is the key word here. It would seem that those who crawl up from the catacombs have been so *suppressed* lately that they are simply incapable of carrying out their daily infiltrations, break-ins, frame-ups, set-ups, murders and other moral and ethical activities with the necessary vigor. "A tidal wave of legal actions, unfavorable news accounts, and public comment has created a significant morale drain on members of the division." Now this is serious.

With the Big Olympic Games coming up, L.A.'s finest and most highly trained ghouls must be immediately beefed up and fired up, not to mention preparing for future international events of far, far greater magnitude. It's time for a new training program that will utilize the most modern techniques and equipment, some new Rules to Spy By and a new team name (yet to be agreed upon) to give the team a big lift. And the PDID report is the first stop on this, *The Road to Los Angeles*.

Regular *RW* readers will recall that the PDID was scheduled for "deactivation" at a January meeting of L.A.'s Police Commission because, in the words of one commissioner, there "cannot be full public confidence in our department as long as PDID continues to exist." (See *RW* No. 190, January 28, 1983, front page,

"The Disbanding of LA PDID? A Spy Story.") The PDID report, ordered by the commission at that time, agrees with that decision, even though "PDID has made a substantial contribution to the safety and security of the Los Angeles community" — that is, those who rule it . . . and a lot more of the world. Nevertheless, there is that "morale drain," and it has been exacerbated by certain "inadequacies" of the PDID style of doing things. For example, the name "Public Disorder" — why, that is definitely passé these days and shows PDID's "inadequate adaptation to contemporary law enforcement demands," says the report; "criminal intelligence" — now that has a much less *political* ring to it. It sounds even better when the focus of political police activity is any group or individual that "pose(s) a clear criminal or signifi-

cant disruptive threat to the community . . ." After all, "disruptive threat" is so much more *contemporary* than that old-fashioned "public disorder" stuff.

And here's another example of the "old school" approach that PDID suffers from. PDID has experienced "unnecessary abuse" for its insistence on calling newspaper clippings and other "public source documents" by the name "intelligence files." As the report plainly states, "news accounts are not intelligence. In fact, they are nothing more than uncorroborated bits of information which should be either verified if the verification work fits policy requirements or maintained for open reference only." That is, the modern, efficient way of keeping news accounts on who's who in political life is in the "open reference" section of the vaults, not in the old-

Continued on page 12

**The Date Is Set!**

**MAY 19-22**

**A Conference  
and Debate on the Nature  
and Role of the Soviet Union:  
SOCIALIST OR SOCIAL-IMPERIALIST?**

A battle has been joined and an historic political confrontation will take place in New York, May 19-22, as the forces of both sides meet in a critical debate over the nature and role of the Soviet Union today: Socialist or Social-imperialist? As a letter of support for this debate signed by more than 20 prominent scholars, activists, journals and organizations has observed: "Few other controversial political topics today so concentrate profound theoretical questions about mankind's future and are so intimately intertwined with basic practical political choices throughout the world. The question of the Soviet Union pushes itself to the fore in any debate over the possibilities for radical social transformation and over the nature and potential of the developing international situation. . . . This represents a welcome challenge to grapple with the controversies surrounding Soviet society, its nature and its international role, and to do so in a serious and thorough-going way."

In this spirit we call on all those who see the importance and social urgency of these questions to build for and attend this vital debate, and sharpen the political and theoretical confrontation. Already commitments to participate have come from all over the country and internationally.

**May 19-22, 1983 New York City**

The formal debate will occur Sunday, May 22, featuring major spokespersons for the view that the Soviet Union is today a genuine socialist country vs. the analysis that capitalist relations have in fact been restored. The presentations will deal not only with the bases of their opposing analyses but the global political implications which flow from them.

The main debate will be preceded by sessions Thursday and Friday evenings and during the day Saturday devoted to particular topics of Soviet social relations and international involvement, such as "Soviet Aid, Loans, and Capital Investment in the Third World," "The Soviet Role in Various Liberation Struggles Around the World," "Women in the Soviet Union," and "Workers and Management in the Soviet Economy." These sessions will feature speakers presenting diverse views, audience participation, and will be conducted in English and Spanish.

For further information and to become part of the organizing committee, write:

**Soviet Union Conference**  
P.O. Box 924  
Cooper Station, New York, NY 10276  
or call (212) 685-3120

Funds are urgently needed  
(Checks should be made payable to "Soviet Union Conference")



# "Responsible Reportage" of World War III

More than 300 journalists and academics attended a conference on "war, peace and the news media" organized by the Department of Journalism at New York University. The conference, held at NYU March 18-19, was underwritten by a grant from the Gannett Foundation, an affiliate of the conservative, Texas-based Gannett Press Syndicate.

The conference was apparently organized with two purposes in mind: to praise the establishment media for their past and current role in collaborating with the State Department and Pentagon in managing news in the interests of national security, and to prepare them for the tasks ahead in doing their part to aid the U.S. imperialists in preparing for, waging and winning nuclear war. Fittingly, Walter Cronkite, the quintessential daddy of *American* journalism, was listed in the literature calling for the conference as the chairman of the organizing committee. The conference panel included Robert MacNeil of the MacNeil-Lehrer Report, Judith Miller of the *New York Times*, Richard Valeriani of NBC News, and Hodding Carter, press secretary for Cyrus Vance during the Carter administration.

One of the main papers presented to the conference, "Covering the Bomb: Press and State in the Shadow of Nuclear War," attracted attention by an extensive review of the history of press subservience to the government on nuclear and defense issues throughout the post-World War 2 era. But the author, Robert Karl Manoff, attracted even more attention by his conclusion, which instead of "deploring" — even perfunctorily and hypocritically — such collaboration, offers an ideological and political justification for it and urges all journalists to realize that "the pressing needs of the state coincide with the highest aspirations of journalism."

Manoff's paper traces the deep involvement of such organs as the *New York Times* in the service of the Manhattan Project, the government-sponsored effort to develop the atomic bomb during World War 2. William L. Lawrence, a *Times* science correspondent, was working for the War Department while continuing to draw his *Times* salary. General Leslie Groves, the director of the Manhattan Project, "made an appointment to see the *Times* managing editor, Edwin L. James, and told him that the government required the services of his top science writer, although he couldn't tell him why. Groves then spoke to Lawrence and agreed on the terms. Lawrence would work for the government, but continue to be paid by the *Times*, which would also keep his whereabouts a secret. He would prepare all releases and announcements to be made public by the War Department. He would have access to the Project's laboratories, plants and installations, would observe the first test at Alamogordo and go along when the bomb was dropped on Japan . . . ." The *New York Times* "was given a secret War Department briefing in advance of the attack — 'a little edge,' General Groves called it, 'because we've taken your science man away.'"

Manoff shows how the *Times* played a propaganda role in the first months after the atomic attacks in influencing public opinion to glamorize and romanticize the

bomb. Lawrence, who won the Pulitzer Prize in 1946 for his reporting, describes the U.S. race to build the A-bomb as "the most dramatic scene in the history of scientific endeavor." "Of the atomic power plant he declared that 'one stands before it as though beholding the realization of a vision such as Michelangelo might have had of a world yet to be, as indescribable as the Grand Canyon of Arizona . . . ." Reporting the Alamogordo test, finally, he equated the bomb's beauty to 'the grand finale of a mighty symphony,' and the mushroom cloud, boiling up from the New Mexico desert, to the Statue of Liberty."

Manoff's paper marshals evidence from the First World War through the present to show that the *New York Times*-War Department link concerning the A-bomb is not some bizarre historical curiosity, but typical of relations between the state and the press in the United States. In World War 1 "the press for the most part required little coercion to play the role the state required. Journalists, including Walter Lippmann, *Chicago Tribune* managing editor James Keeley, and future *New York Times* editorial page editor Charles Merz, signed on to write war propaganda." In World War 2, the press willingly churned out the propaganda to "incite the people to paroxysms of hatred and to utopian dreams," as Lippmann himself later put it. And, Manoff adds, "journalists passed up news when it was state policy not to emphasize it. By the summer of 1942 . . . one of the war's biggest stories, the slaughter of European Jews, was widely known in Allied capitals but scantily reported."

In the post-World War 2 era, Manoff writes, the press for the most part faithfully implemented the requirements of psychological warfare and deferred to the authority of the national security state: "Perpetual management, in fact, is the most characteristic task of the permanent emergency, and that which has had the greatest impact on the press . . . . The state over the last two decades has moved to ensure its safety by maximizing its control over the political and military environment. In doing so, it has communicated clearly that the complexity and secrecy of these matters calls for increased forbearance on the part of the public, and greatly enhanced restraint on the part of the press." The way the press fulfills its role varies with the needs of the state: Manoff shows that starting in 1972, press coverage of issues regarding the U.S.-Soviet military balance dropped drastically: "Simply put, administration policy was best promoted by deemphasizing stories about strategic policy in general, and those about the Soviet-American balance of forces, or Soviet military activities, in particular. From the evidence, the press would seem to have obliged. During all of 1972, for example, the CBS evening news ran only one minute on the military balance."

But Manoff's paper, presented to a significant gathering of journalists in the midst of the current preparations for World War 3, is not aimed at condemning the role of the U.S. media as a tool of government propaganda; rather, he argues that this is the only realistic, possible, and desirable role for the press to adopt. "What are the possibilities for journalism

today? That depends largely on the state. 'Peace journalism?' Yes, if peace is a state priority or if a strong state factions promotes it . . . . 'War journalism?' Certainly, if war is declared. As in the past, state politics will continue to determine the issues, set the terms, and establish the limits of responsibility that come to be respected by the American press . . . . Journalists have little choice but to do what they have always done, and perhaps done best, and that is to serve the state."

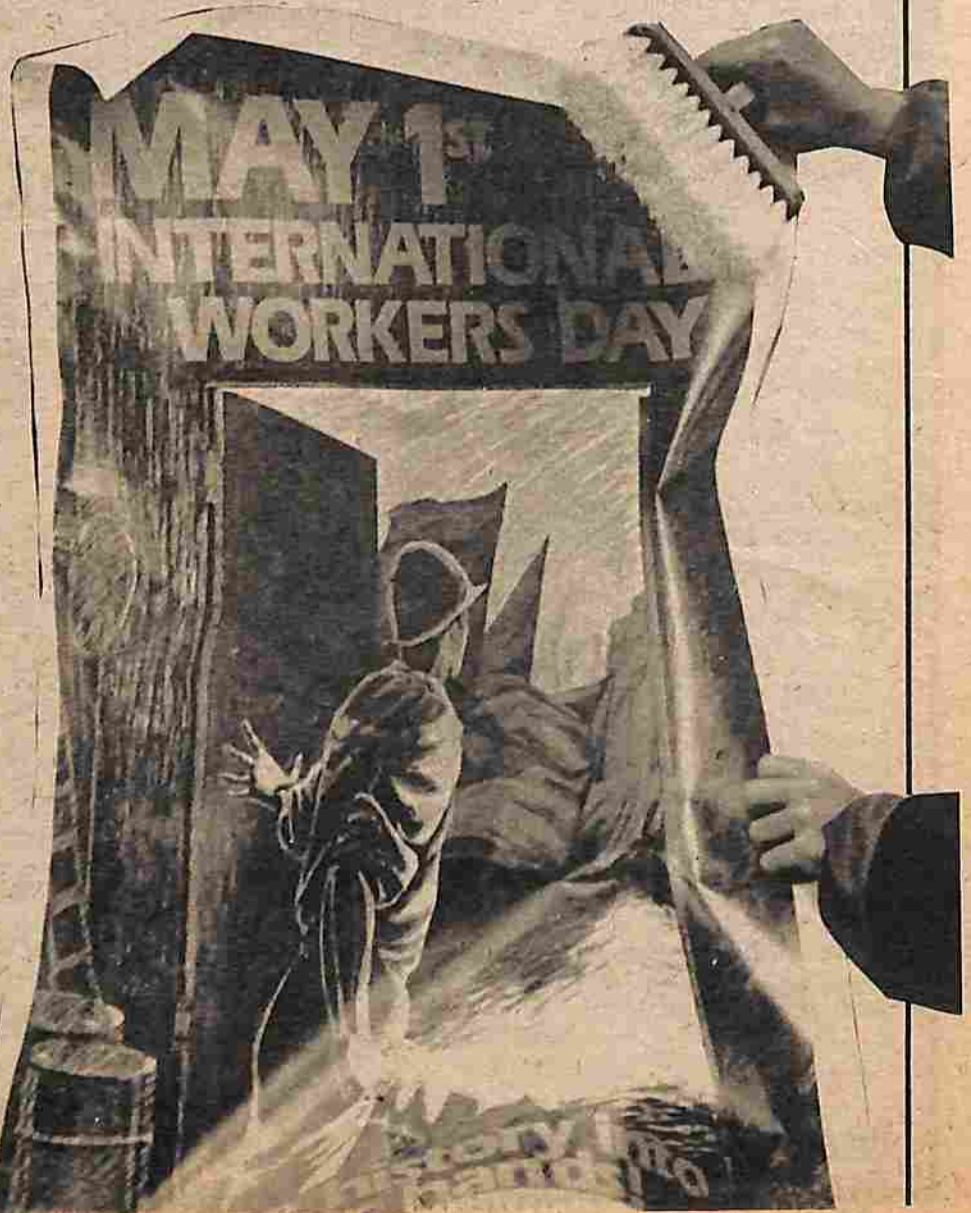
Manoff's concluding paragraph argues that "By accepting the actual relationship it has with the state, recognizing the inevitability with which it answers to the state on questions of war and peace, and embracing this condition (instead of waging an imaginary contest in the name of a liberty that it has never been able to exercise), journalism itself might discover a

new freedom spared its own crippling illusion. Finally free, it could cast aside the delusion of objectivity . . . . As a partner of the state, consciously serving its highest purposes along with its own, the press for the first time could become the author of its acts, the source of its own activity, an active protagonist of the state instead of its inconstant plaything."

Such a clarion call to journalists to live up to the highest traditions of craven subservience to state authority, to abandon even "the delusion of objectivity," is not, of course, being sounded at random and for no reason. Getting ready for the next war requires the strengthening of the ideological underpinnings of full-scale collaboration; consciously engaging in propaganda for the U.S. imperialist war machine must be made to seem honorable, Continued on page 10

## Funds needed to print the historic May Day Poster

In order to quickly print this historic poster, as well as a sticker version of the same design, funds are urgently needed. Send contributions to: RCP Publications, P.O. Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654, USA.



L.A. High

# Early Warning Signs of May Day

Some time during the early morning hours of March 4, the walls of L.A. High School were done up in revolutionary May Day graffiti. This was a paint job that could not be ignored; it instantly became the talk of the school. It was all done under the noses of the administration, who, as events later in the week would prove, have been in active preparation for the expected May Day upsurge this year. So far, it looks like their expectations will be met.

RW readers will recall May Day '82 at L.A. High, especially the pre-May Day peak on April 28 when hundreds of students staged a lunch time rebellion. Red flags and RW's were widely distributed (which the administrators spent the afternoon desperately trying to confiscate); student agitators were leaping onto lunch tables as students gathered around. As the administrators and security guards moved in to make arrests, all hell broke loose. Security guards were pelted with food and garbage, administrators pleaded with students to stop agitating as other students raced through the school grounds and hallways, some yelling "May Day! May Day!". The principal and some other equally popular administrators were jumped by students, and several wore splints and bandages the rest of the week as a result of the licks they took. It took more than an hour for things to calm down enough to where the pigs felt it was safe to take those arrested out of the security office to LAPD squad cars on the street. And all this happened in spite of a complete, coordinated lockdown of the campus by the school security and LAPD. Significantly during this rebellion, Black students for the first time joined in with the Central American stu-

dents who had been leading May Day activities at the school (and this came right at the height of the bourgeoisie's vicious INS raids and chauvinist propaganda campaign — known as "Operation JOBS" — against Mexican and Central American immigrants).

The April 28 action happened on top of a month of May Day battles which saw arrests and three expulsions of students and began with a disruption of a "career day" where military recruiters offered students a "future of opportunity." A number of both Central American and Black students from L.A. High went on to play an active part in the May Day demonstration in L.A.

If anything, the political terrain at L.A. High is still more in turmoil this year than last. Things are not what could be called "under control" at this school. It even seems to have become (among some of the Black students especially) a popular pastime to surround and beat up security guards. The school in the past was overwhelmingly comprised of Black students, but in the last several years with the large immigration of Central Americans into L.A. it now has a large section of Central American students. Fearful of the highly combustible nature of the mixing of the Black students with the Central Americans, the administration has taken pains to keep them divided, and this has been and is this year an obstacle that the May Day activists must seriously confront and overcome. Last year (and this year as well) administrators and some teachers promoted the idea that revolution was only for people from "other countries," that is the Central Americans, and at one point just before May Day lies were spread by the administra-

tion that the Central Americans were bringing guns to school to use against Black students.

The past year has seen an administrative crackdown on teachers who tried to do progressive things in their classrooms, and there has been a big promotion by certain teachers and backward students of religious evangelism on the campus — rallies have been held and dark-age literature broadly distributed. There are many forces contending among the students, including a very small, but very vocal, group of openly pro-imperialist promoters of *Soldier of Fortune* magazine.

This year, May Day's sights and sounds have been seen and heard even earlier than last year. Within days of the dramatic appearance of the graffiti — which was quickly covered over but just as quickly resprayed — one student May Day agitator — a member of the RCYB — was accused of "arson" (setting a trash can on fire) and expelled. After being informed of his expulsion at a "meeting," this student stood his ground, exposing the arson charge as a frame-up and a cover for an attack on May Day. The administration also accused him of spraying the graffiti: "Well, we know you're responsible for the graffiti. We had an LAPD expert come in and analyze it and they matched the graffiti to your handwriting." When the student demanded the names of supposed witnesses to the "arson," the dull-witted administrator hesitated, and stumbling for words, he refused, saying that the "witnesses" had all been transferred to other schools!

This revolutionary student was also told by the administration to write an essay on "Why I shouldn't be expelled."

The administration was dreaming of a recantation and undoubtedly planning to distribute it in some manner to other students. Well, an essay was written and distributed too — but things didn't exactly end up the way administrators Gunderson and Ball had in mind.

The essay is an exposure of the administration and agitation for May First! (The piece is reprinted on this page.) Plans were made to distribute the "essay" and on March 23, well over a dozen students did exactly this. It got out all over the place — and right under the snouts of the tyrants. Administrators — panicked before — were now sitting in their pants. Out of the large number of student "essay" distributors, only two were caught. It was reported that in apprehending the two student outlaws, the assaulting administrators were literally shaking — out of anger and fear — and after being denounced by the two students in front of many others, the administrators were forced to retreat from expulsion threats.

Officials are clearly preparing for more. Besides the author of the "essay," other students pinned as May Day supporters have been harassed, followed around by campus security pigs throughout the day who report the students' location with hand radios. One was detained and asked for a list of his friends — but to no avail.

All the holes in the fence surrounding the campus have been sealed — holes used last year by expelled students to get back onto the campus. Well, there's one problem solved — but others remain. What, for instance, are they going to do about the main gate? □

## The "Essay"

This is the "essay" written by an L.A. High student. (See accompanying story.) It is addressed to administrators Gunderson and Ball and is titled, "Administration Tries To Frame Up RCYB Member for Arson, Tries to Stop May Day."

Dear Sirs:

You have asked me to write an essay of why I shouldn't be expelled from school. You have accused me of being an arsonist and the following is my case which is also up to the students to decide because it will be passed out broadly.

That day when the supposed fire began I found Marshal Gunderson and some of his victims in the second floor. As I passed by his highness Gunderson I was asked if I had a pass to be in the halls, which I gladly showed him. The next week on a Monday as my friends and I were being kicked off the field bleachers, Gunderson yelled out my name and started fabricating the most obvious lies anyone can ever imagine. I was being charged of setting a trash can on fire. As I was hearing this outrageous lie the first thing I thought of was these revolutionary graffiti that had appeared all over the school the Friday before. The graffiti stated things like "Take History Into Your Hands, March on May First," "Mayhem on May Day," "Break the Chains of U.S. Imperialism," "L.A. High Youth Break Out May Day," "Death to U.S./Soviet Imperialism." And since the school security had me identified as a radical and revolutionary I knew they were trying to set me up. As Gunderson accused me of being an arsonist he paraded me through the school as a warning to others not to associate with me, under the excuse of looking for one of his deputies to turn me in, which he didn't find.

Right after hearing the scoundrel's accusation, a couple of comrades and I got together to sum up the frameup. One important thing we found out is that the administrators are not just coming after me but are out there trying to intimidate all those who dare to defy authority. Gunderson has threatened some friends to be expelled if they don't act like clones that he approves of. Another thing we found is that May Day is coming, the day when the proletariat raises the Red Flag of the oppressed throughout the world in preparation to seize power. This of course is a serious threat to the ruling class.

Another thing which leads to the conclusion that there was no fire is

that the students that supposedly accused me of setting the fire are "no longer in school," something very convenient for the administrators. You don't have an arsonist in your hands and you know it damn well!!! Your whole case against me is political.

The administration has to develop tactics to better contain the rebellious youth that are going to be out there May Day '83. Last year the administration in L.A. High, security and L.A. Police Department, were faced with hordes of students challenging old ideas, imperialism and all that is decadent in imperialist society. On April 28th, in the middle of the immigration raids against Latinos to blame them for the lack of jobs and to spread racism, Black youth took part in the revolutionary breakouts together with a large number of Latinos. We know they will use racist tactics to separate the class-conscious students — like last year they spread lies that the Latinos had brought guns to school to use against Blacks. And this year a campaign has started by a few fascist — Nazis — racist students ("survivalists" who recruit for the military for pay and promote *Soldier of Fortune* magazine) to organize against May Day. They told me they "would be waiting for the commies this year on May Day." And what about the anti-"commie" graffiti in the bathrooms, who put that there, Gunderson, will those responsible be expelled? All these tactics won't work because whatever they do they won't separate people from where their interests lie.

So even if I did get expelled from school, you'll get rid of one revolutionary; but it will not accomplish what you hope, to stop youth from becoming more conscious — get closer to revolution. As you remember, last year when you did expel three revolutionary leaders thinking you'd solved it all, May Day proved you wrong.

# A Revo Ph

"As philosophy finds its material weapon in the proletariat, so the proletariat finds its spiritual weapon in philosophy." So wrote the young Karl Marx, and the spiritual weapon that he went on to forge armed the proletariat to change the face of human society — a process which 100 years after his death has both scaled truly towering heights and at the same time only really just begun. But the development of this revolutionary weapon itself required a revolution — one in the realm of philosophy — and the works reprinted here concentrate the main elements of Marx's transformation of philosophy.

As a young man Marx took part in the revolutionary movements that swept Germany in the late 1830s and early 1840s. At the beginning of that period political differences found expression not so much in the political arena as in contention between different philosophical schools. Along with his life-long collaborator Engels, Marx had grown up in the school of the "Young Hegelians." Hegel, writing around the turn of the 19th century had shown that the universe and everything in it should be comprehended in its motion, its constant change and flux. The source of this constant development, according to Hegel, lay in the contradictions within entities, contradictions between the dominant aspect of the entity and the seed of the new (and at first secondary) aspect which arises in the womb of the old and struggles against it. Through this struggle the newly rising aspect negates (or destroys) the shell of the old entity, gains dominance and blossoms — and thereby giving rise to a qualitatively new thing with new constituent contradictions, a new process of struggle, and eventually, another qualitative transformation and leap into the new.

Hegel's profound insight, and the dialectical method which he forged on that basis, were themselves the product of an era of swirling change and cataclysmic leaps: large-scale industry was first beginning to supplant more primitive methods of production, the bourgeoisie was decisively challenging and (especially as concentrated in the French Revolution) dissolving the old order, and science was beginning to forge an understanding of nature that was not just mechanical, but developmental as well.

But the radical, even revolutionary implications of Hegel's philosophy were smothered by what Engels called the "conservative outgrowth" of his idealist system. As Marx explains in the excerpt from the Afterword to the second edition of Capital reprinted here, for Hegel "The Idea" was the motive force in the world. He saw all history as the progressively advancing attempts of this Idea to realize itself in practice, with the Caesars and Napoleons of the world its instruments. Politically, Hegel concluded that the Idea found its fullest realization in the German monarchy of Frederick the Great, i.e., the German state of his own time. The vitality, then, of Hegel's dialectical method was sucked dry by the idealist tumor he planted upon it.

At the same time, philosophical materialism had also been reviving. As opposed to idealism, materialism maintains that the world must be taken and studied as it is, that is, that the causes for all phenomena — natural or social — must be sought and analyzed in the material world (and not from a make-believe spiritual realm). Pioneered by the early Greek philosophers, but later suppressed, its revival went along with the rise of the bourgeoisie, serving the new class in the crucial ideological and political battle with the Catholic Church (a bulwark of feudalism) and in the struggle to advance science as an aid to capitalist commodity production and exchange. By the 1830s in Germany, materialism took the field against the airy and reactionary speculation into which Hegelian philosophy had by then degenerated. Ludwig Feuerbach launched and led this attack, breaking the spell, as Engels put it, of idealism.

But Feuerbach's own materialism was not thoroughgoing; in particular, though brilliantly criticizing religion, he stood helplessly before the problem of analyzing society, and could only urge the transference of the love of god to the love between man and woman, and the generalization of that to all humanity. Nevertheless, the liberating effect of Feuerbach's philosophy caused the German government to suppress him; and faced with the gathering revolutionary storms in Germany, and Europe generally, Feuerbach eventually retreated from the fray.

This was the state of things in 1843 when Marx took advantage of a temporary forced withdrawal from active revolutionary work to come to grips with what he called "the doubts which assailed me" in the realm of philosophy. The result was explosive: in a series of works including his "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right," "The German Ideology" (written with Engels), his short but brilliant "Theses on Feuerbach" (reprinted here) and others, the most profound and far-reaching revolution in philosophy of all time lit the sky with its opening volley.

The heart of this leap in the realm of philosophy lay in its focus on the centrality of human practice, which comes through especially in Marx's "Theses on Feuerbach." "Feuerbach," Marx wrote, "regards the theoretical attitude as the only genuinely human attitude... hence he does not grasp the significance of 'revolutionary,' or 'practical-critical' activity."

Commenting on this passage, Bob Avakian noted in Mao Tsetung's Immortal Contributions that: "Here, for the first time in history, Marx is insisting on the central and determining role of practice in the process of cognition, its decisive role in the movement of knowledge. Previously, including with Feuerbach, as Marx points out, materialism conceives of objective reality as things existing outside of and independently of human thought, but did not consider human activity itself as part of objective reality... According to this view the relation of man to nature in the process of cognition is simply that man must reflect external reality in his thoughts, or contemplate it."

It is practice — carried out by humanity in the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment — that is the source of all thought and knowledge, and it is practice again that verifies or disproves any idea or theory. Further, all practice and thinking is essentially social — that is, thinking and activity had to be situated in the definite context of the social relations of society, and not viewed as the products of abstract individuals considered apart from that society.

Avakian goes on to conclude that "Finally, then, in opposition to Feuerbach and all previous materialists, the new — dialectical and historical — materialism is based on the understanding that 'it is men that change circumstances,' and that 'the coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can be conceived and rationally understood only as revolutionizing practice.' In other words, what Marx emphasizes here is that just as people relate to each other in and through society and are generally shaped by the society in which they exist, so, too, on the other hand, people must and do change society — and through it nature. Hence Marx's famous statement: 'The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to change it.'"

This rupture with the mystification of all previous philosophy changed forever humanity's understanding of the world, and of its own role within it. But this alone was not enough; the activities of the masses in revolutionizing the world — and themselves

— had to be scientifically understood. So Marx and Engels went further, fleshing out the materialist conception of history, which is concisely outlined in the passage we reprint here from Marx's "Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy". Here Marx applied materialist dialectics to history, that method which, as Engels put it, "dissolves all conception of final, absolute truth and of absolute states of humanity corresponding to it. For it (dialectical philosophy) nothing is final, absolute, sacred. It reveals the transitory character of everything and in everything; nothing can endure before it except the uninterrupted process of becoming and of passing away, of endless ascendancy from the lower to the higher. And dialectical philosophy itself is nothing more than the mere reflection of this process of the thinking brain."

This breakthrough in philosophy in the 1840s set the method and framework for all the subsequent theoretical works which Marx and Engels were to carry forward in many different spheres throughout the rest of their lives; it forms the foundation today for the further advance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tsetung Thought. Beyond that, though, this theoretical work has always found its source in and in turn pushed forward the process of real human beings transforming the real world — and specifically in this epoch of the international proletariat fighting to "conquer the world" and usher in the epoch of classless society, world communism.

Therein lies the crucial contribution and role of Marx's philosophy. As Marx himself wrote, "The weapon of criticism cannot, of course, replace criticism by weapons, material force must be overthrown by material force; but theory also becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses."

## THESES ON FEUERBACH

### I

The chief defect of all hitherto existing materialism — that of Feuerbach included — is that the thing [Gegenstand], reality, sensuousness, is conceived only in the form of the object [Objekt] or of contemplation [Anschauung], but not as human sensuous activity, practice, not subjectively. Hence it happened that the active side, in contradistinction to materialism, was developed by idealism — but only abstractly, since, of course, idealism does not know real, sensuous activity as such. Feuerbach wants sensuous objects, really differentiated from the thought objects, but he does not conceive human activity itself as objective [gegenständliche] activity. Hence, in the *Essence of Christianity*, he regards the theoretical attitude as the only genuinely human attitude, while practice is conceived and fixed only in its dirty-judaical form of appearance. Hence he does not grasp the significance of "revolutionary", of "practical-critical", activity.

### II

The question whether objective [gegenständliche] truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory but is a practical question. In practice man must prove the truth, that is, the reality and power, the this-sidedness [Diesseitigkeit] of his thinking. The dispute over the reality or non-reality of thinking which is isolated from practice is a purely scholastic question.

### III

The materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing, forgets that it is men that change circumstances and that the educator himself needs educating. Hence, this doctrine necessarily arrives at dividing society into two parts, of which one is superior to society (in Robert Owen, for example).

The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can be conceived and rationally understood only as revolutionizing practice.

### IV

Feuerbach starts out from the fact of religious self-alienation, the duplication of the world into a religious, imaginary world and a real one. His work consists in the dissolution of the religious world into its secular basis. He overlooks the fact that after completing this work, the chief thing still remains to be done. For the fact that the secular foundation detaches itself from itself and establishes itself in the

clouds as an independent realm is really only to be explained by the self-cleavage and self-contradictoriness of this secular basis. The latter must itself, therefore, first be understood in its contradiction and then, by the removal of the contradiction, revolutionised in practice. Thus, for instance, once the earthly family is discovered to be the secret of the holy family, the former must then itself be criticised in theory and revolutionised in practice.

### V

Feuerbach, not satisfied with abstract thinking, appeals to sensuous contemplation; but he does not conceive sensuousness as practical, human-sensuous activity.

### VI

Feuerbach resolves the religious essence into the human essence. But the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In its reality it is the ensemble of the social relations.

Feuerbach, who does not enter upon a criticism of this real essence, is consequently compelled:

1. To abstract from the historical process and to fix the religious sentiment (*Gemüt*) as something by itself and to presuppose an abstract — isolated — human individual.

2. The human essence, therefore, can with him be comprehended only as a "genus", as an internal, dumb generality which merely naturally unites the many individuals.

### VII

Feuerbach, consequently, does not see that the "religious sentiment" is itself a social product, and that the abstract individual whom he analyses belongs in reality to a particular form of society.

### VIII

Social life is essentially practical. All mysteries which mislead theory to mysticism find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice.

### IX

The highest point attained by contemplative materialism, that is, materialism which does not understand sensuousness as practical activity, is the contemplation of single individuals in "civil society".

### X

The standpoint of the old materialism is "civil" society; the standpoint of the new is human society, or socialised humanity.

### XI

The philosophers have only interpreted



# olution in philosophy

the world, in various ways; the point, however, is to *change* it.

Karl Marx, 1845  
Originally published  
by Engels in 1888  
*Marx and Engels Selected Works*,  
Volume I

## from the PREFACE TO A CONTRIBUTION TO THE CRITIQUE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

I am omitting a general introduction which I had jotted down because on closer reflection any anticipation of results still to be proved appears to me to be disturbing, and the reader who on the whole desires to follow me must be resolved to ascend from the particular to the general. A few indications concerning the course of my own politico-economic studies may, on the other hand, appear in place here.

I was taking up law, which discipline, however, I only pursued as a subordinate subject along with philosophy and history. In the years 1842-43, as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung* I experienced for the first time the embarrassment of having to take part in discussions on so-called material interests. The proceedings of the Rhenish Landtag on thefts of wood and parcelling of landed property, the official polemic which Herr von Schaper, then *Oberpräsident* of the Rhine Province, opened against the *Rheinische Zeitung* on the conditions of the Moselle peasantry, and finally debates on free trade and protective tariffs provided the first occasions for occupying myself with economic questions. On the other hand, at that time when the good will "to go further" greatly outweighed knowledge of the subject, a philosophically weakly tinged echo of French socialism and communism made itself audible in the *Rheinische Zeitung*. I declared myself against this amateurism, but frankly confessed at the same time in a controversy with the *Allgemeine Augsburger Zeitung* that my previous studies did not permit me even to venture any judgement on the content of the French tendencies. Instead, I eagerly seized on the illusion of the managers of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, who thought that by a weaker attitude on the part of the paper they could secure a remission of the death sentence passed upon it, to withdraw from the public stage into the study.

The first work which I undertook for a solution of the doubts which assailed me was a critical review of the Hegelian philosophy of right, a work the introduction to which appeared in 1844 in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, published in Paris. My investigation led to the result that legal relations as well as forms of state are to be grasped neither from themselves nor from the so-called general development of the human mind, but rather have their roots in the material conditions of life, the sum total of which Hegel, following the example of the Englishmen and Frenchmen of the eighteenth century, combines under the name of "civil society," that, however, the anatomy of civil society is to be sought in political economy. The investigation of the latter, which I began in Paris, I continued in Brussels, whither I had emigrated in consequence of an expulsion order of M. Guizot. The general result at which I arrived and which, once won, served as a guiding thread for my studies, can be briefly formulated as follows: In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to

a definite stage of development of their material productive forces. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness. At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or — what is but a legal expression for the same thing — with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such trans-

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# Philosophy

Continued from page 9

formations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic — in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social productive forces and the relations of production. No social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed; and new, higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions of their existence have matured in the womb of the old society itself. Therefore mankind always sets itself only such tasks as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, it will always be found that the task itself arises only when the material conditions for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation. In broad outlines Asiatic, ancient, feudal, and modern bourgeois modes of production can be designated as progressive epochs in the economic formation of society. The bourgeois relations of production are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production — antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism, but of one arising from the social conditions of life of the individuals; at the same time the productive forces developing in the womb of bourgeois society create the material conditions for the solution of that antagonism. This social formation brings, therefore, the prehistory of human society to a close.

Frederick Engels, with whom, since the appearance of his brilliant sketch on the criticism of the economic categories (in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*), I maintained a constant exchange of ideas by correspondence, had by another work (compare his *The Condition of the Working Class in England*) arrived at the same result as I, and when in the spring of 1845 he also settled in Brussels, we resolved to work out in common the opposition of our view to the ideological view of German philosophy, in fact, to settle accounts with our erstwhile philosophical conscience. The resolve was carried out in the form of a criticism of post-Hegelian philosophy.<sup>3</sup> The manuscript, two large octavo volumes, had long reached its place of publication in Westphalia when we received the news that altered circumstances did not allow of its being printed. We abandoned the manuscript to the gnawing criticism of the mice all the more willingly as we had achieved our main purpose — self-clarification. Of the scattered works in which we put our views before the public at that time, now from one aspect, now from another, I will mention only the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, jointly written by Engels and myself, and *Discours sur le libre échange* published by me. The decisive points of our view were first scientifically, although only polemically, indicated in my work published in 1847 and directed against Proudhon: *Misère de la Philosophie*, etc. A dissertation written in German on *Wage Labour*, in which I put together my lectures on this subject delivered in the Brussels German Workers' Society, was interrupted, while being printed, by the February Revolution and my consequent forcible removal from Belgium.

The editing of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in 1848 and 1849, and the subsequent events, interrupted my economic studies which could only be resumed in the year 1850 in London. The enormous material for the history of political economy which is accumulated in the British Museum, the favourable vantage point afforded by London for the observation of bourgeois society, and finally the new stage of development upon which the latter appeared to have entered with the discovery of gold in California and Australia, determined me to begin afresh from the very beginning and to work through the new material critically. These studies

led partly of themselves into apparently quite remote subjects on which I had to dwell for a shorter or longer period. Especially, however, was the time at my disposal curtailed by the imperative necessity of earning my living. My contributions, during eight years now, to the first English-American newspaper, the *New York Tribune*, compelled an extraordinary scattering of my studies, since I occupy myself with newspaper correspondence proper only in exceptional cases. However, articles on striking economic events in England and on the Continent constituted so considerable a part of my contributions that I was compelled to make myself familiar with practical details which lie outside the sphere of the actual science of political economy.

This sketch of the course of my studies in the sphere of political economy is intended only to show that my views, however they may be judged and however little they coincide with the interested prejudices of the ruling classes, are the result of conscientious investigation lasting many years. But at the entrance to science, as at the entrance to hell, the demand must be posted:

*Qui si convien lasciare ogni sospetto;  
Ogni viltà convien che qui sia morta.<sup>4</sup>*

Karl Marx  
January 1859  
*Marx and Engels Selected Works,*  
Volume I

### from the Afterword to the Second German Edition of *Capital*

My dialectic method is not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the life-process of

the human brain, i.e., the process of thinking, which, under the name of "the Idea," he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurgos of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of "the Idea." With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought.

The mystifying side of Hegelian dialectic I criticised nearly thirty years ago, at a time when it was still the fashion. But just as I was working at the first volume of "Das Kapital," it was the good pleasure of the peevish, arrogant, mediocre Epigoni<sup>5</sup> who now talk large in cultured Germany, to treat Hegel in the same way as the brave Moses Mendelssohn in Lessing's time treated Spinoza, i.e., as a "dead dog." I therefore openly avowed myself the pupil of that mighty thinker, and even here and there, in the chapter on the theory of value, coquetted with the modes of expression peculiar to him. The mystification which dialectic suffers in Hegel's hands, by no means prevents him from being the first to present its general form of working in a comprehensive and conscious manner. With him it is standing on its head. It must be turned right side up again, if you would discover the rational kernel within the mystical shell.

In its mystified form, dialectic became the fashion in Germany, because it seemed to transfigure and to glorify the existing state of things. In its rational form it is a scandal and abomination to bourgeoisdom and its doctrinaire professors, because it includes in its comprehension and affirmative recognition of the existing state of things, at the same time also, the recognition of the negation of that state, of its inevitable breaking up; because it regards every historically developed

social form as in fluid movement, and therefore takes into account its transient nature not less than its momentary existence; because it lets nothing impose upon it, and is in its essence critical and revolutionary. . . .

Karl Marx  
January 1873  
*Marx and Engels Selected Works,*  
Volume II

### Notes

1. A reactionary daily newspaper in Germany, which in 1842 carried an article distorting the ideas of utopian socialism.
2. A magazine edited by Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge which published one issue in Paris in February 1844.
3. *The German Ideology* by Marx and Engels.
4. A daily newspaper published in Cologne from June 1, 1848 to May 19, 1849; Marx was its editor-in-chief, Engels, a member of the editorial board.
5. "Here all mistrust must be abandoned And here must perish every craven thought."

Dante, *The Divine Comedy*

6. Marx uses this to refer to the German bourgeois philosophers. The Epigoni in Greek mythology were the sons of seven chieftains who died making an abortive siege of Thebes shortly before the Trojan War. Many years after their fathers had failed, the Epigoni revenged their death by destroying Thebes.

## "Responsible Reportage"

Continued from page 6

necessary, what a journalist "should" do, and not something shameful, something to feel guilty about.

There has been increased discussion and debate lately in journalistic circles about issues of "journalistic ethics" and "responsibility." Should the television cameras have covered the man who took over the Washington Monument to demand an end to the arms race, or would a responsible press have blacked out this story? A camera crew in Anniston, Alabama, came under scathing press criticism for filming a man who set fire to himself in the town square "to protest unemployment in America." The argument in this case was that the newsmen should have refused to film the incident and not encouraged the man, and rushed to put out the fire when he finally lit the match as a "humanitarian duty." Of course, the "responsible" press will also carefully cooperate with the U.S. government in its plans to plunge the world into a thermonuclear war. And if the *New York Times* gets an "advanced briefing" on where the first bomb will drop, of course, the editors won't have any more of a "humanitarian duty" to warn the prospective victims than they did when they learned ahead of time of the plans to drop the bomb on Hiroshima.

The paper which attracted the widest publicity (including a long puff piece in the *New York Times* the day before the conference) was titled "The Golden Triangle: Press Relations at the White House, State Department and Department of Defense," by Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution. "...By almost any measure, serious Washington reporters have never been better even as the most serious coverage of government becomes increasingly problematical." "The men and women who cover the White House, State Department and Pentagon for the major news organizations are not high school dropouts who began their careers filling paste pots in the city rooms of Chicago tabloids. They are very well educated." The Washington Press Corps is a "purer meritocracy" than the U.S. Judiciary (in another context, one might think this damning with faint praise, but Hess is sincerely trying to pay the press a compliment.) "I doubt," Hess concludes, reaching for the nicest thing he can think of to say about his pals, "that reporting would become more responsible if the Washington bureaus of the *New York Times*, CBS, and *Newsweek* were re-

placed by the Atlanta law firm of King & Spaulding, the executive suite of the Ford Motor Company, or the Governmental Studies Program of the Brookings Institution."

We doubt that it would, either. The 300 or so who attended the main session of the conference included defense analysts, representatives of the foreign press (including TASS, the Soviet news agency), U.S. government officials, political science professors, clergymen, representatives of the liberal and "alternative" press (such as *Mother Jones* magazine) and anti-nuke activists. There were occasional expressions of dissent from the prevailing atmosphere of self-congratulatory bellycrawling; and there was a noticeable amount of eye rolling and restive boredom. During one of Stephen Hess's cloying tributes to the Wash-

ington Press Corps, one quiet, well-groomed man suddenly turned to this reporter and said, "I find him particularly obnoxious, don't you?" A young woman kept muttering, "Oh God, is this really necessary?"

Oh yes, quite necessary: necessary to abandon those "crippling illusions" and "delusions of objectivity"; time to accept "your actual relationship with the state." There wasn't exactly a storm of resistance at the conference; there were a good number of smug and placid faces in attendance. Then there were others who had rather dubious looks on their faces; still chewing on this "new freedom," afraid to swallow it, but unwilling — at this time at least — to violate good form, or draw attention to themselves, by spitting it out. □

## Fury Rears Her Head

Continued from page 2

liar, even while the march still moved through the streets, the town's licensing board met and shut down Big Dan's for good.

But even while retreating on these fronts, the bourgeoisie began running out its lies, excuses, and justifications. A gaggle of psychologists dutifully trotted into the press theories about the "freak" occurrence, the mysterious "group pressure" which swept along the rapists: these were weirdos, kooks. A veil of obfuscating legalisms descended on the trial: could you really consider those in the bar as "accessories"? If so, how many? And so on . . .

But this is not a case of a few weirdos or nuts. The fact that a large group of men could sit and watch, and even take part in a brutal rape, says something extremely damning about the mentality and social relations promoted and officially enforced under this system. If anyone is too taken by the stated "good intentions" of the court and government officials, one should look at the overall attitude of the state toward rape. As one example, the state has recently moved to make available to those lawyers defending rapists the records of Rape Crisis Centers — the breach of this confidentiality would obviously make these centers

useless to women who go to them (and not to the police), for that very reason.

This mentality is, in a word, legitimate in society's eyes. One woman, Page Mellish of the New York chapter of Women Against Pornography, described the men in Big Dan's bar as acting "like they were watching a pornographic movie." This is undeniably the case — pornography in film and in real life is a thoroughly legitimate way of chaining women to their "proper" subservient role. Such a legitimate form of free enterprise are porn movies that each year they net fully 17% of the profit of all movies in the U.S., while porn magazines are said to represent six of the top ten most profitable magazines in the country. The gang rapists of New Bedford are hardly "exceptional" but rather represent a true prophet of the whole social mechanism of women's oppression.

All this is starkly portrayed in this attack.

And then there is something else brought to light by the outbreak in New Bedford, a very explosive something represented by the rebel "town daughters" whose fury was unleashed for just a short while this time . . . □

# 1 Week To Go!

## MAJOR PARTY FUND DRIVE!

On March 31st, the Major Party Fund Drive will end. The significant and enthusiastic response to the call to raise funds for the party has been evident in the many diverse letters printed in the *RW* over the last three months. But to bring this drive to a victorious conclusion, we're calling on people to fully carry through and conclude their concentrated fund-raising efforts, to make their individual contributions, and fulfill all pledges (to the greatest degree possible) by March 31st. As the original call for this fund Drive stated, "Many deeds cry out to be done. Large sums of money are needed to help strengthen the revolutionary communist trend internationally, to help build the party and deepen and spread the influence of its line into all the diverse streams of rebellion and protest; to further address the burning questions of our time, including in our party press; to counter the constant attacks by the state — in short to hasten the process of revolution worldwide." One important goal of this drive is to fund in their entirety major projects such as the *Introduction to SCIENCE OF REVOLUTION* book (\$10,000), the Prisoners Revolutionary Literature Fund (\$10,000) as well as underwrite special aspects of the publication and distribution (including internationally) of the *Revolutionary Worker*. For all those who recognize the importance of the party, its influence and work, your efforts in the next week is crucial.



### Statement from Haitian Revolutionaries

Objectively today's world is upside down. The imperialist system is in a big economic and political mess.

The economic manifestation of this crisis is:

- 1) The near bankruptcy of many "developing" countries such as Brazil, Mexico, Poland.
- 2) Massive unemployment, inflation, high interest rates and fierce competition among the imperialists for each other's and the world's markets.
- 3) The disarticulation of the economy of the neo-colonies and dependent countries complete impoverishment and exploitation of the oppressed masses.

Politically the imperialists are in a big crisis. It has a two-fold manifestation.

- 1) The competition among the few advanced imperialist countries for control of the world market, the exploitation of the masses and the raw materials. The economic and political crisis of the system is pushing the imperialists to continue their politics of class exploitation and world plunder by other means — i.e., world war to eliminate their rival, redivide the world and reorganize capital internationally. In the oppressed nations, each of the imperialist blocs is desperately trying to prop up their own neo-colonial lackeys and topple the other side's lackeys as well as suppressing the masses' struggle to break free. The imperialists know the seriousness of their crisis and they are preparing themselves to solve it temporarily by consolidating their two war blocs headed by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and lining up the masses behind them to fight and defend their bloody empires.
- 2) The exploitation and oppression of the propertyless masses of the world, the deepening crisis of the system, the preparation for imperialist war and the eventuality of an imperialist world war present a very great danger for the oppressed masses of the world. With this, the contradictions between the oppressed masses, the imperialists and their local lackeys are sharpening every day all over the world. Even though the proletariat and the oppressed face great danger and great challenges in this juncture of imperialist crisis, this juncture also creates great opportunity for the proletariat and the oppressed. They have the opportunity to break many weak links in the imperialist chain of exploitation and oppression and thereby advance the world process of revolution toward the abolition of class rule. To meet all the dangerous challenges and great opportunities in this juncture, the proletariat must prepare itself ideologically, politically and organizationally. The burden of preparing the proletariat and the oppressed to meet these challenges and opportunities ahead rests on the shoulders of the advanced and conscious element of the proletariat. The Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries, the genuine revolutionaries are very few in the world today. The movement is infested with revisionism and economism. The strong influence of these two bourgeois tendencies have caused a lot of decay in the revolutionary movement. They are rearward tendencies that are weakening the ability of the revolutionary proletariat to organize and prepare itself to wage decisive battles now and in the future against the domination of all imperialists and all the evil they carry with them. The influence of the revisionists are so strong in the movement in large part because they are even holding state power in former bases of the proletariat — Russia, China, Albania. Recently the revisionists also have usurped state power in many dependent countries and neo-colonies which had waged victorious armed struggle against the U.S. and other imperialist powers. They have a program worldwide to oust one imperialist slavemaster only to bring in another, riding on the back of and manipulating the just struggles of the masses.

The revisionist line is also very strong in the countries where national liberation struggles are taking place now and because of their influence in the movement in these countries we witness many setbacks in these struggles like the capitulation of the PLO leadership. We have also witnessed the dissolution of revolutionary organizations like *In Struggle* and the demoralization of revolutionary comrades all over the world.

For all these reasons, the genuine revolutionaries, even though they are a minority, must take responsibility for the entire movement — that is fight for a correct ideological, political and organizational line; a line based on proletarian internationalism which would broaden the horizon of the proletariat and enable it to fulfill its historical mission.

This line must be cast in the furnace of the class struggle — i.e., the revolutionaries must wage a fierce struggle against both the imperialists and their lackeys, and inside the revolutionary movement against revisionism, economism, reformism and all other bourgeois lines. It is in this process that the revolutionary elements will be able to build a vanguard revolutionary organization internationally with its detachments of vanguard revolutionary parties in each country based on the science of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tsetung Thought. Then the proletariat will be able to meet the challenges and opportunities ahead. This is the task and obligation of all revolutionary Marxist-Leninists and conscious elements of the proletariat.

As a group of Haitian revolutionary internationalists who have had a chance to live both in a U.S.-sponsored hell like Haiti and in the heart of an imperialist beast, we are aware of the urges that oppressed people all over the world have to destroy this beast and the entire system it is part of. As revolutionary proletarians who want to contribute in that noble destruction of this beast, we are aware also of the necessity of the existence of vanguard organization with an internationalist outlook. Our group and other Marxist-Leninist forces around the world are committed to carrying out the principles of the Joint Communique document — to organize a genuine Marxist-Leninist party and prepare to seize opportunities for revolution in our own countries as well as working to help the same process in all other countries.

We think that today there exists such a vanguard organization in the U.S. with that internationalist outlook and a correct line on the question of revolution. This organization is the Revolutionary Communist Party. Due to its line, this small and young organization stands apart from the crowd of revisionist and reformist organizations. The RCP is the only organization we know in the U.S. which is waging an uncompromising struggle against imperialism and who are making a decisive break with economism and chauvinism in the movement. We also think that the RCP

with its in-depth political and theoretical analysis in the *RW* newspaper, *Revolution* magazine, the *Basic Principles* document (co-authored with RCP Chile) and other literature is greatly contributing to the political development and consolidation of the advanced elements both in the RCP and among other revolutionaries and advanced in the U.S. and overseas. Their work in initiating and uniting with others including ourselves in building revolutionary internationalist May Day, the Mass Proletarian War Crimes Tribunal and the upcoming Debate on the Nature and Role of the Soviet Union are also greatly contributing to this process.

We believe the continuing existence and development of this organization in this upcoming juncture is crucial. We also know that in order for this party to continue to exist and develop it's imperative for the revolutionaries, the conscious elements of the proletariat and all those who hate this system of class exploitation and world plunder and who would like to see it replaced by a better system must support and help build this party and make it a strong vanguard organization capable of assuming leadership of the proletarian revolution. An important part of this is to contribute to the RCP's current fund drive and we call on all who can to make their greatest contribution.

As we said at the beginning of this letter, today the world is upside down. With correct leadership, we the international proletariat will turn the world right side up!

### Letter from Australian Revolutionaries

Dear Comrades,

We have decided to donate \$200 to your Party's fund drive and to write to you explaining why we are doing this (for our own self clarification and for explanation to other revolutionary minded people in Australia and internationally).

Since we live in Australia it is the international aspects of the work of the RCP/USA that have the most influence on us. We are not really in a good position to give our opinion of your political work inside the USA, although your paper the *Revolutionary Worker* is interesting and informative.

At this stage it appears to us that the RCP/USA may be making some unique and extremely valuable contributions to the development of communist ideology internationally. The RCP/USA actively encourages revolutionaries to think deeply for themselves and to use the methodology of dialectical and historical materialism as opposed to the dogmatic and sterile concept of merely "upholding" Marxism, Leninism and Mao Tsetung Thought as some sort of frozen pinnacle of perfection.

By vigorous polemics against deviations to nationalism and bourgeois democracy in imperialist countries the RCP/USA has given a new and fresh meaning to the term "proletarian internationalism". These polemics have helped us in our analysis of Australia and its role in the world. At the beginning we had serious reservations about the RCP/USA and there are still some aspects of your approach that we feel do not assist the promotion of your ideas in Australia. For example, we disagree with the overly romantic style of your photographic promotion of Bob Avakian. Nevertheless, over a period of time we have come to appreciate your mature approach to questions of "difference", including the fact that you are prepared to print opposing points of view in your paper, provided that they are thought provoking. For example, the letter from "Revolutionary anarchists, Communists and Internationalists" on World War 3 that you printed in *RW* 165 and again in *RW* 183.

A most interesting development in the *Revolutionary Worker* that has come out more clearly in 1982 (it was present in more subdued form earlier) has been the irreverent criticisms of the 3rd international, Stalin, Mao etc. particularly by Bob Avakian in a series of articles (Especially "Conquer the World" and a number of articles in the *RW* after this). Whether or not you turn out to be correct (and this is a contentious question in Australia at the moment!) these critiques are a brave and necessary part of the international proletariat taking decisive steps forward. Whether or not the RCP/USA is the best flower on display, your overall approach is helping to create communist soil internationally. We will continue to promote your publications in Australia and continue to challenge those who feel they have a better analysis of the international situation to produce it.

Fraternally,  
'Adelaide anti-imperialist study-action group'

The following letter, written by a prisoner support activist, is being sent out to friends and supporters of the prisoners support movement.

I am writing this letter in support of the RCP's Prisoners' Revolutionary Literature Fund and campaign. I do not know if most people on the bricks understand the incredible importance of the written word to people in prison.

I have worked with Native American prisoners for four years. Progressive prisoners are often isolated from each other and from supporters on the outside. I have known prisoners on strike in segregation for months. They aren't allowed visits or phone calls, their personal mail is messed with. Their only communication is with guards. A progressive newspaper arrives and it is read cover to cover. It is smuggled cell to cell. They read of other prison strug-

gles, of oppressed people around the world who are winning victories against all odds. Information about revolutionary movements in the form of books and newspapers can literally be lifesaving to someone behind the walls.

When prisoners can see the connection between their struggles and the struggles against oppression around the world, it can give them the strength to continue on. When prisoners fight for their rights they fight for all of us.

I would like to commend the *Revolutionary Worker* for its continuing efforts in fighting for the rights of prisoners to receive and read progressive literature. I would encourage everyone to make a donation to the prison literature campaign, the money to send even one prisoner a newspaper may make more difference than you know.

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# PDID

Continued from page 5  
timers' "intelligence files" section.

But don't get the idea that the report is only concerned with modernizing police semantics — far from it. There are also many *organizational* problems that have plagued the operations of PDID. For example, "current rudimentary technological developments on storage retrieval and security have left the PDID file system in the dust." How true. *RW* readers may recall the embarrassing revelations that boxes and boxes of PDID files had been offered to everyone from the L.A. School District to military intelligence in order to avoid the ordered destruction of the invaluable records; and then, the even more embarrassing discovery of over 90 of these cartons salted away in the garage and mobile home of a loyal and highly dedicated PDID sergeant. Now really, if only all this info had been transferred onto modern computer disks, both storage and security would have been far less vulnerable to prying eyes.

Other organizational problems included: "audit and inspection neglect," which apparently left too much damning evidence lying around and available to those who, for one reason or another, would find it useful; "inadequate intelligence collation and analysis," which apparently made the operations too "unsystematic" and not focused up enough on all the forces that PDID was supposed to concentrate on, nor the ways in which it should have carried out this concentration; and "inadequate intelligence dissemination," whereby PDID operatives sometimes didn't have enough faith in the ability of their porcine colleagues in other divisions to pass along valuable information so that others could share in the kill. Naturally, all of this will have to be corrected. And so will the rather amateurish policy of combining various "non-intelligence" tasks with the already critical duties of the spies; the new unit will not be required to protect politicians, carry out investigations for arrests, worry about prison gang investigations or deal with "unusual occurrence planning." There are other spies who are already into all that. And the whole thing will be much more closely supervised by the police chief under the philosophical direction and periodic review of the police commission. From now on, the LAPD's political police are going to operate under a more highly centralized apparatus, with a strict division of labor — a necessary advance for the vanguard role they have been

assigned by the U.S. bourgeoisie.

Of course, there are certain widespread "criticisms" of PDID that are not even alluded to in this report. One might mention, for example, the infiltration and disruption of virtually every social movement, organization and group in the city. Or perhaps the particular tactics of at least one PDID officer, Fabian Lizarra, who with the authorization of his superiors moved in with a woman (who was a supporter of RCP activities) under false pretenses of love in order to get closer to his "principal target," RCP member Damián García. And of course, there is no mention of the fact that the PDID officer was standing only five feet away from comrade García when he was murdered in East L.A. Apparently, this was one time when "intelligence dissemination" worked just fine, and the "unusual occurrence planning" was allocated to the proper divisions. Since all these activities were well within the modern, efficient vanguard activities of the political police — and much more will be required — there would be no reason for them to be mentioned in a report that dealt with the *shortcomings* of PDID.

One potential obstacle to carrying out all the necessary improvements was dealt with right at the front of the report: the touchy question of "public support." Some might have worried that all of the bad publicity that PDID has received over the past few years had turned all Angelinos off to what is required. But never fear. According to the report, "90% of respondents to a public opinion poll answered 'yes' to a question which asked whether LAPD should gather intelligence on potentially violent groups and individuals. 86% answered 'yes' to the question, 'Should LAPD undercover officers infiltrate these groups?'" This survey was conducted directly by LAPD officers calling up certain people and putting the questions to them over the phone. The existence of the phone survey was originally revealed by a judge who had been called by them — which gives an indication of the kind of callees on their list. And one can only wonder what list the names of those who gave the wrong answer ended up on.

This survey was just one of the innovative techniques applied in this important report. Also, two of the three officers on the transition team traveled to an undisclosed number of cities in order to compare and contrast the various methods of carrying out political police activities. Although the exact locations (including countries) of these various cities was kept secret, it is known that Seattle and Miami were two of the cities on the list. Perhaps

Seattle was chosen to see the effect of the experiment with "civilian review" of political police files (a politician periodically checks out the official files), and whether this was garnering the necessary public support for its vile activities without letting any deep, dark secrets out into the light of public exposure. Given Chief Gates' oft-expressed concern for the international dimensions of political police operations, Miami might have provided the officers with an opportunity to compare notes on such topics of mutual interest as the effective use and training of reactionary Cuban and Nicaraguan exiles. In addition to comparative city studies, the transition team also consulted some of the *private* "security" companies that have sprung up throughout the last decade carrying out mercenary political police activities in various locations around the world, as well as large corporations that are engaged in national security activity, such as TRW. And finally, various federal law enforcement agencies were also consulted for their advice and direction. This is in keeping with longstanding close contact and cooperation between PDID and the FBI, Secret Service and other federal arms of the repressive apparatus.

But despite the obvious care and federal tutelage that has accompanied the new PDID report, there are those whose opinions *count* in ruling circles who feel that the new guidelines are not sufficient. For example, Police Chief Daryl F. Gates, while agreeing with the report's recommendations, has made it clear that he strongly disagrees with any "criticisms" of PDID's operations, and this is not mainly because there are many who want to hold a poor, beleaguered chief personally responsible. Gates and those he loudly represents feel that the heavy times ahead necessitate a great deal of more up-front public opinion molding for the clampdown. Some of the democratic facade through which the bourgeoisie's dictatorship operates is viewed as a nuisance by these forces. In their view, there is no better time to rectify the situation than right now, on the eve of the 1984 Olympics — a significant international event in its own right and even more importantly, a critical test-run of "domestic security" capability in preparation for the requirements of world war and potential revolutionary upheaval. On the other hand, there are those — like Mayor Bradley, for example — who feel that the *appearance* of "democratic rights," strict guidelines and so forth is necessary to gather public support for the clampdown. Bradley publicly stated that he would "not hesitate" to get Gates disciplined — including the "remote" possibility of asking the Police Commission to fire the chief — if it ever comes out that the chief failed to follow whatever new guidelines are finally adopted by the Police Commission.

This is just one sign of the internal acrimony that continues to characterize the bourgeoisie's efforts to forge a political police vanguard in Los Angeles. The fur is flying with charges, counter charges, intimidation and pressure, and various bourgeois exposures of the deeds and outlook of the various players by their opponents. For example, one whole round of activity has centered on the efforts of the city's leaders to settle the massive and highly exposure-laden ACLU-sponsored lawsuit against PDID officers, the police department and the city. Some officials view the continuing publicity surrounding the suit as an obstacle to the necessary expansion of political police activity. In line with these views, the L.A. City Attorney, one Ira Reiner, began holding some secret negotiations with Police Protective League lawyers to try to get them to agree that the case needed to be settled. But Gates and other high-ranking pigs were apparently quite vocal in their objections to any attempt at settlement. So Reiner, a well-known personal opportunist who saw a bandwagon developing among the city fathers, publicly announced that there was a band of "zealots" operating in PDID — a means of putting pressure on the police department leadership to go along with the settlement and make himself look good in the process. However, Gates & Co. counterattacked by demanding that Reiner be removed from the case for being unable to represent the pigs properly. Mayor Bradley counter-counterattacked by supporting Reiner, Gates further retaliated by "walking the halls

hard" and "pressuring" city council members to remove Reiner from the case, and so forth. The latest — but far from the last — words on this particular tussle have a judge ruling that City Attorney Reiner must get off the case and Chief Gates warning that Reiner should "be wary that he doesn't make me an enemy."

As this infighting has gotten more intense, just a little of the workings of the democratic process has begun to see the light of day. For example, the office of a Reiner aide was broken into and a briefcase and other items were stolen from it sometime after the city attorney's "zealots" statement; the cleaning woman in the building reported seeing two men who identified themselves as police officers, one of whom was openly carrying a gun, who told her that they were just "checking up on things." In another incident, Bradley told the *L.A. Times* that, just prior to the election for governor, which Bradley lost, officers of the LAPD Organized Crime Intelligence Division leaked the information that a big Bradley supporter had connections with the Mafia; Bradley claims to have known nothing about this guy's associations, and Gates admitted that he usually informs the mayor if he is about "to be put in a position that might be compromising," but in this case Gates said, it must have "just slipped my mind."

One of the most interesting of these little exercises in democracy recently occurred when Superior Court Judge Jerry Pacht announced that two top LAPD officials paid a visit to him in 1980 — a visit that "could be construed as an attempt to intimidate me." Readers of our "Spy Story" article will recall that Judge Pacht was one of the prominent figures who rated having a file in PDID and whose file apparently contained information that raised questions about possible involvement with pro-Soviet revisionists — or at least, efforts on the revisionists' part to side up to the judge; it will also be recalled that Chief Gates said of Judge Pacht, "I don't need a dossier. I know everything there is to know about him." Judge Pacht is also the judge who ruled on the demand for a parade permit for May Day '80 in Los Angeles. During the hearing, the judge had appeared to clearly favor granting the permit, but his opinion somehow changed after the lunch recess; revolutionaries in L.A. have long contended that the judge somehow got the word that he had better rule against it. However, if police officials tried to threaten the judge over a May 1st ruling, Pacht is clever enough not to make a big deal about *that*. Rather, he cites a series of rulings on inner-departmental police discipline as the source of the intimidation, with the high-ranking officers complaining that the judge "either too much or too frequently" sided with the Police Protective League, officers appealing departmental disciplinary action and especially, against the right of the police department to spy on its own officers. Pacht also said that this was the basis for a document contained in his PDID file that "explored a possible bias by the judge against intelligence activities." If ever a press statement concerning alleged "police abuse" was calculated to gain sympathy within the police department and further inflame the inter-porcine fighting, Judge Pacht has cleverly provided it.

At any rate, in the context of both this ferocious infighting and, not coincidentally, a widespread sentiment among broad forces in Los Angeles that the new unit proposed by the PDID Report would simply be "Son of PDID" — to which Chief Gates responded that he hoped this were true — the Police Commission decided to hold off on any final decision on the report's recommendations pending further "study." Undoubtedly, this is being aided by tutorial assistants from Washington, D.C.

In the meantime, preparations for the Olympics are going full speed ahead. The U.S. government may not officially subsidize athletes, but it certainly doesn't scrimp when it comes to "security." Nearly all the \$69 million in federal funds slated to go to the Olympics is for this purpose, including \$50 million for bringing in the U.S. Army, if needed! Apparently, there is a great deal of concern in high places about the possible activities of revolutionary sections of the *masses*. And needless to say, there was no inner-bourgeois debate about *this* decision. □

## MAJOR PARTY FUND DRIVE

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I am contributing some money to the RCP so that its newspaper, the *Revolutionary Worker*, can be sent to Latin America. Marxism-Leninism must make its way into an area of the world where for too long communism has meant revisionism.

A Latino  
Portland, OR

The following letter accompanied a donation of \$1,000. It was written by a prominent figure in San Francisco Dance and was sent to different members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, including its national office.

I am 93 years old and have lived through two world wars, and being very patriotic, thought they were being fought for Peace and Freedom. After World War Two, I joined the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom because it was international. I have learned from reading the *Revolutionary Worker* and from observing life around me, that we are nothing but pawns being shuffled around the board by the powers that be. Another thing I realized is that in order to have peace, we must get rid of the causes of war. It dawned on me that there was more than one kind of internationalism. The United Nations comes to mind as one solution, but it turned out to be just another col-

lection of missions, behaving just as missions; vying for power with other nations. So the only way to get rid of war is to get rid of nations. We've come to the point where we have to say, "How are we going to do it?"

I have been reading a book about Mao and the revolution in China, hoping to find out how a revolution is made. Reading this makes me wonder how, if there is to be a revolution as the RCP is working towards, there has to be an army. Where's the army?

The *Revolutionary Worker* is the only newspaper which tells what is truly going on in the world. I call upon you to support it.

I might add, I've always been interested in women fighting against their suppression; I realized in reading history that women have always been looked upon as little more than playthings. I have strongly supported Tina Fishman's battle for custody for her child and was pleased to meet other members of the WILPF at the trial here. Tina Fishman is being attacked as an active supporter of the Revolutionary Communist Party; this fund drive is a good opportunity to contribute to the party. Here is my contribution. I hope this inspires others to do the same.

Your friend in hope and faith,

# Accumulating Revolutionary Forces for the Coming Showdown

The Central Committee of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA held an important meeting in the latter part of 1982. In RW No. 194 we reprinted as a special supplement all of the documents of the meeting. They consisted of background material which was circulated before the meeting and the Report from the CC, all of which was written by a leading member of the Central Committee on the basis of points raised by its Chairman, Bob Avakian. Because of the importance of the questions dealt with in these documents, and also because some of our readers might not have seen RW No. 194, we are reprinting these documents in sections. Three weeks ago we reprinted the background material. Two weeks ago we reprinted Part I and Part II of the Report from the Central Committee. Last week we reprinted Part III and Part IV. This week will conclude with Part V and Part VI of the Report.

The supplement from RW No. 194 containing all the documents from the meeting may be obtained from the RCP in your area, or may be ordered by sending 75¢ to: RCP Publications, PO Box 3486, Merchandise Mart, Chicago, IL 60654. The price includes postage.

## Report from the Central Committee

### V. Base Areas and Factories as Fortresses

Some time ago, in his paper "For Decades To Come . . . On a World Scale," (RW No. 98) our Chairman raised the idea that the experience of base areas from the semi-feudal, semi-colonial countries also has political applicability in some situations here — though because of the differences in the two types of countries there are real differences. This, together with the vision of factories as fortresses, is an important concept. It has historical precedent, even in this country where some similar areas were definitely base areas for the Panthers at high points in the '60s struggle. Its basic and ultimate importance stems from a strategic view — from the point of view of staging areas and organs of proletarian political power during a revolutionary situation — and of organizing the armed insurrection itself. This sort of strategic view should affect how we work to establish base areas today.

These concepts also correspond to the real conditions of the proletariat in the U.S. today, to their material conditions, to the "suppressed energy of the youth," etc. Particularly if it is viewed flexibly, potentially covering more than just one shop, the principle of "factories as fortresses" very much corresponds to the conditions of the oppressed sections of the proletariat, as described in "Charting the Uncharted Course." Hired, fired, laid off, in a pool circulating from shop to shop, working long hours — for many of these workers (including, but certainly not limited to, immigrants) these factories are often the center of their lives, including their social and political lives.

From the strategic perspective described above, it should be even more clear that a base area (or potential base area) is not a place to side-step the political struggle. Historically, the Bolshevik factory-fortresses and stronghold neighborhoods were seething political arenas, full of contending political forces and trends. This was true at the high points of struggle and in embryonic ways in less stormy periods. A potential base area is no safe, pure, economist refuge and can never be developed with such a view. (As a side-point, we need to understand better how the revisionists function in these areas. While their influence is uneven, nowhere will we be able to avoid it. Often it is expressed in a different way than our influence, including through the medium of such local authorities as union officials or tenants' associations. In other cases, particularly in some immigrant communities, their influence is expressed in those ways, but also in broader mass ways.)

A base area is something which cannot just be declared or redefined as some place where we go to do some things occasionally or we sell papers. To meet the real criteria of "the unleashing of the masses' formerly suppressed political energy, the outpouring of their activism and of their quest for revolutionary ideas and theory" ("Decades") requires a combination of objective factors and our work. As yet, we should be clear, we have no base areas. But through our work and changing conditions they can and will develop — and they can emerge quite rapidly.

Objective conditions for the full flowering of a base area (or factory fortress) most often will emerge in connection with broader events in the society or world. One of the present problems is the relative quiet of the Black masses — a condition, however, as we have seen even in the last few years, that can rapidly change. Some sections of immigrants are in a greater state of political ferment; however, some of these communities are base areas for revisionists (though sometimes contested). Does this mean that we have screwed up? No, fundamentally it means that the revisionists have state power (or part of state power) in the countries where these people come from, or have authority in the movement there today. Some are, in a way, extensions of revisionist base areas there. We will screw up if we don't recognize that as part of the objective conditions. Still, such communities are often more fluid and open to contest than many places, partly because of these conditions.

We should also note in passing here that it is wrong to make work in building base areas and factory fortresses equivalent to our central task, or even to the carrying out of our central task among the proletariat. First of all, there is the factory work. But second of all, the emergence of base areas is due,

as referred to above, to a combination of factors, all of which do not exist at all times. To reduce everything in the proletariat to work to build them would be narrowing the scope, both geographically and politically, of what we do.

Approaching things from a strategic view, from the standpoint of our central task, we should be able to avoid the problems which result when we act as if a base area or factory is just a place to get a few things going for a while (or alternatively, when "not much is going," a place to sell the paper). This degrades the concept of base areas — and degrades the key role of the paper, reducing it to an instrument for marking time instead of our key weapon now in revolutionary preparation. Actually, such tendencies are remnant reflections in practice of the old "concentrated struggle/ broad exposure" line, an eclectic formulation which we correctly replaced with our central task of "create public opinion . . . seize power." It is not a correct view of our work, in these areas or anywhere, to try to "stir something up now and then; sell papers now and then" instead of carrying out all-around work aimed at the seizure of power, with exposure the key link.

We should sum up some of the obstacles that have confronted the advanced people who have taken up our line in places like these. Of course the first one is the state. One of the major, in fact the major, difference between base areas when they develop in a country like this one as opposed to in a place where you can have fully liberated territory in the course of the struggle, is who has state power there. This has real consequences. The bourgeoisie also recognizes the potential of the proletariat in areas like these and acts accordingly. While strategically despising this, we also have to tactically respect it — and develop ways in which the enemy's moves can be exposed and defeated. There are varied forms in which the state has moved against the advanced in places like these. (One article in the RW on Cabrini Green went into some of this.) Even when they move directly, they often do so selectively, picking on the advanced people who live there and leaving our organizers alone. Sometimes party members are unaware of this. This serves the political purpose of putting out a warning "not to mess around with these people" or else; it also seeks to take advantage of contradictions like the national question, often reserving the hard blows of the state for those from the oppressed nationalities (Damián Garcia's murder being a case in point). Often the state in these places moves through other institutions like (some) gangs, tenants' associations, unions. Here again a political purpose is served when threats seem to come "from the people." And, in fact, even in these places it is not at all impossible for the state to mobilize forces. This, too, is a consequence of that state power; often a convincing Mafia-style "argument" for the intermediate is that "these people bring cops and other trouble." Ironic, when it comes from the cops themselves, but often effective for a time. These are some of the real troubles that advanced run into that we have to assist them in understanding politically and strategically and in devising ways to combat — including to help lay the basis for times when all this crap gets righteously dumped on its head.

A strategic approach to building base areas and factory fortresses requires combining various forms of work and struggle. We should be careful and systematic in our approach, without being conservative, knowing how to seize opportunities. The Bolsheviks did not open up all their people in their strongholds, even as others played a very open role. They employed various, creative tactics. Of course a base area is not a base area without periodic visible expressions of this (though visible does not mean the "visible force line"); but laying foundations for this requires other forms of work and even at high tide we should combine open and secret work. The masses — even the broad masses — appreciate a serious approach from a party that wants to win.

All this links up also with the fact that, especially in the overall quieter times of today in most of these areas, the advanced are not exactly "well liked and respected" among the intermediate and backward. This old economist

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## Accumulating Revolutionary Forces for the Coming Showdown

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definition leads to misidentifying the real advanced people, and frustrating them. Advanced people in these places should be recruited into the party. This is not because "there's nothing else better to do right now" — this is precisely the wrong and shamefaced approach to recruiting that must be broken with, no matter what else is happening at the particular time. And there is real potential for this right now, both in places where there is at present more immediate base-area potential and also in those where there is not. We should not "step over a quarter to pick up a nickel," that is, de-emphasize recruiting into the party on behalf of things that might seem more palpable.

Often the profoundly felt desire of people from these places is to get trained. The youth, in many cases, due to the characteristics of youth and their experiences in growing up in these places, often want to get out. While the youth can be the key and dynamic force in these places, this, too, will vary in tempo and intensity with other conditions, so we should not see a desire on the part of youth to "get out" and get trained as a bad thing, but often as a key step. In general the advanced, including as they become party members, should be led and encouraged to take part in the class struggle in many spheres and arenas. Communists should not contribute to limiting these people to only one form, one sphere of the class struggle — i.e., in their project and/or factory with their neighbors. Sometimes in a given period this amounts to beating their heads against the wall anyway; sometimes it is quite correct, fruitful and necessary. In any case, applying a little dialectics isn't bad anyway — that is, if we want to develop base areas, then we should also develop advanced people through participation in many other spheres of life. Is there anything wrong with advanced proletarians becoming familiar with the struggle within the scientific and cultural arenas; with participating in the struggle within the various mass movements? Not at all, in fact it is a critical part of their training, including their training once they have become party members. As Lenin wrote, "The masses will never learn to conduct the political struggle until we help to train leaders for this struggle, both from among the enlightened workers and from among the intellectuals; and such leaders can acquire training solely by systematically appraising all the everyday aspects of our political life, of all attempts at protest and struggle on the part of various classes and on various grounds." (*What Is To Be Done?*, Chap. V, b) This points to the decisive role of the newspaper, and also to the all-around training that advanced people and party members should get where possible.

Speaking of the paper, it is important (and not at all economist) to include in our press exposures that powerfully lay bare the conditions and life experiences of proletarians in the U.S. It is important to educate these people in proletarian internationalism, but, as the Chairman pointed to in his piece "On Both Aspects of Proletarian Internationalism . . ." (RW No. 184) these proletarians' life conditions provide a basis for them to gravitate toward this understanding.

We also need to develop a more complete and dialectical understanding of "mounting the political stage." It is not as though there is only one form of this — for example a walkout or a demonstration in a housing project. The point here is not to underestimate the significance of a political strike. It is a very significant and high form of struggle (although Lenin in 1917 writes of how this, too, becomes backward at a time when armed insurrection is the order of the day). We should seek to develop — and unite with and lead where they do develop — many forms of struggle. This also means understanding that parties represent classes, and joining and building the proletarian party and strengthening its role is an extremely important form of the class struggle. Lenin had a full appreciation of that. He wrote, "The task of Social-Democracy consists precisely in transforming the spontaneous struggle of the workers against the oppressors, by means of the organization of the workers, propaganda and agitation among them, into a struggle of the whole class, into the struggle of a definite political party for definite political and socialist ideals." ("Our Immediate Tasks") To join the party, to get trained, to take part in the struggle in that arena and through the vehicle of the party in an all-around way in society is a high form of struggle indeed; most definitely it is mounting the political stage. It is not all that is required in that regard, but it is certainly no less important than other elements of our central task.

Again, for a base area to really be a base area does require some broad and visible manifestation of the initiatives of the masses. Objective conditions for this are maturing in the world. Even in this immediate period, circumstances will present themselves when base areas can fully flower and, more generally, the firm foundations for this can be established in many places now.

## VI. Promoting the Party

Together with the orientation of "Revolution in the '80s — Go For It!", there is the question of the party. Here we are not so much speaking of the question of building the party, popularizing its line, etc.; these are more ongoing, basic questions. What we are speaking of here is what could be called promoting the party. Perhaps that sounds a bit too dull and narrow. It does involve all the questions of getting into the realm of the bourgeois media (and even there using a kind of "proletarian Jerry Rubin" approach in many cases). But it also involves seizing the real opportunities that do from time to time present themselves when the party itself — its basic stand, line, programme — comes to the fore as the issue broadly. Such are the times when we can and should "light up the sky" with the party. This is not the same as being sectarian; that is a political question. Opportunities like these do not present themselves all the time, and certainly not in every struggle. There is a question of analysis, of knowing when as well as how to seize on the opportunity that actually is there. Also involved here are questions of image of the party. Another way of describing this is: all the stuff we do that "doesn't belong on the 'left,'" that is, that offends the "left."

The youth are important in this regard in a number of ways. First, as a new and rising force, it is particularly important for the party to pay attention to trends, thoughts, actions among the youth. Second, there is the RCYB,

which has an important role to play around this question. Frankly, the RCYB has the freedom and ability to do a number of things the party can't quite do. And that's just fine and very helpful.

We can learn from the Panthers here. Our party is a vanguard party, and qualitatively more so in the most fundamental sense than the Panthers were. But there are still some ways in which the Panthers were better than we are now, and this is one of them. This was not separable from the times they were in, times of upsurge, but they also played an advanced and conscious role in this. They certainly "lit up the sky" with the image of revolution in a way it had not been lit.

Some things to remember from that period that could be learned from:

—The Panthers were responsible for making "pig" the well-deserved name of those enforcers of law and order. Then there was "the avaricious businessman, demagogic politician and murdering pig";

—The Chairman has told the story of picking up the *Richmond Independent* one day around 15 years ago in California and seeing in that paper an account that went along these lines: "Protesting the killing of Denzell Dowell, fifteen armed Black Panthers picketed today in front of the Contra Costa Sheriff's office in Martinez. At one point in the demonstration one of the group, Reginald F., 18, of Oakland went into the building and entered the elevator. A Contra Costa County sheriff asked him if he intended to take his shotgun into the sheriff's office when he presented his grievances. 'Righteous on that,' said F." Now right there in little Richmond, California, the superstitious awe of the state took quite a blow.

The point is not that we should copy any of these particular things that the Panthers did; that would not only be unoriginal, it would be harmful. But there is a method here and one that can be learned from, generalized and applied under the different conditions of today.

These sorts of things, while they are not the same thing as party-building, are also part of our central task. They are not the main part of it, but they are part of it in the sense that they contribute to that process. They are not the main thing contributing to that process, but they do deserve conscious attention, even some emphasis at appropriate times.

There is a line, linked with economist tendencies, that such things as "image" or "style" do not need to be paid attention to at all. However, it is like Mao said, if you are not carrying out a policy consciously, then you are doing so unconsciously. This is very much related to the question of combining revolutionary romanticism and revolutionary realism raised by the Chairman in "Conquer the World? . . ." In the '60s, the Panthers consciously created an image, and had an overall style — including black berets, black leather jackets, etc. Again, it would be silly and wrong to copy this particular style today, but the method is relevant. We should pay attention to, and synthesize on a higher level through a communist outlook, new things arising from among the masses in all their various sections, things which express their revolutionary sentiments and aspirations — and this includes elements of style or image. And we should pay attention to the way things change as well, since what represented rebellion in this sphere in the '60s does not represent rebellion in the '80s. This, from another angle, is part of looking for and supporting new things, new forms in which revolutionary things arise.

A positive and important example of this method is the whole "personality cult" around the Chairman, including the famous poster. These questions concentrate matters of line, including line on the political question of second stringism vs. vanguard responsibilities and a vanguard party. Lots of struggle, of course, went into that poster, including around what kind of image should be projected. The end result of that particular struggle was quite fine, definitely capturing the spirit, tasks and "edge" of the decade and the sentiment that "this is the party with the programme and the leadership to carry through." In fact we should give more emphasis now to this orientation.

The call here is obviously not one to become "trendy" — or for everyone to look the same. On the latter question first: different communists (including different party leaders) are indeed different; to pretend they were not, besides being ridiculous, would be a negation of the fact that communism springs from every pore, and it encompasses and is capable of leading forward the whole rich range of human experience, in particular that of the proletariat. Overall, we do not want tailism in any sphere, including in this one. There is a fine line between the correct point of synthesizing that which is new and arising and tailing it. The critical thing is to keep in mind that we are not trying to "appeal" to the masses on some basis other than politics (correctly and broadly understood) and that what attracts people to us fundamentally is our line. But the basic point being raised here is quite opposed to tailism — it is another dimension of leading, in every sphere.

## Conclusion

"Communists are makers of revolution." This was said by the Chinese in their polemics with the Soviet revisionists and remains a profoundly true and necessary point of orientation for revolutionary communists today. This meeting represented, and our basic approach must be, more on the dialectic in theory and practice of actually being that.

We have a basic analysis; a whole series of questions have been raised and settled. This doesn't mean we can turn the whole world upside down at once; but let's do all we can in transforming things now — and that's quite a bit, and very important to the future. The whole orientation of this report, and that which should guide our work, is being based on our achievements in line, programme and organization and finding — not inventing, for that would be a case of "concocting fashionable means" and ultimately reformist — but finding the opportunities that do exist in the present period to build our party and to influence the shape of things to the maximum degree possible, all as preparation for what is brewing.

We have to learn better, in the course of practice, to "hasten and await." Great earth-moving forces are stirring beneath the surface of the planet; a giant eruption is brewing and even as it brews, fissures and cracks are appearing in the still-intact crust, tossing upward movements, people, turmoil. Out of this we are forging weapons for the future. We must train ourselves, and the advanced who are thrust forward, in this basic analysis. We must teach that outlook of "be patient, it's coming" in a dialectical unity with the main thing, our approach of "Revolution in the '80s — Go For It!" □

# Darnell

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Darnell's band, Afrodisia. In 1981, upon learning of Darnell's divorce from his wife, the Michigan State Police requested Interpol to send agents to visit his wife and they attempted to turn her against Darnell as a witness in this case. When she point blank refused to have anything to do with them they dared to brazenly claim it was because she feared Darnell, a vicious lie! But could the U.S. and German authorities actually have wiretapped Darnell's and others' phones? How positively *paranoid* to even *imagine* such a thing! Not only did Darnell submit an affidavit detailing the past surveillance on him and the peculiar interruptions, noises, and unidentified voices on his telephone lines, but a prominent Washington, D.C. attorney (who litigated the *Berlin Democratic Club* case, which documented electronic surveillance and other political police practices on activists from the U.S. in Germany) also submitted an affidavit to the court which outlined why he believed Darnell was subjected to surveillance and his phone conversations overheard.

All this, according to their own laws as the learned judge knows, is much more than enough evidence to require the government to search the wire tap agency and divulge all the arguably illegal surveillance that exists — if evidence was what the court was interested in. And admitting as much, the judge further states in his opinion, "But even if there was such electronic surveillance, it would have occurred in 1971, 1972, or 1973, and there is no showing of any connection between that and the investigation carried on by the Michigan State Police following the murder of officer Gonser." Oh, so, there is evidence that they *did* tap phones after all, huh judge? But of course, that and other indications of political persecution couldn't possibly have anything to do with *this case* which, as the judge, the prosecution and the press are so fond of repeating, is strictly a criminal murder case. And besides, everybody knows that they don't do those things anymore! Motion denied. The judge has even had the gall to insist repeatedly in court that the only relevance the surveillance issue has to this case, as far as he can see, is that he believes the defense is offering the fact that Darnell and the MXCC were surveilled as an excuse for the murder of Gonser!

*Motion to review the military records of Milford Scott:* records which the defense attorney has already seen informally. They state that Milford Scott is a "sociopath," — dictionary definition: "An aggressively anti-social person suffering from emotional disorders with amoral and asocial behavior." The fine credentials for the prosecution's only witness linking Darnell to the murder of Gonser. But according to the court, these records are "void of any criminal activity or any other information which could be used to attack the credibility of the witness." Motion denied.

*Motion to strike the testimony of Milford Scott and disqualify him as a witness:* at one point in 1969, Scott even wrote a letter to the prosecutor stating that his testimony (the same testimony he is offering now) was nothing but lies scripted by the police. On the witness stand, police witnesses said he has told so many different versions that you couldn't trust him to say the same thing twice in the same day. And in the hearing which resulted in the charge being brought against Darnell, Milford Scott, during cross-examination, was caught in 17 lies. But Judge Sullivan feels that "It would not be within the province of this Court to disqualify him and to strike his testimony because he, at one time, stated that it was untrue!"

The court is fully aware of how much the denial of all Darnell's pre-trial motions exposes this raggedy railroad for what it is. The state has had more than a taste of the resistance it is giving rise to but for sure they are out for blood in their persecution of a revolutionary internationalist. So, what to do? Even weeks before the judge issued these opinions, he announced that he would allow appeals of the motions to take place *before* trial. But now he turns around and denies the motions for the transcripts of the past and present proceedings. These tran-

scripts cost thousands of dollars and without them not only is it much harder to defend at trial, but an appeal is *impossible*. Just to make the political point of his decision perfectly clear, Judge Sullivan says in his opinion, "Darnell Summers... filed an affidavit of indigency which shows that his residence is in West Germany, and that he is a self-employed musician. The balance of the affidavit would indicate defendant is without personal resources. However, an organization known as the Coalition to Free Darnell Summers, P.O. Box 206, Inkster, Michigan, has agreed to pay the fees of the two attorneys representing him in this matter; and that organization having assumed the cost of the defense, it would appear should also assume the cost of the necessary transcripts." The law unequivocally states that indigent defendants are entitled to free transcripts, but with a sweep of the pen, the Court ignores all the law to the contrary and bellows, "You dare to expose this railroad for the political attack that it is? You dare to unite with others and wage a political defense? Then you have *no* legal rights!" This outrageous move has broad implications and the reaction to it was particularly sharp: just one indication being that immediately upon learning of the judge's

# Siege

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during the January actions, 27 protestors walked deep into the base and reached several Minutemen missile silos before getting busted.

After a legal rally of 1,000 people in the nearby town of Santa Maria on Sunday, March 21st, almost as many descended on the Vandenberg base, encamping at a site near the base and preparing for the following days' actions. During the next two days around 800 participated in numerous attempts to blockade the base, most succeeding in determined efforts to get through the line of pigs at the base gate and cross the green line that had been drawn in January to demarcate base territory. Over 150 people in many different groups and through different routes hiked for miles into the base to reach missile launching pads and other sensitive spots. Despite extensive security precautions by base authorities, groups reached the fences immediately surrounding at least several Minuteman silos, and the space shuttle launch site. One group got to the MX missile assembly building, within one-half mile of the MX launching site.

The actions, including the Sunday rally, were called by the Vandenberg Action Coalition — a coalition of small anti-nuke groups from all over California including student groups, affinity groups of feminists, anarchists, pacifists, and anti-war activists from the '60s. Word of the demonstrations spread broadly through leaflets and word of mouth, attracting new and fresh forces ready to act and anxious to be part of making a bold statement at Vandenberg. Many of the organizers were happily surprised at the large turnout. Youth, including some very young, were in the forefront of the actions. Large numbers of high school and college students and a significant number of punks turned out and their mood was fierce, causing great worry for General Watkins and even raising a few eyebrows of some of the older participants in the demonstrations. (Some of the punks at Vandenberg had recently taken to the streets of San Francisco in opposition to the visit of the Queen of England—see *RW* No. 197.) As a member of the Kids Are All Right affinity group put it, "The message we want to deliver to the world is that the radical kids are here and will stay here. We want to shake the foundations." At many points it was the youth who were spurring things on, fighting to bust through the security lines and get onto the base and heightening the fresh and rebellious spirit of the crowd and the internationalist and revolutionary sentiments of many who had seen the Vandenberg action as a break with the "nice" anti-nuke movement and a real chance to "get closer to the heart of the monster." A revolutionary feminist put it like this, "It's one thing to go up to someone's house and look into the window. But it's something else to go up, open the door, walk in, go to the bathroom, point your finger, and

denial of Darnell's transcripts, the Board of Directors of the Detroit Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union voted unanimously to have their lawyers committee write an *amicus* brief (an "advisory" brief) on this issue and to assist Darnell's lawyers in writing a powerful appeal of the denial of all the motions to be filed in the Michigan Court of Appeals.

With the denial of these pre-trial motions and the preparation of the appeal to Michigan's highest court, the Coalition is now calling on all those outraged by this case, who grasp the stakes involved in this object lesson to millions, to now go on a political offensive. The state must be made to pay the highest political price possible for continuing with this railroad. Revolutionary proletarians and our allies must do everything possible to totally dismantle this railroad and deliver our own verdict. As an important part of this, the Statement of Outrage, to be printed in a local newspaper, is available from the Coalition and for circulation nationally. Funds are urgently needed. Pick up the gauntlet! Free Darnell Summers! Contact: The Coalition to Free Darnell Summers, P.O. Box 206, Inkster, Michigan 48141. □

say, 'this is shit!'

Very prominent at the base gate were copies of a "Notice to Vacate." Drawn up by one of the groups in the action, it read in part:

"The non-government of the Milky Way galaxy hereby notifies the current occupants of Vandenberg Air Force Base that they must vacate this land. This notice is effective immediately. We have chosen this land on which to test our defense. Our non-government has decided to deploy our forces here to practice non-violence and learn the sanctity of nature. Our people have determined that both these methods are ultimately our best defense..."

"We are familiar with U.S. government practices of relocating less politically powerful nations in order to use their lands, such as the Chumash Indians upon whose sacred land this air force base now sits, and the people of Kwajalein Atoll who were relocated from their native island chain onto tiny Island of Ebeye so that their lagoon could be used as the target area for missile landing from Vandenberg AFB..."

Confronted with this scene, the government showed its teeth more viciously than it did during the January actions. 715 people were arrested, 518 for trespassing on the base. Those who had been given "ban and bar" orders during the January actions not to show up at the base again, received heavier charges. Particular attention was paid to the youth by the authorities who issued constant threats. It was announced that anyone under the age of 18 who was busted had to be picked up from jail by their parents, or they would be kept in juvenile hall or even put in foster homes. This threat came on top of school and parental pressure that a number of youth had to break through in order to even get to Vandenberg. One mother was told by base security that people would be beaten with batons — a threat made public by General Watkins at his talk to the press when he noted that he was particularly upset that 22 juveniles had been arrested for trespassing on the base saying, "I am concerned that young people are encouraged by adults to be put in a position where they can be harmed." Steps were taken by the demonstrators to prevent the government from carrying through on these threats against the youth. For example, the Mama Bears, a group of women who were part of the feminist section of the action, had come with their children who had their own affinity group called the Baby Bears. Many of the Mama Bears were planning on going overland to the missile silos, while the Baby Bears wanted to be part of the civil disobedience at the base gate. Obviously, the Mama Bears would not be able to personally pick up their children from jail. After struggle and discussion in the camp, the whole encampment took the stand that no one would leave jail until the authorities backed down on their threat. They did back down and released all the youth from custody without their parents being present.

Also in advance of the action the owner of the land where the people camped had

been repeatedly threatened by police and local authorities. His business license was threatened and he was told that he would be thrown in jail if he permitted the camp to be set up on his land. Having spent 18 months in prison for draft resistance in the '60s, he told them to go ahead and throw him in jail. The authorities backed down. The County Board of Supervisors is currently trying to find a way to outlaw any future encampments while still allowing such things as the Boy Scout Jamboree scheduled for the coming month.

As of this writing, over 300 of those arrested are still being held on the base. All are refusing to leave until heavier charges given those who had previously received "ban and bar" orders are lowered to the same minor charges that the bulk of the demonstrators received. They have refused to give their jailers their names as is being required for release. The government has been so desperate to get people out that any first offender who gave any name, even something like "Elmer Fudd" has been forcibly removed from the jail, even if they wanted to stay. Another example of the kind of solidarity of those jailed involved a group of 52 people who had gotten to the missile silos. The group included students from UC Berkeley, the Dead Heads affinity group (fans of the Grateful Dead band) and feminists. The 52 were being held in a classroom in a school on the base, and the security forces were going around with pictures of people busted in the first Vandenberg action. When they identified and singled out a woman supporter of the RCP, some in the group moved to her defense, reckoning that she was being singled out for special treatment because of her politics. When the guards brought in attack dogs and tried to pull her out of the room, they found her surrounded by everyone else in the room, sitting with arms locked. The guards wrenched people apart, one by one, handcuffed them, and threw them on the ground outside the room until they reached the woman. Shortly after they got her in their clutches they decided it would be best to return her to the rest of the group.

So even as we go to press, the reverberations of the siege of the "Peacekeepers" continue to spread. This action was characterized by an even further break with what has been deemed "legitimate and acceptable" for anti-nuke protests. And, as was the case in the last actions, pulling off this liberating and defiant series of protests was the result of sharp struggle. For example, the Livermore Action Group, which played a central role in organizing the January demonstrations, did not do so this time around. This presented real difficulties for the small groups and individuals who came together and determined that they would fight to hit Vandenberg once again.

Not only were the days and nights at Vandenberg a hotbed of determined opposition to nuke war plans, they were also filled with lively and fruitful political struggle. Those selling the *RW* and distributing copies of the May Day Call and other RCP literature, report that a prevailing sentiment among the demonstrators was to wage a fight around the demand that the U.S. government "reorder priorities," which led to some serious debate over the nature of imperialism, the causes of war, why the imperialists will *not* put down their nukes, and what to do about it. They also report that grappling with such vital questions both added to and was a reflection of the serious and fiercely defiant spirit at the actions which involved many new people awakening to political life, especially the youth who were most eager to "shake the foundations" and reach for the most powerful tools to do it. □



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